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Author: Moryson, Fynes, 1566-1630. 40719

An itinerary vvritten by Fynes Moryson Gent.

First in the Latine tongue, and then translated by him into English: containing his ten yeeres trauell through the tvvelue dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Jtaly, Turky, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland. Diuided into III parts. The I. part. Containeth a iournall through all the said twelue dominions: shewing particularly the number of miles, the soyle of the country, the situation of cities, the descriptions of them, with all monuments in each place worth the seeing, as also the rates of hiring coaches or horses from place to place, with each daies expences for diet, horse-meate, and the like. The II. part. Containeth the rebellion of Hugh, Earle of Tyrone, and the appeasing thereof: written also in forme of a iournall. The III. part. Containeth a discourse vpon seuerall heads, through all the said seuerall dominions Date: 1617 Bibliographic name / number: STC (2nd ed.) / 18205 No. of pages: [16], 84, 83-106, 109-295, [1], 301, [1], 292, [2] p. : Copy from: British Library Reel position: STC / 996:18

An itinerary vvritten by Fynes Moryson Gent. First in the Latine tongue, and then translated by him into English: containing his ten yeeres trauell through the tvvelue dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Jtaly, Turky, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland. Diuided into III parts. The I. part. Containeth a iournall through all the said twelue dominions: shewing particularly the number of miles, the soyle of the country, the situation of cities, the descriptions of them, with all monuments in each place worth the seeing, as also the rates of hiring coaches or horses from place to place, with each daies expences for diet, horse-meate, and the like. The II. part. Containeth the rebellion of Hugh, Earle of Tyrone, and the appeasing thereof: written also in forme of a iournall. The III. part. Containeth a discourse vpon seuerall heads, through all the said seuerall dominions 4187Kb CONTAINING HIS TEN YEERES TRAVELL THROVGH THE TWELVE DOMJNIONS OF Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Jtaly, Turky, France, Eng|land, Scotland, and Ireland.

Diuided into III Parts.

THE I. PART.

Containeth a Iournall through all the said twelue Dominions: Shewing particularly the number of miles, the soyle of the Country, the situation of Cities, the descriptions of them, with all Monuments in each place worth the seeing, as also the rates of hiring coaches or horses from place to place, with each daies expences for diet, horse-meate, and the like.

THE II. PART.

Containeth the Rebellion of Hugh, Earle of Tyrone, and the appeasing thereof: written al|so in forme of a [illeg.] Iournall .

THE III. PART.

Containeth a Discourse vpon seuerall Heads, through all the said seuerall Dominions.

[Figure:] AT LONDON Printed by John Beale, dwelling in Aldersgate street. 1617.

[Figure: HON [illeg.] I SOIT QVI MAL Y PENSE]

WITH the Kings Maiesties full and sole Priuiledge to the Author Fynes Moryson Gent. his Execu|tors, Administrators, Assignes and Deputies for 21 yeeres next ensuing, to cause to be imprinted, and to sell assigne and dispose to his or their best benefit, this Booke and Bookes as well in the English as in the Latin tongue; as well these three Parts finished, as one or two Parts more thereof not yet finished, but shortly to be perfected by him: Srait|ly forbidding any other during the said yeeres, to imprint or cause to be imprinted, to import vtter or sell, or cause to be imported vttered or sold the said Booke or Bookes, or any part thereof within any of his Maiesties Dominions; vpon paine of his Maiesties high displeasure, and to forfet three pounds lawfull English money for euery such Booke, Bookes, or any part thereof printed, imported, vttered or sold contrary to the mea|ning of this Priuiledge; besides the forfeture of the said Book, Books, etc. as more at large appeareth by his Maiesties Letters Patents, dated the 29 of Aprill, in the fifteenth yeere of his Maiesties raigne of England, France and Ireland, and of Scotland the fiftieth.

To the Right Honourable, VVJLLJAM, EARLE OF PEMBROKE, Lord Chamberlaine of his Maiesties Houshold, one of his Maiesties most Honourable Priuie Counsell, and Knight of the most noble Order of the GARTER, etc.

Right Honourable, SInce I had the happinesse imputed to Salomons Seruants by the Queene of Sheba, to stand sometimes before You, an eye and eare witnes of your Noble conuersation with the worthy Earle of Deuonshire, (my deceased Lord and Master,) I euer admired your vertues and much honoured your Person. And because it is a thing no lesse commendable, gladly to receiue fa|uours from men of eminent worth, then with like choice to ten|der respect and seruice to them: I being now led by powerfull custome to seeke a Patron for this my Worke; and knowing that the weakest frames need strongest supporters, haue taken the boldnes most humbly to commend it to your Honours protection: which vouchsafed, it shall triumph vnder the safegard of that massy shield; and my selfe shall not only acknowledge this high fauour with humblest thankefulnesse, but with ioy imbrace this occasion to auow myselfe now by publike profession, (as I haue long been in priuate affection,)

Your Honours most humble and faithfull seruant, FYNES MORYSON,

To the Reader.

For the First Part of this Worke, it containes only a briefe narration of daily iournies, with the rates of coaches or horses hired, the expences for horses and mans meat, the soyle of the Country, the situation of Townes, and the de|scriptions thereof; together with all things there worthy to be seene: which Treatise in some obscure places is barren and vn-plea|sant (espetially in the first beginning of the worke,) but in other places I hope you will iudge it more pleasant, and in some delightfull, inducing you fauorably to dispence with the barrennes of the former, inserted on|ly for the vse of vnexperienced Trauellers passing those waies. Againe, you may perhaps iudge the writing of my daily expences in my iournies to be needles and vnprofitable, in respect of the continuall change of prices and rates in all Kingdoms: but they can neuer be more subiect to change, then the affaies of Martiall and ciuill Policie: In both which, the oldest Histories serue vs at this day to good vse. Thirdly and lastly, touching the First Part of this VVorke, when you read my expences in vnknowne Coynes, you may iustly require the explaning of this obscurity, by ex|pression of the values in the English Coynes. But I pray you to consider, that the adding of these seuerall values in each daies iourny, had been an Herculean labour; for auoiding whereof, I haue first set before the First Part, a briefe Table expressing the value of the small Coynes most com|monly spent, and also haue expresly and particularly for each Dominion and most part of the Prouinces, set downe at large, how these values an|swer the English Coynes, in a Chapter written of purpose to satisfie the most curious in this point, namely the fifth Chapter of the third Booke, being the last of this First Part: in which Chapter also I haue briefly dis|coursed of the best means to exchange monies into forraigne parts.

Touching the VVorke in generall, I wil truly say, that I wrote it swiftly, and yet slowly. This may seeme a strange Riddle, and not to racke your wit with the interpretation, my selfe will expound it: I wrote it swiftly, in that my pen was ready and nothing curious, as may appeare by the mat|ter and stile: and I wrote it slowly, in respect of the long time past since I viewed these Dominions, and since I tooke this worke in hand. So as the VVorke may not vnfitly bee compared to a nose-gay of flowers, hastily snatched in many gardens, and with much leasure, vet carelesly and neg|ligently bound together. The snatching is excused by the haste, necessary to Trauellers, desiring to see much in short time: And the negligent bin|ding, in true iudgement needs no excuse, affected curiositie in poore sub|iects, being like rich imbroidery laid vpon a frize ierken; so as in this case, onely the trifling away of mxch time, may bee imputed to my igno|rance, dulnes or negligence, if my iust excuse be not heard: in the rende|ring whereof I must craue your patience. During the life of the worthy Earle of Deuonshire, my deceased Lord, I had little or no time to bestow in this kind: after his deth, I lost fully three yeers labor (in which I abstracted the Histories of these 12 Dominio s thorow which I passed, with purpose to ioyne them to the Discourses of the seuerall Commonwealths, for il|lustration and ornament: but when the worke was done, and I found the bulke there of to swel, then I chose rather to suppresse them, then to make my gate bigger then my Citie.) And for the rest of the yeers, I wrote at leasure, giuing (like a free and vnhired workeman) much time to pleasure, to necessary affaires, and to diuers and long distractions. If you consider this, and with all remember, that the worke is first written in Latine, then translated into English, and that in diuers Copies, no man being able by the first Copie to put so large a worke in good fashion. And if you will please also to take

knowledge from me, that to saue expences, I wrote the greatest part with my owne hand, and almost all the rest with the slowe pen of my seruant: then I hope the losse of time shall not be imputed vn|to me. Againe, for the worke in generall, I professe not to write it to any curious wits, who can indure nothing but extractions and quintessences: nor yet to great States-men, of whose reading I confesse it is vnworthy: but only vnto the vnexperienced, who shall desire to view forraign king|domes. And these may, the rather by this direction, make better vse of what they see, heare, and reade, then my selfe did. If actiue men neuer reade it, I shall wish them no lesse good successe in their affaires. If con|templatiue men shall reade it at leasure, making choice of the subiects fit|ting their humours, by the Table of the Contents, and casting away the booke when they are weary of reading, perhaps they may finde some delight: only in case of distaste, I pray them remember, to and for whom it was written. To conclude, if you be as well affected to me, as I am to you, how soeuer I deserue no thanks, no doubt I shall be free from blame. And so I wish you all happinesse, remaining

Yours in due respect, Fynes Moryson.

A Table of the Contents of the seuerall Chapters contained in this Booke.

THE FIRST PART.

The first Booke.

Chap. 1. OF my iourny from London (in England) to Stode, Hamburg, Lubecke, Lune|burg: my returne to Hamburg, and iourny to Magdeburg, Leipzig, Witten|berg; and the neighbouring Cities (in Germany.) Chap. 2. Of my iourny from Leipzig, to Prage, (in Bohemia) to Nurnberg, Augspurg, Vlme, Lindoy, Costnetz, (in Germany) Schaphusen, Zurech, Baden, and Bazell, (in Sweitzer|land.) Chap. 3. Of my iourny from Bazell to Strasburg, to Heidelberg, to Franckfort, to Cassiles, to Brunswicke, to Luneburg, to Hamburg, to Stode, to Breme, to Oldenburge and to Emb|den, (the last Citie vpon the confines of the Empire of Germany.) Chap 4. Of my iourny from Embden in Germany, to Leiden in Holland, and through the vnited Prouiuces of the Low Countries. Chap. 5. Of my iourny out of the vnited Prouinces, by the sea coast to Stode, and Lubeck, in Germany, of my sailing to Denmarke, and thence to Dantzk in Prussen, and my iourny tho|row Paland, to Poduoa in Italy.

The second Booke.

Chap. 1. Of my iourny from Paduoa to [1] Venice, to Ferrara, to Bologna, to Rauenna, and by the shoare of the Adriatique Sea to Ancona; then crossing the breadth of Italy, to Rome , seated not far from the Tirrhene Sea. Chap. 2. Of my iourny to Naples , and my returne to Rome , and of the description of both Cities: of my iourny cursory to Sienna , Fiorenza , Pistoia, Lucca, and Pisa, and the descrip|tion of the three last Cities. Chap. 3. Of my iourny to Ligorno, my returne to Florence [2] , (or Fiorenza) and to Sienna , and the description of these Cities. Of my iourny by land to Lirigi, (in which againe I passed by Lucca and Pisa) and by sea to Genoa , with the description of that Citie, and my iourny by land to Pauia, to Milan o, to Cremona, and to Mantoua, with the description of the Cities, and of my returne to Paduoa . Chap. 4. Of the Sepulcher of Petrarch at Arqua; of my iourny to Vicenza, [3] Verona , Brescia, and Bergamo : (in Italy) then passing the Alpes to Chur, Zurech, Solothurn, Geneua, and (in my returne thence) to Berna, (in Sweitzerland,)

[1] Venice
[2] Florence
[3] Verona

thence to Strasburg, (in Germany,) and to Chalon, to Paris , to Roan, and to Diepe, (in France,) and finally of my passage by sea and land to London (in England.)

The third Booke.

Chap. 1. Of my iourny to Stode, through the vnited Prouinces of Netherland, and vpon the sea-coast of Germany; then to Brunswicke, and (the right way) to Nurnberg, Augsburg, and Insprucke (in Germany), and from thence to [4] Venice in Italy, and so by the Mediteranean Seas and the I lands thereof, to Ierusalem. In which iourney, I slightly passe ouer the places described in my former passage those waies. Chap. 2. The description of the Citie of Ierusalem, and the Territory thereof. Chap. 3. Of my iourny from Ierusalem by land to Ioppa, by sea to Tripoly in Syria, by land to Haleppo and Scanderona, and of our passage by sea to the I land Candia. Chap. 4. Of my iourny from Candia (partly by land, and partly by sea) by the sea shoares and by the I lands of the AEgean sea, Pontus and Propontis, to the Citie of Constontinople, and of my iourny thence by sea to [5] Venice, and by land to Augsburg, Nurnberg, and Stode (in Ger|many,) and of my passage ouer sea into England. Chap. 5. Of my iourny through many seuer all Shires of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Chap. 6. Of the manner to exchange monies into forraigne parts, and the diuers monies of diuers parts, together with the diuers measures of miles in sundry Nations, most necessary for the vnderstanding of the former Iournall.

THE SECOND PART.

The first Booke.

Chap. 1. Of the Induction or Preface to my Irish Iournall, and a compendious narratich how Charles Blount Lord Mountioy, (my Lord and Master of happy memory) was cho|sen Lord Deputy of Ireland, and of this worthy Lords quality; as also of the Counsels in ge|nerall by which he broke the Rebels hearts, and gaue peace to that troubled State, together with his particular actions in the end of the yeere 1599. Chap. 2. Of the Lord Deputies particular proceedings in the prosecution of the Rebels in the yeere 1600.

The second Booke.

[4] Venice
[5] Venice

Chap. 1. Of the Lord Deputies particular proceedings in the prosecution of the Rebels, and of the Spaniards innading Ireland in the yeere 1601. Chap. 2. Of the besicging of the Spaniards at Kinsale, with the deliuery of the Towne to the Lord Deputy, and their returne into Spaine in the same yeere 1601.

The third Booke.

Chap. 1. Of the prosecution of the warre by the Lord Mountioy Lord Deputy, against the Rebels in the yeere 1602. Chap. 2. Of Tyrones taking to mercy, whereby the warre was fully ended; and of a new mu|tiny of the Cities of Mounster, for establishing the publike exercise of the Roman Religion, with the appeasing thereof, together with the Lord Deputies recalling into England, and the rewards there giuen him for his seruice in the beginning of the yeere 1603: with men|tion of his vntimely death within few yeeres after; and the state of Ireland some ten yeeres after.

THE THIRD PART.

The first Booke.

Chap. 1. THat the visiting of forraigne Countries is good and profitable, but to whom, and hew farre. Chap. 2. Of Precepts for Trauellers, which may instruct the vnexperienced. Chap. 3. Of the Opinions of old Writers, and some Prouerbs which I obserued in forraigne parts by reading or discourse, to be vsed either of Trauellers themselues, or of diuers Nati|ons and Prouinces.

The second Booke.

Chap. 1. Of the fit meanes to trauell, and to hier coaches or horsesin generall. Chap. 2. Of Sepulchers, Monuments and Buildings in generall, (for I haue formerly spoken particularly of them.) Chap. 3. Of Germany, Bohmerland and Sweitzerland, touching the Geographicall descrip|tion, the situation, the fertility, the trafficke, and the diet. Chap. 4. Of the vnited Prouinces in Netherland, and of Denmark and Poland, touching the said subiects of the precedent third Chapter. Chap. 5. Of Italy touching all the subiects of the third Chapter going before.

The third Booke.

Chap. 1. Of the geographicall description of Turky, the situation, fertility, trafficke and diet. Chap. 2. Of France, touching the particular subiects of the first Chapter. Chap. 3. Of England, touching the particular subiects of the first Chapter. Chap. 4. Of Scotland, touching the subiects contained in the first Chapter. Chap. 5. Of Ireland, touching the particular subiects of the first Chapter.

The fourth Booke.

Chap. 1. Of the Germans, Bohemians, Sweitzers, Netherlanders, Daues Polouians and Ita|lians apparell. Chap. 2. Of the Turkes, French, English, Scottish, and Irish apparell. Chap. 3. Of the Germans and Bohemians Commonwealth, vnder which title I containe an historicall introduction, the Princes Pedegrees and Courts, the present state of things, the Tributes and Reuenewes, the military state for horse, Foot, and Nauy, the Courts of Iu|stice, rare Lawes, more specially the Lawes of inheritance and of womens Dowries, the Capitall Iudgements, and the diuersitie of degrees in Families, and in the Common|wealth. Chap. 4. Of the particular Commonwealths, as well of the Princes of Germany, as of the free Cities such of both as haue absolute power of life and death. Chap. 5. Of the Commonwealth of Sweitzerland, according to the diuers subiects of the third Chapter. Chap. 6. Of the Netherlanders Commonwealth, according to the foresaid subiects of the third Chapter.

Contents

1 The First BOOKE. 17
1.1 CHAP. I. . . . 18
1.2 CHAP. II. . . . 32
1.3 CHAP. III. . . . 52
1.4 CHAP. IV. . . . 67

2 The Second Booke. 105
2.1 CHAP. I. . . . 106

3 CHAP. II. 144

4 CHAP. III. 195

5 CHAP. IV. 230

6 The third Booke. 258
6.1 CHAP. I. . . . 259
6.2 CHAP. II. . . . 284
6.3 CHAP. III. . . . 309
6.4 CHAP. IV. . . . 330
6.5 CHAP. I. . . . 377
6.6 CHAP. II. . . . 444
6.7 CHAP. I. . . . 485
6.8 CHAP. II. . . . 539
6.9 CHAP. I. . . . 617
6.10 CHAP. II. . . . 697
6.11 CHAP. I. . . . 729
6.12 CHAP. II. . . . 741
6.13 CHAP. III. . . . 772
6.14 CHAP. I. . . . 791
6.15 CHAP. II. . . . 802
6.16 CHAP. III. . . . 812
6.17 CHAP. IV. . . . 837
6.18 CHAP. I. . . . 870
6.19 CHAP. II. . . . 886
6.20 CHAP. III. . . . 893
6.21 CHAP. IV. . . . 913

7 The fourth Booke. 928
7.1 CHAP. I. . . . 929
7.2 CHAP. II. . . . 940
7.3 CHAP. III. . . . 949
7.4 CHAP. IV. . . . 1001
7.5 CHAP. V . . . 1025
7.6 CHAP. VI. . . . 1059

Geographical Index 1079

The rest of this VVorke, not as yet fully finished, treateth of the following Heads.

Chap, 1. OF the Commonwealth of Denmarke, vnder which title I containe an historicall introduction, the Kings Pedegree and Court, the present state of the things, the Tributes and Reuenewes, the military power for horse, Foot, and Nauy, the Courts of Iustice, rare Lawes, more specially those of Inheritance and Dowries and Contracts for mariage, the Capitoll or Criminall Iudgements, and the diuersitie of degrees in Families and the Commonwealth.

Chap. 2. Of the Commonwealth of Poland, vnder which title, etc.

Chap. 3. Of the Commonwealth of Italy, touching the historicall introduction, the Princes pedegrees, the Papall dominion, and the Late power of the King of Spaine, with some other subiects of the first Chapter.

Chap. 4. Of the particular Commonwealth of [6] Venice, touching most of the foresaid subiects.

Chap. 5. Of the Commonwealth of the Duke of Florence [7] , the Cities of Lucca and Genea, with the Dukes of Urbino and of Mantoua.

Chap. 6. Of the Commonwealth of Italy in generall: touching the rest of the heads which belong to the generall State of Italy, rather then of any part thereof.

Chap. 7. Of the Commonwealth of the Turkish Empire, vnder which title etc. as followeth in the first Chapter.

Chap. 8. Of the Commonwealth of France, vnder which title, etc.

Chap. 9. Of the Commonwealth of England, vnder which title, etc.

Chap. 10. Of the Commonwealth of Scotland, vnder which title, etc.

Chap. 11. Of the Commonwealth of Ireland, vnder which title, etc.

Chap. 12. Of Germany touching Religion.

Chap. 13. Of Bhemerland, Sweitzerland, the vnited Prouinces of Netherland, of Denmark and Poland touching Religion.

Chap. 14. Of Italy touching Religion.

Chap. 15. Of the Turkish Empire touching Religion.

Chap. 16. Of France, England, Scotland and Ireland touching Religion.

Chap. 17. Of the Germans nature, wit, manners, bodily gifts, Vniuersities, Sciences, Arts, language, pompous Ceremonies, specially at Marriages, Christnings and Funerals: of their customes, sports, exercises, and particularly hunting.

Chap. 18. Of the Bohemians, Sweitzers and Netherlanders of the vnited Prouinces, their natures, wits, manners, etc.

Chap. 19. Of the Danes and Polonians nature, etc.

Chap. 20. Of the Italians nature, wit, etc.

Chap. 21. Of the Turkes nature, etc.

Chap. 22. Of the Frenchmens nature, etc.

Chap. 23. Of the Englishmens nature, etc.

Chap. 24. Of the Scotchmens and Irishmens natures, wits, manners, etc.

Chap. 25. A generall, but briefe discourse of the Iewes, the Grecians, and the Moscouites.

[6] Venice
[7] Florence

Currency

A briefe Table to vnderstand in the First Part the expences in small Coynes most commonly spent.

For England.

A Gold Angell of the standard of 23 Caracts 3 graines and an halfe, is three peny waight and 8 graines, and is giuen for ten siluer shillings, 12 pence making a shilling, the siluer being of the standard of 11 ounces two peny weight, and the shilling foure penny (or ninety six graines) weight.

For Scotland and Ireland.

The English Coynes are currant and spent.

For Germany.

The Reichs Doller of Germany is worth foure shillings foure pence, and the sil|uer Gulden is accounted three shillings foure pence English Twenty Misers siluer Groshen, 32 Lubecke shillings, 45 Embden stiuers, foure Copstucks and a halfe, 55 groates, 36 Maria grosh, 18 spitz-grosh, 18 Batz, make a Reichs Doller. Two sestings make a Lubecke shilling: foure Drier a siluer grosh: two dreyhellers a Drier: two schwerd grosh a schneberger: foure creitzers a batz: foure pfennning a creitzer.

For Bohemia.

Three Pochanels make a Creitzer: 9 creitzers and one Pochanell make foure weissgrosh of Morauia: 30 grosh a Doller: two hallers a pfenning: and 5 pfen|ning a grosh.

For Sweitzerland.

Six Rappen make a Plappart or 3 Creitzers: and 20 Plapparts or 60 Creit|zers make a siluer gulden: two finferlins make a finfer, and 5 a batz: foure ang|ster make a creitzer, twelue a Bemish: 60 creitzers a siluer gulden.

For the Low Countries.

Foure Orkees or Doights make a stiuer: two blanks a stiuer and a halfe: six stiuers a shilling: 20 stiuers a gulden or three shillings foure pence, being two shil|lings English: 20 shillings a pound: and one hundred pound Flemish, makes sixty pound English.

For Denmarke.

Two Danish shillings make one Lubecke; and 66 Danish shillings make one Reichs Doller.

For Poland.

Thirty Polish Grosh make a siluer Gulden; 40 a Reichs Doller; three Po|chanels a Creitzer, seuen a Grosh.

For Italy.

The siluer Crowne almost fiue shillings English, is giuen for 7 Lires of Uenice; two Lires make a Iustino: 20 Soldi a Lire: one Lire and 4 Soldi a Mutsenigo. 4 Bagatines a Quatrine: two Betsior 3 Quatrines or a Susine and a halfe, make a Soldo: two Quatrines make a Susine: three Susines a Boligneo, and 12 Bolig|nei a Lire. Ten Giulij, or Poali, or Carlini make a siluer Crowne; ten Baocci a Giulio or Paolo: foure Quatrines a Baocco: eight Baelli or Creitzers make a Gi|ulio: twenty Soldi or Bolignei of Genoa make a Lire of Genoa , whereof 15 make 20 shillings English; and 3 of these Lires with 15 Soldi, make a siluer Crowne: se|uen Soldi and an halfe make a Reale: foure Soldi a Caualotto: six Quatrines a Soldo; and two Deniers of Genoa a Quatrine: 114 Soldi of Milan make a siluer Crowne: 20 Soldi a Lire: and a Lire and a halfe makes one Lire of Genoa .

For Turkey.

The siluer Crowne or Piastro worth fiue shillings English, is giuen heere for 70, there for 80 or more Aspers: A Meidine of Tripoli, is an Asper and an halfe a Meidine of Caiero three Aspers; and an Asper some three farthings English.

For France.

Twelue Deniers make a Soulz: fourteene Soulz and a halfe a Testoone: fifteene Soulz a Quart d'escue: twenty Soulz a Franke: sixtie Soulz a French Crowne, or six shillings English.

1 The First BOOKE.

1.1 CHAP. I.

Of my iourny from London (in England) to Stode, Hamburg, Lubeck, Luneburg, my returne to Hamburg, and iourney to Magdeburg, Leipzig, Witteberg, and the neighbouring Cities (in Germany.)

BEing a Student of Peter-house, in Cambridge, and entred the eighteenth yeere of my age, I tooke the degree of Bachelar of Arts, and shortly after was chosen Fellow of the said Col|ledge by Queene Elizabeths Mandat. Three yeers expired from my first degree taken in the Vniuer|fitie, I commenced Master of Arts, and within a yeere after, by the fauour of the Master and Fel|lowes, I was chosen to a vacant place of Priuiledge to studie the Ciuill Lawes. Then, as well for the or|nament of this profession, as out of my innated de|sire to gaine experience by trauelling into forraigne parts, (to which course my Parents had giuen consent some few yeers past, vpon my first declaring of my in|clination to the said profession,) vpon the priuiledge of our Statutes permitting two of the Society to trauell, I obtained licence to that purpose of the said Master and Fellowes, in the yeere 1589, being then full 23 yeeres old. And presently leauing the Vniuersiy, I went to London, there to follow some studies fit to inable me in this course; and there better taught, and these studies, the visiting of my 2 friends in the Country, my going to Oxford to take the same degree I had in Cam|bridge, and some oppositions vpon new deliberation made by my father and friends against my iourney, detained me longer in those parts then I purposed.

At last, in the beginning of the yeere 1591, and vpon the first day of May, I tooke ship at Liegh, distant from London twenty eight miles by land, and thirtie six [Note: 1591.] by water, where Thames in a large bed is carried into the Sea. Thence we set saile into the maine, and the eight day of our sailing, the Merchants Fleet of sixteene ships being dispersed by a fogge and tempest, two Dunkerke Pirats followed our ship, till (by Gods mercy) the fog being cleared after some few houres, and two of our ships vpon our discharging of a great Peece drawing towards vs, the Pirates despairing left to pursue vs. That they were Pirates was apparant, since as wee for triall turned our sayles, they likewise fitted themselues to our course, so as wee though flying, yet prepared our selues to fight, till God thus deliuered vs. The ninth day towards night, wee fell vpon an Iland called the Holy-land (vulgarly Heiligland), and not daring to enter the Riuer Elue before the next morning, wee strucke all sayles, and suffered our ship to bee tossed too and fro by the waues all that night, (which Marriners call lying at Hull.) This Iland hath onely one Port capeable of some sixe ships, in the forme of the Moone decreasing, and lying open to the East. On the North side is a great Rocke, and the rest of the shore is all of high Cliffes. It is subiect to the Duke of Holste, and by that title to the King of Den|marke; but the inhabitants are so poore, as they yeeld no other tribute then stones for the Dukes building. It is in circuit some three miles, and hath about one hun|dred Families.

The tenth day we entred the Riuer Elue, and landed at Stode. This is an ancient [Note: Stode.] Citie, and one of the Empires free Cities, and one of those Sea-Townes, which from the priuiledge of traffick with their Neighbours, are called Free Cities (vulgar|ly Hansteten), but of late was become so poore, as they had sold the priuiledge of coyning money, and some like Rights to Hamburg; till the English Merchants re|mouing their seate of traf-

ficke from Hamburg to Stode, it began lately to grow rich, not without the enuy and impouerishment of the Hamburgers. In the Dutch Inns I paid for each meale foure Lubeck shillings and an halfe, and in the English Innes eight pence English. In the great winding and troubled Streame of Elue, which ebs and flowes as high as Luneburg, certaine Booyes are laid to shew the channels and sholes of the Riuer, and the maintaining of each of them cost 40 pounds yeere|ly, and of all a thousand pounds at the least, at the common charge of Stode and Hamburg: but after frosts begin, they are taken vp, and reserued to the next Spring. Of old when Stode flourished, this charge belonged onely to it, taking some contributions of the other Cities for the same. This free Citie had then chosen the Bishop of Breme for their Protector, and had but small scattered reuenewes, to the value, of ninety pounds sterling by the yeere; but the soile is so fertile, as they milke their Cowes thrice each day. Of late the Hamburgers had in vaine attempted by Na|uall forces to forbid the arriuall of the English at Stode, whom as they had grieued hauing their seate with them, as well with exactions, as with forbidding them free exercise of Religion, so now sometimes by laire treatie, sometimes by force, they la|boured to draw backe vnto them. Those of Stode haue by priuiledge the preemp|tion and choice of Rhenish Wines passing by them. This Citie might be made strong, if the workes they haue begun were perfected. The fields of the North and East sides may bee drowned, and because the high Hilles towards the West and South (though somewhat distant) seemed to threaten danger, they had on those sides raised an high and broad wall of earth, fastned on the out-side with Wil|lowes, in which place an Armory for all munitions was built; but the gates of the Citie, for ridiculous ostentation of strength, were furnished with Artillery of stone painted ouer. The territory without the City belongs on the West side to the Bi|shop of Breame, and on the East side to the Earle of Scbeneburg and the Duke of Holst. From Stode to Hamburg are fiue miles. In a Waggon hired for fiue Lubecke 3 shillings each person, wee passed two miles, then crossing the Elue (not without dan|ger in respect of the shallow places and present storme) wee hired another Waggon for foure Lubeck shillings each person, and through thicke woods passed the other three miles to Hamburg. The passage by water to Hamburg had beene much easier, especially for a stranger, and a boat daily passeth from Stode thither in some three houres space, if the winde bee not contrary, wherein each man paies three Lubecke shillings for his passage: but all Passengers without difference of condition must help to rowe, or hire one in his stead, except the winde bee good so as they need not vse their Oares; besides that the annoyance of base companions will easily offend one that is any thing nice.

Hamburg is a Free Citie of the Empire, and one of them which (as I said) are called [Note: Hamburg.] Hansteten, and for the building and populousnesse is much to be praised. The Senate house is very beautifull, and is adorned with carued statuaes of the nine Worthies. The Exchange where the Merchants meet is a very pleasant place. The Hauen is shut vp with an iron chaine. The Citie is compassed with a deepe ditch, and vpon the East and North sides with a double ditch and wall. Water is brought to the Citie from an Hil distant some English mile, by pipes of wood, because those of lead would be broken by the yce, and these pipes are to bee seene vnder the bridge, whence the water is conuaied by them vnto each Citizens house. The Territory of the Citie ex|tendeth a mile or two, and on one side three miles out of the

walles. It hath nine Churches and six gates called by the Cities to which they lead. It is seated in a large plaine and a sandy soyle, but hath very fatte pasture ground without. On the South side and some part of the West, it is washed with the Riuer Elue, which also putteth a branch into the Towne, but on the North and somewhat on the East side, the Ri|uer Alster runneth by towards Stode, and falleth into the Elue. The streets are narrow excepting one which is called Broad-street (vulgarly Breitgasse.) The building is all of bricke (as in all the other Sea-bordering Cities, lying from these parts towards Flan|ders) and all the beautie of the houses is in the first entrance, hauing broad and faire gates into a large Hal the lower part whereof on both sides is vsed for a Ware-house, and in the vpper part lying to the view of the doore, the chiefe houshold-stuffe is placed, and especially their vessell of English Pewter, which being kept bright makes a glittering shew to them that passe by; so as the houses promise more beauty outwardly then they haue inwardly. Here I paid each meale foure Lubeck shillings, and one each night for my bed. The Citizens are vnmeasurably ill affected to the English, to whom (or to any stranger) it is vnsafe to walke out of the gates after noone, for when the common people are once warmed with drinke, they are apt to doe them iniury. My selfe one day passing by some that were vnloading and telling of Billets, heard them say these words: Wirft den zehenden auff des Englanders kopf, that is, cast the tenth at the Englishmans head. But I and my companions knowing well their malice to the English for the remouing their trafficke to Stode, were content si|lently to passe by as if we vnderstood them not. Hence I went out of the way to see Lubeck, an Imperiall Citie, and one of the aboue named Hans-townes, being tenne miles distant from Hamburg. Each of vs for our coach paid twentie Lubeck shillings, and going forth early, wee passed through a marish and sandy plaine, and many woods of Oakes (which in these parts are frequent, as woods of Firre be in the vpper part of Germany) and hauing gone six miles we came to a Village called Altslow, for the situation in a great marish or boggy ground, where each man paid for his dinner fiue Lubeck shillings and a halfe, our Dutch companions contributing halfe that mo|ney for drinke after dinner. In the afternoone we passed the other foure miles to Lu|beck, in the space of foure houres, and vntill we came within halfe a mile of the towne, wee passed through some thicke woods of Oake with some faire pastures betweene them, (for the Germans vse to preserue their woods to the vttermost, either for beautie or because they are so huge and frequent as they cannot be consumed). When we came out of the woods wee saw two faire rising Hills, and the third vpon which Lubeck was feated.

4 On the top of this third Hill stood the faire Church of Saint Mary, whence there [Note: Lubeck.] was a descent to all the gates of the Citie, whose situation offered to our eyes a faire prospect, and promised great magnificence in the building. The Citie is compassed with a double wall, one of bricke and narrow, the other of earth and broad, fastned with thicke rowes of willowes. But on the North side and on the South-east side there were no walles, those parts being compassed with deepe ditches full of water. On the South-east side the water seemeth narrow, but is so deepe. as ships of a thou|sand tunne are brought vp to the Citie to lie there all winter, being first vnladed at Tremuren the Port of the City lying vpon the Baltick Sea. To this Port one mile distant from Lubeck we came in three houres, each man paying for his coach fiue Lu|beck shillings, and foure for our dinner, and returned backe

the same night to Lubeck. The building of this City is very beautifull, all of bricke, and it hath most sweete walkes without the walles. The Citizens are curious to auoid ill smels, to which end the Butchers haue a place for killing their beasts without the walles vpon a run|ning streame. Water is brought to euery Citizens house by pipes, and all the Brew|ers dwelling in one street haue each of them his iron Cock, which being turned, the water fals into their vessels. Though the building of this towne be of the same mat|ter as that of the neighbouring townes, yet it is much preferred before them, for the beautie and vniformitie of the houses; for the pleasant gardens, faire streets, sweete walkes without the walles, and for the Citizens themselues, who are much commen|ded for ciuilty of manners, and the strict execution of Iustice. The poore dwell in the remote-streets out of the common passages. There is a street called the Funst Hauss|gasse, that is, the street of fiue houses, because in the yeere 1278. it was all burnt ex|cepting fiue houses; since which time they haue a law, that no man shall build of timber and clay, except he diuide his house from his neighbours with a bricke wall three foot broad; and that no man shall couer his house with any thing but tiles, brasse, or leade. The forme of this Citie is like a lozing, thicke in the midst and grow|ing narrower towards the two ends, the length whereof is from the gate called Burke Port towards the South, to Millen Port towards the North. Wee entred the Towne by Holtz Port on the West side, to which gate Hickster Port is opposite on the East side. It is as long againe as broad, and two streets, Breitgasse, that is, Broad-street, and Konnigsgasse, that is, Kings-street, runne the whole length of the Towne, and sixe other streets make the breadth; and if you stand in the midst of any of these streets, you may there see both the ends thereof. Here I paied each meale foure Lubeck shil|lings, hauing my bed free; for a quart of Rhenish wine fiue Lubeck shillings, and as much for Sack, neither doe I remember that euer I had a more pleasant abiding in Germany, either for the sweetnes of the place, the curtesie of the people, or my diet. The Citizens are very courteous to all strangers, whom the Lawes extraordinarily fauour aboue the natiues, so they onely abide there for a time and be not inhabitants, neither are they lesse friendly to the English, though they complaine of iniuries (so they call them) offered them by vs at Sea. This City hath many things worth the seeing. There be tenne faire Churches, whereof one was vsed for an Armory of all muniti|ons for warre. Saint Maries Cathedrall Church (vulgarly Vnserfraw kirke) is fairer then the rest, where there is a faire and artificiall Clocke, in the top whereof is a pic|ture, whereof both the eares of the head are seene, which Painters esteeme a master worke. In the Porch thereof are three Marble pillars, each of them thirtie foot long of one stone, onely one of them is peeced for one foot. But the Image of the Virgin Mary in this Church, and of Christ crucified in Burk Kirke are thought workes of sin|gular art; for which they say a Spanish Merchant offered a masse of money. I will confesse truely, that my selfe beholding the Virgins statua all of stone, did thinke it had beene couered with a gowne of white buffin, and that being altogether vnskilfull in the grauing Art, yet I much admired the workmanship. Without Millen Port there is a Conduit of water, which serues all the Towne, the more notable because it was the first of that kinde, which since hath beene dispersed to London and other places. On al sides out of the towne there be sweet walks, especially towards Hierusalem (so 5 they call the Passion of Christ grauen in diuers pillars) where also is a pleasant groue, vnder

the shade whereof Rope-makers and like Artificers vse to worke. The Ca|nons of the Cathedrall Church haue great priuiledges, and as it were an absolute power ouer themselues, and of old they had a gate of the City free to themselues to goe in or out at pleasure; till the Citizens finding how dangerous it was to the main|taining of their freedome from any subiection, vpon a good opportunitie when the Emperour came thither, did of set purpose lead him into the City by that gate, where falling on their knees they besought him that it might be bricked vp, and neuer more opened, he being the last man that euer should enter thereat.

From Lubeck we tooke our iourney to Luneburg, being tenne miles distant, and the first night we lodged in a Village called Millen, where a famous lester Oulenspiegell (whom we call Owly-glasse) hath a Monument erected: hee died in the yeere 1350. and the stone couering him is compassed with a grate, least it should bee broken and carried away peecemeale by Passengers, which they say hath once already been done by the Germanes. The Towns-men yeerely keepe a feast for his memory, and yet shew the apparell he was wont to weare. This Country is barren and sandy ground; full of thicke Woods of Oakes: by the way in Kasborough Castle, they said that a Duke of inferior Saxony lay imprisoned by the Emperours command, his brother gouerning the Dukedome, charged with great debts by his prodigality; but his Vil|lages hereabouts were possessed by the Hamburgers and Lubeckers by right of mor|gage. We passed the Elue twice, the coach-man paying for himselfe his coach, and each one of vs a Lubeck shilling, and beyond the Elue the ground was somewhat more fertile. At Millen I paid for my supper foure Lubeck shillings and a halfe.

The next day we came to Luneburg, which by the Citizens for defence of their [Note: Luneburg.] libertie was strongly fortified, for it is one of the free Imperiall Cities; but the Duke of Luneburg challengeth a superiority ouer it. The walles built of earth are high and broad and the ditches very deepe. The building is very faire, especially that of the Senate house, and almost all the houses are of bricke. They haue two large market places, and the streets are broad, but very filthy and full of ill smels. The City it selfe being almost of a round forme is seated in a Valley, but hath Mountaines neere it on the West side, and further off on the East; An high Mountaine called Kalkberg han|geth ouer it on the North side; in the top whereof is a strong Castle, which the Ci|tizens had got into their hands some threescore yeres before my being there. Not far from the City is a Monestary called Luna, whereof some say the Towne was named, others say it had the name of the Riuer running by it now called Eluenau, of eleuen Riuers running into it; which Histories testifie to haue beene called Luna of old. But others proue both the Riuer and the Towne to haue had their names of the Idol Isis, bearing two hornes of the Moone, which was kept in the Castle vpon Kalkberg, and worshipped by the people. Among the things best deseruing to be seen is the Foun|taine of Salt, and the house wherein salt is boyled, ouer the gate whereof these verses are written.

> Ecce salinarum dulcissima dona coquuntur. Gratuita summi de bonitate Dei: Mons, Pons, Fons, tna dona Deus, da pectore crescat, In nostro pietas, nec minuatur Amor. Behold of finest salt this Fount doth store afford, By the Almighties grace and free gift from aboue: The Mountaine, Bridge and Foun-

taine are thy gifts O Lord, For which let vs increase in pietie and loue.

To all the poore round about, and to all the Citizens for their priuate vse salt wa|ter is freely giuen: and they say this Fountaine once lost his vertue when they de|nied to giue water to the poore. Euery one giues the Porter a small reward when he comes in, not when he goes out, as otherwhere is vsed; for this is proper to the Ger|manes that they will be paied ere they begin to worke, as if they had done. The pro|fit 6 of this salt Fountaine is diuided into diuers parts; some to the City, some to the Duke of Luneberg, (who howsoeuer he be so called, yet hath no power ouer the City but onely ouer the Countrey;) some belongs to the Monastary, and diuers Earles haue their parts, (whereof some boyle not the salt in their owne name, but set it out to others:) There be fifty two roomes, and in each of them eight leaden pannes, in which eight tunnes of salt are daily boyled, and each tunne is worth eight Flemmish shillings. In the said Monastery within the Towne, they shew a table of gold, which Henry Leo Duke of Saxony tooke from Milan and placed here, and it is fastned to the Altar, being more then an ell and halfe long, and about three quarters broad, and lit|tle or nothing thicker then a French crowne. They shew also foure Crosses of pure gold, which they said a certaine Queene once tooke from them, but presently fell lu|natike, neither could be cured vntill she had restored them. In the open streets some Monuments are set on the walles, in honour of certaine Citizens, who died in a nights tumult, when the Duke hoped to surprize the City. I said that the Senate house is stately built, in which they shew to strangers many vessels of gold and siluer, of a great value and quantity for a City of that quality. From Luneburg I returned to Hamburg, whither I and my company might haue had a coach for 4. Dollors. But we misliking the price hired a waggon for three Lubeck shillings each person to Went|zon, three miles distant from Luneburg. Here the Duke of Lunebergs territory ends, to whom each man paid a Lubeck shilling for tribute, my selfe onely excepted, who had that priuiledge because I went to study in the Vniuersities. Here each man paied two Lubeck shillings for a Waggon to the Elue side, being one mile, and the same day by water wee passed other three miles to Hamburg, not without great noy somnesse from some base people in the boat; for which passage we paied each man three Lubeck shil|lings. Let me admonish the Reader, that if when we tooke boat we had onely crossed the Elue, we might haue hired a Waggon from Tolspecker a Village to Hamburg (being three miles) for two Dollors amongst six persons. Being at Hamburg and purposing to goe vp into Misen, because I had not the language, I compounded with a Mer|chant to carry mee in his coach, and beare my charges to Leipzig for tenne gold Guldens.

The first day hauing broke our faste at Hamburg, we passed seauen miles ouer the Heath of Luneburg, and lodged in a Village. In our way we passed many Villages of poore base houses, and some pleasant groues; but all the Countrey was barren, yet yeelded corne in some places, though in no plenty. The second day we came to a lit|tle City Corneiler, through a Countrey as barren as the former, and towards our iour|neis end wee passed a thicke wood of a mile long. The third day we went seuen miles to Magdenburg, which is counted sixe and twenty miles from Hamburg, and this day [Note: Magden|burg.] we passed a more fertile Countrey, and more wooddy; and they shewed me by the way an Hill called Bockesberg, famous with

many ridiculous fables of Witches yeere|ly meeting in that place. This City of old called Parthenopolis, of Venus Parthenea, is now called Magdenburg, that is, the City of Virgins, and for an Inland City is very faire, and the Germans speake much of the fortification, because Mauricius Elector of Saxony besieged it a whole yeere with the Emperour Charles the fifth his Army, yet tooke it not. Howbeit I thinke that not so much to bee attributed to the strength of the City, as to the distracted mind of the besieger, who in the meane time sollicited the French King to ioyne with the Dutch Princes to free Germanie from the Emperours tyranny, and the French Army being once on foot, himselfe raised forces against the Emperour. The forme of this City is like a Moone increasing, the Bishopricke there|of is rich, and the Margraue of Brandeburg his eldest sonne did then possesse it, toge|ther with the City and territory, by the title of Administrator, in which sort he also held the Bishopricke of Hall, and he lay then at Wormested, a Castle not farre of. In the market place there is a Statua erected to the Emperour Otho the Great, founder of that City, and Munster writes of another statua erected to Rowland, which I remem|ber not to haue seene. In the Senate-house, they shewed a singular picture, made by one Lucas a famous Painter, dead some thirty yeeres before; where also is the picture 7 of that monstrous German, with all the dimensions of his body, who not long be|fore was led about the world to be shewed for a wonder. This man I had not seene, but in this picture I could scarce reach the crowne of his head with the point of my rapier, and many of good credit told me, that they had seene this mans sister halfe an ell higher then he. In the Church that lies neere the market place, there is a Font of great worth, and a Lute painted with great Art: the Cathedrall Church of Saint Mau|rice was built by Otho the Great, very sumptuously, where his wife lies buried in the yeere 948. and the inscription is; that shee was daughter to Edmund King of England. There they shew one of the three vessels in which our Sauiour Christ turned water in|to wine at Cana in Galile. There be in all ten Churches, but the aboue named are the fairest. Hence we went foureteene miles to Leipzig, being a day and a halfes iourney through fruitfull corne fields, and a Countrey full of rich Villages, the Merchant with whom I went, bearing my charges: from Hamburg I might haue hired a coach to Leipzig for sixe persons (those of Nurnburg bearing eight) for 24. dollers, and if a man goe thence to Luneburg, he may easily light on a coach of returne at a lesse rate, so that in respect of the cheapnes of victuals in these parts, no doubt I gaue the Mer|chant too much for my charges in this iourney.

Leipzig is seated in a plaine of most fruitfull corne ground, and full of rich Villa|ges, [Note: Leipzig.] in a Countrey called Misen, subiect to the Elector Duke of Saxony: and the Coun|trey lying open to the eye in a most ample prospect, onely one wood can be seene in this large plaine. The streets are faire, the market place large and stately, and such are the chiefe houses, built of free stone foure roofes high: there is a conuenient conduit of water in the Suburbs, lying towards Prage, the ditch is dry, the wals of stone threa|ten ruine; neither may the Citizens fortifie the Towne, nor vse red waxe in their pub|like seales, nor winde a Horne in their night watches, as other Cities doe: these and other priuiledges being taken from them in the yeere 1307. when they killed their Duke Ditzmanus in Saint Thomas Church. Out of this City they haue (as many Ci|ties in Germany haue) a beautifull place to bury their dead, called Gods-aker, vulgarly Gotts-aker,) where the chiefe Citizens buy places of buriall, proper to their

families round about the Cloisters, and the common sort are buried in the midst, not couered with any building. Here I found this Epitaph: the numerall Letters whereof shew the yeere when the party died.

FoeLIX qVI In DoMIno nIXVs ab orbe fVgIt.

And like Epitaphs are ordinarily found through Germany. This Citie hath an Vniuersity, and in the yeere 1480. the Students of Prage remoued hither to flie the Hussites warre; but at this day the Vniuersitie is much decayed, by reason that Wittte|berg lieth neere, hauing better conueniency for the Schollers liuing. From hence I tooke my iourney in the afternoone to Witteberg, and came that night to Teben a Vil|lage foure miles distant, through a Wood so large as wee could not passe it in two houres, beyond which the ground was barren till wee passed the Riuer Elue, which runneth by Witteberg, all the length of it from the East to the West, but is some|what distant from the Towne.

The next day we passed foure miles to Witteberg, which hath his name of Wittekin|dus, the first Christian Duke of Saxony, and is seated in a plaine sandy ground, hauing [Note: Witteberg.] on the North Hils planted with Vines yeelding a sower grape plentifully, yet they make no wine thereof. One streete lies the whole length of the Towne, being all the beautie thereof, and in the midst of this street is the Cathedrall Church and a faire market place, in which the Senate house is built, and neere the West gate is the Dukes Church; It is prouerbially said, that a man shall meet nothing at Witteberg, but whores, students, and swine, to which purpose they haue these two Verses:

Ni Witeberga sues, ni plurima scorta teneret, Ni pubem Phoebi, quaeso quid esset ibi? Had Witeberg no swine, if no whores were, Nor Phoebus traine, I pray you what is there?

Whence may be gathered that the Citizens haue small trafficke, liuing only vpon 8 the Schollers, and that the streets must needs be filthy. In the study of Doctor Wi|sinbechius this inscription is in Latine;

Here stood the bed in which Luther gently died.

See how much they attribute to Luther, for this is not the place where hee died, neither was there any bed, yet suffer they not the least memory of him to be blotted out. Luther was borne at Isleb in the yere 1483, and certainly died there in the house of Count Mansfield, where after supper the seuenteenth of February he fell into his vsu|all sickenesse, namely the stopping of humors in the Orifice of his belly, and died thereupon at fiue of the clocke in the morning, the eighteenth of February, in the yeere 1546. the said Count and his Countesse and many other being present, and receiuing great comfort from his last exhortations: yet from his sudden death the ma|litious Iesuits tooke occasion to slander him, as if he died drunken, that by asper|sions on his life and death, they might slander the reformation of Religion, which he first began. These men (after their manner) being to coniure an vncleane spirit out of a man in Prage, gaue out that he was free from this spirit for the time that Lu|ther died, and that when hee returned, they examined him where hee had beene that time, and the spirit should answere that hee had attended Luther. Phillip, Melancthon, borne in the yeere 1497. died 1560. and both these famous men were buried, and haue their Monuments in the Dukes Church at Witteberg, which is said to be like that of Hierusalem, and in that both of them are round, I will not deny it, but I dare say they differ in this, that Hierusalem Church hath the Chauncell in the middest with Allies to goe round about

it, whereas the Chancell of this Church is at the East end of it. The Wittebergers tell many things of Luther which seeme fabulous, and among other things they shew an aspersion of inke, cast by the Diuell when he tempted Lu|ther, vpon the wall in S. Augustines Colledge. Besides, they shew a house wherein Doc|tor Faustus a famous coniurer dwelt. They say that this Doctor liued there about the yeere 1500. and had a tree all blasted and burnt in the adioyning Wood, where hee practised his Magick Art, and that hee died, or rather was fetched by the Diuell, in a Village neere the Towne. I did see the tree so burnt; but walking at leasure through all the Villages adioyning, I could neuer heare any memory of his end. Not farre from the City there is a mountaine called the Mount of Apollo, which then, as of old, abounded with medicinable herbes. In a Village neere the Towne there be yet many tokens that the Emperour Charles the fifth encamped there. I liued at Witteberg the rest of this summer, where I paied a Gulden weekely for my diet and beere, which they account apart, and for my chamber after the rate of tenne Guldens by the yeare. I heare that since all things are dearer; the Schollers vsing to pay each weeke a Dollor for their diet, and a Dollor for chamber and washing. Hence I tooke my iourney to Friburge that I might see the funerall of Christianus the Elector. Three of vs hired a coach all this iourney for a Dollor each day, with condition that we should pay for the meat of the horses and of the coach-man, which cost as much more. And this we paied because we had freedome to leaue the coach at our pleasure, though we returned with it to Leipzig, to which if we would haue tied our selues, we might haue had the coach for halfe a Dollor a day. The first day wee went sixe miles to Torge, through sandy fields yeelding corne, and we dined at Belgar a Village, where each man paied fiue grosh for his dinner, and by the way they shewed vs a Village called Itzan, where Luther made his first Sermons of reformation.

Torge is a faire City of Misen, of a round forme, falling each way from a moun|taine, and seated on the West side of Elue. It hath a stately Castle belonging to the [Note: Torg.] Elector Duke of Saxony, who is Lord of Leipzig, Witteberg, and all the Cities we shall passe in this iourney. This Castle is washed with the Riuer Elue, and was built by Iohn Fredricke Elector, in the yeere 1535. It hath a winding way or plaine staire, by which a horse may easily goe to the top of the Castle, the passage being so plaine as the ascent can scarcely be discerned. The Hall, Chambers and Galleries of this Ca|stle, are very faire and beautifull, and adorned with artificiall pictures, among which one of a boy presenting flowers, is fairer then the rest. Also there is a picture on the 9 wall, of one Laurence Weydenberg a Sweitzer, made in the twentieth yeere of his age, in the yeere 1531, shewing that he was nine foot high. In the Church there is a Mo|nument of Katherine a Nunne, which died 1552. and was wife vnto Luther. The Village Milburg is within a mile of this City in the way to Dresden, where the Elector Fredericke was taken prisone by Charles the fifth, in the Protestants warre. The lake neere the City is a mile in circuit, for the fishing whereof, the Citizens pay 500. gul|dens yeerely to the Elector of Saxony, and they fish it once in three yeeres, and sell the fish for some 5000. guldens. The beare of Torge is much esteemed through all Misen, whereof they sell such quantity abroad, as ten water-mils besides wind-mils, scarcely serue the towne for this purpose.

From Torge we went six miles to Misen in our coach hired as aforesaid, and we di|ned [Note: Misen.] each man for fiue grosh in the village Starres, and wee passed through goodly cornehils, and faire

woods of firre and birtch. The City Misen is round in forme, and almost all the houses are built on the falling sides of Mountaines, which compassing all the City, open towards the East, where Elue runneth by. Duke Fredericke surna|med The wise, and Duke George, surnamed papisticall, are buried in the Cathedrall Church. Here I paid six grosh euery meale. The City is subiect to the Duke of Sax|ony, hauing the same name with the whole Countrey in which it lieth. Hence wee went three miles to Dresden in a coach hired as aforesaid, and passed through sandy and stony Hils, some fruitfull vallies of corne, and two Woods of firre, where|of there bee many neere Dresden, whither being come, I paied sixe grosh for my dinner.

This City of Dresden is very faire and strongly fortified, in which the Elector of [Note: Dresden.] Saxony keepes his Court, hauing beene forty yeeres past onely a village. When the first stone of the wals was laid, there were hidden a siluer cup guilded, a Booke of the Lawes, another of the coynes, and three glasses filled with wine, the Ceremonies be|ing performed with all kind of Musicke and solemnity. The like Ceremony was vsed when they laid the first stone of the stable. The City is of a round forme, seated in a Plaine, running betweene two Mountaines, but some what distant, and the houses are faire, built of free stone, foure or fiue roofes high, whereof the highest roofe, after the Italian fashion, is little raised in steepnesse, so that the tops of the houses appeare not ouer the walles, excepting the Electors Castle built betwixt the North and West side, and the Church Tower built betweene the West and East side. In this Tower the watchmen dwell, who in the day time giue notice by Flags hung out, what number of foot or horse are comming towards the Towne. To which Tower they ascend by two hundred seuenty staires, and in the top two Demiculuerins are planted. Wee entred on the East side through old Dresden, being walled about, and so passed the Elue, compassing the walles of new Dresden on the East side by a Bridge of stone hauing seuenteene arches, vnder which halfe the ground is not couered with water, except it be with a floud. Vpon the Bridge we passed three gates, and at the end entred the City by the fourth; where the garrison Souldiers write the names of those that come in, and lead them to the Innes, where the Hostes againe take their names. The City hath but two little Suburbs. The Citizens were then as busie as Bees in fortifying the City, which the Elector then made very strong. The ground riseth on all sides towards the Towne, and the new City hath foure Gates; Welsh-thore, Siegeld-thore, New-thore, and Salomonsthore: and is compassed with two walles, betweene which round about there is a garden, from which men may ascend or descend to it at each Gate. Ouer the outward wall there is a couered or close Gallery, priuate to the Elector, who therein may compasse the Towne vnseene. Hee hath vsed the best wits of Germany and Italy in this fortification, wherein he hath spared no cost. The walles are high and broad of earth, whose foundation is of stone, and they are on all sides furnished with great Artillery, yea in that time of peace the streets were shut with iron chaines, at eating times, and all night.

The Electors stable is by much the fairest that euer I saw, which I will briefly de|scribe. In the first Court there is a horse-bath, into which they may bring as much or 10 little water as they list, and it hath 22. pillars, in each whereof diuers Armes of the Duke are grauen, according to the diuers families whose Armes he giues. The same Court serues for a Tiltingyard, and all exercises of horse-manship: and there is also the horse-leaches shop,

so well furnished as if it belonged to a rich Apothecary. The building of the stable is foure square; but the side towards the Dukes Pallace is all ta|ken vp with two gates and a little Court yard; which takes vp halfe this side, and round about the same are little cuboords peculiar to the horsemen, in which they dispose all the furniture fit for riding. The other three sides of the quadrangle, contained some 136. choise and rare horses, hauing onely two other gates leading into the Cities market place, opposite to those gates towards the Court. These horses are all of for|raine Countries, for there is another stable for Dutch horses, and among these chiefe horses, one named Michael Schatz (that is Michaell the Treasure) was said to be of wonderfull swiftnesse: before each horses nose was a glasse window, with a curtaine of greene cloth to be drawne at pleasure; each horse was couered with a red mantle, the racke was of iron, the manger of copper: at the buttocke of each horse was a pillar of wood which had a brasen shield, where by the turning of a pipe he was watered; and in this piller was a cuboord to lay vp the horses combe and like necessaries, and aboue the backe of each horse hung his bridleand saddle, so as the horses might as it were in a moment be furnished. Aboue this stable is a gallery on one side, adorned with the statuaes of horses and their riders, with their complete Armours fifty in num|ber, besides many Armours lying by the wals. On the other side is a gallery hauing forty like statuaes, and thirty six sledges which they vse in Misen, not only to iourney in time of snow, but also for festiuall pompes. For in those Cities, especially at Shroue|tide, and when much snow falleth, they vse to sit vpon sledges drawne with a horse furnished with many bels, at the foote of which sledge they many times place their Mistresses, and if in running or sudden turning, the rider or his Mistresse slip, or take a fall, it is held a great disgrace to the rider. Some of these sledges are very sumptuous, as of vnpurified siluer as it comes from the Mines, others are fairely couered with vel|vet and like stuffes. Aboue the forepart of the stable towards the market place, are the chambers wherein the Elector feasts with Ambassadors. In the window of the first chamber or stoue, being a bay window towards the street, is a round table of marble, with many inscriptions perswading temperance, such as are these,

Aut nulla Ebrietas, aut tanta sit vt tibi cur as: Demat.— Be not drunken in youth or age, Or no more then may cares asswage. Againe, Plures crapula quam ensis. Gluttony kils more then the sword.

Yet I dare say, that notwithstanding all these good precepts, few or none euer rose (or rather were not carried as vnable to goe) from that table. Twelue little marble chaires belong to this table, and the pauement of the roome is marble, and close by the table there is a Rocke curiously carued with images of fishes and creeping things. This Rocke putteth forth many sharpe pinacles of stone, vpon which the vessels of gold and siluer are set forth at the feasts, and when the drinking is at hottest, the statua of a horseman by worke of great Art, comes out of the Rocke, and presents each stranger with a huge boule of wine, which he must drinke off for his welcome, without expe|cting that any should pledg him. In the next chamber belonging to this stoue, is a bed|stead of marble and both haue hangings of gold lether. There is another chamber and another stoue like these, and aboue them in the vppermost loft, there be many little roomes, whereof one is furnished with speares, another with saddles (and among them I remember one which in the pummell borea gilded head, with eyes continually mo|uing, and in the hinder part had a clocke) the rest are fur-

nished with swords, shields, hel|mets, and fethers. Among the swords, euery Prince hath his owne, which the succes|sours vse not to weare, and there is one belonging to the Electorship, when he exerci|seth 11 his office as Marshal of the Empire. There was another Sword, hauing in the hilt two little Pistols. Here I saw laid vp an Iron chaine, in which they said, that Duke Henry the Father of Manrice the first Elector of this Family, should haue beene han|ged in the Low Countries, who escaping, brought the same with him, and laid it vp here for memory: After the Funerall of Christianus, returning from Friburg to this Towne, I found onely fifteene of those choice horses in the stable, all the rest ha|uing beene giuen to Princes comming to the Funerall.

The Dukes Pallace in Dresàen was built by Mauricius, part of the City wals and the gates were built by Augustus, who did also lay the foundation of this Stable. But Christianus the Elector perfected the wals of the City, with the close gallery ouer them, and built this famous stable; setting this inscription vpon the wals in Latine. Christianus Duke of Saxony, Heire to Augustus the Elector of happy memory, and imitator of his vertues, caused this Stable to be built, and the Yard adioyning to be fitted for Tilting and military exercises: the present age, etc.

The Armory at Dresden is no lesse worth the noting, wherein were Armes and all kind of munition for seuenty thousand men, but of late it had been somewhat emp|tied by an expedition into France, vndertaken by the Duke at the solicitation of the Count of Turin, Ambassadour for Henry the fourth King of France.

The Duke was at great charge in keeping Garison Souldiers at Dresden, and Offi|cers, as well for the stable as the Armory. In these parts and no where else in Germa|ny, they vse boats of a hollow tree, driuen not by Oares, but by battledores, whereof I saw many vpon the Elue, as likewise water mils swimming vpon boates, and remo|ued from place to place, the like whereof was since made at London by a Dutchman, but became vnprofitable by the ebbing and flowing of Thames. At Dresden I paid seuen grosh a meale.

Hence in our coach hired, as aforesaid, we passed foure miles to Friburg, through [Note: Friburg.] fruitful Hils and Mountaines of corne, but few or no Woods: and here we paid each man fixe grosh a meale. This City is of a round forme, compassed of all sides with Mountaines, hauing many Vauts, or Caues vnder it; by which the Citizens enter and goe out of the City by night, to worke in the siluer Mines. Yet hath the City two walles, and two ditches, but altogether dry. It hath fiue gates, and foure Churches, among which Saint Peter's Church is the fairest. The Elector hath his Castle in the City: and in the Church (as I remember of Saint Peter) wherein the Dukes vse to be buried; Mauricius hath a very faire monument of blacke Marble, raised in three piles, whereof each is decked with diuets statuaes of white Marble and Alablaster; where|of two Belong to Mauricius, the one in posture of praying, the other armed, and re|ceining a deadly wound. Two Monuments were begun, but not then perfected, for Augustus and Christianus. The territory of Friburg abounds with siluer Mines; wher|of some and fine hundred fadomes deepe, some seuen hundred, and some nine hun|dred, and after each thirty fadomes, the earth is supported with great beames of tim|ber, lest it should fall; and from each of these buildings, winding staires of wood are made, to descend to the bottome.

The Citizens liue of these Mines, and grow rich thereby, whereof the Elector hath his proper part, and vseth to buy the parts of the Citizens. The worke-men vse burning Lampes vnder the earth both day

and night, and vse to worke as well by night as by day: and they report, that comming neere the purest veins of siluer, they are often troubled with euill spirits. These worke-men goe out to the Mines by night, through the Caues vnder the City, and being called backe from worke by the sound of a bell, they come in the same way. The water which the worke-men vse, springeth in a mountain an arrow shot from the Town, whence falling to a low|er mountaine, it is conuaied by hollow trees to fall vpon the wheeles of the mils, so as a little quantity thereof driueth them. These Mils draw the water vp out of the Mines, for the depth of forty fadome, whence it runneth in pipes towards the City. Whe they try and purify the siluer, first with water they wash away the red earth, then they beat the mettall with a hand hammer, and thus broken, they cast it into the fire, 12 which they make in the open ayre, lest the workmen should be stifled with the fume of the brimstone. Then they melt the mettall six times, by a fire made of whole trees, in a little house adioyning. Then in another house they seuer the mettall from the earth with a siue. Then againe they beat the mettall with an hammer dri|uen by a Mill; and thus beaten, they wash it vpon three clothes hanging slopewise, and the purest siluer stickes to the vppermost cloth. This done, they melt it againe six times, and the best of the drosse is lead and siluer, the rest copper; and this siluer and lead being againe melted, the lead falles from the siluer like dust. The fier wherein they try this siluer is so hot, as it consumeth the bricke Furnaces in three daies. The workemen besides their hier, vse to bee rewarded for expedition of the worke. The meanes by which they find siluer, are very strange, being by a rod, which vulgarly they call Chassel-wand, or, the Diuine Rod, which they carry in their hands, and when they goe ouer siluer, they say the Rod bends or breakes, if it be straightly held: and there were not aboue seuen men in this Citie, which had skill of this my|stery. The waies are planted with trees to direct passengers, lest as they goe to the Citie, they should fall into the Mines: for as they report, it hath often happened that the Citizens themselues haue perished in this sort; and the like mischance happened lately to fiue workemen, though skilfull in the waies. These Mines of Friburg were first found in the yeere 1180, yeelding to this day rich veines of siluer. There bee other Mines of siluer neere these since that time discouered, namely at Schaneberg, found in the yeere 1470, at Anneberg. found 1510, in Ioachimus valley, found 1526. For this Elector of Saxony hath many Mines of siluer, which lest any should thinke to belong of right to the Emperour, it must bee obserued that the Princes Electors haue Regall power vnder the Emperour, granted by priuiledge in the Lawes of the golden Bulla, by which they haue right to all Mines found in their owne Terri|tories.

After I had seene the Elector Christianus his funerall at Eriburg, (the ceremo|nies wherof shall bee described in the proper place,) I returned to Dresden in a coach hyred as aboue said, and so from Dresden to Misen; but from Misen I returned not to Torge, but tooke another way to Leipzig, being tenne miles, which we went in one day, foure miles to Owsen, three to Wortson, where wee dined, and thence three miles to Leipzig, all through plaine and fruitfull corne fields. I spent this winter at Leipzig, that I might there learne to speake the Dutch toung (the Grammer wherof I had read at Witteberg,) because the Misen speech was held the purest of all other parts in Germany. Heere each Student vseth to bay for his diet a Gulden weekly, besides beere, for which euery man paies according to his drinking; some lesse, some more, most beyond measure. For the

Citizens haue no beere in their houses but one kind, which is very small, and buy the better kindes (as that of Torge, which the richer sort vsually drinke) from a publike house; where it is sold by small measures, to the profit of the Senate. Besides, the Schol|lers pay seuerally for their bed and chamber. My selfe lodged with a rich Citizen, and for diet, bed, and cham|ber, paied weekly a Doller and a halfe.

2

1.2 CHAP. II.

Of my iourney from Leipzig to Prage (in Bohemia) to Nurnberg, Augspurg, Ulm, Lyndaw, Costnetz (in Germany) Scaphusen, Zurech, Baden, and Bazell (in Sweitzerland.)

BEing to take my iourney to Prage, in the end of the yeere 1591, (after the English account, who begin the yeere vpon the twenty fiue of March,) I returned againe to Dresden; from whence I wrote this Letter concerning my iourney, to a friend lying at Leipzig.

Honest M. Know that after I parted from you at Torg, by good hap, and beside my expectation, I light vpon a coach going to Dresden, with which good hap, while I was affected, and hasted to hire a place therein, I had forgot to pay for my coach for the day before. But when we were ready to go, remembring my errour, and intreating my consorts to stay a while for mee, I ranne backe to the Inne, as speedily as the Parasite Curculio in Plautus; and finding not the coachman there, I gaue the money to the seruant of the house before witnesses, and so returned to the coach all sweating with hast. There I found that dunghill rascall the coachman, hauing my gowne on his backe. I laid hold of the garment, as if I knew it, and hee held it as fast, as a pledge for his money. I being inraged that hee should vse me so, when I had dealt honestly with him, drew my sword, and making knowne that I had paid the money, bad him lay downe the gowne vpon his perill. I had almost drawne a rabble of coachmen on my back, but they forbore me in this heat, for you know they are not apt to quarrell in the morning; but if I had thus pro|uoked them in the afternoone, being warmed with drinke, sure they would haue run vpon me, though they had been naked. Will you know the companions of my iour|ney? I was alone among a coach full of women, and those of the Electors Dutchesse Chamber for sooth, which you would haue said to haue been of the blacke guard. It was a Comedy for me to heare their discourse; now declaiming against Caluenists, now brawling together, now mutually with teares bewailing their hard fortunes: and they fel into al these changes, while the winde blew from one and the same quar|ter. Is anything lighter then a woman? and lest the flocke of geese should want matter, sometimes they charged me to be a Caluenist, sometimes a Iew; and I answered merrily, that if any of them were but a Consuls wife, I would satisfie them for my reli|gion. At eight a clocke in the night, the horses being spent, my selfe wearied, and only their tongues vntired, wee came to a Village called Derwaldhan, where wee should lodge. We entered a kind of Barne, my selfe not without sighs. Lipsius should here haue had no cause to complaine of stinking beere, browne bread, and often shaking hands. No man returned salutation to vs: the women my companions, drew out victuals they had brought to eat, I being fasting to that houre, with great feare and trembling of heart, expected that at least they would giue me some raw bacon, or dri|ed puddings. But they thought nothing lesse. At last I desired an egge or two for my supper. The seruant answered that the old woman was in bed, and that he knew not the mystery, whether any eggs were in the house or no. If the Comicall Poets Saturio had been here he would haue fallen into a sound. To be brief, the women took compassion on me, and I without blushing was content to eat of free cost, and made them know that I was no

Iew, for I made no religion to eat what was before mee.

14 The next morning before the day-starre arose, I was walking in a meadow, what doe you blesse your selfe with a crosse? Sure I am no lesse sleepy then I was, but he is soone apparelled that hath a dogs bed in straw: yet this straw was cleane, which is no small fauour, and when I gaue the seruant a Misen groshe for his paines, he was asto|nished, as if he had neuer seene a whole groshe before, so as he forgot to thanke me, onely shewing it to the standers by, as if I had deserued another burthen of fresh straw. The Women, Virgins, Men and Maids, seruants, all of vs lay in one roome, and my selfe was lodged furthest from the stoue, which they did not for any fauour, though contrary to their opinion I was glad of it, delighting more in sweet aire, then the smoke of a dunghill. My companions laughed at me for babling dutch in my sleep: surely reason co manding me waking, had not power ouer me in sleep, to hinder me from reuoluing the pleasant passages of the day past. On Saterday the same day I came to Dresden, fro whence fiue passengers were newly gon for Prage in a coach, but after three daies expectation I haue found new consorts, and to morrow being Wednes|day, and the eight of March, I begin my iourney to Bohemia. While I dispaired of con|sorts, I was determined to goe in a boat'vpon the Elue, and had now bought cleane straw, in which I meant to triumph alone, when by good hap, turning from the riuer to the Inne, I light vpon this commodity of a coach, which hath freed me from the annoyance of the water and Marriners. Imbrace in my name our common friend G. B. and of my louing hosts family, let not a whelpe goe vnsaluted. Farewell honest M. and returne me loue for loue: from Dresden the seuenth of March, 1591.

My selfe and foure consorts hired a coach for 14. dollers from Dresden to Prage. The first day we went three miles to Gottleben a Village, where we paid fiue Bohemian groshe, that is sixe white groshe each man for his dinner. Halfe the way was on the West side of the Riuer Elue, in a fertile plaine, then we passed the Elue, and trauelled through mountaines, yet fertile, and a baggy wood. After dinner we went two miles, to a Village, where we lodged, through stony mountaines without any wood, and in the mid way there was a woodden pillar, which diuided the territory of the Saxon Elector from the kingdome of Bohemis.

The second day we went two miles throgh stony Mountains, bearing not one tree, to Ansig a little City, where we paid for our breakefast foure Bohemian groshes. The same day we passed three miles in a straight between rocks, lying vpon the Elue, and two short miles throgh fruitful corn fields, to Wedin lying vpo the riuer Aegra, which runs a little below into the Elue, but was here at this time so deep, by a floud or melting of snow, as our coach in comming to the bridge of Wedin by the bank side, tooke water. The third day we passed a miles to a village called Welber or Welberg, through fruitfull hils of corn without any wood, and there each man paid 5 Bohemian grosh for his dinner.

In the afternoone wee went three miles, for the most part through fruitfull hils of come, the rest through Rockes and Mountaines planted with Vines, and so came to Prage, through which the Riuer Molda runneth, but is not nauigable. On the West side of Molda is the Emperours Castle, seated on a most high Mountaine, in the fall [Note: Prage.] whereof is the Suburbe called Kleinseit, or little side. From this Suburbe to goe in|to the City, a long stone bridge is to be passed ouer Molda, which runnes from the South to the North, and diuides the suburbe from the City, to

which as you goe, on the left side is a little City of the Iewes, compassed with wals, and before your eies towards the East, is the City called new Prage, both which Cities are compassed a|bout with a third, called old Prage. So as Prage consists of three Cities, all compassed with wals, yet is nothing lesse then strong, and except the stinch of the streetes driue backe the Turkes, or they meet them in open field, there is small hope in the fortifica|tions thereof. The streets are filthy, there be diuers large market places, the building of some houses is of free stone, but the most part are of timber and clay, and are built with little beauty or Art, the walles being all of whole trees as they come out of the wood, the which with the barke are laid so rudely, as they may on both sides be seen. Molda in the winter vseth to be so frozen, as it beareth carts, and the ice thereof being cut in great peeces, is laid vp in cellers for the Emperour and Princes to mingle with 15 their wine in summer, which me thinkes can neither be sauory, nor healthfull, since nei|ther the heat of the clime, nor the strength of the Bohemian wines (being small and sharpe) require any such cooling. One thing they boast to be proper to that king|dome, that the Elue, Aegra, Molda, and all other Riuers watering Bohemia, haue their spring heads in the same.

In publike Innes they demand some six Bohemian grosh for a meale, yet doe they not commonly giue meales at an ordinary rate, as they doe through all Germany; but what meate you require, that they dresse, and the seruant buying all things out of doores (after the manner of Poland) maketh a reckoning of the expences. My selfe had my diet with a Citizen very conueniently for a doller and a halfe weekely. I did here eat English Oysters pickeld, and a young Bohemian comming in by chance, and ta|sting them, but not knowing the price, desired the Merchant to giue him a dish at his charge, which contained some twenty Oysters, and finding them very sauoury, hee called for fiue dishes one after another, for which the Merchant demanded and had of him fiue dollers, the dearnesse no lesse displeasing his minde, then the meate had pleased his taste.

As you passe ouer Molda from the Suburbe Kleinseit, into the City; there is a hand of stone as it were cut off, vpon the gate of the City; signifying to strangers, that whosoeuer drawes a sword there, or vpon the bridge; looseth his hand; and the like hand there is to the same purpose, on the Senate house in the towne. The Emperour hath two inclosures walled about, which they call Gardaines, one of which is called Stella, because the trees are planted in the figure of starres, and a little faire house there|in is likewise built, with six corners in forme of a starre. And in this place he kept 12-Cammels, an Indian Oxe, yellow, all ouer rugged, and hairy vpon the throate, like a Lyon; and an Indian Calfe, and two Leopards, which were said to be tame, if such wild beasts may be tamed. They were of a yellow colour spotted with blacke, the head partly like a Lyon, partly like a Cat, the tayle like a Cat, the body like a Grey|hound, and when the hunts-man went abroad, at call they leaped vp behind him, sit|ting vpon the horse like a dog on the hinder parts, being so swift in running, as they would easily kill a Hart. I remember that a gentleman of Hungary walking in the streetes with me, and obseruing a picture on a wall of a German protecting an Hunga|rian from a Turke, with this inscription: Not for thy sake, but my owne: tooke this oc|casion to complaine much of the Emperour, and relate many things wherein his pro|digality and other errours had ouerthrowne Hungary, and had done nothing lesse then ease their afflicted for-

tunes. In the Church Emaus, this inscription is grauen;

¶ The tenour of King Alexander the Great, his etc.

Wee Alexander the Great of King Phillip the founder of the Grecian Empire, Conquerour of the Persians, Meades, andc And of the whole World, from the East to West, from North to South, sonne of great Iupiter, by etc. so called. To you the noble stocke of the Sclauonians, and to your language, because you haue beene to me helpers, true in faith, and vali|ant in warre, I confirme all this tract from the North to the South parts of Italy, from me and my successours to you and your posterity. If any other Nation be found there, let them be your slaues. Dated in our City of Alexandria, newly founded by vs vpon the great Riuer of Nilus: the twelfth of the Goddesse Minerua: witnesses are Aethra, and the II. Princes, whom we appoint successours to vs dying without heire.

Also there were these verses, shewing by numerall letters the antiquity of Prage Vniuersity, from the yeere 867. though the Colledges there about ruined, scarce shew any shadow of this Vniuersity.

HaeC sChoLm qVo SLV I Das unno est erecta sub auras, Ostenait rVbrae LItera picta notae. The numerall great letters shew the yeere, This vniuersall Schoole was founded here.

In the Church of the Emperours Castle, these things are to be seene. A faire Chap|pell 16 named after the Emperours sister, married to the French King, and crowned Queene of the French Another Chappell belonging to the Barons, called Popelij (the greatest family of the Kingdome, next to the Baron of Rosenberg) which Chappell is proper to them for buriall, and is dedicated to St Andrew the Apostle. In the Empe|rours Church is a Monument of Rodolphus the second, then liuing Emperour, built of white marble, and compassed with grates of iron. In the same place lie buried Charles the fourth in the yeere 1378. Wenceslaus in the yeere 1419. Ladislaus in the yeere 1459. Ferdinand the fourth, in the yeere 1564. Maximillian the second, in the yeere 1577. (all being Arch-dukes of Austria, and Emperours) and George Pogiebrachius a Bohemian, and King of Bohemia. To all these is one Monument erected, and that of small beauty: In the same Church is the Monument of a Bishop, who being the Queenes Confes|sour, was cast into Molda because he would not reueale her confession to her husband Wenceslaus. They doe so reuerence the Monument of this Bishop (since made a Saint by the Pope) as they thinke he shall die with shame, that passeth by it without reue|rence. In Old Prage towards the South, and vpon the East side of Molda, there is an old Pallace, where they shew a trap-doore, by which the Queene was wont to slide downe into a Bath, where shee vsed to satisfie her vnlawfull lust. In the same place is grauen the leape of a horse, no lesse wonderfull then Byards fabulous leape. The House of Kelley a famous English Alcumist, was of old a Sanctuary, and built for an order of Friers, vpon the gate whereof these verses are written,

Has aedes veterum fauor and clementia Regum, Omnibus exemptas Legibus esse dedit: Audeat ergò iugum nemo his seruile minari, Quos hic cum Vrabsky curat alitque Deus. This house through old Kings Clemency Free from all Lawes no threats respects; Dare not fright them with slauery, Whom vnder God Vrabsky protects.

In the Senate house the City Armes are painted, being a Castle with three Towers ore, and two Lions argent Langed gules, are the supporters, and these Ver|ses are written vpon the Armes;

Qui dedit haec veteri turrita insignia Pragae, Omina venturae sortis amica dedit.

Mole sua vt celsae transcendunt moenia Turres, Sic famum superas inclita Praga tuam. Who so these towred Armes to old Prage gaue, Gaue lucky signes of future happinesse; For as the Towers ore top the walles most braue, So Prage thou doest surpasse thy fame no lesse.

Not farre from Prage they say, that the Crowne of the Kingdome is laid vp, in Karlsteine Castle. At Prage in Bethlem Church, they shew a Pulpit in which Iohn Hus vsed to preach at the first reformation of Religion. I liued at Prage some two mo|neths, and being to depart from thence, I would haue gone to Vienna (the famous Fort against the Turkes) but my desire to see Nurnberg and Augspurg so preuailed, as I left that iourney, which by chance happened better then I imagined, for being called backe into the Low Countries (as heereafter I shall relate), I passed thence through Poland into Italy, because France was shut vp by the ciuill warres, and I euer shunned to goe twice one way, and so had the opportunitie (more fit then the for|mer) to see Vienna. Now for their sakes who may passe from Prage to Vienna, giue mee leaue to remember, that in this way their is a Village called Chassel, some nine miles from Prage, where the famous Captaine of the Bohemians, called Ziska, lies bu|ried, 17 who did lead the Hussites valiantly, and being ready to die, wished them to make a Drumme of his skinne, ominating that the sound thereof would bee so terrible to the enemies, as they would runne away, (such confidence had be in Armes, as being dead he thought to terrifie his enemies.)

In the beginning of the yeere, 1592. I tooke my iourney from Prage to Nurn|berg, [Note: 1592.] being sixe daies iourney. The first day after dinner, we went foure miles, partly through rocky Mountaines, partly through a fruitfull corne plaine, and lodged at Berawn, where a loafe of bread, worth two third parts of a Creitzer, was as big as a three-penny loafe in England; by reason of the abundance of corne in that Country. And heere each man paid for his supper fourteene Creitzers. This Citie belongs to the family of the Poples. The second day wee went foure miles to Zudermont, all through Mountaines and Groues, and two great Woods, yet reasonably fruitfull in Corne, and by the way we saw the City Bodly, and the City Spil, the fairest of that Kingdome next to Prage, both belonging to the Emperour, and two Castles; belonging to the Barons Popeles: and heere each man dined for sixteene Creitzers. After dinner we went two miles to Pilsen, halfe the way through Woods, where is a little City Ruchtsan, and halfe through Hils and Plaines fruitfull in Corne, (almost the whole Countrey of Bohemta being hilly, and rich ground for Pasture and Corne) and here we supped each man for twenty three Creitzers. The third day wee went three miles to Kladen, through pleasant Hils of Groues, pasture and corne, where each man dined for eighteene Creitzers. After dinner we went three miles to Frawenberg, through high Mountaines and great Woods, hauing no great store of corne; in all which territory, the Cities and Villages acknowledge the Emperour for their su|preme Lord, as he is King of Bohemia. For this Kingdome is not diuided (as others be) into Prouinces and Countries, but into Noble-mens Territories. Here we paied each man eight Creitzers for our supper, and twelue for wine.

The fourth day wee went a mile and a halfe to a little riuer, diuiding Bohemia, or Boemerland from Germany, through rocky Mountaines, and many Woods of tall Fir trees, fit to make Masts for ships. Then wee entred a Countrey belonging to that Elector Palatine of the Rheine, which Elector is called vulgarly the Phaltz-graue,

and we came within halfe a mile to Weithawsan, where each man dined for eighteene Creit|zers. After dinner we went two miles in the Phaltzgraues Countrey, through woody Mountaines, and one mile in the Landgraue of Leytenberg his Countrey, through fruitfull corne fields, and lodged at Shenhutton, where each man paied six Creitzers for his supper, and thirteene for wine. For in these parts they drinke no beere (as be|fore) but wine, and that at a lower price) then other where, whether it bee natiue or forraine: yet no man must wonder that wee spent more in wine then meat, all my consorts being Dutch-men. The fifth day wee went in the Phaltzgraues Countrey, foure miles to Amberg: through fruitfull Hils of corne, and some few Woods, and this City belongs to the Phaltzgraue) being seated in the vpper Palatinate. After dinner we went in the Marquesse of Anspach his Country, (who is also called the Burggaue of Nurnberg) two miles to Hous-coate, a Village, where each man paid six Batzen for his supper. The sixt day we went three miles, passing by Erspruck, a Citie subject to the Nurnbergers, and many villages belonging to diuets Lords, and a fort in the mid way called Schwang, belonging to seuenty two Lords, and being then by course in the Phaltzgraues keeping; for all these Lords keepe the same by course for three yeeres. The first and greater part of the way, was through fruitfull Hils of corne, the rest through sandy pastures, and a Wood of a miles length. Wee dined at a poore Vil|lage, each man for six Batzen. After dinner we went two miles to Nurnberg, through sandy corne fields, and passed by many houses and gardens of the Citizens, whether they vse to come out of the City, sometimes to recreate themselues. The Wood which we passed in the morning, lay on our left hand towards the South; as wee en|tred the Citie on the east side, and not farre from the City, turneth itselfe and runneth farther towards the South.

The City of Nurnberg, seated in a barren sandy ground, yet is very rich by the [Note: Nurnberg.] 18 Citizens industry. For as commonly few be rich in a fertile Countrey, (either be|cause hauing enough for food, they are giuen to idlenesse, or because abundance makes them prodigall,) so the Nurnbergers planted in a barren soyle, by their subtile inuentions of Manuall workes, and cunning Art, draw the riches of all Countries to them. The Riuer Bengetts runnes by the Citie, but is not Nauigable, nor beareth any the least boats. This Riuer runnes from the East (where wee entred the Towne) towards the gate Lauff-thore, and so compasseth the suburbs towards the South, where diuiding into two beds, it entreth the City, and comming out againe at the West, washeth the Citie walles. On the East side, the Margraues of Brandeburg, besieged the City, at the command of Charles the fifth; therefore on this, and the South side, besides a dry ditch, and two stone walles compassing the whole City, di|uers Bulwarkes are built vpon the wall. On all sides as you come vp to the City, the earth riseth, and almost at euery gate there is a long suburbe. Vpon the walles there be many Towers, distant one from the other some 1000 ordinary walking paces, and the vvhole circuit of the City is lesse then a German mile. Among the said Towers, three are stronger then the rest, and furnished with Artillery. The first is on the East side neere the gate Lauff-thore. The second is on the South side, vnder the gate Fraw-thore, (and on the same side is the gate Spittle-thore.) The third is on the North side vnder the gate New-thore, (and on the same side is another gate called Burk-thore.) There is a Castle called Burk, which by Nero the Emperour, was of his name called Noricum Castrum. It is certaine, that this Castle stood in the time

of Charles the Great; and the City being of it selfe not ancient, is thought to haue had his name of this Castles old Latine name. On the VVest side is the gate Haller-thore, so called of him that caused it to be built; where is a pleasant walke, thicke shadowed with trees, where the Citizens vse to walke for pleasure.

The City is absolute of it selfe, being one of the free Cities of the Empire, and mee thinks the chief, or at least second to Augsburg: surely it may perhaps yield to Augsburg in treasure and riches of the City, but it must be preferred for the building, whichis all of free stone sixe or seuen roofes high: I speake of the whole City of Augsburg, for one street thereof is most beautifull, and some Pallaces there are fit for Princes, of which kind Nurnberg hath none. The Tower which I said was of old called Nori|cum Castrum, hangs ouer the City, which being seated in a plaine, hath no mounts neere it, and is of a round forme. The said Tower is compassed with a drie ditch very deepe, vpon the wall whereof they shaw a Spaniards blood there sprinkled, who vndertooke to betray the Castle to Charles the fifth: as also the print of a horses feete in memory of a wonderfull leape from the Castle side to the other side of the bridge. The Senate House lies vnder the side of this Castle or Tower, as it were vnder the shield of Aiax; and vnder the same house and vnder the earth be the publike prisons. The Armory is built on the South side of the Towne, and is opened to no man with|out consent of the Senate, (which in all other Cities of Germany is readily shewed to strangers.) And in that Armory by the Citizens report they haue 400. great peeces of Artillery, with great store of all Munitions. The City hath also a Granary, which is so large, as diuers yeeres prouision for corne may be laid vp therein. It hath teri Chur|ches, whereof onely foure are vsed for prayers and preaching; and in one of them lies buried Zebalemus-King of Denmarke, who first conuerted the City to Christian Reli|gion. Neere the Church of Saint Laurence is the golden fountaine, so called of the beauty and magnificence, and it distils water out of twenty leaden pipes. Neere the Church called Frawenkirk, is another faire Fountaine guilded ouer, and compassed with an iron grate. It is vnlawful to walke in the night without a torch, or a candle and lanthorne. In the Innes they giue no beere at the table, but diuers kinds of wine, and a large diet, if not delicate: for which euery man paieth sixe batzen a meale, and besides for his chamber or lodging (which he may haue priuate to himselfe) three creitzers by the day. In the Almes-houses, out of gifts by the last testament of those that die, they maintaine great numbers of poore people, and in one of them twelue old men apart, and in another twelue old men, and as many old weomen.

19 Whilst I liued at Prage, and one night had set vp very late drinking at a feast, early in the morning the Sunne beames glancing on my face, as I lay in bed, I dreamed that a shadow passing by, told me that my father was dead, at which awaking all in a sweat, and affected with this dreame, I rose and wrote the day and houre, and all circumstan|ces thereof in a paper booke, which Booke with many other things I put into a barrel, and sent it from Prage to Stode, thence to be conuaied into England. And now being at Nurnberg, a Merchant of a noble family, well acquainted with me and my friends, arriued there, who told me that my Father died some two moneths past, I list not write any lies, but that which I write is as true as strange. When I returned into Eng|land some foure yeeres after, I would not open the barrell I sent from Prage, nor looke on the paper Booke in which I had written this dreame, till I had called my sisters

and some friends to be witnesses, where my selfe and they were astonished to see my writ|ten dreame answere the very day of my Fathers death.

I may lawfully sweare, that which my kinsmen haue heard witnessed by my bro|ther Henry whilst he liued, that in my youth at Cambridge I had the like dreame of my Mothers death, where my brother Henry lying with me, early in the morning I drea|med that my mother passed by with a sad countenance, and told me that shee could not come to my commencement; I being within fiue moneths to proceed Master of Arts, and shee hauing promised at that time to come to Cambridge: And when I re|lated this dreame to my brother, both of vs awaking together in a sweat, he protested to me that he had dreamed the very same, and when wee had not the least knowledge of our Mothers sickenesse, neither in our youthfull affections were any whit affected with the strangenesse of this dreame, yet the next Carrier brought vs word of our mothers death.

Being (as I haue said) certified of my Fathers death at Nurnberg, and thinking not fit to goe on my iourney into Italy, and yet being loath to returne into England, be|fore I had finished my purposed voyage, I tooke the middle counsell, to returne into the Low Countries, that in those neere places I might dispose of my small patrimony (for in England gentlemen giue their younger sonnes lesse, then in forraine parts they giue to their bastards) and so might leaue the same in the hands of some trusty friend. Yet lest I should loose the opportunity of seeing Augsburg, meaning to returne some other way into Italy, I resolued to goe from hence to Augsburg, and then to crosse ouer the West parts of Germany; and so to passe along the Riuer Rhein into the Low Countries.

To Augsburg (being two dayes iourney and a halfe) I hired of the City Carrier (in whose company I went) an horse for two Dollors, as I remember. The Merchants of Nurnberg and Augsburg; giue pensions to eight of these Carriers, daily passing be|tweene those Cities, besides the profit they make of letters, and other things they car|ry by horse. The first day after breake-fast, we rode one mile in a thicke wood, and another mile through sandy corne fields, somewhat wooddy, both in the territory of the Nurnbergers, and foure miles more in the territory of the Margraue of Anspach, to Blinfield, where each man paid for his supper and horse meat sixe batzen. The se|cond day we rode foure miles to Monheime through a wood of Iuniper, full of blacke berries and barberies, at the end whereof was a free City called Wassenberge, and after through fruitfull hils and valleies of corne, all the territory, excepting the free City, belonging to the Marshall of the Emperour (not of the Empire): when we came al|most to our iourneies end, the Carrier had a guide giuen him, according to custome, for theeues vsing to lie by that way. Monheime belongs to the Phaltzgraue of New|burg, being of the family of the Phaltz-graues of Rhein, and there we paid each man for his dinner and horse-meat thirty foure creitzers, which make eight batzen and a halfe, and there we tasted Iuniper wine, which I neuer remember to haue tasted else where. After dinner we rode two miles and a halfe through fruitfull hils of corne, and a small wood of Okes (though all the woods of vpper Germany be commonly of firre, bearing greene leaues all winter, as those of inferiour Germany towards Denmarke, be all of Okes.) By the way we passed a Monastery granted to the Phaltzgraue of Rhein by the 20 Emperour, and a free City of the Empire, called Donaward, of the two Riuers Danow and Werd, meeting there, and there we passed by bridge

the Danow, running by the City. Then wee rode to Weschendorff two miles and a halfe more, through fruitfull fields of corne and pastures, the Country belonging to the Fugares (Citizens of Augsburg) and to diuers other Lords. The Castle of this place belongs to the said Fugares, who are rich and famous for their treasure; and though they haue princely reuenues, and the title of barons, yet stil are merchants: here each man paid for his supper and hors-meat 8. batzen and a half.

The third day in the morning we rode three miles to Augsburg, through a fruitfull [Note: Augsburg.] plaine of corne; without the wals whereof on the East and North, and some part of the South sides, the fields are drowned with waters, and men passe to the Citie by cau|sies, for on these sides the ground lieth low: but on the West side is all the beauty of the City, where the houses are seated vpon a hill, and ther is a place for the Merchants to meet, called the Berle, and likewise the Senate house in the street Weingasse, so called of the Wine cellars. There also be many Pallaces stately built, of the Fugares and other Citizens: all the building is of free stone sixe or seuen roofes high; but in other parts it is more poorely built of timber and clay. On this West part of the City is the Gate called Kuknerthore, and the ditches are dry, as they be round about the City; the wals are of stone, which being on all other sides narrow, are on this side broad: for vpon the wals of this side there be little houses built for fiue hundred Garrison Souldiers to dwell in, with their wiues and families: which place is vulgarly called Die schwang. Here the Souldiers keep watch each three daies by turne, and each of them haue for pay six guldens by the moneth, and there is a market place, whether the Souldiers vpon a|ny difference vse to challenge each other. On this West side is another gate vulgarly called Der Einlasse, by which passengers are receiued into the City by night, when the gates are shut; and this their entrance is so curiously admitted, as many strangers desi|rous to see the fashion, suffer themselues of purpose to be locked out at night, and wil|lingly giue a reward to the souldiers letting them in: when they receiue in those that are shut out, diuers gates are opened; and no man being seene to open them, are presently shut on the back of them that come in: then they being thus shut as it were in a prison, a box is put downe to them in which they cast a reward; which done, the Watch-men out of win dowes behold each man that is to enter, and so being safe from all treason, let them passe by the last gate into the City. On the South side there be two gates, Roat|thore and Smitbogenthore; on the East side the gate Iacoberthore, and a little gate called Holeblatten-thorelin. On the East side the Riuer Werda and the Brooke Lecca running to|wards the North in three armes, diuide the City, and the Suburbs on that side are more strongly fortified then other where. The City ioyned with the Suburbs is of a round forme; and in the Suburbs on this side, the Fugares haue built many houses to be let for a gulden yeerely to the poore that are Papists. On the North side the wals are higher built, and the ditches are deepe filled with water, and there be foure other gates: this side of the City lying lowest, the fields without are (as I said) all drowned with water. Here each man paid for each meale six or seuen Batzen: I paid for two meales and my horse meat twenty three Batzen. This City hath a very faire conduit called the Stately Workmanship, vulgarly Statlich Kunst, and the fountaine of the wa|ter is ten miles from the City. There be ten very faire Churches. In the Cathedrall Church it is written in golden letters, that the bowels of Otho the Emperour are buried there. Also there is a curious picture of Christ praying in the garden,

whilst his Dis|ciples slept; and vpon a very faire Clocke are three statuaes of the three Kings of Colen, (so they call the Wise Men of the East) and these carried about by a circle of iron, wor|ship Christ when the Clocke strikes. In the Senate House (where the imperiall Parlia|ments vulgarly called Reichs-tagen haue often beene held) I found nothing to an|swere the magnificence of this City; onely on the gates this is written: Wise men build vpon the Rocke, Fooles vpon the Sand: (for I said this part of the City on the West side was built vpon a stony hill.) In the Iesuites Church the Altar is of siluer gilded ouer, and another Altar of Christs Natiuity is curiously painted like the barks of trees. Augs|burg (called of the Vandals, for distinction from Augsburg Rauracorum in Sweitzer|land,) is diuided from the Vandals by the Brooke Lycus, and being of old a City of Rhetia, now is reckoned the metropolitane City of Suenia, vulgarly Schwaben, and is said 21 said to haue beene built by the sonne of Iaphet, sixe hundred yeeres before Rome was builded. Of old they had a yeerely feast to Ceres, and now vpon the same day they haue a Faire: and for the fruitfulnesse of the soyle, the City giues a sheaue of corne for their Armes. This City was vtterly destroyed by Attila, King of the Hunnes, and when he was dead, was rebuilt againe. It is a free Citie of the Empire, (which are vulgarly called Retchs-statt,) and as other free Cities, it is gouerned by Senators. There bee many Almes houses for the poore, and one, wherein foure hundreth are nourished, by rents of land and houses, giuen to that house of old by good men. The Citie is seated vpon the Northern mouth of the Alpes, in a fruitfull plaine of corne and pastures, and Hils full of game for hunting, and it may bee gathered how populous it is, by that a German Author writes, that in a yeere when no plague raigned, 1705 were baptized, and 1227 buried.

Being constant in my purpose taken at Nurnberg, to goe from Auspurge, to the West parts of Germany, and so into the Low-countries; yet I wil remember the Rea|der, that he shall finde the iourney from Augspurg to [8], described in my voy|age from Stode to [9] Venice, and thence to Hierusalem. From Augspurg I rode to Vlme, and thence to Lindawe, and all the way hired my horse for sixe or seuen Batzen a day, paying for the daies in which my horse returned, and hyring footmen to bring them backe, and bearing their charges. The first day I rode foure miles thorow the terri|tory of the Fugars, and the Bishop of Tilleng, and one mile in the territory of the Arch-Duke of Austria, of the house of Inspruch, in a mountainous Countrey full of Woods, of Iuniper, Ashes, Oakes, and Beaches, to Burg; where each man paid for his dinner and horsemeat, eight Batzen.

In the afternoone I rode foure miles to Vlme, through a fruitfull plaine of corne. Entring the City, we passed by a Bridge, the Riuer Danow, which (though running in [Note: Vlme.] a plaine) yet hath a most violent course, so as boats carried downe the streame, vse to be sold at the place wherethey land, it being very difficult to bring them backe again; yet some Barkes of burthen are sometimes drawne backe, by the force of horses. My selfe haue seene tenne horses drawing one Barke, but they vse a greater number, accor|ding to occasion, some thirty or more, as they report; and he that rides on the horse neerest the Barke, is called Wage-halse, that is, Necke venturer, because hce and the horse are often drawn vnder the water, till the other horses draw them out again. This Riuer hath foure great water fals, vvhereof

[8] Venice
[9] Venice

the greatest is at Struddle, eighteene miles from Vienna, vvhich is hardly to be passed, except it be in a floud. And the multitude of Bridges are very dangerous for boats, by reason of the violent streame, and especi|ally because the Marriners are many times drunken, or negligent. They vse for a charme, to sprinkle their drawing horses with water, and vse with continuall loud cries to make them draw. This Nauigation is very necessary that the lower Oestreich, being fertill, may supply the vpper being barren, with wine and corne. Munster wri|teth of two fals of this Riuer, one below Lintz, where the waters make a terrible noyse, beating vpon the rocky bed, the other at Gryn, vvhere the water makes a dan|gerous whirle-poole of vnsearchable depth. Vlme is seated in Schwaben or Sueuia, as Augspurge is, and hath his name of Elme trees. Charles the Great built a Monaste|ry in this Village, which in time grew to a City, and vnder the Emperour Fredrick the third, bought their freedome of the Monkes. The building thereof is of wood and clay. The order of Knights called in Latine, Teutonicus, was in old time of great power, and hath yet a house in this Citie. It hath one stately Church, in the Yard whereof, the Mount Oliuet is curiously ingrauen. It hath a faire Senate house, and the Armory hath such store of Ordinance and all Munitions, as it yeeldeth not therein to the proudest City in Germany. The writing Tables, made in this City, are famous for their goodnesse, and are thence carried into forraine parts. The diet of the Innes of this City (seated in a most fertill soyle) is very plentifull, both in meats and banquets, where each man paied for his dinner, seuen Batzen. In this Country they drinke nothing but wine, (as they doe in all vpper Germany,) but it is sharpe, and the Masse or measure is sold for three Batzen. When wee were at dinner, a Tumbler 22 came in, and being admitted to shew his cunning, hee stood vpon his head and dranke a measure of wine, which seemed strange to the beholders.

After dinner, we rode a mile in a pleasant valley vpon the Danow, which wee pas|sed, and rode two miles further in the like fertill plaine, which is very large, and by all men much commended for the fruitfull pastures thereof. And so wee came to Bal|tring, subiect to a little free Citie called Bubery, and here each man paied fiue Batzen for dinner, and three for horsemeat. Next morning, after a miles riding, we came to the City Bubery and rode two miles further to Waldshut, through woody Mountaines, and corne vallies, which were so boggey, as many times wee had almost stuck fast. The Countrey belongs to the Arch-Duke, of the family of Inspruck; and heere wee paied each man nine Batzen for dinner and horsemeat. After dinner wee rode two miles through a woody Country, to Rauenspurg, a free Citie, seated betweene Moun|taines, whereof one hangeth ouer it, and the Riuer Ach runneth by it, in a narrow bed; so as the waters falling from the Mountaines very swiftly, doe many times ouerflow, to the great damage of the Countrey; and from the Mountaines many woodden pipes conuey water to the City. In these parts bee many Almes houses, for those that are infected with Leprosie, who may not come neere the Passengers, but doe beg of them a farre off, with the sound of a woodden clapper. Heere each man paid for his supper and horse-meat, twelue Batzen and a halfe. The first day of May, we rode three miles, one through a Wood, the rest through a plaine of corne and inclosed pastures, and Hils planted with Vines, to the City Lindaw. By the way vve saw the house of Count Montfort, and passed the Riuer Arba by a Bridge, which doth often ouerflow the plaine, doing great hurt; and there wee paid halfe a Creitzer

tribute to the said Count, for each man. We were now come out of Sueuia, and had rode two miles in Algoia, and on the left hand towards the South, we disco|uered the mouth of the Alpes, which in this place is called Spliego.

Lindaw is a free City of the Empire, which freedome it bought in the yeere 1166, and it is almost an I and, seated in the lake called Acronius (vulgarly Bodensea) being [Note: Lindaw.] ioyned to the continent by a Bridge of stone on the North-east side, where it hath onely one gate, called Burg-thore, by which wee entred. On this side, the fields are very pleasant, and planted with Vines, and neere the Bridge there is a Rampier, so old, as they say, it was erected by the Heathen, before any Christians were. Hence the City lies in length towards the South West: partly on the West, and altogether on the South side lies the lake Bodensea, that is, vpper sea, close by the houses of the Citizens, where they descend by staires to take water. Beyond the lake are most high Mountaines, which were then couered with snow, and at the foot of the highest Mountaines, there is a Tower, which they report to be built by Hannibal, neere which is the place, famous by the defeat of Hasdrubal. On this side the City, they shew a stone, whence they say, the Saint called Aurelia, passed the lake (woe to them that beleeue) at one step. The Riuer Bregets falleth most violently from the said Moun|taines, whence also the Rheine discendeth in a narrow bed, and may bee passed with horse and foot when it ouerfloweth not. Both these runne into the Lake, and the Rheine, till it come out of the Lake againe, loseth the name. There is but one Church in the City, besides a ruined Monastery. The Citizens draw their water to seethe their meat, and mingle it with wine; not out of the Lake, but from Wels. Three Consuls chosen for life, and twenty Senators gouerne the City. Beyond the Lake in the Territorie of the Arch Dukes of Austria, is a bath of great vertue, and a Monastery built by Otho the second, with great priuiledges, vpon a vow hee made, being in great danger, when he passed the Lake, and there murtherers haue a sanctua|ry. There is much salt made in the City, and carried thence to other parts. Heere I paied each meale six Batzen. They drinke altogether wine, whereof the measure of the old is giuen for eleuen Creitzers, the new for nine, (of which measures twentie make some twenty two English beere quarts. By ill fortune I was here forced to ex|hibite a Petition to the Consuls, both in the Dutch and Latine tongues, the euent whereof I will set downe after the Petition. The forme whereof in English was 23 this, after the Dutch fashion, euer tedious in their stiles or titles.

HOnourable, prouident, good, wise, Lords and Consuls; I humbly desire you to re|spect my cause, as of a stranger far from his friends, and bereaued of his money by deceit. Thus my case standeth. Being at Nurnberg, and purposing thence to goe to Bazell, there to study, I dealt with a Merchant, that hee would exchange my money thi|ther, retaining onely so much as would plentifully serue mee for my expences thither. There I met with M. B. a Citizen of Lindaw, who told me that the gold Guldens of Rheine were not to be spent in these parts without losse. So as I finding him acknow|ledged by the Carriers of this City (then being there) and by many Nurnbergers, for the sonne of a Senator in this Towne, was induced to deliuer him some gold Guldens, to be paid mee heere in French Crownes, and wee comming in company together to this Towne, when I saw many principall Citizens gratalate his returne, I was induced to deliuer him the rest of my gold Guldens, which I had kept for the expence of my iourney, vpon his promise to exchange them into

French Crownes. So as in all hee is to pay mee thirtie two French Crownes wanting six Creitzers, (for twenty seuen of which French Crownes, and thirty six Creitzers, I tooke his bill at Nurnberg, but the rest I deliuered him here vpon his bare word.) Heere I expected his payment eight dayes, and when I was instant with him to put off the payment no longer, he is stoln out of the Towne, and his brothers giue me no hope of payment: being not so noble, as to ponder the case right|ly, or to haue any due fecling of my state. Being in this case, not able without money to goe on my iourney, or indure the delayes of a sute in Law against him heere; all my hope is in your iust helpe, which failing me, I know not what course to take. Therefore I de|sire earnestly of your worthinesse, to assist mee, and giue expedition to my cause, that I may be deliuered by your goodnesse.

My debtor, while he liued in the publike Inne with mee, vsed mee with all curte|sie; but finding himselfe disinherited by his father lately dead, and so dispairing of means to pay me, he was now fled to the Monastery beyond the Lake, being a sanc|tuary for wicked-persons and bankrupts. He that knowes the honesty of the Dutch, will not much maruell that I was thus deceiued by a Dutch-man, whom I knew not to be tainted with forraine vices, but it grieued me to be thus-scorned by fortune, and it afflicted me beyond measure, that I should bee forced to spend the time (dearer to mee then gold) in following the Law at Lindaw, which I hoped to imploy in my stu|dies at Bazell. Therefore not to bee wanting to my selfe, I hyred a horse, and made this cozenage knowne to the Arch-Dukes officer, desiring him to exclude my deb|tor from the priuiledge of the Monastery. But this Dutch Gentleman, finding mee to speake Latine readily, tooke mee for some Schoole-master, and despised both mee and my cause: so as I returned to the Citie weary and sad, hauing obtained no fauor. But a better starre shined there on mee, for the Consuls that day had determined in Court, that my debtors horses should bee sought out, and deliuered to mee; and the Lawyers and Clearkes were so courteous to me, as neither they nor any other would take the least reward of mee, though I pressed them to receiue it. Then my debtors brother being loth the horses should be carried away, paid me my mony, and I glad|ly tooke my iourney thence towads Bazel. This integrity of the Dutch Magistrates, (which especially in the Cities of the reformed Religion, hauing found by many testimonies, I cannot sufficiently commend) and curtesie of the Dutch towards strangers, I haue thought good in this place thankefully to acknowledge.

Vpon the Lake Acrontiis, vulgarly Boden-sea, that is vpper sea, I passed by boate foure miles to Costnetz, and paied for my passage three Batzen. Betweene this vpper sea and the lower sea, vulgarly Vnden-sea: this Citie Costnetz lyeth on the banke [Note: Costnets.] lengthwise, and is subiect to Ferdinand of Inspruch, Arch-Duke of Austria, whose base sonne hath also the Bishopricke of that City, which is famous by a Councell held there, whither Iohn Hus was called, with the Emperours safe conduct, in the yeere 1414, yet was there condemned of Heresie, and burned. On the West side of the Citie; within the walles, in the Monastery called Barfussen Cloyster, is the 24 Tower wherein he was imprisoned; and without the walles on the left hand, as you goe-out, is a faire meadow, and therein a stone vpon the high-way, to which he was bound, being burnt the same yeere 1414, in the Month of Iuly. Where also his fellow Ierom of Prage was burnt in September, the yeere following, both their ashes being cast into the Lake, lest the Bohemians

should carry them away. The Senate|house in which this Councell was held, is of no beauty. When the Emperour Charles the fifth, besieged this Citie, it was yeelded to the hands of Ferdinand King of Bohemia, and brother to Charles, who made the Citizens peace for them. Heere each man paid eight Batzen a meale, and for wine betweene meales, eight creitzers the measure.

Hence I went by boat, two miles to Styga, and paied for my passage two Batzen. We tooke boat at the end of the Lake close by the City; where the Rheine comming againe out of the Lake, and taking his name therein lost, doth runne in all narrow bed; and when wee had gone by water some houre and a halfe, wee entred the lower Lake, called Vndensea. Neere Costnetz is an Iland called little Meinow, and in this lower lake is another Iland called Reichnow, of the riches, the Monastery therof hauing of old so much lands, as the Monkes being sent to Rome , vsed to lodge euery night in their owne possessions. This Iland is said to beare nothing that hath poyson, so as any such beast dieth presently in it: and in the Monastery are some reliques of Saint Marke, for which (as they say) the Venetians haue offered much money. VVriters report that of old, a Monke thereof climing vp a ladder, to looke into a huge vessell of wine, and being ouercome with the vapour, fell into the same, with a great bunch of keyes in his hand, and that shortly after this wine was so famous, as Princes and Nobles, and many sickly persons vsually sent for the same; the cause of the goodnes being not knowne to proceed of the putrified flesh, till the vessell being empty, the keyes and the Friers bones were found therein; the Monkes till then thinking that their fellow had secretly gone to some other Monastery of that Order: yet the Dutch in my company reported, that this happened in a Monastery not farre off, called Sal|manschwell. By the way was a stately Pallace belonging to the Fugares of Augs|burg. On the East-side, out of the walles of Styga, lye woody fields, on the West-side the Iland Horue; and pleasant Hils full of vines and corne. In this City, the Bishop of Costnetz hath his Pallace, who is Lord of the two Ilands, Meinow, and Reichnow, and hath very large possessions in these parts, mingled with the territories of other Lords. And this City is vpon the confines of Germany and Sweitzerland.

Hence I passed by boat two miles to Schaffhausen, and paied for my passage two [Note: Schaffhau|sen.] Batzen. The swistnes of the Rheine made the miles seeme short, and this riuer againe loseth his name in the said lower Lake, and when it comes (or rather violently breakes) out of it, then resumes it againe. This City is one of the confederate Can|tons of Sweitzerland. Not farre from this City, on the South side in the riuer Rheine, is a great fall of the waters ouer a rocke some fifty cubits downeward, passing with huge noyse and ending all in fome. And for this cause the Barkes are forced to vn|lade here, and to carry their goods by carts to the City, and from the City to imbarke them againe, which yeeldeth great profit to the City, by taxations imposed on the goods, which must necessarily be landed there. On both sides the riuer, as we came to this City, are pleasant hils planted with vines, and faire pastures with sweet groues. The City is round in forme, and is washed with the Rheine on the South side; and vpon the banke of the riuer within the Towne, is a pleasant greene, where the Citizens meete to exercise the shooting of the Harquebuze and crosse-Bow, where also is a Lynden or Teyle tree, giuing so large a shade, as vpon the top it hath a kinde of cham|ber, boarded on the floore, with windowes on the sides, and a cocke, which be|ing turned,

water fals into a vessel through diuers pipes, by which it is conueyed thi|ther for washing of glasses and other vses: and heere the Citizens vse to drinke and feast together, there being sixe tables for that purpose. On the same South side is a Monastery, with walles and gates like a little City. It hath the name of [...] that is a sheepe, or Schiff, that is a ship, and Hausse, that is a house, as of a fold for [...], or 25 roade for shippes. Here I paid for each meale six batzen. For the better vnderstan|ding of my iourney from Schafhusen to Zurech, I will prefix a letter which I wrote to that purpose from Bazel.

To the Right Worshipfull Master Doctor Iohn Vlmer.

IN those few houres I staid at Schafhusen, you haue made me your Seruant for euer. I remember the houres of our conuersation, which for the sweetnes thereof seemed minutes to me: I remember the good offices you did towards me a stranger, with gentlenes, if not proper to your selfe, yet proper to your Dutch Nation. Now as soone as I had pitched my tents at Bazell, (for me thinkes I am one of the Nomades, euery day changing my dwelling,) I thought fit to giue you account of my iourney, whereof I am sure you desire to know the successe. I will euer be ruled in doubtfull cases by the counsell of so wise and so good a friend as your selfe: but you shall neuer more perswade me to take a iourney on foot, which I find vnprofitable for my health and purse. The other day after dinner by your aduice, I took my iourney on foot, and with more sighes then paces, came in foure houres with much paine to the little City Egli|saw, and comming to the Inne, they offered me meat, but I did nothing but so crie out for my bed, as you would haue said I was the eldest sonne of sloth. To be briefe, they being slow to satisfie my desire, I flung my selfe on the fether bed without sheetes, and so at ease supped on the old fashion with the cloth spread on the bed: you gaue me a pleasant companion to guide me the way, who made it seeme shorter with his good discourse, and was very diligent to serue my occasions: next morning early by twilight, we began our iourney, hauing the gates opened for a little reward. You may thinke that I was fresh after my nights rest for a new iourney, but I rose ear|ly onely to be out of my paine. By nine of the clocke in the morning we came to the faire City Zurech, which seemed fairer to me at the end of my tedious walke: present|ly I ran into my chamber, and with like importunity as before, obtained my bed to be made: the Mercury you gaue to guide me, brought me meat plentifully, and there we dined together; then because he was to returne to Schafhusen that night, I gaue him a Gulden for his paines, besides paying his charges, and fifteene Creitzers of free gift. Each of vs went to our taske, he (as I thought) to goe, I to sleepe. Since I haue begun, I will tell you Historically all circumstances, so you promise me not to reproue him, but rather to salute and thanke him in my name, which if you refuse, I coniure you on all loue to read no further. After foure houres behold this honest man, with a gar|land of roses on his head, a glasse and pot in his hands, and well armed with drinke, en|tered my chamber; I being halfe asleepe wiped my eies, as if I had seene a vision, till he drinking to me, and importuning me to pledge him, made mee know it was no appa|rition: we drunke a whole houre together, then in good earnest he went away, and did nothing (to my knowledge) more wisely, then that being drunken, he left his recko|ning of forty eight Creitzers to be paid by me, who was sober. Neither Ceres nor Bac|chia could for twenty houres draw me from bed, but the next morning I deliuered your betters to Master Doctor S. who vsed me very cur-

teously, and presented mee with a Booke he had lately printed. So this Comedy is ended, onely I will adde the Epilogue. Here at Bazell I can get for no money the Booke of Semlerus de Repub. Hel|uetica, which you commended vnto me: at last I found it in a friends study, who estee|med it as the apple of his eye, yet I so preuailed with him, as he let me haue it, vpon my faithfull promise; that because I meant to blot the same with notes, I should procure him a new Booke; wherein if you doe not disingage mee by sending the same vnto me, I shall forfet the small credit of a stranger. Farewell good Sir, and I pray you let vs not suffer this sparke of our loue to goe out, but rather with often writing, let vs set all the coale on fire. Againe farewell: from Bazell the 24. day of May 1902.

From Schafhusen I tooke my iourney on foot (as is aboue written) and went halfe a mile in the territory of that City, and a mile and a halfe in the territory of the Count of [...] Sweitzer, the lands of Zurech lying on the South side from vs; and so wee 26 passed through Mountaines yeelding corne, and planted with vines, and through woods, pastures, and a large valley of corne, and in foure houres space (for the miles of Sweitzerland are so long, as they reckon the iourneies of horse or foot by the houres, and not by the miles) came to Eglisaw, and entering the same, passed the Riuer Rheine by a Bridge, where I paide two creitzers for tribute, and there I supped for fiue Batzen.

The next morning I went two miles on foot in six houres space to Zurech, through [Note: Zurech.] a long wood, and hils of corne (which they say are often blasted with haile) and through wooddy Mountaines, and hils of inclosed pastures, with store of Vines plan|ted neere the City, which is one of the Cantons of Sweitzerland, hauing on the West side the Lake called Zurechsea, and the Brooke Limachus, hauing his head eight miles further on the same side, ruuneth into this lake, and after comming out, diuideth the City into two parts, called the greater and the lesse City, hauing three bridges for passage, the greater where of the Merchants vse for their meetings. The foresaid Lake is three miles long, and hath on each side pleasant hils planted with Vines. The fore|said Brooke neere the City beareth onely small boates, and is all taken vp with water mils, but aboue towards the Alpes is deeper, and below neere Baden runneth into the Rheine. The streetes of Zurech are narrow, and the Houses builded of timber and clay, and the City it selfe is seated vpon and betweene hils, which on the East side of the Brooke grow higher from it. On the North-west side is a pleasant Mountaine, and a faire meadow for shooting with gunnes, and other exercises, wherein is a faire Lynden or teyle tree, yeelding large and sweet shadow, where the Citizens meete to recreate themselues, and to feast together. The Armes of the City are a Man and Woman, called Falix and Regula: without the City on the South, is the foresaid Lake, and be|yond it the Alpes couered with snow. On the West side is a plaine, and the Moun|taines farre off, but on the North and East sides the Mountaines lie neere. The Citi|zens haue a custome that when they goe forth against the enemy, they place the Mi|nisters or Pastors in the front, or where they may partake the danger, and there is a place two miles from the City towards Lucerna, where Zwinglius a famous Preacher and reformer of Religion was killed in the field. Here I paid each meale six batzen.

I rode three miles to Baden in three houres, and so hired my horse as besides the price of six or seuen batzen the day, I paid as much for the daies in which he returned, [Note: Baden.] and also paid the hire and charges of one to bring him

backe. Most part of our way was in the territory of Zurech, through hils of corne and vines, and a plaine of inclosed pastures. Entering the City we passed the brooke Limachus by a bridge: the Su|burbs are built vpon the ascent of a Mountaine, and the City on the top of it, where there is a Castle vpon a Rocke, of old very strong, but now ruinated: on the North side descending into a valley by the brooke on the right hand, or vpon the East side, within a musket shot lie the Baths, which are famous for medicine, and are in num|ber thirty, seated on each side the Brooke, which diuideth them into Bethora the great and the little. In the great, diuers Bathes are contained vnder one roofe of a faire house, and without the gate are two common to the poore. These waters are so strong of brimstone, as the very smoake warmeth them that come neere, and the waters burne those that touch them. Of these one is called the Marques Bath, and is so hot, as it will scald off the haire of a Hogge: many hauing no disease but that of loue, how soe|uer they faine sickenesse of body, come hither for remedy, and many times find it. Weomen come hither as richly attired as if they came to a marriage: for Men, Weo|men, Monkes, and Nunnes, sit all together in the same water, parted with boords, but so as they may mutually speake and touch, and it is a rule here to shun all sadnes, nei|ther is any iealousie admitted for a naked touch. The waters are so cleere as a penny may be seene in the bottome, and because melancholy must be auoided, they recreate themselues with many sports, while they sit in the water; namely at cards, and with ca|sting vp and catching little stones, to which purpose they haue a little table swimming vpon the water, vpon which sometimes they doe likewise eate. These Bathes are ve|ry good for Weomen that are barren. They are also good for a cold braine, and a sto|macke 27 charged with rhume; but are hurtfull for hot and dry complexions, and in that respect they are held better for Weomen then Men. The Innes were wont to pay tri|bute to the three Cantons, of Baden, Brucke, and Bazell; but now Baden alone makes great profit of them, by the great concourse of sickely persons, and the Parliaments of the Cantons commonly held there. I paid for my diet six Batzen a meale.

From hence I hired a horse at the same rate as before, and passing through woody Mountaines, came in three houres riding to the City Brucke. By the way I passed the Brooke Russe, which runneth from Lucerna into these parts, and the boate was drawne by a cable running vpon a wheele, by reason of the waters swift course: where I paide for my passage sixe creitzers: and when I came neere Bruck, I passed the Brooke Ara by a bridge, paying one creitzer for tribute; and here I paid fiue batzen a meale. From hence hiring a horse as before, I rode in two houres space to Hornsea, through steepe Mountaines, and a wood of Oake: by the way lies Kingsfeld, that is Kingly field, a Mo|nastery so called, because Widowe Queenes, and Kings, forsaking their Scepters, and inferiour Princes were wont of old to enter into this place for the solitary profession of Religion. In the same Cloyster of old, liued the Friars of Saint Francis order, in the building on the right hand as you come in, and the Nunnes of Saint Clara on the left hand, and both came to the same Chappell, the Friars to the body of the Church, and the Nunnes to close galleries aboue, looking out and hearing through grates. The Emperour Albertus being killed by his Nephew in the yeere 1380. at Santbacke three miles distant, this Monastery was built for his memory, though his bones were buri|ed at Spire. The reuenewes of this monastery grew in time to be yeerly forty thousand Guldens, which are now

appropriated to the common treasure of the Sweitzer Can|tons. Leopold Duke of Austria lies here buried. Ferdinand of Insprucke, one of the Arch|dukes of Austria, is Lord of Hornesea; all the rest of the territories from Schafhusen to this place, belonging to the Cantons of Sweitzerland: and here I paid sixe batzen a meale. Hence I hired a horse as before, and rode in fiue houres to Rheinefeld through fruitfull hils of corne, hauing on all sides wooddy Mountaines in sight. Here againe I passed the Rheine, and paid two raps for my horse and my selfe; foot-men paying but one. The Rheine passeth by with a violent course, and washeth the Towne on the East side. Here I paid sixe Batzen a meale.

Hence hiring a horse as before, I rode in two houres space to Bazell, through a faire plaine of corne and pasture, lying vpon the Rheine, hauing on all sides woody [Note: Bazell.] Mountaines in sight, and neere the City were most pleasant fields planted with vines, to the which fields the territory of the said Arch-duke extendeth on the East side of the Rheine. I entered by little Bazell seated in a plaine on the East side of Rheine, and so passed by a bridge of wood into the greater Bazell, seated vpon pleasant hils on the West side of Rheine. This City of old was one of the imperiall free Cities; but now is ioined to the Cantons of Sweitzerland, and was built in the yeere 3 and 2: hauing the name of a Basiliske, slaine by a Knight couered with cristall, or of the word Pasell, which in Dutch signifies a beaten path, or of the greeke word [...] as a kingly City. The lesse Bazell was of old built by an Arch-duke of Austria, in preiudice of the greater, and after being sold to it for thirty thousand guldens, was incorporated there|vnto: The greater hath many caues vnder the hils, and suffered a great earth-quake in the yeere 1346, at which time the Pallace neere the Cathedrall Church fell into the Rheine, and another Earth-quake in the yeere 1356. wherein 180. persons were killed, all the people flying out of the Towne. Eugenius the Pope held a Councell in this Ci|ty, the yeere 1431. The Bridge of wood ioyning the little and great City, diuided by the Rheine, is broad enough for two carts to passe at once; and towards little Bazell six Arches are of stone: but towards great Bazell where the Rheine tunneth most swiftly, eight Arches are built of wood, that they may be more easily repaired, and vpon any warre from Germany more readily broken downe. This City is of the forme of an half Moone, (I meane the great City, reckoning the lesse for a Suburbe) and being seated upon diuers hils on the West side of the Rheine, imbraceth betweene the two hornes the lesser City, seated in a plaine on the East side of Rheine. On the West side of the 28 greater, the Emperor Rodulphus of Habspurg besieged the City, and on this side some|thing towards the North, within the walles, is a most pleasant greene for walking, cal|led peter platz. In this place is the Armory of the City, and the tribunal of Iustice, and some faire houses of priuate men, and a most pleasant shade of trees, among which is an Oake, whose boughes are in circuit one hundred forty walking paces, and from the root are more then twenty such paces in length forward. And they report that the Emperor Manimilian the second supped vnder this Oake, and gaue 2000. Guldens to keepe and trimic. On the East side of great Bazel, the Rheine runneth by it, from the South to the North, and the yard of the Cathedrall Church lieth ouer the riuer, and hath a Lynden tree, which giueth very pleasant shade, hauing seats vnder it, and along the riuer. The course of the Rheine is very swift, but not so violent as that of the Da|now; yet the water-men of Bazel (as those that dwel vpon the Danow) sell their boats at Sirasburg, which they weekely carrie thither,

and cannot bring backe against the streame of the Rheine, and so they returne home on foot, (alwaies remembred that this riuer is at the broadest betweene Bazel and Strasburg.) Pope Pius the second, foun|ded an Vniuersine at Bazel, in the yeere 1459, and gaue it all the priuiledges of Bo|logala in Italy. In the publike Innes, men pay six Batzen a meale; but the Students haue their diet with Doctors and Citizens for some eight Dollers a month. My selfe dieted with the Ouerseer of the Coledge, and paied two Guldens a weeke; for strangers may hire chambers in the Coledge, and the Ouerseer willingly admits them to diet with him. In the Cathedrall Church, this is written vpon the Sepulcher of Hotoman, a famous Ciuill Lawyer:

Francisie Hotamant Of Francis Hotoman I. C. Conns. at Law. Mortalis [...] The mortall parts Tantisper assernandas So long to be kept Dum Till Christo inbente, Christ bidding Immortales exurgant They rise immortall Amici. His friends Sub hoc Saxo Vnder this stone Deposuere. haue laid. Loco Honoris ergo The place for honours sake, Ab AEdis Cur atoribus. By the gouernours of the house Liberal: concesso. Being freely granted. Vixit An: 63. M. 5. He liued 63. yeeres fiue M. D. 20. Ob: Prid: 20, daies: he died the day before Id: Febru. Ano. The Ides of Febr. in the yeere MILCXC. MILCXC.

Gallia progennit, sernat Basilea sepultum, Interitus expers nomen, vibque viget. He borne in France, lies buried here, His lasting Name liues euery where.

In the same place lies Oecolampadius buried, (to whom Luther opposed himselfe; when in the first reformation of Religion he violently brake downe the Images,) and he hath this inscription in Latine:

M. Iohn Oecolampadius by profession a Diuine, most skilfull in three languages: first Author of the reformed Religion in this City, and the true Bishop of this Church: excellent in sanctity of Doctrine and life, is laid vnder this short stone. In the yeere of war Lord, M. D. XLII.

In the same place lies buried Erasmus Roterodamus: with this inscription in Latines To Desiderius Erasmus, Roterodamus, a most great man carry way, whose im|comparable learning in all kindes of Arts, ioyned with like wisedome, [...] come shall admire and celebrate, Boniface Ameribachius, IeRome , Frobe|nius, Nichol: Bishop, heire and Extertitort of his last Will and Testament: to 29 their Patron of happy memory, which by his writings he hath got, and so long as the world stands shall retaine: for the reposing of his mortall body, haue layed this stone. He died the fourth of the Ides of Iuly, being now seuenty yeeres old, in the yeere of our Lord, MDXXXVI.

These two Verses are written vpon the Tombe of Lodouicus Pontanus:

Hic iacet arte Plato, Cato, vita, Tullius ore, Vermes corpus alit, spiritus astra petit. Here lies Plato, Cato, Tully, For his Art, life, and eloquence, Wormes doe feede vpon his body, His soule to heauen is mounted hence.

There be also the Monuments of Henricus Glarianus, and of Bishop Hatto, whom the Emperour Charles the Great, sent Ambassadour to Irene Empresse of the East. In this City a stone is shewed, called the hot stone, vulgarly Heisteine, vpon which the Consuls, and diuers others were beheaded, who had conspired to betray the Citie, if the clocke striking false had not preuented, and deceiued both them and the enemies, lying in ambush without the City, and expecting a signe to be giuen them at the houre appointed. And for this cause (or as others say, to hasten the Councell held in the Senate house) the clocke to this day strikes one, when it should strike twelue. Neere the staires of the Senate house is an old Statua on

foot, armed, but without a sword, bearing a Scepter, clad with a loose gowne, with a birde sitting on the Helmet, and hath this inscription;

Hono and virtuti L. Munatij L. F. L. N. L. Pron Planci Cos Imper: and Ter VII viri Epulonum Qui triumph ex Raetis Edem Saturni F. ex Manub Agros diuisit in Italia Beneuenti. In Galliam Colonias Ded Lugdunum atque Rauracum.

Ciuitas Basiliensis Ex bellicosiss gente Alemannorum In Rauracorum fines Transducta Simulac[...]rum hoc ex Senatus Auct Dicandum statuendumque Curauit. Anno salutis Christiane MDXXC.

Of Lucius Munatius the sonne of Lucius, grand-child of Lucius, great Grandchild of Lucius surnamed Plancus; Being Consul, General, and thrice One of the seuen Presidents of the holy Banquets Who triumphed of the Rhaetians, Built Saturnus Temple with the spoyles, Diuided the Land in Italy at Beneuento, Deduced Colonies into Gaul, To Lyons, and about Bazel.

The City of Bazel deduced Of the most warlike Nation Of the Alemans; Into the Territories of the Rauraci (or Basilians,) By authority of the Senate, Procured This Statua to be consecrated and heere set. In the yeere of Christ, MDLXXX

In the house where the Doctors, and other Graduates take their degrees, are the bones of an Anatomy, (for the Magistrates vse to grant the bodies of some men exe|cuted to serue this vse,) and it hath this inscription:

Nostro perempti scelere, aliena viuimus manu, Et facti vasa honoris, qui fuimus ignominiae. Kild for our wickednesse, we liue by others heere, And vessels are of honour, as of shame we were.

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2

1.3 CHAP. III.

Of my iourney from Bazel to Strasburg, to Heidelberg, to Frankfort, to Cassiles, to Brunswicke, to Luneburg, to Hamburg, to Stode, to Breme, to Olden|burg, and to Emden, (the last City vpon the confines of the Empire.)

I Went by boat to Strasburg, fourteene miles, and in sixe hours, vpon the swift Rheine we passed six miles to Brisake; a City subiect to Ferdinand of Inspruch, Arch-Duke of Au|stria: but of the villages oft intermixed, some are subiect to the Margraue of Baden, and some to diuers Bishops. All the Territory on the VVest side of Rheine, almost to Stras|burg gates, is subiect to the said Arch-Duke, or the Bishop of Bazel, or the Duke of Wirtenberg. The boates com|ming downe to Brisake and Neoberg, pay tribute, and send forth two Marriners, taking from thence two other in their stead. At Brisake, each man payes two Rapps for passing the bridge, which is shut vp with an iron chaine, and kept by watch-men, lest any boats should passe without touching there. I said before, that the boats and barkes comming downe, are sold at the end of the way, be|cause they cannot be brought vp against the streame. Brisake is seated vpon a round and high Mountaine, and though it bee improbable that there should be any want of waters so neere the foot of the Alpes, yet this City hath a fountaine, where water is sold, and a certaine price is giuen for the watering of euery beast.

VVe passed the other eight miles to Strasburg, the same day in eight houres, be|ing helped with the same swiftnesse of the Rheine, which being oft diuided by the way, makes many little Ilands. The bridge of Strasburg ouer the Rheine, is more [Note: Strasburg.] then a Musket shot from the City, on the East side therof. The bridge is of wood, and hath threescore fiue Arches each distant from the other twenty walking paces, and it is so narrow that an horse-man can hardly passe by a cart, it lying open on both sides, and it is built of small pieces of timber laid a crosse, which lye loose; so as one end being pressed with any weight, the other is lifted vp, with danger to fall into the wa|ter. It is like they build no stronger bridge, either because they haue tryed that the swift course of the Rheine will easily breake it downe, or because in the time of warre it may be good for them to breake it: in which case it were farre greater charge to re|build it with stone, then with wood. The Rheine lying thus farre off from the City, the boats are brought vp to the same by a little channell. The brookes of Bress and Elb, passe through many streets of the City, and fill all the large ditches thereof with water. The City is very well fortified, hauing high walles of earth, the bottomes whereof are fastned with stone, and the sides with trees planted on the same. On the VVest side towards France, are the gates Weissen-thore, and Rheine-thore. On the East side toward the Rheine, is the gate Cronebergthore, at which, though it be out of the way, for the iealousie of neighbour-hood, the French must enter, and at no other. On the East side is the Butchers gate, called, Metsiger-thore. On the same side is the Cathedrall Church. The circuit of the Cty is three houres walking. The buildings and Churches are faire and high, of free stone; most of the streets are narrow, but those diuided by water are broader. I paied six Batzen a meale, and for wine extraor|dinary three Batzen the measure. Many things in this City are remarkable.

The Steeple of the Cathedrall Church is most beautifull, and numbred among the seuen 31 miracles of the world, being begun in the yeere 1277, and scarce finished in twen|tie eight yeeres. In the building of one gate thereof, they say, three Kings treasure was spent; in whose memory three statuaes are there ingrauen. The Church is co|uered with lead, which is rare in Germany, where the chiefe Churches are couered with brasse, growing in the Countrey. The brazen gates of this church are curiously carued.

The Clocke thereof is of all other most famous, being inuented by Conradus Dasipodius, in the yeere 1571. Before the Clocke stands a globe on the ground; shewing the motion of the heauens, starres and planets; namely, of the heauen car|ried about by the first mouer, in twenty foure houres, of Saturne by his proper moti|on carried about in thirty yeeeres, of Iupiter in twelue, of Mars in two, of the Sunne, Mercury and Venus in one yeere, of the Moone in one month. In the Clocke it selfe there be two tables on the right and left hand, shewing the eclipses of the Sunne and Moone, from the yeere 1573, to the yeere 1605. The third table in the midst, is diuided into three parts. In the first part the statuaes of Apollo and Diana, shew the course of the yeere, and the day thereof, being carried about in one yeere. The second part shewes the yeere of our Lord, and of the world, the Equinoctiall dayes, the houres of each day, the minutes of each houre; Easter day, and all other feasts, and the Dominicall Letter. The third part hath the Geographicall discription of all Ger|many, and particularly of Strasburg, and the names of the Inuentor, and of all the worke-men. In the middle frame of the Clocke is an Astrolobe, shewing the signe in which each Planet is euery day; and there be the statuaes of the seuen Planets, vp|on a round piece of iron lying flat, so as euery day the statua of the Planet comes forth that rules the day, the rest being hid within the frame, till they come out by course at their day; as the Sun vpon Sunday, and so for all the weeke. And there is a terrestriall globe, and the quarter, and halfe houre, and the minuts are shewed. There is also the skull of a dead man, and two statuaes of two boyes, whereof one turnes the houre-glasse when the Clocke hath strucken, the other puts forward the rod in his hand at each stroke of the clocke. Moreouer there be statuaes of the spring, sum|mer, Autumne, and winter, and many obseruations of the Moone. In the vpper part of the clocke are foure old mens stutuaes, which strike the quarters of the houre, the statua of death comming out each quarter to strike; but being driuen backe by the statua of Christ with a speare in his hand, for three quarters, but in the fourth quarter that of Christ goeth backe, and that of death strikes the houre, with a bone in the hand, and then the chimes sound. On the top of the clocke is an Image of a Cock which twice in the day croweth alowd, and beateth his wings. Besides, this clocke is decked with many rare pictures, and being on the inside of the Church, carrieth an|other frame to the outside of the wall, wherein the houres of the Sunne, the courses of the Moone, the length of the day, and such like things are set out with great Art.

Besides in the City there is a faire house, in which citizens and strangers at publike meetings or otherwise, vse to feast their inuited friends. Neere the gate Rheinethore, is the Armory, vulgarly Zeighauss, which aboundeth with Ordinance and all Munitions. They haue a Theater for Comedies, and a Tower to lay vp their treasure, called pen|ny Tower, vulgarly Phennigthurne. They say this City is called Argentina in latine, of the word Argentum, because the Romans of old laid

vp their treasure here, and Strassburg in Dutch, of the word strass (that is way) and Burg (that is a City) as being built where many waies lead to many Prouinces. I had almost omitted one remarke|able thing, namely the faire House of the Cannons, called Bruderhoff, that is the Court of the Brethren.

I hired a coach for a Dollor my person, from Strassburg to Heidelberg, being sixteene miles. The first day after dinner I went foure miles to Leichtenou, through a plaine all compassed with Gardens and Orchards and paid six batzen for my supper. The next morning we went foure miles to Milberk, through a sandy and barren plaine; the Margraue of Turloch, vnkle to the Margraue of Baden is Lord of this Village. By the 32 way thither, we passed a Fort of the Margraues of Baden, where tribute is paid for all Merchandises brought out of Sweitzerland and France, and these frequent tributes are gathered by the Dutch Princes, vpon pretext that they free the way from theeues: to which purpose when the Fayres of Franckfort draw neere, they send out certaine Rey|ters, that is horsemen, vulgarly called Geleyte, which conduct the Merchants and their goods out of the Frontiers. The said Fort included the high way with Rampiers, lest any should passe without paying tribute: besides, by the way we might see the City of Baden, towards the South, seated vpon a Mountaine. After dinner we went three miles to the Village Graben, through a sandy ground, but somewhat lesse barren. The Margraue of Turloch is Lord of this Village.

The third day in the morning wee went fiue miles to Heidelberg, through sandy fields, but fruitfull in corne, all lying in a plaine, as the rest of the way from Strassburg hither, and neere Heidelberg we passed a great wood of Oakes, full of great hea ds of [Note: Heidelberg.] red Deare, which lay still by the way, and would not stirre for our cries, or feare of our coach wheeles, but seemed to know their priuiledge, all hunting being forbidden vp|pon high penalties. Heidelberg is compassed with high Mountaines, on the South, East, and North sides; but towards the West, beyond the City and a long Suburbe, (being the sole Suburb in the Towne) the Mountaines lie open. This Suburbe is longer then the City, and they both lie in great length from the East to the West, and they both consist almost of one streete, and are built in the plaine, though compassed with Mountains. On the South-east side there is a faire and pleasant market place, and not farre thence a very high Mountaine called Konigstull, that is, Kingly seat, vpon the middle ascent whereof, is the Castle, in which the Phaltzgraue of the Rheine holds his Court, and vpon the top of this Mountaine are the ruines of an old Tower, blow|en vp with gun-powder. From this Mountaine on the South side runne caues vnder the Earth, to the Westerne part of the Mountaine of Goates, vpon which Mountaine is a Tower called Trotz-keyser, as if it were built in despight of Caesar, and it is worth the seeing, for the antiquity and building, hauing no gate, but being entered by the caue vnder the earth, and being built with lime tempered, not with water, but wine, incredibly durable, at the time when the Emperour making warre against the Phaltz|graue, besieged this City. In the valley vnder this Mountaine of Goates, towards the City, is a pleasant walk, of the sweetnes called the Phylosophicall way. In the ditch par|ting the City and Suburbe, is a place for the exercise of shooting with the Musket and Crosse-bow: On the North side of the City the shallow and vnnauigable Riuer Nec|car, runneth in a plaine by the City betweene it and the Mountaine from the East to the West, and in the same course hauing

run more then a mile, fals into the Rheine, and though it be shallow, yet sometimes it ouerflowes the Bridge of the City, as it did in the yeere 1565. passing into the Towne. On the North side you passe a bridge built of wood vpon arches of stone, to a pleasant walke vpon the banke of the Riuer, be|tweene the Mountaine and the water: and from thence you goe vp to the holy Moun|taine, vulgarly Heiligberg: and some say this City had his name of that Mountaine; but others say it hath the name of the Dutch word Edelberg, that is Noble Mountaine, others of a Colony of Romans, being Heathen, will haue it at first called Heidenberg, that is, the Mountaine of the Heathen. Vpou this Mountaine be the ruines of a Church of great antiquity, first dedicated to Mercury, and since made a Monastery, and neere the same is a ruined Cloyster of Nunnes (as commonly their nests were not farre di|stant) and there is a passage vnder the Earth from one Cloyster to another. This is a most high Mountaine, and hath a thicke wood. The City of Heydelberg, by reason it is compassed with Mountaines, hath a very vnhealthfull aire, which maketh Funerals very frequent therein; but the water is held very healthfull. In the Innes they aske se|uen batzen the meale, but the Students haue their diet in Citizens or Professors hou|ses for two guldens, or one doller weekely: and the fame of the Professors drew many Students at this time to this Vniuersity. There is (to my remembrance) but one Church vsed for prayer aud preaching, and there is a monument with this inscripti|on in Latine;

33 ¶ Viglius Suicherius laid this to the memory of Rodulphus Agricola, borne in Friestand: he died in the yeere 1485, ihe 28 of October; he liued 42 yeeres and two moneths.

There is another Epitaph to this Rodulphus Agricola, made in verse by Hermolaus Bar barus Patriarke of Aquilegia.

Inuida clauserunt hee mar more fata Rodulphum, Agricotam, Frisij spemque decusque soli, Scilicet hoc vno meruit Germania laudes, Qutequid habet Latium, Graecia quicquid habet. Enuious Fates vnder this stone haue closde The Frisons ioy Rodulph Agricola, By whom all praise on Germans is impofde. That Italy or Greece had to this day.

While I liued here the rest of this summer, I made a journey of pleasure to see the Cities lying vpon the West side of the Rheine, and hiring a horse after the wonted price at Heydelberg, I rode two miles and a halfe to the Rheines side, and then halfe a mile further to the City of Spire, where the imperiall chamber is held, in which Court [Note: Spire.] the chiefe differences of the Empire are iudged; and the Electors themselues, or any ab|solute Princes vnder the Empire, may bee called thither to triall of law. The City is built in a plaine, on the West side of Rheine, and hath more antiquity then beauty, or magnificence. Here I paid eight batzen each meale.

From hence I rode one mile to the City of Wormz, famous for many imperiall Par|liaments held there of old: and by the way we passed Frankendale, a little City new|ly and very fairely built, which place Casimire the Elector gaue vnto the Flemmings of late, who then had built many faire bricke houses there, and then compassed it with a wall; and Casimire taking vpon him the tutorship of his Nephew, against the will of the Lutherans, who reiected him as a Caluinfst, tooke some of these Flemmings to guard the Castle of Heidelberg. The building of Wormz shewes great antiquity, and [Note: Wormz.] wanteth not magnificence, where I paid feuen Batzen a meale. This territory on the West side of the Rheine is very fruitfull, and yeeldeth the best Rhenish Wines, so called of the Rheine by which they grow.

From hence againe I passed the Rheine, and retur|ned to Heydelberg.

Then I tooke my iourney to Franckfort Faire. The first day I passed foure miles to Bentzon, hauing hils on my right hand toward the East, planted with Vines, and fields set with roots; and vpon my left hand towards the West, a faire and fruitfull plaine: and here I paid seuen Batzen for my supper. The second day in the morning I passed foure miles in the territory of George Landgraue of Hessen, to Arhelygen, through wood|dy mountaines, planted with some Vines, and a plaine for one mile sandy, but the rest good pasture. We passed by Dormstat, where the said Landgraue holds his Court, and there each man paid sixe Fenning tribute. At Arheligen I paid sixe Batzen for my dinner. In the afternoone I passed some three miles to Franckfort, through a sandy plaine, and a wood of Oakes and Beeches, and by the way they shewed vs a strange leape of a Stagge, which being chased, did leape ouer a cart (if you may beleeue them) loaded with hey.

Franckfort is a free City of the Empire, famous for the Electors meeting there, to choose the Emperour, and for two yeerely Faires, as also for many Parliaments of the [Note: Franckfort:] Empire held there, and it is called Franckfort vpon the Maene, to distinguish it from another City of the same name, built vpon the Brooke Odera, and named thereof. For the Riuer Maene running from the East to the West, diuideth the great City from the lesse called the Saxons House, vulgarly Sachsen-hausse, and betweene them is a bridge of stone vpon foure narrow Arches. Both the Cities are gouerned by the same Senate and Law, and haue the fame name, either of Francus rebuilding it, or of a Foord for passage of the Franckes or French. The City is compassed strongly with a double wall; and vpon the East side is the gate Heilegthore, where is the Iewes street, who are permiteed to dwell in this famous Mart-towne, and sucke the blood of Christians by 34 extortion. There is another gate called Freydigthore: On the North side of the City is the gate Brickenport, and a large place for an horse Faire. On the West side is the gate of strangers, vulgarly Welsh-thore, so called because the French enter that way: it is very strong; and without the gate there is a very pleasant walke vpon the banke of Maene, among Vineyards and Meadowes, with sweet Groues. On the South side the Maene runneth by, diuiding (as I said) the new City from the old. In the new or lesse City called the Saxons-house, is a house of old belonging to the Teutonike order of Knights, which by old priuiledge is to this day a Sanctuary for banckrupts and man|slaiers, so they be not wilful and malicious murtherers; but they enioy this priuiledge onely for foureteene daies, so as when the time is neere out, or vpon any opportunity during the time, they vse to steale out, and returning after an houre, begin a new to rec|kon againe the foureteene daies. A little before my comming thither, a certaine bank|rupt of Colen entered the same for a debt of twenty thousand Guldens. On this side some ground without the wals belongs to the City, but on other sides it hath almost no Land without the wals. The City is of a round forme, seated in a large plaine, the streetes are narrow, and the houses built of timber and clay, the foundations of some being of stone. In the Innes they aske seuen or eight batzen a meale, but Merchants and many strangers vse to hire a chamber, and buy their meat of the Cookes.

From hence to Hamburge I and foure others hired a coach for fifty Dollers, and besides were to pay for the coach-mans diet, for here first the coach-man conditioned to be free from paying his diet, vul-

garly Maulfrey; that is free for the mouth, whereas in other parts our coach-men paid for themselues. Alwaies vnderstand that at the times of the faires, coaches are set dearer then any time els. The first day after break|fast, wee went three miles to Freideburge, through corne fields set with cabages and rootes, and by the way we passed a Village belonging to the Count of Hanaw. Freide|burge is a free City of the Empire, and the buildings are of timber and clay: here each man paid seuen batzen for his supper and for his part of the coach-mans supper. The second day in the morning, we went three miles to Geysen, through fruitfull hils of corne. Phillip Landgraue of Hessen left three sonnes, William of Cassiles, whom Maurice his sonne succeeded, and was now liuing, and Lodwicke of Marpurg, and George of Dormstat. This territory belonged to the Landgraue Lodwicke, (for all the brothers in Germany haue the same stile of honour) and he was also at that time Lord of this City Geysell, which is fortified with wals of earth, and deepe ditches, but the building is base of timber and clay, and for the most of meere dirt. These verses were written vpon the gate of the City.

Captus erat Princeps non marte sed Arte Philippus, Cum bene munitum destrueretur opus. Nominis hoc patrij Lodouicus amore refecit, Anno bis septem lustra sequente none; Principe dignus honos, patrias surcire ruinas, A quibus Hassiacos Cbriste tuere polos. Prince Phillip captiu'de not by warre, but Art, This worke of strength was then demolished; In Countries loue Prince Lodwicke for his part Rebuilt it, seuenty nine yeeres finished, Ruines repaire is for a Princes hand, From which disasters Christ shield Hessen land.

Here I paid sixe Batzen for my dinner, and my part for the coach-man.

In the afternoone we went three miles through high stony mountaines and woods of oakes, to Kirnham, belonging to the Landgraue Lodwick, whose Court at Mar|purg lies a mile from thence. All of vs at supper drunke sixe measures of wine, besides beere, and from henceforth wee paid seuerally for meat and drinke, and at this time each of vs paid ten Weissenfenning for both together. The third day we passed three miles to Drest, through high mountaines with woods of Oake, and many fruitfull val|leies of corne, and each man paid with his portion for the coach-man foure Weissen|fenning for meat, and as much for wine. This territory belongs to Landgraue Maurice 35 of Cassiles. After dinner we passed three miles to Fester, through high mountaines full of oake woods, and entered the City, seated vpon a mountaine by a bridge of stone, vpon which side great store of water fals from the mountaines, the houses were of tim|ber and clay, each one for the most part hauing a dunghill at the doore, more like a poore Village, then a City: but such are the buildings of the Cities in Hessen, the hou|ses of Villages being of meere dirt, and thatched. Here each man paid for his meat and old wine; and his part for the coach-man an Orts Doller, or fourth part of a Doller.

The fourth day we passed three miles to Cassiles, a City where the Landgraue Mau|rice [Note: Cassiles.] holds his Court, all our way lying through fruitfull hils of corne. The City is strongly fortified with wals of earth and deepe ditches, but the houses are basely built like the rest in Hessen. Phellip his grandfather built the castle, and William his father the wals. For my dinner and my part for the coach-man I paide the fourth part of a Doller.

In the afternoone we passed two miles through woody mountaines, to Myndaw, in the territory of the Duke of Brunswike, who is also Lord of the City. The Riuer Visur|gis runnes by it, ouer which there is

a bridge of stone vpon fiue Arches. Here each man paid for himselfe and his part for the coach-man, seuen maria-groshen for meat, and as much for wine. The beere of this territory is very bitter, and like a potion makes one laxatiue. The fifth day we passed three miles and a halfe, through Moun|taines for halfe the way, and the rest through corne fields most fruitfull, and dined at Norton, each man paying fiue batzen and a halfe. After dinner we passed two miles and a halfe to a poore Village, through a like fruitfull plaine of corne, and by the way we passed Namerton, a City belonging to the Duke of Brunswicke. In this Village each man paid fiue Maria-groshen. The sixt day we passed two miles to the City Zeason, through hils and fields of corne, the building of the City is of meere clay, couered with thatch, but our diet was plentifull, and each man paid sixe Maria-groshen for himselfe, and his part for the coach-man. After dinner we passed three miles to a poore village, through wooddy mountaines, yet fruitfull of corne and pasture, and through a great Fen and here each man paid seuen Maria-groshen.

The seuenth day we passed three miles to Brunswike, through a fruitfull plaine of corne, end a large Fen set with willow trees neere the City. Many fields as we came be|sides [Note: Brunswike.] the corne, were set with cabage and rootes, and within a mile of Brunswike we left on the right hand toward the South, the City Wolfenbieten, where the Duke of Brun|swike keepes his Court, and though he be so called of an old title, yet he is not Lord of Brunswike, which is a free City of the Empire seated in a plaine, all the territory round about it being most fruitfull in corne. The City is of a quadrangle forme, and in cir|cuit containes two miles, being held greater then Nurnberg, and lesse then Erford. It hath high wals of earth fastened with willowes, and is very strong, hauing the wals on some sides double, and otherwhere treble, besides that it hath a wooddy valley be|tween deepe ditches filled with water, and is compassed with the Riuer Aneur. With|in this wall and riuer are fiue Cities, distinguished by priuiledges, but vnited by lawes. The first seated towards the west, is called Altstat, that is Old city, hauing almost at the entrance a faire market place, and neere it the cathedrall Church, called Martinstifft. The second lying towards the North, is called Newstat, that is New city. The third lying towards the East is called Imsacke. The fourth lying towards the South is cal|led Imhagen. And the fifth which was built first of all, and lieth also towards the South, is called Altweg, that is, The old way. This city of old was the metropolitan city of Saxony, and had the name of Bruno, and the Dutch word Vuick, signifying a Village. It hath twelue Churches, whereof two haue the steeples couered with lead, which be|ing very rare in Germany, is held to be magnificent; the rest are couered with tiles, one excepted, which (to my remembrance) is couered with brasse, which being lesser-are with them is lesse esteemed, and the houses are built of timber and clay. In the yard of the Cathedrall Church there is the statua of a very great Lion, which the Emperour Henry the first, surnamed Lyon, erected there.

36 From Branswike I went to Luneburge, and the first day in the morning passed foure miles to a certaine Village, through a sandy plaine, and fenny wild ground, and by the way we passed Getherne a village, where the Duke of Luneburge (Lord of this territory) hath a Castle, and he holds his court some fiue miles off, at Sell. Here each man paid for his dinner fiue Lubecke shillings. In the afternoone we passed fiue miles to a coun|trey house, through like Fenny and woody wild grounds, seeing but one Village in the

way; and here each man paid for supper three Lubecke shillings. Next morning we passed foure miles to a Village Empsdorff, through like grounds: and here each man paid for dinner fiue Lubecke shillings the coach-mans part being reckoned: for I for|merly said that hiring a coach from Franckfort to Hamburg, we were tied to pay for the coach-mans diet, himselfe paying for his horse-meat, as commonly they doe. Af|ter dinner we passed three miles to Luneburge, through a soyle as barren as the former, where each man paid for himselfe and his part of the coach-mans supper, eight Lu|becke shillings. I speake nothing of the City which I haue described before, but goe on with my iourney.

The next morning we passed three miles to Wintzon, through a Fenny ground, and woods of Oake, yeelding some corne, but sparingly, and here our coachman paid a Lubecke shilling for his coach to the Duke of Luneburge, whose territory endeth here. Then we passed a mile further to Bergendorff, and by the way our coachman passing ouer the Elue, paid a Lubecke shilling to the Officers of the Cities of Lubecke and Hamburg, to which Cities this territory is subiect, and gouerned by them in course, the soyle whereof after the passage of the Elue, is more fruitfull, the fields being full of corne, and ditches of water planted with willowes: here each man paid six Lu|becke shillings for our dinners. In the afternoone we passed three miles to Hamburge, hauing on the left side towards the West, faire pastures, and on the right hand to|wards [Note: Humburge.] the East, woods of oake, and fruitfull hils of corne. From hence I passed by boat with a faire wind in three houres to Stode, and paid for my passage three Lubeck shil|lings. These things I briefly set downe, hauing described these Cities before.

From Stode I wrote this Letter to Francis Markham, an English gentleman, whom I left at Heidelberg.

NOble Sir, I gladly take this occasion of witnessing my loue to you, which in a word I haue done, omitting all ceremonies as your selfe haue giuen me example: Onely for my promise sake, I will trouble you with the short relation of my iourney. When we parted at Eranckfort, you know I had for companions of my iourney two Flemmings, poore Merchants of Linnen cloth, and a Dutch Rider, and a Booke-bin|der of Denmarke. I comming first to the coach, tooke the most commodious seat, which these my worthy companions (forsooth) tooke in ill part, yet neither their mur|muring nor rude speeches could make me yeeld the place to them. Wee passed through Hessen to Brunswike, which iourney since you purpose to take, I aduise you to passe as soone as you can, that you may be out of your paine, and come to more pleasant Countries: for there you shall haue grosse meat, sower wine, stinking drinke, and filthy beds, and were not the way free from robberies, and the people curteous, I know not what other inconuenience might happen to a stranger in any passage. Your diet shall be for most part of cole worts, which was so strange to me, and so hard of digestion, as it greatly troubled me, and wrought vpon my body like physicke. At Brunswike I saw a lamentable sight, which I dare scarce relate to you, knowing your tendernes in those cases, yet for promise sake I must tell you, that I saw a very faire maide of fifteene yeeres, married to mine Host an old ohurle of seuenty yeeres. Be not discouraged, I will tell you a merry accident. Who would haue thought that my companions had dissembled so long their malice to mee, that now it might breake forth with more bitternes? You know Brunswike is a free city of the Empire, and one of those, which for priuiledge of trafficke vpon these coasts,

are called Hans-steten. Here out of custome passengers comming at first to enter trafficke, vse to giue the wine to the old Merchants, to which custome gentlemen for sociablenes haue submit|ted 37 themselues, so as the custome is almost growne into a Law. Now, for this pur|pose, salt being put about the table, for all to sweare whether they were free or no, I confessed that I had not yet paied for my freedome, yeelding my self to their censure. To be briefe; after they had fined me some cannes of wine, and with many ceremo|nies, had made me free, it remained that he whom they had chosen to be my God-fa|ther, making a graue Oration, with some rude ieasts after their fashion, should instruct me with some precepts how to recouer this expence. One of my companions easily tooke this charge vpon him; and after many circumstances, he concluded in this man|ner: You are an Englishman, and because your countrey men loue to sit easily, and to fare delicately, I aduise you, that both at table and in coach, you be carefull to take the best place, which if you be diligent to performe, you shall bee soone satisfied for this expence. By chance my place then at table was betweene the coachman and his seruant, for you know the Dutch are not curious of place, and little regard strangers in that kinde; but I knew where my Gentlemans shooe wrung him, namely in that I had chosen my place in the coach. And thus I answered him; Sir I take thankeful|ly your graue counsell, and will make vse of it; but me thinkes it is too generall, ma|king no distinction of degrees, for if I haue Gentlemen to my companions, who are not willingly ouercome in courtesie, I should rather yeeld them place: but if I fall in|to base and clownish company, I will not faile to make vse of your counsell. The Gentlemen at Table smiled, and so we ended this ceremony with a health. Hence I passed to Lunchurg, and so to Hamburg; where the people after dinner, warmed with drinke, are apt to wrong any stranger, and hardly indure an Englishman in the morning when they are sober. Therefore without any stay, I passed hence to Stode. It is strange how the people raile on English-men in these parts. For that which we call warre at sea, and the royall Nauy, that they terme robbery and Pirats ships: neither haue they the patience to heare any iustification or excuse. You see what toyes I write, rather then I will leaue you vnsaluted, and if you vse not like freedome to me, farewell friendship. So I take my leaue, from Stode the first of October, 1592.

From Stode I passed to Emden, and for the better explaning of that iourney, giue mee leaue to prefix the following Letter; out of the due place, being written from Emden, and directed

To AEgidius Hoffman, a Gentleman of Flaunders, my deare friend, Student at Heidelberg.

NOble AEgidius, the Letters you gaue me to deliuer at Breme, haue produced a co|micall euent, (such may all the passages be of our loue,) which you shall vnder|stand in a word. When in my purposed iourney I came to Stode, more tired with the base companions I had, then the way; it happened, whilest I spent some dayes there with my friends, euery man spake of Spanish theeues, vulgarly called Freeboo|ters, who stealing out of their Garrisons vpon the Low-countries, lay in the villages, and vpon the high-wayes, by which I was to passe in my iourney to Emden, from which Citie a Merchant was newly arriued, who terrified me more then all the rest, affirming that in one day he had fallen thrice into these cut-throtes hands, and though he were of a neutrall City, yet had paied many Dollers for his ransome, adding, that they inquired curiously after English-men, promising rewards in the vil-

lages, to any man should giue them notice when any such passed. I knew not what counsell to take. There was no lesse danger from the Pirats of Dunkirke, if I passed by sea, especially in a ship of Hamburg, no other being in the harbour, and they being like to betray me, out of malice to our nation. Besides, the weather was very tempestious, and not like to change. Therefore my obstinate purpose to see the Cities vpon this coast, made me resolue to goe by land. So I bought an old Brunswicke thrummed hat, and made mee a poore Dutch suite, rubbing it in the dust to make it seeme old, so as my Taylor said, he took more paines to spoyle it, then to make it. I bought me linnen stockings, and disco|loured my face and hands, and so without cloake, or sword, with my hands in my hose, tooke my place in a poore waggon. I practised as much as I could, Pythagori|call 38 silence; but if any asked me who I was, I told him that I was a poore Bohemian, and had long serued a Merchant at Leipzig, who left mee to dispatch some businesse at Stode, and then commanded me to follow him to Emden. If you had seene my ser|uile countenance, mine eyes cast on the ground, my hands in my hose, and my mo|dest silence, you would haue taken me for a harmelesse yong man. Many pleasant euents happened to me thus disguised; wherewith I will not trouble you, onely one I am tied to impart to you. When I came to Breme, I was doubtfull what to doe with your Letters. I thought not to deliuer them, but keepe them till a fitter time, or at least to send them by a messenger. But in so doing I should haue broken my pro|mise to you, haue lost the fruit of your recommendation, and the opportunity to see your mother and sisters, without hope hereafter to see them. Then I thought to deliuer them, and because I was disguised in base apparell, to confesse who I was, and wherefore so disguised. But when I looked my face in a glasse, I could not for shame take this course. At last I resolued to deliuer them, and to say, I was seruant to my selfe, (wherein I lyed not, for I haue euer too much obeyed my owne affections,) and that my master meaning to passe from Stode by sea, for feare of the abouesaid dan|gers, had sent me by land, with command to stay for him at Leyden. To bee briefe, I went to your mothers house, where a seruant opened mee the doore, to whom I gaue your Letters; but when he scarce looking at me, would haue locked the doore, I took my Letters againe, saying I had promised to deliuer them with my owne hand; and so I entred with him, and gaue them into the hands of your mother and sister, who inquired much after you, and so much after my master, as I might perceiue you had made friendly mention of me in your Letters. They entertained me with much cur|tesie, being thus disguised for my owne seruant; and when I went away your mother would needs giue mee six batzen to spend, neither would any refusall preuaile, but I must needs take them. So I set a marke vpon these peeces, left I should spend them; and am not out of hope, ere I die, to shew them to you. To the purpose; at the dore I met your brother, whom I had seene at Frankfort, and was not a little afraide left for all my disguising, he would haue knowne me. Let it not trouble you, that I tell you another merry accident I had in the same City of Breme. Disguised as I was, I went to the house of Doctor Penzelius, desiring to haue the name of so famous a Diuine, written in my stemme-booke, with his Mott, after the Dutch fashion. Hee seeing my poore habite, and a booke vnder my arme, tooke me for some begging Scholler, and spake sharpely vnto me. But when in my masters name I had respectiuely salu|ted him, and told him my request, he excused his mistaking, and with

all curtesie per|formed my desire. I will trouble you no longer, but hope by some good occasion to imbrace you, and tell you all the other passages of my iourney. In the meane time I go forward to Leyden in Holland, you (as you do) euer loue me, and as my soule, liue and f [illeg.] a rewell. From Emden the twenty one of October, 1592.

I paied twenty foure Stiuers for my passage eleuen miles in a waggon from Stode to Breme. And the first day after breakefast, wee passed three miles to Ford, a poore Citie, subiect to the Bishop of Breme: through wilde, fenny; and woody grounds. The Towne is seated in a Fenne, hauing a long paued Causey to passe vnto it; and the gate being opened to vs by night, each man gaue the Porter two Lubeck shillings, and by the way in a village' each man paied, six Fenning for his person. At Ford the Bishop of Breme hath a Castle, strongly fortified with Rampiers of earth, and deepe ditches full of water; and here each man paied for his supper three Lubeck shillings and a halfe. The waggoner taking me thus disguised (as formerly I haue said) for a poore Bawre; said these words to me in Dutch: Du knecht hilff zu tragen die packe hye: that is Ho good fellow, helpe here to carry this pack; I answered, ya gar gern, yea most wil|lingly; and smiling laied my shoulder to the burthen, and groned deepely, but help|ed him very little. Next morning early, by Moone light, we passed on three miles, through large and wilde woods, to a Countrey house; and by the way my compani|ons fell in talke of English affaires, so foolishly, as my laughter, though restrained, had often betraied me; if twi-light had not kept mee from being seene. Their ignorance 39 greatly shortned my way, with the pleasure I took in their answeres to some such que|stions propounded by me, whereof my selfe had many times beene forced to giue an account to others. By the way they shewed mee a Hill called Meineidig, of certaine false witnesses of old sinking there into the ground. At this Countrey house, each man paied for his breakfast three Lubeck shillings and a halfe. Then from sixe of the clocke in the morning, till nine, we passed fiue miles to Breme; through an Heath, and many huge Woods of Oake; hauing towards the South a Fenne of tenne miles length, which of the vastnesse and wildenesse, is called the Diuels Fenne. By the way within a mile of Breme, each man paied halfe a Sesling tribute, to the officers of the City; and from thence wee passed a winding paued Causey, to the very City. Men may also passe from Hamburg to Breme by water.

This Citie is one of the Imperiall free Cities, and of them which vpon this Sea|coast, [Note: Breme.] are called Hans-steten, for freedome of trafficke, and it is very strongly fortified with high walles of earth, and deepe ditches filled with water: besides that the Citi|zens may drowne the Fenny fields almost round about at pleasure. The building of this, as also of the neighbour Cities; is partly of bricke, partly of stone, and very faire, but the streets heere are filthy. The Citie is fiue miles distant from the sea; And the riuer Visurgis running from the South east to the North VVest, by the South west side of the City runneth al the length of the same. On the North east side, the walles of earth are broad, and there bee three faire gates, with strong Rampiers. Vpon the South West side, being compassed all with Fennes, there bee no walles. In the furthest angle or corner towards the North west, where the City growes narrow; there is a strong Fort built, and the gate is within an Iland, beyond which lies a plaine of faire pastures. Osen-bridge lies not farre hence, from which towne great quantity of narrow linnen cloth is brought into England. At Breme I paied halfe a Doller for din|ner,

supper and breakfast; and a stiebkin or measure of wine extraordinary.

They had heere also the custome of making strangers free, and the same ceremony of giuing salt to sweare by; and I confessing that I was not free, committed my fine to their censure, hoping they would deale better with mee, for my poore disguised ha|bit, but it saued me nothing; the chiefe man saying to mee in Dutch: Gutt gesell du must gedult haben, es geit gleich bistu knecht oder here, deise gewonheit betrefft beyde zu gleich. That is, good fellow thou must haue patience, it is all one whether thou beest a seruant or a master, this custome toucheth both alike.

After dinner, taking my iourney from Breme, wee passed a mile vpon a stony Causey, called Steinweck, that is, stony way; and there each man paied to the officers of Breme, a quarter of a Stiuer. Then entering the Territory of the Graue (that is Count) of Oldenburg, we passed a mile through faire pastures, compassed with ditches of water, to a village, where each man paid a Sesling to the Count, and to this place each man paid for his Waggon fiue groates. Here when my companions had drunke their fill, and had slept a while in the straw, as my selfe did vpon a bench, to shun the stinking heat of the stoue; we hyred another waggon for three miles, paying fifteene groats: and that we might more securely passe, wee tooke our iourney at midnight, through a heath of huge woods of Oake, and came to Oldenburge, early in the mor|ning before the gates were open.

The Citie is built of meere clay, but the Counts Castle is built in a round forme [Note: Oldenburg.] of stone, with deepe ditches of water, ouer which they passe by a drawing bridge, and both the Castle and the City are strongly fortified. Heere we had English beere, the goodnesse whereof made my companions speake much in honour of England, and of the Queene, with much wonder that shee being a Virgine, was so victorious against the Spaniards, till in this discourse they all fell fast asleepe.

After breakfast the next morning, wee hauing hired a waggon for eighteene groates, passed foure miles in the territory of the said Count; and one mile to Stick|hausen, in the territory of the Count of Emden, who had a Castle there. Then because we could get no waggon in this place, wee went one mile further on foot, which be|ing very long, and my selfe hauing some gold Guldens in my shooes, which I could 40 not remoue without suspicion; the way was very irkesome to mee, and we came to a countrey house, but wee found good cheere, each man paying for his supper seuen groates. My selfe sitting last at the table, by reason of my poore habit, paied as much as the best, and fedde on the worst, but I had more minde of my bed, then of my meat. And one of my companions after supper, hauing streight boots, when I had taught him to pull off one by the helpe of a staffe, for recompence of my counsell, desired mee to pull off the other, which being disguised as I was, I could not well re|fuse. The next morning we hired a waggon for eleuen stiuers, and passed along mile to Leere, a towne subiect to the Count of Emden, who dwelt not far off, at Dunort a strong Castle. Our way through a Fen, was so deepe, as the waggon wheeles being pulled off, we went good part of the way on foot.

Here we vnderstood that the Spanish Free-booters (called by the English Male|contents) lay at Aurick, another castle of the said Count, and being loded with booty, had taken a barke by force, to passe ouer the Emsz. These cut-throates vsed at this time to raunge out of the Spanish Garrisons vpon the Low-countries, and to spoile all passengers in these parts, which they did with more confidence, because the

Count of Oldenburg, being offended with the Citizens of Breme, permitted these theeues to rob them, who were also very malicious against those of Breme, because they had lately taken thirty foure Free-booters; and beheading them altogether, had set vp their heads vpon stakes. Besides the Count of Emden hauing beene lately driuen out of Emden, by the Citizens in a tumult about religion, did permit these Free-boo|ters to lie in his Country, and spoyle the Merchants of that City. The chiefe Cap|taine of the Free-boaters then lying at Aurick: was Hans Iacob, a notable roge, and very malicious to the English, whom he vsed to spoyle of their very apparell, and to handle them cruelly; mocking them with these English words; I cannot tell, and swearing that he would make them tell, both of themselues, and of their countrey men passing that way. Some few dayes before hee had taken foure English wollen clothes, and many Flemmish linnen clothes; which they diuided by the length of a ditch, in stead of a better measure, and we were glad to heare that in this diuision they fell at variance, for when this Hans I acob would haue stopt a part, for the chiefe Captaine of the Garrison, the rest cryed out in Dutch: wir wollen dein mawger kopff lieber in zwey kleiben: Stelen wir sur andern vnd hangen far vns selbs? That is, wee will rather cleaue thy leane pate in two. Shall we steale for others and hang for our selues? And they vsed many reproches against him and their chiefe Captaine, saying in Dutch: Finstu was, bringt mirs, hangstu aber, habt dirs: Die Iudem, pfaffen, hauptleinte, vnd in hund, ver dienen ihr kost mit thr mund: That is, findest thou ought, bring it me, hangest thou, take that to thee? The lewes, Priests, Captaines and dogs, earne their liuing with their mouth; but these cut-throates, howsoeuer they had passed the Emsz, yet meant presently to returne, and had their spics in euery towne and village.

I returne to my iourney. While we lay at Leere for a night, a Doctor of the Ciuill Law seeing mee walke in the garden, and thinking my seruile habit not fit for con|templation, commanded mee to draw water for his horse, giuing mee no reward pre|sently but onely a nod; yet after when he had drunke with his friends, going out, he said to me, Knecht dore hastu zu drincken, That is, Sirra drinke you what is left. After supper, hauing expected a bed almost till midnight, the maide at last told mee I must lie vpon the bench; but after, while I was washing my feet, which the gold in my shooes had gauled, she espying my silke stokings, which I wore vnder my linnen, ran to her mistresse, and procured me a very good bed. This effect pleased me well, but I was afraide of the cause, by which lest I should bee discouered, I hasted away early next morning. I paied heere for my supper and breakfast, fifteene Stiuers, and giuing the seruant one for his paines, hee would haue restored it to mee, seeming by my habit to haue more need thereof then himselfe.

All this night and the next day, great store of raine fell, and the winde was so tempestuous, as we could not passe by water, neither would my companions hire a waggon, besides that, the way was at this time so dirty, as no waggon could passe it. 41 Notwithstanding since now onely two miles remained of my dangerous iourney, and I thought no thiefe would come out in such raine, I resolued to goe on foot with my companions to Emden, being two miles, but of vnspeakeable length, and difficul|ty to passe. In the high way wee had three passages; one vpon the top of the Banke, lying vpon an; arme of the Sea, or rather vpon the Riuer Emsz running into the Sea, and in this passage the tempestious winde was like to beare vs ouer; and

blinded vs with driuing salt water into our eyes, besides that wee went ouer the shooes in dirt. The second passage was on the side of the banke, from the water, somewhat fairer then the other, but in that most troublesome, that wee were forced continually to leane vpon a staffe, which euery one had in his hand lest being not staied with the staffe, we should fall into the lower way, which was intolerably dirty. The lower way, or third passage, in the bottome of the banke furthest from the water, was for the pas|sage of waggons, but the fields round about being ouerflowed in winter, this passage was now [...]. In this way we passed a very long mile, from the little City Leere, to the Village Aldernsea, from seuen of the clocke in the morning to twelue. We come out at first tenne companions in this iourney, but at the very com|ming out [...] six of them left vs, despairing to passe against a contrary winde in a foule rainy day and their feet sticking fast in the dirt, and they mocked at our obsti|nacy in going. Within a while, my selfe was wet to the skinne, and my shooes at euery step, were almost to the off, so as I was forced to binde them on with foure points, neither did any of vs looke backe at his fellow, to helpe him if hee could not follow, and if I should haue fallen into the Sea, I am confident none of them would haue come back to succour me. After we had gone halfe a mile, one of our foure com|panions being a young man: with a blacke beard, and able body, would not goe one foot further, though he had but one Stiuer in his purse, and was forced to borrow money of vs, that he might stay in a poore Ale-house. When we came to Aldernsea, the Free|booters spies, came to the Inne and gaped vpon vs, so as though I were wet to the skin, yet I durst not pull off any thing to dry, sest my inward garments better then my vp|per, should betray my disguise: neither durst I call for wine and spend freely lest they should thinke I had store of money. Each of vs paied seuen Stiuers for his dinner. Here another of our companions left vs, being so tired, as hee went to bed without eating one bit. So as now I had onely one companion left, called Anthony, a man of little stature, and a Citizen of Emden. We so be free of this dangerous iour|ney, went forward, and as we came out of the Village, the Free-booters spies came close to vs, and beheld vs narrowly; but seeing vs all couered with dirt, they tooke vs for poore men, and a prey vnfit to be followed. Wee gathering vp strength went on, till at last wee were so weary, as hauing no strength to chuse our way, wee cast away our staues, and went almost vp to the knees in dirt, in the lower way.

At last, hauing gone one mile (as me thought wondrous long) from one of the [Note: Emdex.] clocke in the afternoone to fiue, wee came to Emden, where my selfe entring the gate, could not stand till the Souldiers writ our names, but had lyen downe on the ground if they had not giuen mee a seat. Now being out of all danger of the Free-booters, in giuing my name, I wrote my selfe an English-man; the standers by not a little wondring that I had put my self to this dangerous passage. And truly this iourney, if it were free from all danger; yet the ill diet and lodging would yeeld trouble enough, for which I appeale to Lipsius, who hath pleasantly written of the entertainement in West-Phalen, and Oldenburg. The Citie of Emden lies in the vtmost border of the Empire, and is onely diuided by the Riuer Emsz; from the vnited Prouince of Netherland, and by an Inland Sea from West Freez-land, being one of them. The Countrey about Emden aboundeth with villages, and from a Tower at Goricome, a man may see at once vpon a saire day twenty two walled Townes. Not farre from this City, neere [...], is the place where the Duke of Alu a defeated the

forces of Lodwick of Nassaw, his Dutchmen refusing to fight, except they were first paied. All the fields about Emden are drowned in winter, and the City lying vpon the Sea; for want of fresh waters they dresse most of their meat with raine water. The aire 42 is very vnhealthfull, but the City is fairely built of bricke, and the Citizens are very curteous. On the South side the Riuer Emsz washeth the City with his salt streames, on which side is the Hauen, and the Citizens are said to haue some three score ships of a hundred tunnes a peece, and some six hundred barkes of their owne. In the Churchyard on this side, many peeces of Ordinance are laid, towards Leere and Dunort the Counts Fort, and the like are laid vpon the Hauen, and some places of aduantage: for the City hath no walles on this side. On the West side, beyond the water lyeth Marish ground to the mouth of the Sea, and vpon this side is a strong old Castle. On the North side the City is compassed with a wall of earth, and deepe ditches full of water, and there be two strong gates, Belgarport, and New-port, with|out which the fields are Fenny. On this side there is a passage by boat, to the su|burbes on the East side, where the fields without the towne are faire pastures in sum|mer, but all ouerflowed in winter; and vpon the Rampier of the wall, are many Winde-mils. The City is of a round forme, if it were not somewhat longer from the East to the West. At Emden they pay ordinarily six Stiuers a meale, three stiuers for a quart of English beere, eleuen Stiuers for a quart of Spanish wine, thirteene Stiuers a quart of Rhenish wine, and seuen Stiuers for French wine: my selfe paid for supper and breakfast twenty three Stiuers.

2

1.4 CHAP. IV.

Of my iourney from Emden in Germany, to Leyden in Holland, and through the vnited Prouinces of the Low-Countries.

ON Thursday the twenty seuen of October, in the yeere 1592, I tooke ship after dinner at Emden; being to saile [Note: Ann. 1592.] into West Freesland, one of the vnited Prouinces, and paied for my passage tenne Stiuers. The same night wee cast anchor neere Vrspenhurn, a Fort seated beyond the Emsz, and belonging to the States of the vnited Prouin|ces; and beyond this Port towards Plaunders, on the same side of the Emsz, lieth the Territory of the City Groning, seated in an Iland, rich in pastures, and at this time go|uerned by a Spanish Garrison, which the Citizens had willingly receiued, though the States after besieged this City, and droue out the Spaniards, and vnited the City to the rest. As we lay at Anchor, two little Ilands lay on the North side, one subiect to Emden, the other to Groning, and beyond them lay the German Sea. On Friday wee set saile with a scant winde, and towards night were left vpon a Flat, vulgarly called Gat: where the water forsaking vs, we walked out of the ship vpon the sand, compas|sed round about with the Sea, till the same flowing backe againe, our ship floated. On Saterday we set saile againe, and towards night rested vpon a like Flat, expecting the floud. Three of these Flats are in this Inland sea, and there be two like Flats in the Inland sea, beteene Freesland and Holland. At last wee landed on Sunday in Freesland, at the Village Aniou, lying neere the Sea shore, whether wee hired a sledge for eight stiuers, and were drawne thither ouer the yce and snow.

After we had dined for twelue stiuers each man (whereof more then halfe was rec|koned for drinke) we went in a skeut by water, in foure houres space, one mile to Dockam: and each man paid for his passage foure stiuers and a halfe, we could not [Note: Dockam.] passe by waggon, the high way being then drowned. Nothing were more pleasant, nothing more quicke, then Sea-voyages, if a man might promise himselfe a good wind, and a reasonable gale: but through contrariety of winds and tempests, they commonly proue tedious. This small voyage which afflicted vs foure daies, might haue beene passed in sixe houres, if the winds had fauoured vs. And this hope of a 43 short passage, caused vs to make no prouision of victuals, so as the Barke being go|uerned by one Mariner and a boy, who had nothing but cheese and musty bread to liue vpon, and so could not much releeue vs; each houre of these foure daies seemed a yeere vnto vs. Dockam a City of West Freesland, little in circuit, is in two places diuided with water, which at this time ouer flowed into the very houses. The wall is strong with rampiers of earth, and the houses here, as in all these parts of Netherland are built of bricke. Here I paid for my supper twenty stiuers, eating at an Ordinary, but the company sitting at the fire, and drinking after supper, all vseth to be diuided equally, whether a man drinke or not.

The first of Nouember we went by water in sixe houres space two miles to Lewerden, hauing on each side the water, fertile pastures, and passing by two Forts, and each man [Note: Lewerden.] paid for his passage three stiuers. The City is faire and well fortified, and William Count of Nassau, cousin to Count Maurice, and Gouernour of Friesland, had his

resi|dence in the same. The streetes are large, and diuided with water, and the houses are fairely builded of bricke. The City hath no Suburbs, and is of a round forme, but the waters diuiding the streetes, slowly or not at all moued, are in this City (as almost in all other of these Prouinces) subiect to stinking. In the midst of the City there is a dam to|let in water at pleasure, which in this place and two miles further is salt in tast. Passen|gers entering the City leaue their swords with the guard of souldiers, and receiue them backe when they goe out of the Towne. The Villages hereabouts paid yeerely contri|bution to the Spanish garison of Groning, left they should breake in, and spoile them. Here (they say) the first sermon of reformed religion was made, in the Monastery of the Iacobinet: and here I paid for my supper foureteene stiuers.

From Lewerden we went by water from eight a clocke in the morning, to fiue in the [Note: Froniker.] afternoone, two-miles to Froniker, an Vniuersity of Friesland, lately renewed, and one mile to the City Harlingen, and we paid six stiuers for our passage. Entering this City, we left our swords with the guard of souldiers, who restored them to vs when wee [Note: Harlingen.] went away. It is a little City, and lieth in length from the East to the West, but is some|what more narrow towards the North, where the houses are thinly built. On the west and North sides, lies an arme of the Sea, comming out of the German Sea, and here inclosed with the continent and Ilands. On the South and East sides without the gates, are faire pastures in a large plaine. I lodged in an Englishmans house, the chiefe Host of the City, who either dispising England and Englishmen, or too much respe|cting his masters of Friesland, gaue me such entertainment, as I tooke him for one of the old Picts: for hauing placed his Gentlemen of Friesland at one table, he called me to the second, and seeing that I tooke it in ill part, lest I should no lesse dislike my lodging, he intreated a gentleman of Friesland to admit me partner of his bed, but I hearing the gentleman condition with him about the cleannesse of my body and lin|nen, for very scorne would not trouble his worship, but chose rather to lie vpon a bench. And it was most ridiculous, that this Host excused himselfe to me, as hauing for countries sake made bold with me, whom he had neuer seene before. I paid for my supper and breakefast with wine, thirty stiuers, and one of my consorts drinking no wine, paid sixeteene, whereof nine was for beere.

From Harlingen I went by the said Inland Sea, vulgarly called Zwidersea, foure|teene miles to Amsterdam, and paid eight stiuers for my passage. Some of our passen|gers going onely to Enchusen, paid fiue stiuers, for by couenant betweene the Cities, the ships must land their passengers at Enchusen, and there receiue such new passengers [Note: Enchusen.] as they find, and one ship at least is bound daily to make this passage. From the said Harlingen a City of Friesland, wee passed in foure houres saile to Enchusen a City of Holland, which is fortified with a wall of earth, and strong rampiers, and lieth in length from the North to the South. The Hauen lies on the East side; and the new City was then building towards the West side. This City lying betweene the mouth of the Ger|man sea, and Amsterdam, another City of Holland, and in the beginning of the warre taking part with the Prince of Orange, forced Amsterdam by stopping all supply of vi|ctuals, to yeeld to the said Prince. Hauing made short stay here, we tooke ship againe, 44 and sayling from siue a clocke in the euening, to twelue in the night, in the same Inland sea, we entered the Riuer Tay, where we cast anchor till foure in the morning, and then

setting sayle, passed one mile in that Riuer before sixe of the clocke, and landed at Am|sterdam.

Fiue streetes of this City are diuided with water the Riuer: Tay flowes like a large and calme sea on the North side, where is a safe port, the trafficke being great in this [Note: Amsterdam] City, and at Midleburg since the passage to Antwerpe was stopped. Vpon the Hauen lics a field or market place, called Campplata, where the Citizens vse to behold their friends going to sea, and returning home. From this place towards the South lies Warmerstrat, a long and large street, betweene two Riuers, which part of the City is called, the new Ditch. The Merchants in summer meet vpon the Bridge, and in win|ter they meet in the New Church, in very great number, where they walke in two rankes by couples, one ranke going vp, and another going downe, and there is no way to get out of the Church, except they slip out of the doores, when in one of those rankes they passe by them. On the East side of the City there is a wall of stone, higher then the City, hauing a pleasant walke vpon it. In the same place are houses for exercise of shooting in gunneo and crosse-bowes: beyond this wall there is another of earth, and betweene these wals the new City was plotted out, where of few houses were then built, but since I heare it is fully finished. Likewise on the South and West sides there be two like wals, and between them the plot of the said new City, in which many faire houses were then built. The fields on all sides without the gates being fen|ny and drowned with water, doe make the City more strong, but for this cause (they say) the foundations of the houses being laid in water, cost as much or more as the houses themselues. The Riuer Amster (of which, and the word dam, the City is na|med) running from the South through three lakes, entereth this city, and passing through it, fals into the Riuer Tay on the North side. The City hath fiue gates, which are shut at dinners and suppers, though the danger of the warre be farre from them. There be two Churches in which they haue two sermons each second day, and foure on sunday. The City lay in length from the North to the South, but adding the plot of the new City, it is of a round forme. The streetes are narrow, and the buil|ding of bricke, with a low roofe, shewed antiquity. They haue two Almeshouses (called Gasthausen, that is, Houses for strangers) which were of old Monasteries. One of these houses built round, was a Cloyster for Nunnes, wherein sixty beds at this time were made for poore weomen diseased, and in another chamber thereof were fifty two beds made for the auxiliary Soulders of England, being hurt or sicke, and in the third roome were eighty one beds made for the hurt and sicke Souldiers of o|ther Nations: to which souldiers and sicke weomen they giue cleane sheetes, a good diet, and necessary clothes, with great cleanlinesse, and allow them Physitians and Sur|gions to cure them: and most of the Cities in these Prouinces haue like houses. Here I lodged with an English-man, and paid for dinner and supper twenty stiuers, and for a guest inuited to supper, ten stiuers, and for three pints or chopines of Spanish wine, twenty one stiuers.

From Amsterdam I went in a boat three miles to Harlam, and paid for my passage foure stiuers: we had not passed farre from Amsterdam, when we came to a damme, shutting out the flowing of the sea, for the waters are salt thus farre, though the eb|bing and the flowing of the sea can hardly be discerned at Amsterdam, for the depth of the Riuer Tay; aud because Inland seas shew little ebbing or flowing. Our boat was lifted ouer this damme by ropes, and so let fall into the water on the other

side, for which the Mariners paid tribute. There is another damme for greater Barkes, and as by these dammes they let in waters to the Land at pleasure, so they haue other dams at Torgay to let them out againe into the Sea, when the Land hath too much water. From hence we had the Sea-shore all the way on the North side, not farre distant and on both sides of the water in which we passed, were faire pastures, parted with ditches of water.

The Riuer running from Amsterdam, from the East to the North, doth turne 45 neere Harlam towards the South, and diuideth the City, which on all sides is com|pasied [Note: Harlam.] with Nauigable waters. On the North side neere the gate Ians-port, Don Frederick, sonne to the Duke of Alun, pitched his tent in a meadow, when he besieged the City with the Spanish forces, and much spoiled those parts, beating downe Gen|tlemens faire houses (dwelling frequently in that part) with his Artillery, playing into this street, hauing the name of the Knights of Saint Iohn. On the same side are two other gates, Sayle-port, and Cruyse-port, and without them toward the sea, be|ing halfe a mile distant, are very faire pastures, but there is no riuer nor ditch that leads from the City to the sea. For these Prouinces haue onely three passages to goe to sea: one betweene Rotherodam and B [illeg.] r il, a Fort of Zealand, the second at Vlishing ano|ther Port of Zealand, and the third from Amsterdam betweene two Ilands, called rhe Fly and Shelling. Wee comming from Amsterdam to Harlam, entred the Citie by the gate Kleine holt Port, on the East side, where the very Almes-houses were beaten downe, in the aforesaid siege of the Spaniards, and the walles then beaten downe, were not yet rebuilt. On the South side is the fifth gate, Grote-holt Port, the street whereof is the fairest, next that of the Knights of Saint Iohn. On this side was a wall of stone, but at this time they were building another very strong wall beyond it of earth. In the New-street is the house for exercise of shooting, and another old house for the same vse, and one market-place sweetly shaded with trees, and a second mar|ket-place of good length for the selling of Cattle. Likewise on this side another part of the Spanish Army lay, and destroyed a most pleasant Wood, of which the gate and street haue the name. And they report that the Spaniards taking the City, vsed great cruelty to all; but especially to the Garrison of the English Souldiers. The Histories witnesse, that three hundred were beheaded; and more then two hundred drowned in the Lake, called Harlammere. On the West side the Citie is compassed with a wall of earth, and there bee faire pastures betweeue the City and the Sea. A|mong the Churches; that which is called the Great, is the fairest, and our Ladies Church, vulgarly called Vnser-fraw kirke, is the next in beautie. All the sea coast of Holland, is a sandy downe, in which are great store of conies. This Citie makes great store of linnen clothes, and hath some fiue hundred spinsters in it. The water heere (as most of these Cities) standing, and little or nothing mouing, is subiect to stinking, so as they are forced to fetch water for brewing by boats. Here I paied for supper, and my part of wine twenty stiuers, and for my dinner without wine, thirteene stiuers. About a mile from the City is a very sweet Hil, called Weligheberg, whether the brides vse to walke, and there take their leaues of the Virgins. And in the mid way towards Almer, is another Hil, where the Counts of Holland vvere vvont to bee consecrated. In the market-place, ouer against the Pallace, they shew the house of one Laur [illeg.] e nce Iohn, vvhom they brag to bee the first inuentor of the Presse for Printing; and they shew two

bels of the brasse of Corinth, which they say were brought from Pelusium, a City in Affrick vpon the Nyle.

From Harlam wee hired a waggon for eight stiuers, and came fiue miles in fiue houres space, to Leyden, our waggoner baiting his horses in the mid way, but staying [Note: Leyden.] very little. In the way we had on all sides faire pastures, and passed by the Lake, or Mere of Harlam, lying towards the South, and the sea bankes vvithin sight towards the North. The high wayes in these Prouinces seeme to be forced, and made by Art; being sandy and very dry, though all the pastures on both sides bee compassed with frequent ditches of water. At the gates of Leyden, the men goe out of the vvaggon, and onely vvomen may be carried into the City, lest (as I thinke) the vvheeles of the loaded vvaggons, should breake the bricke pauements of the streets.

Hence I returned presently to Amsterdam, that I might receiue money sent me by exchange. So I hired a vvaggon for eight stiuers my part, from hence to Harlam, and by the way I obserued, that the vvaggons hauing past more then halfe the way, must haue the way giuen them by all the waggons they meet, because their horses should in reason be most weary. At Harlam I paied for supper, bed, and breakfast, twenty fiue stiuers. Hence I vvent by vvaggon, and paied for my part of it sixteene 46 stiuers, for three miles to Amsterdam, and there receiuing my money, returned to Har|lam, drawne ouer the snow and ice (which had plentifully fallen) on a sledge: for which I paid foure stiuers; and I obserued many markes set vp in the fields, to direct the way to passengers.

From Harlam I returned to Leyden, where I lodged in a French-mans house, for in|tending to bestow all my time in the French tongue, till by Letters I should dispose [Note: Leyden.] of my estate in England, and there being a famous Vniuersity in this City, I found no abiding fitter for me then this. I paid for my diet and chamber in this French-mans house three guidens, and fifteene stiuers weekely, but in the common Innes they pay ten or fifteene stiuers a meale, according to the quantity of beere they drinke, and or|dinarily twenty stiuers or more, if they drinke wine. Leyden is so called of the words Legt bey de dunen, that is, lieth by the Downes (so they call the sandy bankes of the Sea, as the English doe likewise in Kent, Leyden is of a round forme, or perhaps somewhat longer from the East to the West, where the Rheine passeth by it. It is a City of much beauty, the houses are very fairely built of bricke, and be vniforme. The Churches are couered with long slates (as they be almost through all Holland) and among the streetes one is much fairer then the rest, in the middest whereof is a peece of ground railed in, where the Merchants meet. Many streetes are diuided with waters, which are passed by woodden bridges, and in deede if a man dig two foote in any part of Holland, he shall find water. I said that the Rheine passeth by this City, yet doth it not fall into the Sea, but leeseth it selfe in many standing ditches of water, in this low part of the continent. Toward the North-west about a mile from the City, there is the end of a ditch digged of old from the very City, and vulgarly called Malgatt, because the Ci|tizens spent much treasure, in a vaine hope to make a Hauen for ships, and a nauiga|ble water to come vp to the Towne; for the heapes of sand daily cast vp by the Sea, fil|led the place vp, where they thought to haue made the Hauen, as fast as they could dig it, yet was it long before they would cease from this ill aduised worke. Notwith|standing salt water comes vnder the earth from the Sea into this ditch and they car|ry the same vnto the City to

make salt thereof. Vpon the same Seashore, towards the North, and like distance from the City, is a Village called Catwicke, seated vpon Mountaines of sands, on the maine sea. Vpon the same shore further towards the North, is a place where they say the Romans of old had an Armory, the ruines where|of (some musket shot from the shore) more or lesse appeare, as the wind couers them with sand, or blowing from another quarter, driues away the sand, and so laies them open. Hereabouts they say that many coines of the Romans are oftentimes digged vp, and neere the Hochlandish Church is a Monument built by Caligula the Empe|rour, which now belongs to a Gentleman of that Countrey. Vpon the North side of this city the Villages Warmond and Nortwicke, lie vpon the aforesaid Downes, but the City hath no gate that directly leades to them. Leyden hath fiue gates, Regenspurgport, on the West side, which leadeth to Harlam, and to Catwicke; and white port which lea|deth to Hage, betweene which gates there is a low water-gate of iron grates, for boates to passe in and out. Neere White Port lies a house, where they exercise shooting with the Peece and Crossebow. On the South side is the gate Kowport, leading into the pastures. Vpon the East side is the gate Hochwertz-port, more fortified then any of the rest, and it leadeth to Vberden, Gonda, and to Alphen. There is another gate Zillport, which leadeth ro Vtretcht, whither you passe by water or land. The foresaid street, which I said was the beauty of the Towne, lieth from the West to Hochwertzport, on the East side, and is called Breitstrat, that is Broadstreete.

In the spring time of the yeere 1593 purposing to see the Cities of the vnited Pro|uinces, [Note: An. 1593.] I hired a Waggon for sixe stiuers, and went from Leyden to Delph, three miles in three houres space, through corne fields and rich pastures, and hauing gone two third parts of the way, we passed ouer the water that runnes from Leyden to Delph. In all these parts the high way hath ditches on both sides, and is very plaine, sandy, and very dry, being daily repaired by the countrey people. By the way is a mill, in which they make oyle of rape and line seedes mingled with wallnut shels, and they 47 haue many such miles in those parts. Not farre of, at Voberg, the Histories write of a holy Groue, famous for a conspiracy against the Romans.

The City of Delph, lyeth in length from the North to the South, and the falrest street called Corne-mart, lies the same way. Here (as in all the Cities of these parts) [Note: Delph.] the buildings are of bricke, but the houses of Delph are more stately built, and seeme to haue more antiquity then other where. In the New Church is a Monument of the Prince of Orange, the poorest that euer I saw for such a person, being onely of rough stones and morter, with posts of wood, coloured ouer with black, and very little erec|ted from the ground. Neere the Church is a large market-place, and within a little Iland the Senate house is built. The Hauen is on the South side. The Prince of Orange dwelt heere in a Monastery, and vsed to eat in a low parlor, whence as he ascen|ded the staires into the chamber, a wicked murtherer gaue him his deaths wound, who flying by a backe doore, was after taken in the Citie, and put to a most cruell, but most deserued death. The Countesse of Buren, daughter to this said Prince, now liued in this Monastery with her family. Here I paied for one meale, for my selfe and a guest inuited by me, and two pots of Rhenish wine; three guldens, and fiue stiuers. When the Spanish Army most pressed the vnited Prouinces, the Prince of Orange then lying here, to shunne a greater mis-

chiefe from the Spaniards, brake downe the bankes of the sea, and let in the waters, which did much hurt to the Countrey, but sa|ued them from the Spaniards, who with great feare hasted away, giuing great rewards to those that guided them to the firme continent. At Delph are about three hundred Brewers, and their beere, for the goodnesse, is called Delphs-English; but howsoe|uer they had Brewers, and the very water out of England, they could neuer make their beere so much esteemed as the English, which indeed is much bettered by the carriage ouer sea to these parts.

Hence I went to Sluse, so called of the damme to let waters in and out, and came thither in two houres, paying for my waggon thirteene stiuers, which I hired alone, for if I had light vpon company, we should haue paied no more betweene vs. Hence I passed the Riuer Mase, where it falleth into the sea, and came to Brill, my selfe and two others, paying twelue stiuers for our passage: but the barke being presently to returne, and therefore not entring the Port, set vs on land neere the Towne, whether we walked on foot.

Brill is a fortified Towne, laid in pledge to Queene Elizabeth, for money she lent the States, and it was then kept by foure English Companies paid by the Queene, [Note: Brill.] vnder the gouernment of the Lord Burrowes. The Towne is seated in an Iland, which was said to bee absolute of it selfe, neither belonging to Zealand, nor Holland. On the North side, the Riuer Mase runneth by. On the East side are corne fieldes, and the Riuer somewhat more distant. On the South side are corne fields. On the West side are corne fields, and the maine Sea little distant. Here I paied for my sup|per and dinner twenty stiuers, and for a pot of wine eighteene stiuers.

From hence I returned by water to Roterodam in Holland, and paied for my pas|sage three stiuers. In the mouth of the Riuer of Roterodam, lies the City Arseldipig, and another called Delphs-Ile, being the Hauen of Delph, which was then a pleasant Village; but growing to a City, and hauing beene lately burnt by, fire was fairely rebuilded.

Roterodam lies in length from the East to the West. The Hauen is on the South [Note: Roterodam.] side, being then full of great ships; vpon which side it lay open without walles, hauing many faire houses, and a sweet walke vpon the banke of the water. Neither is it for|tified on the sides towards the land, nor seemed to mee able to beare a siege; hauing low walles on the North and East sides, yet compassed with broad ditches. The street Hoch-street is faire and large, extending it selfe all the length of the Citie; and lying so, as from the gate at the one end, you may see the gate at the other end, and in this street is the Senate house. In the market place toward the West, is the statua of Erasmus, being made of wood, for the Spaniards brake downe that which was made of stone; and the inscription thereof witnesseth, that hee was borne at Roterodame, the 48 twenty eight of October, in the yeere 1467, and died at Bazel the twelfth of Iuly, in the yeere 1531. In New-Kirk-street, there is the house in vvhich Erasmus was borne, vvherein a Taylor dwelled at this time, and vpon the vvall thereof, these Ver|ses are written:

AEdibus his natus, mundum decorauit Erasmus, Artibus ingenuis, Religione, side. The world, Erasmus in this poore house borne, With Arts, Religion, Faith, did much adorne.

The same Verses also vvere vvritten in the Flemmish tongue, and vpon the vvall vvas the picture of Erasmus. Vpon the same West side is the house for exercise of shooting in the Peece and Crosse-bow. The vvaters of Roterodam and Delph, be-

ing neere the sea are more vvholesome then the standing waters within land. Heere I lodged at an English-mans house; and paied for my supper tenne stiuers, for my breakfast two stiuers, and for beere betweene meales fiue stiuers: by which expence, compared vvith that of the Flemmish Innes, it is apparant that strangers in their rec|konings, pay for the intemperate drinking of their Dutch companions.

From hence I went by sea three miles to Dort, in two houres space; to which City we might haue gone great part of the way by vvaggon, as farre as Helmund, but then [Note: Dort.] we must needs haue crossed an Inland sea, for the City is seated in an Iland, hauing beene of old diuided from the continent of Holland, in a great floud. The forme of the City resembles a Galley, the length whereof lies from the East to the West. Wee landed vpon the North side lying vpon the sea, where there be two gates, but of no strength. On the East side is the New gate, Reydike, and beyond a narrow water, lye fenny grounds. On the South side, the ditch is more narrow, yet the sea ebbs and flowes into it, and vpon old walles of stone is a conuenient walking place. On this side is the gate Spey-port, and beyond the ditch lye fenny grounds. On the West side is the gate Feld-port, and a like walke vpon walles of stone, and there is a greater ebbing and flowing of the sea. There is a great Church built of bricke, and couered with slate; being stately built vvith Arched cloysters, and there of old the Counts of Holland were consecrated. From this part the two fairest streets Reydike-strat, and Wein-strat, lie windingly towards the North. Turning a little out of the faire street Reydike-strat, towards the South, lies the house for exercise of shooting in the Peece and Crosse-bow, and there by is a very pleasant groue; vpon the trees vvhereof certaine birds frequent, which we call Hearnes, vulgarly called Adhearne or Regle, and their fea|thers being of great price, there is a great penalty set on them, that shall hurt or annoy those birds. There is a house vvhich retaines the name of the Emperor Charles the fift, and another house for coyning of money; for the Counts of Holland vvere vvont to coyne money at Dort, as the Counts of Zealand did at Midleburg. Betweene the faire streets, Reydike-strat and Wein-strat, is the Hauen for ships, to be passed ouer by bridges, and there is a market place, and the Senate house; vvhich hath a prospect into both these streets. The houses are higher built then other where in Holland, and seeme to be of greater Antiquity. This Citie by priuiledge is the staple of Rhenish vvines, vvhich are from hence carried to other Cities, so as no imposition being here paied for the same, the pot of Rhenish wine is sold for twelue stiuers, for which in other places they pay eighteene, or twenty stiuers. For three meales I paied heere thirty stiuers.

From hence I vvent by water to the States Campe, besieging Getrudenberg, and [Note: Getruden|berg.] came thither in two houres space, but the vvindes being very tempestuous, wee saw a boat drowned before vs, out of which one man onely escaped by swimming, who seemed to me most wretched, in that hee ouer-liued his wife and all his children then drowned. The besieged City lies in the Prouince of Brabant; and the County of Buren, being the inheritance of the Prince of Orange, by right of his wife; and in this Month of Iune, it was yeelded to Count Maurice, the Spanish Army lying neere, but not being able to succour it.

The Sea lying vpon this part of Brabant, was of old firme land, ioined to the conti|nent, 49 till many villages by diuers floods (and seuenteene Paris hes at once by a famous flood) were within lesse then 200. yeeres agoe swallowed vp of the Sea,

and for witnes of this calamity, diuers Towers farre distant the one from the other, appeare in this Sea, and according to the ebbing and flowing, more or lesse seene, doe alwaies by their sad spectacle put the passengers in mind of that wofull euent. And the Hollan|ders say, that these flouds caused the Rheine to change his bed, as hereafter I shall shew in the due place.

From Count Maurice his Campe at Getrudenberg, I failed in six houres space to the Iland Plate, and at midnight putting forth againe, failed in ten houres space to the I|land Tarlot, and from thence in three houres space to the City Bergenapzome, where [Note: Bergenap|zome.] we landed. By the way we saw one of the aforesaid Towers high aboue the water, being a steeple of some Paris h Church swallowed vp in the said deluge, of which there be many like sad remembrances in this Inland sea. The channell leading to the City is called Forcemer; and hath vpon the banke many strong sorts, and in this channell lay a man of warre to defend passengers from the bordering enemy. This City is strongly fortified, and is sented in Brabant, and had many castles of the enemy lying neerert, and it was gouerned by a garison of English, not in the Queenes, but in the States pay, as Ostend at that time was (whereas Virshing and Brill pledged to the Queen for money, wore kept by English Garisons in the Queenes pay) and Sir Thomas Mor|gan was at this time Gouernour of this City. At out entrance euery man gaue his nameto the Guard. Without the City on the West side, many akers of land were drowned, when the Prince of Orange (as I said) let in the waters to driue the Spani|ards out of those parts, which from that day to this, could neuer be dried and gained a|gaine. On this side I entered the City, where be many poore houses built in forme of a Lutes necke, which being added to the City almost of a round forme, make the whole City much like vnto a Lute. On this side were three strong rauelings, and vp|pon the necke of the said Lute is the Hauen, in the channell Forcemer, which going no further into the land, endeth in a mill made of purpose to keepe the ebbing water, so as the ditches may alwaies be full. On the North side is the prison, not vnpleasant for situation, and the English House, and the House of the Gouernour; which of old belonged to the Count of Brabant. Betweene the Gates wouldport and Stephenberg|port, which are both strongly fortified, the Riuer Zome fals into the Towne, whereof it hath the name, yet the channell being stopped, it seemes here a standing water, ra|ther then a Riuer. Towards the East, the City is very strongly fortified, and there is the Gate Boskport, so called (as I thinke) of the word Bosco, which in the Italian tongue, sig|nifies a wood: for on this side without the gates, were many woods and orchards, till they were destroied in the warre. On this side is another Raueling of great length, and beyond the fortifications lie faire pastures, but somewhat couered with waters. And from hence wee might see Woudcastle, scarce three English miles distant, which was then possessed by the Spaniards. On the South side is a new fort, beyond a strong bulwarke, and a very strong counterscarp compassing the City. And from hence was of old a most pleasant walke, vnder the shade of trees; to the old castle, some mile di|stant. On this side in a pleasant groue were many such birds, as I said to be at Dort, vulgarly called Adherne, much esteemed for the fethers they beare in their fore head, and there is a penalty set on those that hurt or driue them away. On this side also is the English Church, and vpon this and the East sides the Prince of Parma in camped, when hee besieged this City. There is in the middest of the City

a triangular market place, and from the sharpe end thereof towards the West, siue rauelings run beyond the wals. The houses are built of bricke, and seeme to be built of old. The Church hath a very high steeple, whence the watchmen shew the comming and number of horse-men by hanging out white flagges, and of foot by redde. All the Villages hereabouts, though liuing vnder the Spaniard, yet pay contribution to this Garrison, lest the souldiers should vpon aduantage breake out, and spoile them. The Citizens liue of mannall arts, and the expences of the Garison.

From hence I sayled to Midleburge, and at one ebbe of the Sea, passed in seuen 50 houres space to Der-goese, and at another ebbe in foure houres space to Armaren, a City of the Iland walkern, belonging to Zealand, and I paid for my passage six stiuers. From hence in halfe an houre I walked on foot to Midleburge, the houses whereof are stately [Note: Midleburg.] built, and very high, especially the new City, and are all of bricke, as be the Ci|ties of Holland, and as be the houses of Vlishing, but some of these are stately built of free stone, yet the streetes are somewhat narrow. Here I paid for my supper fiue sti|uers in the English House, where the Host is onely bound to prouide for the Mer|chants and such gucsts as they inuite, yet many times he admits English Gentlemen both to lodge and eat there. The House lies in the street Longdels, and howsoeuer the Merchants cat there, yet they hier their lodgings scatteringly in the City, and refused an Abbey which the Senators offered them to lodge therein, perhaps out of feare, lest in any ciuill tumult they might more easily be wronged, if they should all lie together. This City is the Staple of all Merchandise, excepting Rhenish wine, for which by old priuiledge Dorte is the Staple. Therefore French and Spanish Wines are here sold much more cheape then other where, because they are free of impost in this place, and haue great impositions laid on them, being carried out to other Cities. The forme of the City is round, saue that on the East side, the buildings of the new City being vnperfected, made it to haue the forme of a halfe Moone, though the plot thereof were round Comming from Armuren, I entered on this East side, by a very faire gate, called the New Gate, where the water falling into the Towne, passeth to the Burse, where the Merchants meet. There is a publike House for shooting, the wall on this side (as round about the City) is of stone, and is rather adorned then fortified with some Towers. And this wall is double, vpon the Inner whereof compassed with deepe ditches, many Houses are built. On the West side without the gates, almost halfe way to Vlishing, is Rammakins Castle, kept by English Souldiers, sent from Vlish|ing to that purpose, being a place of great importance, because the channell going to Midleburge, runnes within the command of their Artillery. On this South side is the Hauen, and without the wals very faire pastures, to the vttermost part of the Iland. Also on this side is a new Hauen made for ships in the winter time, and the gate is called, Rammakins Port, of the said Castle. On the West side you may see Vlishing a mile off, and in a cleere day, the Downes of Kent in England. On this side within the wals is a round market place, and the Senate-house of anticke building, and two Gates cal|led of the Cities to which they leade, Vlishing port, and Longe-ville port. On the North side is an Abbey, and pleasant walking, and another publike House for exercise of shooting. This populous City hath onely two Churches, either because the people being of many sects in Religion, and much occupied in trafficke, scarce the third part comes to Church, or else because the people being much in-

creased by strangers, com|ming to dwell in these parts, vpon the stopping of the passage to Antwerp in the ciuill warres, it is no wonder that the old Churches will not receiue them. The Citizens may at pleasure drownd all the fields about them. And this, one, and the chiefe Iland of Zealand, called walkerne, containeth siue walled Cities, besides Villages; but the aire is reputed vnwholsome. Midleburge is the chiefe place of trafficke in Zealand, as Amsterdam in Holland.

From hence I went in a long Waggon couered with hoopes and cloth to Vlishing, a long mile; and paid for my passage two blankes. Ten English foot companies, one [Note: Vlishing.] hundred and fifty in each company, vnder the gouernment of Sir Robert Sidney, kept this strong Towne for the Queene of England, and vnder her pay; being ingaged to her for money lent the States, and the ten Captaines in course watched each third night. The City is little and of a round forme, but very strong. It hath a narrow Sea on the West side, where, vpon the last confines of Zealand and the vnited Prouinces, is one of the three passages (whereof I formerly spake) to the Maine Sea. On this side is the Mountaine of the Mill, where the Souldiers watch nightly, and beyond the Mountaine is a damme to let in the Sea at pleasure. On the South. side is the Gate Waterport, strongly fortified, lying vpon the Inland Sea. On this side towards the North, the Sea flowing into the Towne, maketh one Hauen, and towards the East 51 another, and diuideth the City into three parts, the Old, the New, and the Middle, whereof any one being taken by the enemy, yet the other are fortified for defence. Be|yond these Hauens or channels, is a Mountaine lying ouer the City, vpon which the Souldiers kept guards day and night, as they did likewise vpon the Bridge diuiding the Cities, and vpon other lower hils, at all the gates of the City, and in prayer time, at the doore of the English Church. This Church is on the East side, and is common to the English and Dutch at diuers houres. Betweene the high mountaine and this Church, was the Gouernours House, belonging of old to the Counts of Zealand, and the pub|like house for exercise of shooting, but lesse pleasant then the like houses are in other Cities. On the same East side lie two waies, one to Rammakins Castle, the other to Midle|burge. On the North side the Downes of Kent in England may easily be seene, and there is the Hospitall or Gast-house for sicke people, and for sicke and maimed souldi|ers, of which a Mountaine thereby hath the name. On this and the East sides, are two Mils to retaine the water when the Sea ebs, that the ditches round about may alwaies be filled, and if need be to ouerflow the fields. These ditches are commonly a pikes depth, and can by no art or enemy be dried. The Citizens want good water, hauing no wels, nor any fresh water, but raine water kept in Cesternes. The foresaid number of Souldiers in the Garrison was not sufficient to master the Citizens, onely their cou|ragious minds dispising death, kept the Citizens in such awe, as they durst not attempt to recouer their liberty by force, which they hoped to obtaine by peaceable meanes, and the vnited Prouinces depended vpon the opinion of the Queenes aid, perhaps more then vpon the aid it selfe, so as either failing, they were like to be a prey to the Spa|niards. Since that time I heard the Garison was diminished, so as it seemes the English had lesse strength to keepe it, if the States changing their minds, should attempt to surprise it. Being inuited by my English friends, I spent nothing in this City.

Hence I returned to Midleburge on foot, vpon a paued causcy, hauing on each side rich corne fields, and faire pastures,

with many orchards; and in the mid-way a Gentleman called Aldegondey, famous for his wisdome, hath his Castle, wherein he dwelt. At Midleburge I paid six stiuers for my supper, and two for my bed, and pro|uiding victuals to carry by Sea, I paid for a loyne of mutton twenty foure stiuers, as also for my washing seuen stiuers, and staying in the Towne two daies, I spent in all foure guldens and foure stiuers.

I tooke ship at ten in the morning; and betweene the Iland Der-goese, and the Inland Sea, called Zurechsea, I saw two Towers of Villages swallowed in the foresaid deluge, and sayling by the Iland Plate, and the Iland of Brill, we passed certaine booyes dire|cting to find the channell. The next day in the afternoone, I landed at Roterodam in Holland, and paid ten stiuers for my passage. Thence I passed in two houres space by boat to Delph, and paid two stiuers for my passage. Thence in two houres space I pas|sed to the Hage by Waggon, and paid for my passage two stiuers; for which iourney one man alone may hire a Waggon for seuen stiuers.

At the Hage Count Maurice with his mother in law the Countesse of Orange (born [Note: The Hage.] of the Noble Family of the Chastillons in France) and the Generall States of the vnited Prouinces, and Princes Ambassadours, haue their residence, which made me desirous to stay here a while, to which purpose I hired a chamber, for which, for my bed, sheets, tableclothes, towels, and dressing of my meat, I paid twenty fiue stiuers weekely. I bought my owne meat, and liuing priuatly with as much frugality as conueniently I might, I spent by the weeke no more then fiue guldens and a halfe, though all things were in this place extraordinarily deere. My beere in one weeke came to foureteene stiuers, and among other things bought, I paid for a quarter of lambe thirty stiuers, for a Hen seuen stiuers, for a Pigeon foure stiuers, for a Rabet three stiuers. I remem|ber not to haue seene a more pleasant village then this: great part of the houses are fairely built of bricke, though many of them in by-streetes be couered with thatch, and some few are stately built of free-stone. The village hath the forme of a Crosse, and vpon the East side comming in from Leyden, there is a most pleasant Groue, with ma|ny wild walkes like a maze, and neerer the houses is another very pleasant walke, set 52 round about with willowes. Here is the publike house for exercise of shooting in the Peece and Crosse-bow, which hath a sweet prospect into a large greene plaine, where they vse to spread linnen clothes in the sunne, and here certaine rowes of trees being planted; yeeld a pleasant shade to them that walke therein. One of the said rowes of trees called Vinareberg, leades to an old Castle of the Counts of Holland, compassed with a drie ditch, in which Count Maurice dwelt, but in the great Hall thereof were many shops of Merchants for small wares. Vpon the wals of the said Castle, and vpon the windowes of the Church, these words were written in latine.

To Charles the fifth, etc. To the most inuincible Caesar Charles the fifth Roman Emperour, the victorious desender of the Catholike Religion, and Augustus. The Prouisors of this House haue placed this, in the yeere 1547.

Thereby was the statua of Charles the fifth, kneeling on his knees. In the window were painted the Armes of all the Knights of the golden Fleece. The Histories of the Countrey report the building of this Pallace to be wonderfull, in that the top of the Hall is not ioined with beames, but with arches: but for my part I obserued no great magnificence in the worke. The second of the foresaid rowes of trees, called Furholt, leads to a gentlemans house, the fairest and most stately built in this Village. In the

mid|dest of the Hage lies the market place, and the Church. On the South side is the water that leader to Delph: and round about on all sides without the Village, are faire pa|stures, excepting the North-side, where the sandy downes of the Sea lie neere to the Village. In the Church is a Monument of Count Albertus, Duke of Bauria, and ano|ther of a Count of Hanaw, with diuers others, which I omit, as hauing no antiquity or magnificence.

While I staied at the Hage, I walked out in halfe an houres space to the village Laus|dune, where I saw a wonderfull monument, the History whereof printed in a paper, [Note: Lausdune.] the Earle of Leicester (as they said) had carried with him into England, leauing onely the same in written hand, the coppy whereof I will set downe, first remembring that two basens of brasse hanged on the wall, in which the children (whereof I shall speak) were baptized.

The manuscript was in latine a followeth,

En tibi monstrosum nimis and memorabile factum, Quale nec a Mundi conditione datum. Haec lege, mox animo stupefactus lector abibis. So strange and monstrous thing I tell, As from the worlds frame nere befell, He parts amasde that markes it well.

The rest in latine is thus englished;

Margaret wife to Hermanuus Count of Henneberge, daughter to Florence [10] Count of Holland and Zealand, sifter to William King of the Romans, and Caesar, or Gouermour of the Empire. This most noble Countesse being about forty two yeeres old, the very day of preparation called Paraseene, about nine of the clocke, in the yeere 1276. [Note: This yeere fell in a ly|ing and su|persitious age.] brought forth at one birth three hundred sixty fiue children, which being baptized in two basens of brasse, by Guido suffragan of Vtretcht, all the males were called Iohn, and all the females Elizabeth; but all of them together with the mother, died in one and the same day, and lie buried here in the Church of Lausdune: and this happened to her, in that a poore woman bearing in her armes two twinnes, the Countesse won|dering at it, said shee could not haue them both by one man, and so reiected her with scorne, whereupon the woman sore troubled, wished that the Countesse might haue as many childen at a birth, as there be daies in the whole yeere; which besides the course of nature, by miracle fell out, as in this table is briefly set downe for perpetuall memory, out of old Chronicles, as well written as printed. Almighty God must be in this beheld and honoured, and extolled with praises for euer and euer. Amen.

From the Hage, my selfe and other consorts hired a Waggon for two guldens, and passed to Leyden, hauing on both sides faire pastures, fruitfull corne fields, and some pleasant groues.

53 CHAP. V. Of my iourney out of the vnited Prouinces, by the Sea coast, to Stode and Lubeck in Germany. Of my sauing to Denmarke, and thence to Dantzk in Prussen, and my iourney through Poland to Padoua in Italy.

IN the end of the Month of Iune, and the yeere 1593: hauing now dispatched by Letters, all my businesse in [Note: An. 1593.] England, and hauing seene the vnited Prouinces, I was in doubt by what way I should returne into Italy: and ha|uing already passed the two waies of Germany, that by Aug|spurge, and the other by the Sweitzers, and the way by France being then shut vp by the ciuill warres, the com|mon desire of Trauellers not to passe the same way twice, but to see as many new Countries as their course

[10] Florence

will per|mit; made me resolue to passe through the Kingdomes of Denmarke and Poland, and by the fortified City of Wien in Austria. In which iourney, howsoeuer I should goe much out of my way, and was like to indure many troubles; yet I thought nothing was difficult to a willing minde. Therefore I hired a waggon from Leyden to Vtrecht, and paied for my part twelue stiuers. Wee passed three miles and a halfe in three houres, by the village Alpha, where the Spaniards incamped, when they besieged Leyden; and by a little Towne called Gonda, hauing on both sides faire pastures, but somewhat ouer flowed, and ditches set with willowes; and we came to a little village, where the waggoner gaue his horses meat. Then in foure houres space wee passed foure miles and a halfe, hauing on both sides fruitfull corne fields, and like ditches set with willowes, and so we came to Vtrecht. But a mile and a halfe before we came thither, we passed out of the Territory of Holland, and entred the Bishopricke of Vtrecht, which is one of the vnited Prouinces. Not farre from the City wee saw a crosse, set vp for a Monument of a Bishop dying in battell against the Hollanders. I had almost forgotten the little City Werden, which they shewed vs by the way, and told vs, that the forme thereof was like the City of Ierusalem, which at that time I had not seene, and therefore mention this from their report, rather then from my iudge|ment.

The City Vtrecht is seated in length from South-east, by East, to North-west by West, and vpon the end at South-east by East, is the gate Weitefraw, where the Rheine [Note: V'tretcht.] enters the City. At the other end, Noth-west by West, are the ruines of an old Castle, which the Spaniards kept before the wars, to bridle the City: and there be two gates, Saint Katherine-port, and Wert-port, each of them hauing their suburbes. On the South-west side are walles of earth, but the ditches were almost dry. On the North-east side is the gate Olske-port, and there bee three strong Rauelings, one defending the other. On this side bee two streets fairer then the rest, called Newgraft, and Altkirkhoffe; and there is a pleasant walke well shaded with trees, vpon the banke of the Riuer. In the midst of the City is the Cathedrall Church, hauing a faire Tower, and a Bell, which they report to be of eighteene thousand pounds weight Neere to the same is the Bishops Pallace, wherein the Bishops dwelt before the vnion of the Prouinces; but at this time there dwelled the Countesse of Meurs, whose husband died in these warres. In the same part lie the market place, and the Senate house. The houses of the City are of bricke, and fairely built, but lose much of their beautie by being couered on the outside with boords, and they seeme to haue more antiquitic, then the buildings of Holland. There be thirty Churches, but onely three are vsed for diuine seruice. In Saint Maries Church, (which as I remember is the Cathedrall Church) these verses are written vpon a piller.

Accipe posteritas quod per tua secula narres, Taurinis culibus fundo solidata columna est. 54 Posterity heare this, and to your children tell, Bull hydes beare vp this piller from the lowest hell.

Vpon a second piller this is written in Latine.

A Frison killed the Bishop because hee had learned of him, being drunke, and betrayed by his sonne, the Art to stop a gulfe in this place, the yeere 1099.

Vpon a third piller this is written in Latine:

The Emperour Henry the fourth, built this Church to our Lady, because hee had pulled downe another Church at Milan e, dedicated to her.

And to my vnderstanding, they shewed

me at this time manifest signes of the afore|said gulfe, which these inscriptions witnesse to haue beene in this place. Heere I paied for my supper twenty stiuers, and for my breakefast six stiuers.

From hence I went to Amsterdam, fiue miles in three houres space, and paied for my passage in the waggon ten stiuers. For halfe the way on both sides wee had faire pastures, and saw many strong Castles belonging to Gentlemen. Neere Vtrecht, at the passage of a riuer each man paid a Doight, and before wee came to the halfe way, we passed the confines of this Bishopricke, and entred the County of Holland. Then in the space of two houres and a halfe, we came to Amsterdam, hauing in our way on both sides faire pastures.

On Friday in the beginning of the Month of Iuly, at fiue a clocke in the euening, I tooke ship, vpon the Mast whereof was a garland of Roses, because the master of this ship then wooed his wife, which ceremony the Hollanders vsed. And the sea being calme, wee passed eight miles to Enchusen, where wee cast anchor. By the way wee passed a shole, where our sterne struck twise vpon the sand, not without feare of greater mischiese. On Saturday we'sayeld betweene West Freesland vpon our right hands towards the East, and Holland vpon our left hands towards the West, and af|ter tenne miles sayling, came to the Iland Fly, which being of small compasse, and [Note: Fly.] consisting of sandy hils, hath two villages in it. From hence they reckon twenty eight miles by sea to Hamburg in Germany, whether we purposed to goe. Assoone as wee cast anchor here, the Master of our ship went aboard the Admirall of certaine ships, which vsed to lie here, to guard this mouth of the sea, with whom hee spake concer|ning our passage to Hamburg, and deliuered him Letters, commanding that our ship should haue a man of war to wast it. This Admirall lay continually in this harbour, to guard this passage into the sea, and he commanded nine ships, which were vpon all occasions to wast the Hollanders to Hamburg, and defend them from the Dunkirkers, and all Pirats. But at this time there was not one of these men of warre in the har|bour, and the Admirall himselfe might not goe forth. So as for this cause, and for the tempestious weather, wee staied here all Sunday. But vpon Monday, the winde being faire for vs, and contrary for the men of warre that were to come in, so that lo|sing this winde, we must haue expected (not without great irkesomnesse) a second winde to bring in some of these men of warre, and a third winde to carry vs on our iourney: the Master of our ship (carrying sixe great Peeces, and hauing some tenne Muskets) did associate himselfe with seuen other little ships, (hauing only Pikes and swords) and so more boldly then wisely resolued to passe to Hamburg without any man of warre.

This Monday morning we hoysed saile, but being calmed at noone, we cast anchor between the Fly, on our left hand toward the West, and another little Iland Shelling on our right hand towards the East: and lying here, wee might see two little barkes, ho|uering vp and downe, which wee thought to be Fisher-men, and nothing lesse then Pirats of Dunkirke. Here till euening we were tossed by the waues, which vse to bee more violent vpon the coast; but a faire winde then arising, all our shippes gladly weighed anchor. At which time it happened that the anchor of our ship brake, so as our consorts went on, but our Master, according to the nauall discipline, not to put to sea with one anchor, returned backe to the harbour of the Fly, there to buy a new anchor, all of vs foolishly cursing our fortune and the starres. On Tuesday morning while wee sadly walked on the shoare, vvee might

see our consorts comming backe 55 with torne sailes, and dead men, and quarters of men, lying on the hatches. We be|holding this with great astonishment, tooke boat to board them, and demanding the newes, they told vs that the little barks we saw the day before vvere Dunkirkers, hauing in each of them eighty Souldiers, and some few great Peeces, and that they had taken them, and spoiled their ships, of their chiefe and lightest goods, and had carried away pri|soners to Dunkirk all the passengers and chief Marriners, after they had first wrung their foreheads with twined ropes, and with many horrible tortures, forced them to confesse what money they had presently, and what they could procure for ransom. Further, with mourning voice they told vs, that the Pirats inquired much after our ship, saying that was it the bride, with whom they meant to dance, cursing it to be destroyed with a thousand tuns of diuels, and swearing that if they had foreseene our escape, they would haue assailed vs by day, while we rode at anchor. They added, that they had left no goods, but those they could not carry for weight, and had changed their ragged shirts and apparell with the poore Marriners. And indeed they had iust cause to bewaile the escape of our shippe, being laded with many chests of Spanish Ryalls, whereof they were not ignorant, vsing to haue their spies in such places, who for a share in the booty, would haue betrayed their very brothers. As we had iust cause to praise al|mighty God, who had thus deliuered vs out of the lawes of death, so had wee much more cause to bewaile our rashnesse, yea and our wickednesse, that we had striuen, yea and repined against his diuine prouidence, which with humble and hearty sorrow I confesse to the glory of his sacred name. In this Iland I paied for my supper and bed ten stiuers, for my breakfast and dinner eight stiuers.

On Wednesday we had a most faire winde, but the terrour of our last escape, made vs stay in the harbour. In the euening I went to lodge in the village, and paied tenne stiuers for my supper and bed, and there I saw great store of all kindes of shelfish, sold for a very small price.

Since this iourney by Sea, (had besides our expectation) proued so difficult, my selfe, though I had seene the Cities vpon the sea coast of Germany, yet preferring my safety before the charge and trouble of that way, did resolue to passe to Hamburg by land, with which purpose when I acquainted my consorts; suddenly al the passengers resolued to leaue the ships, and to go by land; at which resolution the Masters of the ships stormed, but when each of vs had payed them a Doller for our passage from Amsterdam to the Fly, they were well pacified.

My selfe and nine consorts in my company, hired a boat for thirty stiuers, each man paying three stiuers: and so vpon Thursday in foure houres space, wee sailed three miles to Harlingen a City of west Freesland, passing the aforesaid Inland sea. And the same day hiring a boat, for which each man paied six stiuers: wee passed a mile to the City Froniker, where is an Vniuersity, and passing by water through the midst of that pleasant little City, we passed two miles further, to Lewerden, where we lodged, and I paied for my supper ten stiuers. The next morning, being Friday, wee passed in six houres space two long miles to Dockam, and each man paied for his boate hire three stiuers. Without delay in the afternoone we entred a barke, to saile from West Freesland, one of the vnited Prouinces, into East Freesland, a Prouince of the German Empire: but scarce one mile from the towne we cast anchor, to expect the floud; and lying there, we heard from the land great noise, barking of dogs, cries of men, and sounding of bells, which proceeded from some Span-

ish Free-booters breaking out of Groning, to spoile the Peasants. All the next day wee sailed, and in the euening for our better safety wee cast anchor neere a man of warre, (whereof there be some appointed to lie in this Inland Sea, to guard the friends of the States,) and early the next morning being Sunday, wee set saile, and by the rising of the sunne, landed in the Iland of Rotermere (which is diuided from the continent by this Inland Sea, and hath the maine Sea on the other side,) whence soone after we parted, and were put on land in East Freesland, a Prouince of the Empire, and passing one mile on foot, came to the City of Emden.

I said that the States maintained some men of warre in this Inland Sea, and these 56 vsed to send out in lesser boates some bodies of men, to search the Barkes whether they be friends or not; which bodies of men are vulgarly called Dieiagt, that is, the hunting, of a metaphor taken from the hunting of dogs. For my passage from Doc|kam to Emden I paid ten stiuers, and here for supper and breakefast I paid twenty three stiuers, though the ordinary rate be but sixe stiuers a meale without wine: and for a pound of cherries I paid eight stiuers.

In our iourney to Stode, the first day wee came in sixe houres space three miles, to the village Detrem, vpon the confines of the county of Emden, passing through fruit|full corne fields, and faire meadowes; and being eight in the Waggon, we all paid fif|teene stiuers for the same. From hence we went a mile through wild and fenny fields, to the village Open, and each foure consorts paid for their Waggon three stiuers, and our Waggon was driuen by a woman. Here the Graue or Count of Oldenburg hath a Castle, and each man paid for his supper seuen groates. By night we passed foure miles through a wild heath, to Oldenburg, and foure consorts paid ten stiuers for a Waggon. They haue very little horses in these parts to draw the Waggons, like to the gallo way nags of Scotland. The second day wee passed two miles and a halfe in foure houres space, through a sandy heath ground and thicke woods of oake, and came to a Village; where each man paid for his dinner foure stiuers. After dinner we passed more then a mile through a like wooddy Heath, and in three houres space came to Delmerhurst, where the Count of Oldenburge hath a faire and strong Castle, though it be a poore Village: and here each man paid halfe a stiuer to the Count, and for our Waggon ten stiuers. The same day we passed a mile through sandy pastures, and in three houres space came to Breme, where each man paid for our Waggon foure groats, and for our supper fiue lubecke shillings. From Breme we passed foure miles through wild fields, yeelding some little corne, and thicke woods, and in sixe houres space came to a poore house; where each man paid for dinner fiue lubecke shillings. Here those which carried any merchandise paid tole: and one man hauing a packe which a man might carry on his shoulder, paid foure lubecke shillings for the same: but all that goe to study in Vniuersities, or be no Merchants, are free from this impo|sition. After dinner we passed three miles in fiue houres space to Furd, where each man paid for his supper fiue lubecke shillings. The next day from two of the clocke in the morning to seuen, wee passed three miles through a heath and woods of oake, and came to Stode, where each man paid for his Waggon from Breme twenty two Lubecke shillings. At Stode I paid for my dinner in a Dutch Inne foure Lubecke shil|lings and a halfe, and for a steifkin or measure of Rhenish wine, halfe a doller. I brief|ly passe ouer this iourney vpon the sea-coast of Germany, because I formerly discribed the same.

The one and twenty of Iuly, I passed in foure houres space by boat fiue miles to Hamburge, and paid for my passage by water three Lubecke shillings, for my supper foure, and one for my bed. Early in the morning I passed six miles in sixe houres space, through wild fenny fields, woods of oake, and some few fields of corne, and came to the Village Altslow, seated in a bogge, whereof it hath the name; where I paid for my dinner fiue Lubecke shillings and a halfe. Giue me leaue to tell you a ridiculous toy, yet strange and true: At Hamburge gate leading to Lubecke, we found a dogge that fol|lowed vs, and some passengers of credit assured mee, that for many yeeres this dogge had lien at that gate, and euery day without intermission, watching the first coach that came forth, had followed the same to this village Altslow, being the bayting place at noone, and after dinner had returned backe to Hamburge gate, with another coach comming from Lubecke, for coaches passe daily betweene those Cities.

After dinner we passed foure miles in foure houres space, through hils more thicke with woods, but in many places bearing good corne, and came to Lubecke. For my place in the coach this day I paid twenty lubecke shillings, and this night for my sup|per and bed, I paid sixe lubecke shillings. Here I bought the foureteenth Booke of Amadis de Gaule, in the Dutch tongue, to practise the same: for these Bookes are most eloquently translated into the Dutch, and fit to teach familiar language; and for this 57 Booke I paid eighteene lubecke shillings, and for the binding foure; and for a Map of Europe to guide me in my iourney, I paid foureteene lubecke shillings: Also I paid for a measure of Rhenish wine fiue lubecke shillings, and as much for a measure of Spa|nish wine. From Lubcke I passed two miles in three houres space, through fruitfull hils of corne, and some woods of oake to the village Tremuren, and paid for my coach the fourth part of a Doller (which notwithstanding vseth to be hired for fiue lubecke shillings) and for my supper I paid foure lubecke shillings. I formerly shewed that this village is the Hauen, where the great ships vse to be vnladed, and from thence to be carried vpto lie at Lubecke in the winter.

Here I tooke ship to sayle into Denmarke, vpon the Balticke Sea, so called, because it is compassed by the Land, as it were with a girdle. This sea doth not at all ebbe and flow, or very little, after it hath passed in by the streight of Denmarke, being more then twenty foure miles long, so as vpon the shoares of Prussen, Muscaw, and Suetia, this sea seemes little to be moued, and many times is frozen with ice, from the shore farre into the sea; and the waues thereof once stirred with the winds, are very high, neither is the water of this sea any thing so salt as otherwhere, so as the ships sayling therein, doe sinke deeper at least three spans then in the German Ocean, as manifestly appeares by the white sides of the ships aboue water when they come out of this sea, and enter the said Ocean. And this will not seeme strange to any, who haue seene an egge put into salt pits, and how it swimmes, being borne vp with the salt water. The Master of the Lubecke ship in which I passed to Denmarke, gaue me beere for foure lubeck shillings; for which the Dutchmen and Danes drinking more largely, paid but one lubecke shil|ling more, and euery man had prouided victuals for himselfe. I paid for my passage twenty foure lubecke shillings, and gaue foure to the marriners. From Lubecke they reckon twenty foure miles to Falsterboaden, and from thence seuen miles to Coppen|hagen, so called as the Hauen of Merchants. We left vpon our lefthand towards the South, a little

Iland called Munde, and (as I remember) the third day of August, landed at Drakesholme, being one mile from Coppenhagen, whether I passed in a Waggon through some pastures and barren corne fields; and neere the City I passed ouer the [Note: Coppenha|gen] Hauen from one Iland to another. I paid for my Waggon three lubecke shillings.

At our entrance of the City, on the East-side, is the Kings Castle, where the Court lies, especially in winter time. On this side, the City lies vpon the sea, and there is the said Hauen, as likewise on the North-side the sea is little distant from the City. When I entered the gates, the guard of souldiers examined me strictly, and the common people, as if they had neuer seene a stranger before, shouted at mee after a barba|rous fashion; among which people were many marriners, which are commonly more rude in such occasions, and in all conuersation. The City is of a round forme, in which, or in the Kings Castle, I obserued no beauty or magnificence. The Castle is built of free-stone in a quadrangle. The City is built of timber and clay; and it hath a faire market place, and is reasonably well fortified. Here I paid for three meales and breakefast eight lubecke shillings, and as much for beere. The King at this time lay at Roschild, purposing shortly to goe into the Dukedome of Holst, where he had appoin|ted a meeting of the gentlemen at Flansburge, to receiue their homage there, which vp|pon [Note: Roschild.] old piuiledges they had refused to doe vnto him in Denmarke.

Therefore I went foure miles in foure houres space, through a wild hilly Country, to Roschild, so called of the Kings Fountaine; and my selfe and one companion paid twenty lubecke shillings for our Waggon: and though it were the moneth of August, yet the wind blowing strong from the North, and from the Sea, I was very cold, as if it had beene then winter. Roschild hath a Bishop, and though it be not walled, hath the title of a City; but well deserues to be numbred among faire and pleasant Villa|ges. Here they shew a whet stone, which Albrecht King of Suetia, sent to Margaret Queene of Denmarke, despising her as a woman, and in scoffe bidding her to whet her swords therewith: but this Queene tooke the said King prisoner in that warre, and so held him till death. Here I paid seuen Danish shillings for my supper. In the chan|cell of the Church is a monument of blacke and white stone for this Queene Mar|garet 58 and her daughter, and the Danes so reuerence this Queene, as they haue here to shew the apparell she vsed to weare. In this Church are the sepulchers of the Kings, whereof one erected by Frederick, for Christianus his father, is of blacke Marble and Alablaster, curiously carued, hauing his statua kneeling before a Crucifix, and hung round about with sixteene blacke flags, and one red.

Hauing seene the King and the Courtiers, my selfe and my companion next day returned to Coppenhagen, each of vs paying for the waggon tenne Lubeck shillings: and here I paid for my supper six Lubeck shillings, and three for beere.

From hence I passed by sea, foure miles in fiue houres space, to Elsinure, and paied for my passage eight Lubeck shillings, and for my supper eight Danish shillings. And because I was to returne hither, to take ship for Dantzke, I passed the next morning three miles in foure houres space; through Hils of corne but somewhat barren, and woods of Beech, to Fredericksburg, and hauing but one companion with mee, wee paied for our waggon thither, and so to Coppenhagen, each of vs twenty two Lubeck [Note: Fredericks|burg.] shillings. Here the King hath a Pallace, and a little Parke walled in, where (among

other forraine beasts) were kept some fallow Deare, transported hither out of England, the twenty foure yeere of Queene Elizabeths raigne. I paied for my dinner foure Da|nish shillings, and as much for beere.

In the afternoone we passed fiue miles in six houres, through barren fields of corne, and groues of Beech and hasel-nuts, to Cappenhagen, and by the way we saw a Crosse, set vp in memory of a waggoner, who hauing drunke too much, droue his waggon so fast, as hee ouerturned it on the side of a Hil, and himselfe broke his necke. The waggoners haue an appointed place at Coppenhagen, where they haue a stable for their horses for two Danish shillings a night, but themselues buy hay and oates. And the next day by noone, they must return to their dwellings, though they go empty, when no passengers are to be found.

From hence, my selfe and one companion, hired a waggon for twelue Lubeck shillings each of vs, to Elsinure, being fiue miles, whither we came in fiue houres, fetch|ing many circuits vpon the sea coasts.

This is a poore village, but much frequented by sea-faring men, by reason of the straight sea, called the Sownd; where the King of Denmark hath laid so great impositio [Note: Elsinure.] vpon ships and goods comming out of the Balticke sea, or brought into the same, as this sole profit passeth all the reuenewes of his Kingdome. In this village a strong Ca|stle called Croneburg lyeth vpon the mouth of the Straight, to which on the other side of this Narrow sea, in the Kingdome of Norway, another Castle is opposite, called Elsburg, and these Castles keepe the Straight, that no ship can passe into the Baltick sea, or out of it, hauing not first paied these impositions. They say there is another passage between two Ilands (for all the Kingdom of Denmark consists of little Ilands) but the same is forbidden vpon penalty of confiscation of all the goods. And they report that three shippes in a darke fog passed this straight without paying any thing; but after, this being made knowne to the Kings ministers, at the returne of the said ships all their goods were confiscated. In respect of the Danes scrupulous and iea|lous nature, I did with great difficulty, (putting on a Merchants habite, and giuing a greater reward then the fauour deserued,) obtaine to enter Croneburg Castle, which was built foure square, and hath only one gate on the East side, where it lies vpon the straight. Aboue this gate is a chamber in which the King vseth to eat, and two cham|bers wherein the King and Queene lie apart. Vnder the fortification of the Castle round about, are stables for horses, and some roomes for like purposes. On the South|side towards the Baltick sea, is the largest roade for ships. And vpon this side is the prison, and aboue it a short gallery. On the West side towards the village is the Church of the Castle, and aboue it a very faire gallery, in which the King vseth to feast at solemne times. On the North side is the prospect partly vpon the Iland, and partly vpon the Narrow sea, which reacheth twenty foure miles to the German Ocean. And because great store of ships passe this way in great Fleets, of a hundreth more or lesse together: this prospect is most pleasant to all men, but most of all to the King, see|ing 59 so many shippes, whereof not one shall passe, without adding somewhat to his treasure. On this side lie two chambers, which are called the King of Scotland his chambers, euer since his Maiesty lodged there, when he wooed and married his Queene. The hangings thereof were of redde cloch, and the chaires and stooles couered with the same, but they said that the rich furniture was laid vp in the Kings absence. The Hauen will receiue great number of shippes, and

it hath Croneburge Castle on the North side, the Castle of Elsburg on the East side, and Zealand (the chiefe Iland of the Kingdome) on the West side, and the Iland Wheen on the South side.

To which Iland the long straight or narrow sea lies opposite towards the North, leading into the German Ocean. This Iland Wheen is a mile long, and not altogether so broad, hauing onely one groue in it. This solitary place, King Fredrick, Father to Christianus now raigning, gaue to a Gentleman called Tugo-Brahe for his dwelling, who being a famous Astronomer liued here solitarily at this time, and was said to haue some Church liuings for his maintenance, and to liue vnmarried, but keeping a Con|cubine, of whom he had many children, and the reason of his so liuing, was thought to be this; because his nose hauing been cut off in a quarrell, when he studied in an Vni|uersitiy of Germany, he knew himselfe thereby disabled to marry any Gentlewoman of his own quality. It was also said that the gentlemen lesse respected him for liuing in that sort, and did not acknowledge his sonnes for Gentlemen. King Frederick also gaue this learned Gentleman of his free gift, many and very faire Astronomicall instruments, and he liuing in a pleasant Iland, wherein no man dwelt but his family, wanted no pleasure which a contemplatiue man could desire. Besides the aforesaid instruments, this Gentleman had a very faire Library, full of excellent bookes, and a like faire still-house. Besides not farre from his house, he had a little round house of great beauty, in which he did exercise his speculation, the couer thereof being to bee remoued at pleasure, so as lying with his face vpward, he might in the night time fully behold the Starres, or any of them. In this little house all famous Astronomers vvere painted, and the following Verses were added, each to the picture, to which they belong.

Sulueta Heroes: vetus O Timochare salue, AEther is ante alios ause subire polos. God saue ye worthies: old Timocherus I greet thee, more then many venturous, To mount the Starres and shew them vnto vs. Tu quoque demensus Solis Lunaeque recursus, Hipparche, and quot quot sidera Olympus habet. And thou Hipparchus, thou didst measure euen, The course of Sun, Moone, and all Starres of heauen Antiquos superare volens, Ptolomee labores, Orbibus and numeris promptius astra locas. Ptolomy, thou to passe old ages reach, The Numbers and the Orbes dost better teach. Emendare aliquid satis Albategne studebas, Syderaconatus post habuere tuos. Thou Albategnus somewhat yet to mend Didst striue, but wert preuented by thine end. Quod labor and studium reliquis, tibi contulit Aurum Alphonse, vt tantis annumerere viris. These got by paines and study, thou by gold Alphonsus, with such men to be inrol'd. Curriculis tritis diffise Copernice, terram Innitam, astriferum flectere cogis iter. Copernicus, thou old said sawes didst doubt, Thou mak'st heauen stand, and earth turne round about.

60 In the best place this Gentleman Tugo Brahe had set his owne picture, with the following Verses;

Quaesitis veterum and proprijs, normoe astra subegi, Quantiid: Iudictum posteritatis eret. With old Rules and my owne, the Starres I place, Which after-times, as it deserues, shall grace.

Many Instruments are there placed by him, which himselfe inuented, and hee hath made a solemne dedication of the house to the ages to come, with earnest prayers that they will not pull downe this Monument.

The Danes thinke this Iland Wheen to be of such importance, as they haue an idle fable, that a King of England should offer for the possession of it, as much scarlet

cloth as would couer the same, with a Rose-noble at the corner of each cloth. Others tell a fable of like credit, that it was once sold to a Merchant, whom they scoffed when he came to take possession, bidding him take away the earth he had bought. The great reuenew exacted in this straight, hath giuen occasion to these and the like fables. And in truth, if either the King of Suetia, or the free City of Lubeck, had the possession of this Iland, and were fortified therein, they might easily command this passage, and extort what they list, from the Merchants passing that way, and perhaps conquer the parts adioyning; but the possession thereof were altogether vnprofitable for any Prince, whose Territories lie out of the Sound, the entrance whereof is forbid by the two foresaid strong Castles. But lest I should bee as foolish as they, I returne to my purpose. And first giue me leaue to mention, that there lies a City not farre distant, in the Kingdome of Norway, which is called London, as the chiefe City in England is called.

Vpon Sunday, the twenty six of August, in the yeere 1593, I tooke an English [Note: An. 1593.] ship heere, to saile into Prussen, hauing first bought for my victuals halfe a lambe for twelue Danish shillings, thirty egges for six shillings, and some few pots of Spanish wine, for forty two Danish shillings, with some other small prouisions. From Elsi|nure to Dantzk, they reckon eighty English miles. Assoone as wee were come out of the harbour, wee saw two ships sayling two contrary wayes, and yet hauing both a forewind, which sometimes happens vpon the shoare, as marriners know. For of these two contrary winds, the one is airy, which holds when you are gone into the maine, the other is from the earth, and in short time faileth at the very shore: which euent we presently saw with our eyes, one of the ships going fairely on his course, the other casting anchor. The English ship in which I went, was called the Antilope, being of one hundred fifty tuns, or thereabouts, and one Master Bodley was the Master thereof, who shewed me manifest signes, where his ship in two places had beene struck with lightning; the first whereof passed into the pumpe, and rent it, but comming to the water, was by the nature thereof carried vpward, and comming out at the top of the pumpe, made two little holes; then passing to the great Mast, rent it, and made a great crany therein, from the hatches to the top. The second struck the top of the said maine Mast, and againe rent it, in such wise as it would scarcely beare saile, till wee might come to Dantzk, where the best Mastes are sold at a good rate. The first day we sayled in the Baltick sea, some fiue miles with a scant winde, and cast anchor neere Copenhagen. With a faire winde and good gaile, Marriners vsually sayle some three Dutch leagues in an houre. On Monday early, wee sayled along the shore three miles to Falsterboden. On Tuesday early, wee sayled eighteene miles to the Iland Brentholm, and vpon our left hands saw the land in two places, and there sounding with our plummet, sand of Amber stuck thereunto. The same day by noone, wee sayled the length of that Iland; and vpon Wednesday, by three of the clocke in the morning, hauing sayled thirty miles, we passed by Rosehead, being a PRome ntory [...] Dantzk.

On Thurs-day by eight of the clocke in the morning, hauing sayled eighteene miles, we came to a Land called Rettell, and entered the Port of Meluin, where the wa|ter was scarce two fadome deepe, our ship drawing one fadome and a halfe: the entry 61 was narrow, and there were many booyes floting vpon shoales and sands; and the wea|ther being calme, we were drawne in by a boate with Oares. In like cases ships vse to draw themselues in, by the cast-

ing and weighing of Anchors, with great labour, and flow riddance of way. From Kettell we passed ten miles, and came to the Port of Mel|uin. [Note: Meluin.] Iu the aforesaid entry of the Riuer, on the right hand towards the West, we saw Dantzke seated not farre from the sea shore, where it hath a hauen, but not so safe as this: and towards the North-east in the same place a channell runneth vp to Konigs|berg, the Court of the Duke of Prussen. The Port of Meluin is searce ten foot deepe, but our ship passed through the mud, like a plow vpon land. This port is a little di|stant from the City, on the North-side, where we entered by a faire large street, called Martgasse, lying thence towards the South. Prussen of old was subiect to the order of the Teutonicke Knights, but by agreement made betweene the King of Poland and the Margraue or Marques of Brandeburg, Master of the said order, part of the prouince was giuen to the said Marques and his heires, with title of Duke, vnder homage to the King of Poland, with condition that for want of heire male, it should returne to the Kingdome of Poland; and the other part was then vnited to the said Kingdome: but Dantzke and Meluin remained free Cities, acknowledging the King of Poland for their Protector, for which cause they giue him many customes, and permit his Officer to abide in the City, ard receiue the same. Meluin is a little and faire City lately com|passed with new wals, and at this time grew rich by the English Merchants, hauing their staple in the same. They giue good fare for foure grosh a meale; and he that paies for two meales in the day, may besides haue meat or drinke betweene meales, at plea|sure, without paying any thing. The same euening we landed at Meluin, our Marri|ners staying in the ship, entertained other English Marriners comming aboard; and according to their custome, giuing them a peece when they departed: it happened that the peece being of iron, brake; and therewith cut the Cooke off by the middle, and rent all the prow of the ship. The English Merchants at Meluin had no Preacher, though the Citizens gaue them free exercise of religion: so that how so euer they excused in, by reason that learned Preachers could hardly be drawne to come so farre for meanes to liue, yet I thought them not free of blame in this point; because our Merchants further distant in Asia, and liuing vnder the Turkes Empire, found meanes by their bounty to haue learned Preachers. Neither indeed did I euer obserue in any other place (Italy excepted) that our Merchants wanted Preachers, where they held their staples.

From Meluin I went ten miles in one day to Dantzke, and we being onely two con|forts; [Note: Dantzke.] paid each of vs a Doller for our coach. In the morning we went sixe miles, and by the way passed the Riuer Begot, comming out of the riuer Vistula, where our coach|man paid three grosh to haue his coach carried ouer a damme. Beyond this riuer we entered the territory of the King of Poland, and passing all this way through fruitfull come fields, and rich medowes, and pastures, in a Countrey abounding with townes and Villages, we dined in a Village where we two by couenant paying for our coach|man, spent each of vs eigh grosh. In the afternoone we passed the rest of the way, one mile in the-Kings territory, where we passed another damme of the riuer Vistula, and three miles to Dantzke in the territory of the same City. The King of Poland at this time was at the Port of Dantzke, called Der Mind, an English mile from the City, ex|pecting a wind to sayle into his Kingdome of Suecin, and had with him his Queene, and many Ladies and Courtiers. Therefore desirous to see the

King and the Queene, with their traine? I walked the next morning to this Port, which is barred with a mountaine of sand, so as the ships must vnlade in the roade, before they can enter this Hauen; neither is any village built there, but onely one Inne, in which the King [...] with all his traine: but beyond the water there is a strong Castle of a round sonne. From hence after dinner I returned on foot to Dantzke. The next day the King had a good wind, but before this (as those of the Romish religion are very superstitious) the King and the Queen (being of the house of Austria) while sometimes they thought Munday, sometimes Friday, to be vnlucky daies, had lost many faire winds. The Ci|ty 62 of Dantzke is a very faire City, and howsoeuer few ages past, they had not any houses built of stone, yet at this time many were built of free-stone, and the rest of bricke, with great beauty and magnificence, being sixe or seuen roofes high. And they had publike gardens for sports, banquets, and exercises, which are very pleasant. They haue a very faire Senate-house, called Hoff, that is, the Court; and the Citizens haue a strange fashion, to put off their hats when they passe by it. From the market place be|ing round (in which the King of Poland lodged some daies) to the gate Hochethore (be|ing richly engraued) lieth a very faire street called Longgasse) and leads vp towards the Mountaines hanging ouer the City. The famous Riuer Vistula doth not enter the City, but passeth by it on the East-side, and running towards the North, fals into the Balticke sea, But a little brook enters the City on the South-side, and runnes through it towards the North. There is a faire water conduit, vulgarly called Wasserkunst, where by a mill the waters are drawne vp into a cesterne, from whence they are carried by pipes into all the streetes and priuate houses; besides that many Citizens haue their priuat wels. The aforesaid brooke driues many mils, among which, one for the grin|ding of corne, belongs to the Senate, and it hath eighteene roomes, and bringeth into the publike treasure euery houre a gold gulden, and another without any helpe of hands, saweth boords, hauing an iron wheele, which doth not onely driue the saw, but hooketh in, and turneth the boords to the saw. The Garners for laying vp of corne called speiker, are very faire, and very many lying together, in which the Citizens lay vp corne brought out of Poland, and according to the wants of Europe, carry it into many kingdomes, and many times relieue fruitfull Prouinces in time of casual dearth. The Queene of Poland came in a disguifed habit to see these garners: and they haue a law that no man may carry fire or a lighted candle into them. In the Church called Parkirk, the resurrection of our Lord is painted with great art, and the same againe is figured vnder a globe of glasse, which kinde of painting is here in vse. This City com|passed with one wall, containes three Cities, gouerned by three Senates, out of which one chiefe Senate is gathered to gouerne the whole City; and these three Cities are called Furstat, that is, the fore City, and Alistat, that is, the old City, and Reichstat, that is, the Empires City. The whole-City vnited, lies in length from the South to the North, and vpon the South-side is Furstat, where the foresaid brooke diuiding the Ci|ty doth enter, and there is the aforesaid water conduit, and without the wals a faire vil|lage or suburbe called Scotland, in which there is a sanctuary, which offenders may en|ter, paying a gulden to the Bishop; and none but Artificers, and for the most part shoo|makers, d well in this suburbe. On this side, and towards the East and North, without the wals, lie plaine fields, which may be drowned at pleasure. Vpon the East-side with|in the wals, are the aforesaid garners

for corne. On the West-side without the wals, great mountaines hang ouer the City, and vpon them Stephen King of Poland incam|ped, when he besieged the City, which hath for defence very high wals on the same side. Vpon the North-side in a corner lies Altstat, betweene which and Furstat on the South-side, lies the chiefe City Reichstat, in the middest whereof is the aforesaid mar|ket place, and a publike armory; besides that great Ordinance is planted vpon the wals round about the City. I said that from this market place, the faire street Longgasse lieth to the gate Reichstat. Betweene Reichstat and Altstat, lie the foresaid two mils, to grinde corn, and saw boords, both (in my opinion) very rare. The City of Dantzke, from the Roman superstition, hath the same Saint for protector of their City, which England hath; namely, Saint George, whom they carry in their flags and banners. And by the way let me remember, that the state of Genea in Italy, and the Iland of Chios, vulgarly Zio, in the sea neere Constantinople, carry also the same Saint in their flagges. At Dantzke I paid fiuegrosh, a meale and being to passe into Poland, where good meat is not in all places to be had, I carried some prouision in the coach, and paid for two hens fiue grosh, and for each measure of wine (all kinds being of like price) I paid ten grosh, which measure is called a stoope, and is somewhat bigger then the English guart.

The ninth of September, after the old stile (for the new stile is vsed in Poland,) I tooke

63 The ninth of September, after the old stile (for the new stile is vsed in Poland) I tooke my iourney to Crakaw, and we being foure consorts, hired a coach for forty guldens. The first day in the morning we passed fiue miles in fiue houres space, through fruit|full hils of corne, and onely one wood, in that part of the Dukedome of Prussen, which belongs vnto the King of Poland, and came to the City Diersaw, by which the riuer Vistula runneth. After dinner we passed three miles, through a wood and a Fen, to the Village Zunzane, inhabited by Hollanders, who hauing dried the Fen, made the fields much more fruitfull. And from thence the same night hauing passed the riuer Vistula, we went halfe a mile to Gratenis, a City belonging to the Sborosky, a family of Gen|tlemen. The second day in the morning we went fiue miles, through a wood and fruitfull fields of corne, to a little Citty Colmersea, where that day was a meeting of the neighbour Gentlemen. If you except Crakaw, and the greater Cities, the building in these parts is poore, being of meere dirt in the Villages, and of timber and clay in the better townes, the houses being couered with straw, or tiles of wood, and the gen|tlemens houses be farre distant one from the other, and of no beauty. After dinner we went foure miles through fruitfull fields of corne, to the City Toarn. Hitherto we had giuen money to a Hollander, one of our consorts, for the paying of our expences, and now by his account each of vs had spent three guldens and a halfe, for he had pro|uided wine and such things which wee could not find in Villages, to be carried in our coach. In this City we supped at an Ordinary, and fiue of vs paid two dollers. The riuer Vistula passeth by this City, and for passing the same by a bridge, wee paid for our coach two grosh, and then entring Massouia, a Prouince of the Kingdome of Poland, the third day in the morning we passed three miles through a wood of firre, and one mile through corne fields, and I haue omitted what I paid for my dinner. In the afternoone wee passed three miles through a wild plaine, and woods of oake to Brit|zoll, where I likewise omitted my expences. The fourth day in the morning we passed fiue miles, through corne

fields and woods of oake, to Quodonab, where I forgot my expence. I formerly said that foure of vs had hired a coach from Dantzke to Crakaw, but the horses being but two, were extreamely weary; so as one of our company ha|uing a letter to take post horses (if so I may call poore iades) paying a grosh for each horse euery mile; which Letter is vulgarly called Podwoda-briefe. I was easily indu|ced to leaue the coach, and beare him company; and they telling vs that we had now passed more then halfe the way, we agreed so, as we two who left the coach, should pay each of vs six guldens for the same. But the Hollander ouer-reached vs; for we had not gone halfe the way, and yet paid more then halfe the price which we should haue paid for the whole iourney. This done, we two drawne vpon a sledge, passed two miles through corne fieldes that afternoone to a poore Village, and paid for our pas|sage two grosh. The fifth day in the morning hiring a countrey Waggon, and two horses at the same rate, we passed two miles through fields of hops, and sandy fields of corne, and two woods of firre, to Lonzchizcha, and from thence fiue miles through woods and sandy fields, to another village, and paid for our sledge halfe a grosh each mile, and for a horse for two miles sixe grosh, and for three miles seuen grosh. Here we inuited two Polackes to dinner, yet both together spent onely foure grosh and a halfe for vs and them, for we had ten egges for a grosh, and all other victuals very cheape. After dinner we hired two horses, and a Countrey Waggon for eight grosh, and passed foure miles through a stony way, and sandy fields of corne, to Peterkaw, where the King hath a Castle, and there we bought for our selues, flesh, bread, and beere, for our supper, at a very cheape rate, and giuing one grosh to the Hostesse for dressing our meat, and for butter and fier, shee was very well content with it. The sixth day in the morning we passed fiue miles, and in the afternoone two miles, with the same Waggon, for which wee paid seuen grosh, and the same horses, for which wee paid foureteene grosh. And we passed through woods of high firre trees, and some few fields of corne. Our meat we bought our selues, and as formerly our Hostesse dressed it, and we fetched our beere without doores. I remember wee paid three grosh for a goose, two for a partridge, two for a loyne of mutton, and three for a pigge. They 64 sold a bushel of oates for two grosh, which at Thoarn they sold for six grosh. In these parts were great store of hop-yards. After dinner we passed three miles throgh woody hils, and corne fieldes, and paied for our horses and a country waggon twelue grosh.

The seuenth day in the morning, wee passed to a poore village foure miles, through fruitfull hils of corne, and many woods of firre, and one of oake, and vvee hired our country waggon with two horses, for fourteene grosh. Further wee went three miles to another village, through hils of corne, and a heath full of woods, and paied for one horse and a waggon, six grosh. After dinner we passed to a village three miles, through fruitfull hils of corne; and by the way we might see a stately Gentle|mans house, and Gentlemen hawking in the fieldes: and I remember not in all my long trauell, euer to haue met hawkers or hunters in the fieldes, but onely heere, and once in Bohemia. In this village the King hath a Castle. The eight day, in the mor|ning, we passed forward with the same horses and waggon, which we had in the after|noone before, and went two miles to Pnecho, and wee paied for our horses and wag|gon fifteene grosh, and gaue one to the waggoner. Here the King hath another faire Castle. From hence we passed two miles to a village, through mountaines and corne fields, and paied for two horses

and a waggon foure grosh, and gaue to the waggoner procuring our horses one grosh.

The same day we went three miles, through little mountaines of corne, to Cra|kaw, and paied for two horses and a waggon six grosh. Heere wee lodged with the [Note: Crakaw.] Fleming, consort of our iourney, and had our diet after the Dutch manner, and price. Fortified Cities, are very rare in Poland, they placing their strength in their swords and horsemen, rather then in walles. Of all the Cities, Crakaw is the chiefe, where the King and his Councell reside. It is seated in a plaine, hauing mountaines on all sides, but somewhat distant, and it is compassed with two walles of stone, and a dry ditch. The building is very faire, of free stone foure roofes hye, but couered with tiles of wood for the most part. It is of a round forme, but somewhat longer from the East to the West. In the midst of the City is a large market place quadrangular, wherein is the Cathedrall Church, and in the midst of the market place is the Senate house for the City, about which are many shops of Merchants. Vpon the East side of the City is the Kings Castle, seated on a hill; being faire, and high built, almost quadran|gular, but somewhat more long then broad, and lying open on the South side, with|out any building aboue the wall. On the East side be the Chambersof the King and Queene, with galleries adioyning. On the North side is a faire gallery; some forty fiue walking paces long, where they vse to feast and dance. On the West side are the chambers of the Queene Dowager; from whence are priuate staires to the gate of the Castle; by which the French King, Henry the third, stole away secretly into France. On the same side is a Chappell, in the which the Kings are buried. Vpon the East side of this City, where this Castle is seated, lie foure suburbes; namely, the Iewes little City, and Cagmen, which is diuided by the riuer Vistula, from the other two, called Stradam and the Stewes. And Stradam belongs to the City, but the rest haue their own Magistrates and priuiledges. Towards the South and South-west, lies the suburb Garbatz, belonging to the City, which of late was burnt in the ciuill war, by the forces of Zamosky, one of the Palatines, and Chancellor of the Kingdome, de|fending the Election of Sigismund now King, against Maximilian of Austria, chosen King by another party. On the North side are the suburbs Biskop, and Clepart, which haue their owne Magistrates.

From hence being to take my iourney for Italy, I bought a horse for eighteene Guldens, and he that sold him, according to the manner there vsed, caused his bridle to be put on, and so by the same deliuered the horse into my hands. I paied fifteene grosh for a paire of shooes, fifty for a paire of boots, nine for spurs, two guldens and a halfe for a saddle, a gulden and a halfe for other furniture for my iourney, nine grosh for stirrups, eight grosh for foure horse shooes, and eight grosh for each bushell of oates. An Italian Gentleman being to returne into Italy, bought likewise a horse; and with this faire companion I tooke my iourney. The first day towards euening 65 we rode two miles through fruitfull hills of corne, to a Country house, where I paied for my supper two grosh, for hay a grosh and a halfe, for a quarter of a bushel of oates, two grosh, and gaue to the Ostler halfe a grosh. The second day in the morning we rode three miles, through woods of firre, to a village, where I paied for my dinner two grosh, for hay halfe a grosh, for the third part of a bushell of oates a grosh and a halfe. After dinner we rode one mile and a halfe through a great wood, hauing the Mountaines of Hungary on our left hand, and passing the riuer Vistula, wee rode a mile through fenny fields, and

woods of firre and beech, and came to a little Citie Opsenson, where I paid for my supper eight grosh, and for some three English pintes of wine fiue grosh, for beere a grosh and a halfe, for a third part of a bushell of oates, nine grosh, and for hay and straw a grosh and a halfe, and this City was subiect to a Gentleman of Poland.

The third day in the morning, wee rode three miles and a halfe, through fields somewhat ouerflowed, but fruitfull in corne, and a wood of firre, to Plesua, subiect to the Barrons of Promnitz, and seated in Silesia, a Prouince of the Dutch Empire; for after one miles riding we came out of Poland, into the said Prouince, which is sub|iect to the Emperour, as likewise Morauia is, by his right as hee is King of Bohemia: but in Silesia they speake Dutch, and Morauia hath his owne language, little differing from that of Bohemia. Also in our way we passed the riuer Vistula by boat, and ano|ther arme thereof by a bridge. Here the Barrons of Promnitz haue a Castle, where|in they reside; and here I paied for my dinner sixe grosh, for beere one, for hay and a third part of a bushel of oates two grosh, and for a measure of wine (somewhat bigger then the English quart) ten grosh. After dinner we rode two miles, through fruitfull fields of corne, to a little City subiect to the Emperour, (not by large sub|iection, but proper right to all the Reuenewes of that Territory) as he is King of Bo|hemia: and I paied for supper three grosh, for a third part of a bushell of oates with hay and straw fiue grosh. The fourth day we rode two miles in the morning, being now entred into Morauia, where the miles are exceeding long, as they be in Bohemia: and we passed through most fruitful hils of corne, and some woods, and came to a lit|tle village, seated a little beyond the City Freestat, belonging to the Dukes of Tesch, and here I paied for my dinner three grosh, and as much for my horse-meat. After dinner we rodetwo miles through hils and mountaines, fruitfull of corne, and some woods of oakes: for Morauia is a pleasant Countrey, very fruitfull, and full of townes and villages; and wee came to Ostrenam, where I paied for my supper three grosh, for beere two, for my horse-meat foure and a halfe. The fift day in the mor|ning we rode three miles, through fruitfull hils of corne to the village Boteuisa; being very pleasant and full of orchards, and subiect to a Gentleman of that Countrey. By the way we passed on horse-backe two armes of the riuer Odera, which hath his head three miles distant. Heere wee dined with the Preacher (or Minister) of the Towne, because the Hoste of the Inne was newly dead; and I paied for my dinner foure grosh, for beere one grosh, and for horse-meat two grosh. Afterdinner we rode two miles, through most fruitfull hils of corne, to a pleasant village (as all Morauia is pleasant and fertile) and I paied for my supper fiue grosh, and foure for my horse meat. The sixth day in the morning we rode three miles, through fruitful hils of corne, hauing woody Mountaines on both hands; and in the midst of the way, passed by the City Granitz, and came to Leipny. The Cities in these parts are built with Arches halfe ouer the streets, so as in the greatest raine, a man may passe in the streets vnder them with a dry foot, and such is the building of this little City, where in some thirty families of Iewes did dwell. Here I paied for my dinner foure grosh, and for my horse-meat two grosh (hitherto I meane groshes of Poland) After dinner we rode a mile and a halfe in a paued way, with corne fields on both hands, to the City Speron; where I paied for my supper fiue grosh, (I meane now, and hereafter groshes of Morauia,) and for my horse-meat three grosh: and here I paied for an Orange two grosh. In this iour|ney through Poland, and from

Cracaw to this place, we had heere the first bed, hauing before lodged vpon benches in a warme stoue. The seuenth day in the morning, wee 66 rode two very long miles, through most fruitfull hils of corne, and rich pastures, to a vil|lage, hauing by the way passed by the Citie of Creitzon (wherein many Iewes dwelt) and by very many villages: and here I paied for my dinner three grosh, and for my horse-meat one grosh, for a measure of wine like an English pint, three creitzers After din|ner we rode a mile and a halfe, through most fruitfull hils of corne, to a place called, The Iewes village, beyond the Episcopall City Vascon, and I paied for my supper two grosh, and for my horse-meat three grosh and a halfe. The eight day in the morning wee rode two miles, going much out of our way, and passed through most fruitfull hils of corne, and pleasant vineyards, to Nimsich, and I paied for my dinner foure grosh, for my horse-meat one grosh and a halfe. After dinner we rode halfe a mile, through hils planted with vines, to Tracht, and I paied for my supper six grosh, for my horse-meat two and a halfe, and for beere to wash my horses feet, six creitzers.

The ninth day in the morning, wee rode foure miles to a village, through hils of corne, and in the mid way were the confines of Morania, and of Austria into which we now entred. Here I paied for my dinner fourteene creitzers, and three for my horse-meat. The vintage being now at hand, when wee came from our Innes in the morning, wee vsed to carry bread with vs, and so to breake our fast with bunches of grapes gathered by the way. After dinner we rode two miles, through hils and moun|taines most fruitfull of corne and wine, to Pasdorffe, and I paied for my supper eigh|teene creitzers, and nine for my horse-meat. The tenth day in the morning we rode two miles and a halfe; through hils of corne, and many woods, to a village, not farre from Vlrich-kirke, aud here I omitted my expence.

After dinner we rode two miles and a halfe through a very large plaine, fruitfull of corne and pasture, with many pleasant woods, and compassed round about with mountaines, and came to Vienna, vulgarly called Wien. Neere the City on the North side the riuer Danow runneth by, from the East to the West, three armes whereof close [Note: Vienna.] together (with some ground betweene, which many times is ouerflowed) wee pas|sed by three bridges, whereof one hath twenty nine arches, the other fifty seuen, and the third fifteene, each of those arches being some eighteene walking paces long. Be|tweene the second bridge, and the third next to the City, is a pleasant groue, and good part of the ground vnder the bridges is many times dry; but when the riuer riseth, it doth not only fill the all beds, but ouerfloweth the fields on both sides. At the gate of Wien, each man paid for his horse two pochanels; and when wee came to the Inne, the Hoste sent our names written to the Magistrate. Wien the metropolitan City of Austria, is a famous Fort against the Turkes, vpon the confines of Austria, which if they should once gaine, their horse-men might suddenly spoile the open Countries of Bohemia, and Morauta, and good part of Salesia. The Citie is of a round forme, and vpon the North side there is an ascent to it vpon a hil, otherwise without the wals on all sides the ground is plaine, except the West side, where mountaines lie a good di|stance from the City, and vpon that side the Sultan of the Turkes incamped, vpon the hils neere the gallowes, when in the time of the Emperour Rodulphua, hee be|sieged the City, or rather came to view it, with purpose to besiege it the next summer. The streets are narrow, but the building is stately, of free stone. Two Towers of the Church are curiously ingrauen, the

like whereof is not in Germany, except the Tower or steeple of Strashurg. The common report is, that two chiefe workemen had great emulation in building them; and that one hauing finished his Tower, found meanes to breake the necke of the other, lest his workemanship should excel that he had done. One of the Towers some three yeeres past, was shaken with an earthquake, and in|deed the houses of this City are many times shaken therewith, and they haue a Pro|phecy of old, that this City shall be destroied with an earth quake. It is dangerous to walke the streetes in the night, for the great number of disordered people, which are easily found vpon any confines, especially where such an army lieth neere, as that of Hungary, gouerned by no strict discipline. Ernest as and Mathias, Archdukes of Au|stria, and brothers to the Emperour Rodulphus, did at this time lie here, both in one house, and did eat at one table, and in the time of their meales, it was free for strangers 67 and others to come into the roome. I staied three daies a Wien to ease my weary horse, and I paid each meale twenty foure creitzers, for oates the day and night eighteene, and in like sort for hay six creitzers.

From hence we tooke our iourney for Paduoa in Italy, and the first day after din|ner werode six miles, in a plaine of vineyards, pastures, and corne fields, with some woods, to a village, where I paid fifteene creitzers for my supper, and eight for my horse. The next day in the morning we rode foure miles, through a wild plaine, by the City Newstat, and not farre thence came to Newkirke, where I paid twenty foure creitzers for my dinner, foure for my horse, and twelue for a measure of wine, like our English quart. Henceforward we had no more beere, but onely wine set on the table. After dinner we rode three miles through woods and mountaines, planted with vines, and a rich valley of pasture and corne, all in a stony soyle, to Schwatzen. I obserued that the horses we met laded with wine, had their noses couered, which they said was done, lest they should be ouercome with the vapour thereof: This City is seated betweene most high mountaines, in a narrow streight, hewen out of a Rocke, and shut vp with a wall of stone. Here I paid for my supper twenty creitzers, and for drinking after sup|per (vulgarly schlaffdruncke, that is, sleeping drinke) sixe creitzers, and for the fourth part of a bushell of oates, nine creitzers (which before we had for foure creitzers and a halfe) and for hey and straw three creitzers. The third day in the morning we rode two miles, through wooddy mountaines, the ascent of one of them being halfe a mile, and through rich pastures, to Mor thusly, and I paid for my dinner eighteene creitzers, and for my horse-meat fiue creitzers, oates being deerer here then before. This day neere Spitle we passed out of Austria into Styria. After dinner we rode two miles, through wooddy mountaines, yeelding good pastures, to a village, where I paid for my supper twenty foure creitzers, and twelue for my horse-meat. The fourth day in the morning we rode foure miles, through mountaines with pasture and woods, and valleies of corne, to the City Brucke, where I paid for my dinner fifteene creitzers, for my horse-meat fiue creitzers, the third part of a bushell of oates being here sold for twenty foure creitzers. After dinner we rode in like way two miles, to the City Lowen, and I paid for my supper fifteene creitzers, for three little measures and a halfe of oates, foure|teene creitzers, for stable three creitzers, and foure for dregs of wine to wash my hor|ses feet. The fifth day in the morning we rode two miles in like way to a village, where I paid nine creitzers for my dinner, and foure for my horse meat. After dinner we rode in the like way, and ouer mountaines couered

with snow, three miles and a halfe, to a village, not farre from which, Charles of Gratz, Arch-duke of Austria, (vncle by the Father side to the Emperour Rodulphus, and Father to the Queene of Poland, late|ly maried to King Sigismond,) was of late buried in a Monastery neere Knettel|feld. In this village I paid foureteene creitzers for my supper, and twelue for my horse-meat. The sixth day in the morning we rode one mile in like way, to Iudenburg, that is, the City of the Iewes, and I paid foureteene creitzers for breakefast. Then we rode fiue miles in a stony way, through high mountaines, to Newen-markt, and I paid eighteene creitzers for my supper, and fifteene for my horse-meat. In this Countrey of Styria, many men and weomen haue great wens hanging downe their throats, by drinking the waters that run through the mines of mettals.

The seuenth day in the morning we rode two miles to the confines of Styria, and entring Carinthia, passed by the City Freysacke, in which was a faire and strong Castle, seated vpon a high mountaine, and so wee passed one mile further to a village, all our way hauing beene very troublesome by reason of the stony mountaines, and narrow passages, we hauing a coach in our company. Heere I paied twenty foure creitzers for my dinner, and fourteene for my horse-meat. After dinner wee rode two miles in a plaine compassed with mountaines, to Sternfield; where I paied ninteene creitzers for my supper, and sixteene for my horse-meat. The eight day in the morning we rode one mile, through a fruitfull plaine of corne, to a pleasant City, Saint Voyte. As in Styria, so here in Carinthia, the men and women haue great wens vpon their throats, with drinking the waters that passe the Mines. Heere I paied for my dinner and sup|per 68 forty eight creitzers, and twenty foure for my horse-meat, for we staid here to rest our horses, and every day we tooke shorter iournies, because wee had a coach in our company, which could hardly passe the streights and stony waies of the Alpes, and in no other part of the Alpes, they vse at any time to passe with coaches, but here very seldome, in respect of the ill way. The ninth day we rode three miles, through a fruitful plaine of corne, to Feldkirken, where I paid nine creitzers for my dinner, and foure for my horse-meat. After dinner we rode about two miles, by the side of a lake on our left hand towards the South, beyond which lake Boleslaus King of Poland lies buried in a Monasbery, who hauing killed a Bishop, warning him to amend his life, did vpon his owne free will doe penance there, taking the habit of a Monke, and seruing in the same Cloyster, as a lay brother to warme stoues: but the Polackes say, that the body of the dead Bishop did many miracles, whereupon with great expence of treasure, they of late obtained at Rome , to haue him made a Saint. And so we came to a village where I paid twenty creitzers for my supper, thirteene for my horse-meat, and eight for drinke after supper. The tenth day in the morning we rode about a mile, through high and rocky mountaines, to the City Villake, by which the Riuer Draw runneth, and here I omitted my expences. After dinner we rode three miles, through high and rocky mountaines, and a narrow way; and our coachman by the way shewed vs vp|pon the left hand towards the South, a Castle, which of old belonging to the Gouer|nours of the Prouince, was now demolished, and because money receiued of the Turkes for treason, was hidden here, they say that euer since ill spirits walke in that place.

In the villages of Carinthia (being a Prouince of the Dutch Empire) the Countrey people speake Wendish, or the tongue of the old Vandals, which I haue like wise heard to be vsed in villages neere Angsburg,

and neere Witteberg in Saxony, and vpon the shoare of the Balticke sea in Pomern, and Meckleburge, so as it seemes, that barbarous nation, though scattered and loosing their name, yet still liueth in those places.

So we came to Altaporta, that is High gate, where I omitted my expences. The eleuenth day in the morning wee rode a mile, through high mountaines and rocky, and a narrow way to the village Trenise, where the Dutchmen shewed a pasport, and we all had a like pasport giuen vs from the Emperour his Officers, which we were to deliuer to the Venetian Officers at Pontena, left either for suspition of infectuous sick|nes, or any other cause, they should not permit vs to enter into Italy. In the said village I paid fifteene creitzers for my dinner, and fiue for my horse-meat.

After dinner we rode two miles, in a stony way betweene mountaines, to Pontena, which the Dutch call Pontafell, and by the way there was a wall of stone betweene the mountaines, and a village called Chiusa, where there was a gate, shutting vp the high way, vpon which was written in Italian.

La chiusa, L'Alpi chiudono i confini della famosa Italia, manon ponno mai chiudere l'honer del sagio Contarini . The inclosure or shutting vp. The Alpes close vp the confines of famous Italy, but can neuer inclose the honour of the wise Contarini .

The Contarini are a family of Gentlemen in [11] Venice. Here the Venetian souldiers keeping this passage, required a beneuolence of vs, which we willingly gaue, and out companions paid foure Venetian lires for the foure horses in their coach, but wee that were horsemen paid no tribute. Here we had another passe-port to be shewed at Venzona. I paid at Pontena thirty sols of [12] Venice for my supper, thirty fiue for oates, and ten for hey.

And giue me leaue to remember, that I hauing for the cold at Dantzke, in the be|ginning of September, put on a woollen wasecoat, was forced now at the entring of Italy, for great heat in the end of October, to put off the same.

The twelfth day in the morning wee rode foure miles (meaning Dutch miles, though wee be now entered into Italy, because my Dutch companions so reckoned 69 them.) We now had entred the Italian Prouince Frioly, which the Latines call Forum Iulij; because the Legions vsed to be sent from hence ouer the Alpes, and the Venetians call Patria, that is country; because the Venetians fled from hence, into the Lakes of [13] Venice, when Attila King of the Huns inuaded Italy, by this name acknowledging it to be their country, from whence they originally came. Aquilegia the seat of the Pa|triarkes, destroyed by Attila, was of old famous; but the Venetians by the Popes fa|uour, haue drawne the Patriarkes seat to [14] Venice. By the way wee passed seuen bran|ches of the Riuer Tagliamonti on horse-backe without boats, the streame being so vio|lent by the waters falling from the mountaines, that it dazels the eyes, if the passen|ger looke vpon the water; for which cause wee passed warily, turning our eyes from the water, and hauing guidespassing before vs, to try and shew vs the Fordes. By the way vpon a bridge, this was written in Latine:

For the carrying ouer of Dutch merchandize, by the streames of Ledra, S. S. Presi|dent of the Prouince, speedily built this Bridge.

So wee came through a plaine some-

[11] Venice
[12] Venice
[13] Venice
[14] Venice

what wilde, or lesse fruitfull, to Spilenburg; where I paied twenty one sols for my dinner, eight for oats, and foure for hay. After dinner we rode two Dutch miles, through wild stony fields, to Sanuocate, where I paid thirty sols for my supper, thirty two for oats, and ten for hay. The thirteenth day in the morning, we rode three Dutch, or fourteen Italian miles; through wilde grounds, and stony fields of corne, and neere our iournies end, by many Orchardes and Vine|yards, to Konian, where I omitted my expence. By the way wee met a Gentleman, in his coach drawne with oxen. After dinner wee rode two Dutch, or eight Italian miles, and in a wilde field, passed two branches of a riuer by a boat, in which we sate on horse-backe; and we paied sixteene sols for our passage, and thence wee came to a village, where I paied forty sols for my supper, twenty three for oats, and ten for hay. And comming hither on All-soules euening, which they keepe with great superstiti|on, wee could not sleepe for little bels tinckling all night. The fourteenth day in the morning, we rode six Italian miles, through fruitfull hils of corne, and by pleasant Vineyards, to Treuigi, a City little in circuit, but fortified, and built of bricke, with arches hanging ouer the streets, vnder which men walke dry in the greatest raine, where I haue omitted my expences.

After breakefast we rode twenty two Italian miles, through a most pleasant plain, in which we passed ouer a riuer, and came to Paduoa . Here I sold my horse for twen|ty [Note: Paduoa .] siluer crownes, which I bought at Crakaw for eighteene guldens; and by the way, I might haue sold him for twenty six crownes or more, and from the place where I sold him, might easily haue hired a coach or horses to Paduoa , but my foolish hope to sell him deerer, and desire to saue the charge of hiring a coach, or horse, kept me from selling him by the way, whereof I repented when I came to Paduoa , where horse|meat was very deere, and the horse-coarsers finding that I must needs sell him, agreed among themselues, so craftily, sending mee euery day new buyers, to offer mee lesse then before they had offered, as when I had kept him fourteene dayes, I must haue beene forced to sell my horse at their price, if I had not found an English Gentleman by chance, who returning into Germany, gaue mee twenty crownes for my horse. I staied all this winter at Paduoa , in which famous Vniuersity I desired to perfect my Italian tongue, where a Student may haue his table at an Ordinary (vulgarly a la do|zena) and his chamber for eight, or at most, for tenne siluer crownes the month: but few liue after this fashion, saue the Dutch, and strangers new arriued, and hauing not yet got the language; but rather they hire a chamber, which is to be had for a zechine, or tenne lires the month, or at a lower rate, the Hostesse being to finde linnen, and dresse the meat you buy. My Hoste had a large house, with a faire court, hired yeer|ly for forty crownes, and with him, my selfe and some Dutch men lodged, each ha|uing his chamber and plentifull diet, for eight siluer crownes the month.

When I went to [15] Venice, I lodged with an Hostesse, an old widow, which had a house like a Pallace; for which, she paied two hundred crownes yeerely, and there I paied for a chamber foure siluer crownes by the month, euery man there buying 70 meat at his pleasure, which the Hostesse dresseth; and findes linnen.

But that the price of things may better appeare, it will not be amisse particularly to set some prices downe for both Cities; for howsoeuer strangers spend more in Ve|nice, then in Padnoa; yet that is not by reason of diet, but for the greater price of

[15] Venice

cham|bers, and extraordinary inticements to spend. The prices I will briefly set downe, in some few particulars, because in the due place treating of diet, I am to speake more largely thereof. It is the fashion of Italy, that onely men, and the Masters of the family, goe into the market and buy victuals, for seruants are neuer sent to that purpose, much lesse weomen, which if they be chast, rather are locked vp at home, as it were in prison. Againe, the small coines of brasse, are very helpefull to the poore, all victuals being sold in small portions, according to the smallest money, yea, the very spices, which in the shoppes are put vp in papers, ready beaten, according to greater or the very least coynes. The Italians are sparing in diet, but particularly at Padnoa, the mar|kets abound rather with variety, then quantities of meat. Some hundreds of turkies hang out to be sold, for six or seuen lires each, according to the goodnes. And this ter|ritory yeelding better corn then other parts, they haue very white bread, light, and plea|sant in tast, especially that which is called Pan-buffetto. I remember I bought a pound of mutton for fiue sols and a halfe, of veale for eight, of porke for eight, a fat hen for two lires, eight little birds for six sols, a great and fat pigeon for two lires, a pullet for thirty fiue, and sometime forty sols, an Eele after ten sols the pound, kreuises the pound three, and sometimes six sols, a pike the pound seuen or eight sols, round coc|kles the hundred three sols, the longe, which we call rasers, the hundreth twenty sols, the skalops which they call holy cockels, twelue for a lire, Cheuerns the pound foure sols, a plaise sixe sols, tenches the pound eight sols, sawsages the pound ten sols, sixe egges eight sols, butter the pound foureteene sols, piacentine cheese the pound six sols, and parmesan the pound ten or twelue sols, a measure of salt for the table foure sols, rice the pound three sols, ten snailes foure sols, apples the pound two sols, peares and wardens the pound foure sols, chesnuts the pound three sols, dry grapes the pound two sols, sometimes three; almonds the pound fiue sols, six orenges for one gaget, a pomegranat one sol, oyle the pound ten sols, a secchio of wine thirty fiue sols, or the pound thereof eight sols, waxe candles the ounce two sols, and ten small waxe candles twenty two sols, other candles the pound sixteene sols, or foureteene if they be little, a quire of writing paper fiue sols. The Hostesse dresseth your meat in the bargaine for your chamber, and findes you napkins, tableclothes, sheetes, and towels; and either in your chest or her owne, will lay vp the meat, and very bread you leaue, more proui|dently then any of our parts would require; and little boyes attend in the market pla|ces with baskets, who for a soll will carry home the meat you buy; and dare not de|ceiue you though you goe not with them. I paid to my taylor for making a cloake foure lires, and for my doublet and hose eight lites; to my laundresse for making a shirt a lire, that is, twenty sols; for washing it two sols; and for washing foure handkerchers one sol. And this shall suffice for particular expences.

The City Paduoa , was built by Antenor a Troian, and the Heneti driuen out of their Countrey, ioined themselues to these Troians. These with ioint force droue out the Euganei from the fertile Euganean hils neere Paduoa , where Hereules left them, and these Heneti gaue to their posterity the name of Venetians, to whom the Colonies of Tuscany ioined themselues, then the French subdued all this Prouince, till at last they subiected themselues to the Romans, and were made Citizens of Rome . The Roman Empire declining, the Visigothes vnder Alaricus droue the chiefe

[16] Venice

Citizens of Paduoa , into the lakes of [16] Venice. Then Attila King of the Hunnes spoiled Paduoa , and the Lon|gobards burnt it, which being rebuilt, and flourishing vnder the German Emperors, Acciolinus vsurped the gouernement thereof, in the yeere 1237. But Pope Alexander the fourth helped by the Venetians, restored it to liberty in the yeere 1257. In the fa|ction of the Guelphes and Gibellines, Paduoa then and from that time hath bin subiect to ma|ny Princes of the Scaligers, and Cararrians, til about the yeere 1402. the Venetians tooke the City, which they held to the yeere 1509. when the French King Lewis made them 71 yeeld to the Emperour; but the Venetians after two moneths recouered it, and to this day it is subiect to them, who send a Magistrate called Podesta, euery fifteene mo|neths to gouerne it. Some say Paduoa was first called Antenoria (as the Heneti gaue the name of [17] Venice to the Countrey) till after Antenors death, the Heneti called it Paduoa , of a City in their Countrey whence they were driuen. Others say it hath the name from a Greeke word, vpon the flying of Swannes: others say it is so called of the riuer Po, called in Latine Padus, or of the territory lying beyond the Po, the Riuer giuing name to the territory, and that to the City. Before it was destroied by Attila, it was seated on the East-side of the Riuer Medoacus, but after it was built on the other side, in a fenny soyle, where now the market place is, but since it hath beene inlarged on both sides the water, being without the outmost wals seuen miles compasse, and of a triangular forme, as it seemed to me. The first angle is on the North-side, where is the Monastery of the Hermites of Saint Augustine, and the stately Pallace Areno, in which the French King Henry the third was lodged, when hee returned from Poland into France. The second angle is towards the East; where is the gate at which they take water to passe vpon the Riuer Brenta to [18] Venice. The third angle is towards the South, where is the monastery Santo, called of Saint Anthony of Lisbon, and the monastery of Saint Iustina. And these angles taken away, the old City is round. On the West-side vpon the wals, is built the old Pallace of the old City. Paduoa is seated in a sweet plain, hauing no trees neere the City. Of old the wall was triple, and now it is double. The inner wall is some three miles in compasse; and is very high hauing a walke vpon it round about, with pleasant shade of trees, where Gentlemen vse to play at the bal|loone. This wall compassed round with the Brent, hath foureteene gates, with as ma|ny bridges of stone. The riuer Brent likewise compasseth the outward wall, which is about seuen miles compasse, and hath six stately gates, but this wall is nothing so strong as the other. The Riuer Athesis diuides the territory of Paduoa , from that of Uerona, and the riuerPo diuides it from that of Ferrara.

Two riuers of old called Medonci, enter the City; the greater at this day called Brenta, falling from the Alpes, with the right hand branch, runneth to Paduoa , and with the left hand branch to Rosta, and diuiding againe into two branches, one by the dirch Brentella is carried to Paduoa , the greater takes the name Bachilio, and neere to the wals of Paduoa , receiues the waters of Brentella, increased with a branch of Brenta. These Riuers enter the City, and with diuers channels driue many mils, compasse the wals, and not onely make the fields fertile, but serue to carry all commodities (abounding here) from hence to [19] Venice, and to bring from thence

[17] Venice
[18] Venice
[19] Venice

such things as they want, and besides doe cleanse all filth of the stables and priuies.

The aire at Paduoa is very healthfull, and the building is with arches of stone, hang|ing ouer the streets, vnder which they walke dry in the greatest raine; but the streetes are thereby made narrow, and in the middest are dirty. There be fiue market places: in the first the Gentlemen and Students meet and walke: in the second herbes are sold, in the third corne: in the fourth wood, and in the fifth straw. The aforesaid monastery of Saint Anthony, is inhabited by Franciscan Friars, and is much fairer then any other religious house; the Church whereof was of old dedicated to Iuno, and after to the Virgin Mary; and at last to Saint Anthony. The pauement thereof is of marble, and the building very stately, hauing in the top seuen globes couered with lead, and three high towers. The Chappell wherein St Anthony lies, is all of marble, and round about it the miracles are engrauen, which they attribute to this Saint: at whose feast day they vse to present for great gifts the hallowed girdles of this St, which they tie about their loyns, and attribute strange effects thereunto. Here is a statua of marble, erected to Peter Bem|bus; and in the large yard there is a horse-mans statua of brasse, which the Senate of [20] Venice erected to Gatta Melata. In the Church of Franciscan Minorites, there is a statua erected to Roctha Benello, a Physitian, sitting in his chaire. In the aforesaid monastery of Saint Iustina, the order of Saint Benedict was first established, and from thence dis|persed into Italy, and the Church thereof was of old dedicated to Concord, and after being made the Bishops Church, was endowed with great rents. These Monkes haue 72 a blacke habit, and in the Church they shew the reliques of the Martyr Saint Iustina, of Saint Prosdosimus a Greeke, (who is said to haue beene Saint Peters Disciple, and to haue conuerted Paduoa , and to haue baptised Saint Iustina, when shee suffered Mar|tyrdome) and likewise of Saint Maximus (both Bishops, and protecting Saints of the City,) as also of Saint Luke the Euangelist, brought by Vrius a Monke from Constan|tinople; but the Venetians say the reliques of Saint Luke are with them. Biondus wri|teth, that here was a Church dedicated to Iupiter, and the sepulcher of Titus Liuius. In the first court yard of this Monastery, the incredible miracles of Saint Benedict are painted. In the second I found this Epitaph:

Adoleseens tametsi proper as, Hoc te saxum rogat vt se aspicias; Deinde quod scriptum est legas. Hic sunt Poet a Pacuuij sita ossa: Hoc volebam nessius ne esses: vale. D. M. Young man tho thou hastest This stone desires thee to behold it; Then to read that is written. Here are laid the bones of the Poet Pacunius, This I would haue thee know: Farewell. D. M.

A large and pleasant meadow lies before this Monastery. There is another of the Benedictines in this City, but those Friers weare a white habit, and liue with more seuere rules. In the Monastery of Saint Augustines Hermits, before named, are the sepul|chers of the Princes of the family Carraria. The Cathedrall Church was of old Magnificall, and to this day hath twelue Churches vnder it within the City. The Marble chest containing Autenors bones, being found when the foundation of the Almes-house was digged, was then brought to the Church of Saint Laurence; where|in was found a guilded sword, and Latine verses in a barbarous stile, shewing that the Letter A, should be fatall to the City; vvhich they say haue proued to true by Attila, Agilulsus, Accidanus, Ansedissus and Albertus: vnder vvhom the City vvas much afflicted. This

[20] Venice

chest is erected vpon Marble pillers at the doore of the Church, and vpon the wall these verses are written in Latine:

Iuclitus Antenor post dirutae maenia Troiae, Transtulit huc Henetum Dardanidumque fugas, Expulit Euganeos, Patauinam condidit vrbem, Quem tenet hac humili marmore casa Domus. Famous Autenor, Troyes walles pulled downe, Henets and Dardans remnant here did traine; Expeld th' Euganeans, built faire Padnoa Towne, Whom this low Marble house doth here containe.

Another Epitaph of the same Antenor, seemes lately written by the very name of the City, and sauoureth a Transalpine wit, giuing small credit to Liuy, or their fabu|lous Antiquities:

Hic iacet Antenor Paduanaeconditor vrbit, Proditor ipse fuit hique sequnutur eum. Antenor Padoaes founder lieth heere, He was a Traytor, these him follow neere.

The Monument of the Troian horse of wood, is kept in the Pallace of the Capi|list family, whereupon they are called the Capilists of the horse. There bee eighteene Cloysters of Nunnes in the City, and two of repenting or illuminate women, so they call whores entring Cloysters. About the middest of the City is a faire Pallace, where 37 the Venetian Podesta or gouernour dwels, the gallery whereof (in which hee sitteth to iudge causes) is very large, and hath a high arched roofe hanging by Art, not su|stained by many pillers, and the same is couered with lead, and adorned with many pictures of the famous Painter Zoto, and the length thereof is one hundred forty wal|king paces, the breadth forty three paces. There is the Statua of Iulius Paulus, Doctor of Ciuill Law, and of Peter Aponensis, or, d'Abano; and of Titus Liuius, and of Al|bertuo the Hermitan, placed ouer the foure dores. At the West end of this gallery, is a Monument of Titus Liuius the Historian carued within the wall, and these verses are written vpon the wall in Latine:

Ossatuumque caput, liues tibi maxime Liui, Prompto animo hic omnes composuera tui: Tufamam aeternam Romae, patriaeque dedisti, Huic criens, illi fortia facta canens. At tibi dat Paetria hac: and simaiora liceret, Haec totus stares aureus ipse loco. Greatest Liuy, thy countrey men haue laid, Thy head and bones here with a ready minde: Thy Countrey, and Rome thou hast famous made, Here borne, while their greatest acts thou hast refinde: Thy Countrey giues thee this, if more it might, Here all in gold thou shouldst stand shining bright.

This Titus Liuius died in the fourth yeere of the Empire of Tiberim Caesar, and in the sixty six yeere of his age. Not farre from this Monument stands a brazen Image of the same Liuy, with this inscription in Latine:

The bones of Titus Liuy of Paduoa , by all mortall mens consent worthy, by whose penne truely inuincible, the Acts of the inuincible Roman people should be written.

Besides, they shew in the City Titus Liuius his house. And this Monument, orthese bones of him were brought thither from the Monastery of Saint Iustina. The Court where the Senate meetes, lieth neere to the said gallery of this Pallace; where there is astone, which they call the stone of Turpitude, (that is, filthines or disgrace:) where|upon debtors, which disclaim the hauing of goods to pay their debts, do sit with their hinder parts bare; that with this note of disgrace, others may be terrified from borrow ing more then they can pay. They haue a Pest-house called Lazaretto, and two like hou|ses for Lepers, and one Alsmes-house for the poore strangers, another for Orphanes, and a third for children cast out, or left in the streets. Neere the Church of Saint Lu|ria, there is a Well, called the Diuels Well; which they say was

brought into the street by Art Magick, out of the court-yard of a Gentleman, denying water to his neighbours. This City hath little trafficke, though it lies very fit for the same, because the Venetians draw it all to themselues.

But Gentlemen of all Nations come thither in great numbers, by reason of the fa|mous Vniuersity, which the Emperour Frederick the second, being offended with the City of Bologna, planted herein the yeere 1222, or there abouts, some comming to study the ciuill Law, other the Mathemetickes, and Musick, others to ride, to practise the Art of Fencing, and the excercises of dancing and actiuity, vnder most-skilful pro|fessors of those Arts, drawn hither by the same reason. And Students haue here great, if not to great liberty and priuiledges, so as men-slaiers are only punished with banish|ment, which is a great mischiefe, and makes strangers liue there in great iealousie of treason to be practised against their liues. The Schoole where the professors of libe|rall Sciences teach, is seated ouer against Saint Martins Church, and was of old a publike Inne, hauing the signe of an Axe, which name it still retaineth. The promo|tion of degrees is taken in the Bishops hall, neere the Cathedrall Church, and the Do|ctors are made in the chiefe Church. And there bee eight Colledges built for poore Students of seuerall Prouinces.

The Athestine family of the Dukes of Ferrara, and the Honorian family, of the 74 tyrant Acciolinus, and the Carrarian family of their owne Princes, had their begin|ning in this City, as they write. And they doe no lesse triumph of diuers Citizens borne heere, namely Marsilius, Mamerdinus a Minorite who being a Diuine, wrote learnedly in the yeere 1329, of the power of the Pope and Emperour, defending the maiesty of the Emperour against the Pope: and Iulius Paulus a ciuill Lawyer, Disciple to Papinius, and liuing in the time of Titus Liuius; and Francis Zabarella a ciuill Lawyer, dying in the yeere 1417, and Peter D'Abano a Physician and Astrologer, dying in the yeere 1312: whose body being to bee burnt for suspicion of his being a coniurer, his Concubine buried, but his picture and his bookes were burnt by the Emperors command: and Michael Sauonarola a Physitian, and Titus Liuius a famous Historian: And Lucius Aruntius Stella, and Caius Valerius Flaccus, all Poets celebrated by Martiall: and Augelus Beoleus a Stage-player of wonderfull elocution, dying in the yeere 1542, and Thraseas Peto a famous Souldier, hated by Nero: and Andreas Mantinia, the best Painter of his age, being knighted, and dying about the yeere 1517, and Augustinus Zoto a Painter, with other famous men.

2 The Second Booke.

2

2.1 CHAP. I.

Of my iourney from Paduoa , to [21] Venice, to Ferraria, to Bologna, to Rauenna, and by the shore of the Adriaticke Sea, to Ancona: then crossing the breadth of Italy, to Rome , seated not farre from the Tirrhene Sea.

WHosoeuer comes into Italy, and from whence soeuer; but more especially if he come from suspected places, as Con|stantinople, neuer free from the plague; hee must bring to the Confines a certificate of his health, and in time of any plague, hee must bring the like to any City within land, where he is to passe, which certificates brought from place to place, and necessary to bee carried, they curiously ob|serue and read. This paper is vulgarly called Bolletino del|la sanita; and if any man want it, hee is shut vp in the La|zareto, or Pest-house forty dayes, till it appeare he is healthfull, and this they call vul|garly far' la quarantans. Neither will the Officers of health in any case dispence with him, but there hee shall haue conueuientlodging, and diet at his pleasure.

In the spring of the yeere, 1594, (the Italians beginning the yeere the first of Ia|nuary) [Note: An. 1594.] I began my iourney to see Italy, and taking boat at the East gate of Paduoa , the same was drawne by horses along the Riuer Brenta; and hauing shot two or three small bridges, and passed twenty miles, we came to the Village LizzaFusina , where there is a damme to stop the waters of Brenta, lest in processe of time, the passage being open, the Marshes on that side of [22] Venice should be filled with sand or earth, and so a passage made on firme ground to the City; which they are carefull to preuent, and not with|out iust cause, hauing found safety in their Iles, when Italy was often ouerflowed by barbarous people. Besides, they say that this damme was made, lest this fresh. water should bee mingled with their salt waters; since all the Gentlemen of [23] Venice fetch their fresh water by boats from thence, the poorer sort being content with Well water. Heere whiles our boat was drawne by an Instrument, out of the Riuer Brenta, 75 into the Marshes of [24] Venice, wee the passengers refreshed our selues with meat and wine, and according to the custome, agreed vpon the price of our meat before wee did eat it. Then we entred our boat againe, and passed fiue miles to [25] Venice, vpon the marshes thereof; and each man paied for his passage a lire, or twenty sols, and for a horse more then ordinary, that we might be drawne more swiftly from Paduoa to LizzaFusina , each man paied foure sols, but the ordinary passage is only sixteene sols. We might haue had coaches, but since a boat passeth daily too and fro betweene these Cities, most men vse this passage as most conuenient. For the boat is couered with arched hatches, and there is very pleasant company, so a man beware to giue no offence: for otherwise the Lumbards carry shirts of Male, and being armed as if they were in a Camp, are apt to reuenge vpon shamefull aduantages. But commonly there is pleasant discourse, and the prouerb saith, that the boat shall bee drowned, when it carries neither Monke, nor Student, nor Curtesan (they loue them too well to call them whores,)

[21] Venice
[22] Venice
[23] Venice
[24] Venice
[25] Venice

the passengers being for the most part of these kindes. I remem|ber a yong maide in the boat, crossed her selfe whensoeuer an old woman looked vp|on her, fearing she should be a witch, whereat the passengers often smiled, seeing the girle not onely crosse her selfe for feare, but thrust her crucifix towards the old wo|mans eyes. I said formerly that two Riuers Medoaci, runne through Paduoa , and that the greater by the name of Brenta, running to the village LizzaFusina , is stopped with a damme, lest it should mingle it selfe with the salt marshes of [26] Venice, and that also the lesser Riuer by the name of Bachilio, passeth through Paduoa . This lesser streame runneth thence into the ditch Clodia, and going out of it makes a hauen, called de Chiozza, which lieth in the way from [27] Venice to Farraria, and there it diuideth it selfe into two streames; and entring the salt marshes, makes the hauen of [28] Venice, called Malamocco. Besides other Riuers falling from the Alpes, through Frioli, do increase these marshes, which are salt by the tides of the sea, though the same doth very little ebbe or flow in this Mediterranean, or Inland sea. And this hauen Malamocco is very large and deep, and is defended with a banke from the waues of the Adriatique sea.

[Figure:

The Description of Uenice.

] Vpon the West side of [29] Venice beyond the marshes, lies the Territory of Paduoa . On the North side beyond the marshes, lies the Prouince Frioli. On the South side 76 beyond the marshes, lies partly the firme land of Italy, and partly the Adriatique sea; On the East side beyond the marshes lies the Adriatique sea, and the City con|sisteth all of Iles, compassed round about with the saide marshes.

A The great channell. B The market place of Saint Marke, seated in the first Sextary of Saint Marke. C The Cathedrall Church of Saint Peter, the seate of the Patriarkes, seated in the second Sextary, called Caestelli Oliuolo. D The third Sextary on this side the channell, called di Canarigio. E The Church of Saint Iames lies neere the bridge Rialto, and is seated in the fourth Sextary of Saint Paul, being the first of them beyond the channell.

The rest of the City is diuided into two other Sextaries beyond the channell, namely the fifth di Sta Croce, and the sixth de Dorso duro.

F The Church of Saint George the greater. G And the Church of Santa Maria delle gratie, both lie in the Sextary di Santa Croce. H The Iland Giudecca belongs to the sextary di Dorso duro. K The banke of the sea, vulgarly Il Lido. L The Iland Murana. M The new Lazaretto. N Mazorbo. O Buran P San Franscesco del deserto. Little Ilands. Q Torcello. R Duo Caestelli. S La Certosa. T Sta. Hellena. V Lazaretto Fecchio. — W Chioza. X Malamocco, the hauen within the sea banke. Y Pcuegia, an Iland. Z San' Georgiod' Alega, in the way as we come from Paduoa to [30] Venice, a little Iland. [...] La Concordia: a little Iland. The Henetians of Paphlagonia, their King Palemon being dead at the siege of Troy, ioyned themselues to Antener, and possessing these parts, after they had driuen out the Euganeans, called the countrey [31] Venice, and through their great vertue were made Citizens of Rome , and their chiefe men Senators thereof. But when Attila King of the Huns inuaded Italy, and

[26] Venice
[27] Venice
[28] Venice
[29] Venice
[30] Venice
[31] Venice

the Empire of the West being weakned, did destroy the same, the said Henetians came out of Histria, now called Frioli, and from the Ter|ritory of Paduoa , and other Italians came from adioyning parts, into certaine Ilands compassed with marshes, that they might be safe from those Barbarians; and about the yeere of our Lord, 421, began to build a City, which prouing a safe retreate from the tyranny then continually oppressing Italy, in processe of time by ciuill Arts grew incredibly. These Ilands were in number sixty neere adioyning, and twelue more distant; which being all ioyned in one, haue made this stately City, and the chiefe of them were called in the vulgar tongue, Rialto, Grado, Heraclca, and Caestello Oliuolo. The Iland Grado was of old the seat of the Patriarkes, after that the Patri|archate of Aquilegia in Histria, was by the Popes authority translated thither: but now the seat of the Patriarkes is remoued to Caestello Oliuolo. At first Consuls gouer|ned the City, then Tribunes, chosen out of each Ile one, till the yeere 697, when the Citizens abiding in Heraclea chose them a Duke, who dwelt in the same Ile. After forty yeeres they chose a Tribune of souldiers, in stead of a Duke, with like authority as hee had, and at last in the yeere 742, meeting in the Iland Mala|mocco, they chose a Duke againe, and remoued his seat from Heraclea, to that Iland. Then Pipin raigning in Italy about the yeere 800, the Venetians demolished Hera|clea which was built againe, but neuer recouered the old dignity, being more notable in the seat of the Bishop, then in the number of Citizens. For most of the Gentle|men remoued their dwellings into the Iland Rialto, otherwise called Riuo alto; either of the depth of the marshes, or because it was higher then the other Ilands, and there|vpon called Ripa alta. Whereupon that Iland getting more dignity then the rest, the Citizens in processe of time ioyned the sixty Ilands lying neere one to the other, with 77 some foure hundred bridges; of which Ilands (as is aboue said) and of the twelue more distant, this stately City consisteth. Then by common counsell, the seat of the Dukes was established in this Iland, who built the stately Pallace which at this day we see. And now a new Dukedome arising out of these salt marshes of the sea, from that time daily grew in dignity. But the City was first called Kialto, and after, of the countrey from whence the Citizens came, was called Venetia, or in the plurall number Venetiae: because many Dukedomes and Prouinces, or many Nations were ioyned in one, and at this day is vulgarly called Venegia. That the City was first cal|led Rialto, appeares by old records of Notaries, written in these wordes: After the vse of [32] Venice. In the name of eternall God, amen: subscribed in such a yeere of Riuoalto, and in these wordes after the vse of the Empire; In the name of Christ, amen: sub|scribed, dated at [33] Venice. This stately City built in the bottome of the gulfe of the Adriatique sea, in the midst of marshes vpon many Ilands, is defen|ded on the East side against the sea, by a banke of earth, which hath fiue (or some say seuen) mouths or passages into the sea; and is vulgarly called Il Lido: and being so placed by nature, not made by Art, bendeth like a bowe, and reacheth thirty fiue miles; and by the aforesaid passages, the ships and the tides of the sea goe in and out, and the deepe marshes whereof I haue spoken, are made of these salt waters, and of diuers fresh waters falling from the Alpes, and vulgarly called, il Tagliamonts La liuen|za, la praac, la Brenta, Il Po, l' Adice, and il Bacchiglione. On the West side, the City

[32] Venice
[33] Venice

is compassed with marshes, and after fiue miles with the Territory of Paduoa . On the North side with marshes, and beyond them partly with the Prouince Frioli, partly with the aforesaid sea banke. And vpon the South side with many Ilands, wherein are many Churches and Monasteries, like so many Forts, and beyond them with the firme land of Italy. The City is eight miles in circuit, and hath seuenty Paris hes, wherein each Church hath a little market place, for the most part foure square, and a publike Well. For the common sort vse well water, and raine water kept in cesternes; but the Gentlemen fetch their water by boat from the land. It hath thirty one cloysters of Monkes, and twenty eight of Nunnes, besides chappels and almeshouses. Channels of water passe through this City (consisting of many Ilands ioyned with Bridges) as the bloud passeth through the veines of mans body; so that a man may passe to what place he will both by land and water. The great channell is in length about one thousand three hundred paces, and in breadth forty paces, and hath onely one bridge called Rialto, and the passage is very pleasant by this channell; being adorned on both sides with stately Pallaces. And that men may passe speedily, besides this bridge, there be thirteene places called Traghetti, where boats attend cal|led Gondole; which being of incredible number giue ready passage to all men. The rest of the channels running through lesse streets, are more narrow, and in them many bridges are to be passed vnder. The aforesaid boats are very neat, and couered all saue the ends with black cloth, so as the passengers may goe vnseene and vnknowne, and not bee annoyed at all with the sunne, winde, or raine. And these boats are ready at call any minute of the day or night. And if a stranger know not the way, hee shall not need to aske it, for if hee will follow the presse of people, hee shall be sure to bee brought to the market place of Saint Marke, or that of Rialto; the streets being very narrow (which they paue with bricke,) and besides if hee onely know his Hosts name, taking a boat, he shall be safely brought thither at any time of the night. Al|most all the houses haue two gates, one towards the street, the other towards the wa|ter; or at least the bankes of the channels are so neere, as the passage by water is as easie as by land. The publike boats, with the priuate of Gentlemen and Citizens, are some eight hundred, or as others say, a thousand. Though the floud or ebbe of the salt water bee small, yet with that motion it carrieth away the filth of the City, besides that, by the multitude of fiers, and the situation open to all windes, the ayre is made very wholsome, whereof the Venetians bragge, that it agrees with all strangers complexions, by a secret vertue, whether they be brought vp in a good or ill ayre, and preserueth them in their former health. And though I dare not say that the Venetians 78 liue long, yet except they sooner grow old, and rather seeme then truly be aged: I ne|uer in any place obserued more old men, or so many Senators venerable for their grey haires and aged grauity. To conclude, the situation of [34] Venice is such, as the Citizens abound with all commodities of sea and land; and are not onely most safe from their enemies on the land, being seuered from it by waters, and on the sea being hedged in with a strong sea banke, but also giue ioyfull rest vnder their power to their subiects on land, though exposed to the assault of their enemies.

The City parted in the middest with the great channell, comming in from the sea banke neere the two Castles, is of old diuided into six sextaries, or six parts, vulgarly sestieri; three on this side the chan-

[34] Venice

nell, and three beyond the channell. The first sextary on this side the channell, is that of Saint Marke; for howsoeuer it be not the Cathedrall Church, yet it is preferred before the rest, as well because the Duke resides there, as especially because Saint Marke is the protecting Saint of that Ciry. The body of which Saint being brought hither by Merchants from Alexandria: this Church was built in the yeere 829. at the charge of the Duke Iustinian, who dying, gaue by his last will great treasure to that vse, and charged his brother to finish the building, which was laid vpon the ruines of Saint Theodores Church, who formerly had beene the pro|tecting Saint of the City. And the same being consumed with fire in the yeere 976. it was more stately rebuilt, according to the narrownes of the place, the Merchants be|ing charged to bring from all places any precious thing they could find fit to adorne the same, whatsoeuer it cost. The length of the Church containeth two hundred foot of [35] Venice, the bredth fifty, the circuit 950. The building is become admirable, for the singular art of the builders and painters, and the most rare peeces of Marble, Porphry, Ophites (stones so called of speckles like a serpent) and like stones; and they cease not still to build it, as if it were vnfinished, lest the reuenues giuen by the last wils of dead men to that vse, should returne to their heires (as the common report goes.) There were staires of old to mount out of the market place into the Church, till the waters of the channell increasing, they were forced to raise the height of the market place. On the side towards the market place are fiue doores of brasse, whereof that in the mid|dest is fairest, and the same, with one more, are daily opened, the other three being shut, excepting the dayes of Feasts. Vpon the ground neere the great doore, is a stone, pain|ted as if it were engrauen: which painting is vulgarly called, Ala Mosaica, and vpon this stone Pope Alexander set his foot vpon the necke of the Emperour Fredericke Bar|barossa, adoring him after his submission. The outward part of the Church is adorned with 148. pillars of marble, whereof some are Ophytes, that is speckled, and eight of them are Porphry neere the great doore, which are highly esteemed. And in all pla|ces about the Church, there be some six hundred pillars of marble, besides some three hundred in the caues vnder ground. Aboue these pillars on the outside of the Church is an open gallery, borne vp with like pillars, from whence the Venetians at times of Feasts, behold any shewes in the market place. And aboue this gallery, and ouer the great doore of the Church, be foure horses of brasse, guilded ouer, very notable for an|tiquity and beauty; and they are so set, as if at the first step they would leape into the market place. They are said to be made to the similitude of the horses of Phoebus, drawing the Chariot of the Sunne, and to haue beene put vpon the triumphall Arke of Nero, by the people of Rome , when he had ouercome the Parthians. But others say that they were giuen to Nero by Tiridates the King of Armenia, and were made by the hands of the famous engrauer Lisippus. These horses Constantine remoued from Rome to Constantinople, and that City being sacked, the Venetians brought them to [36] Venice, but they tooke of the bridles, for a signe that their City had neuer beene conquered, but enioied Virgin liberty. And all the parts of these horses being most like the one to the other, yet by strange art, both in posture of motion, and otherwise, they are most vnlike one to the other. Aboue this gallery the Image of Saint Marke of

[35] Venice
[36] Venice

marble, and like images of the other Euangelists, of the Virgin Mary, and of the Angell Gabriell, are placed, and there is a bell vpon which the houres are sounded, for the Church hath his Clocke, though another very faire Clocke in the market place be very neere 79 it. The roofe in forme of a Globe, lies open at the very top, where the light comes in; for the Church hath no windowes, and the Papist Churches being commonly darke, to cause a religious horror, or to make their candles shew better, this is more darke then the rest. I passe ouer the image of Saint Marke of brasse in the forme of a Lion, guilded ouer, and holding a booke of brasse. Likewise the artificiall Images of the Doctors of the Church, and others. I would passe ouer the Image of the Virgin Mary, painted ala Mosaica, that is as if it were engrauen, but that they attribute great miracles to it, so as weomen desirous to know the state of their absent friends, place a wax can|dle burning in the open aire before the Image, and beleeue that if their friend be aliue, it cannot be put out with any force of wind; but if he be dead, that the least breath of wind puts it out, or rather of it selfe it goes out: and besides for that I would mention that those who are adiudged to death, offer waxe candles to this Image, and as they passe by, fall prostratero adore the same. To conclude, I would not omit mention thereof, because all shippes comming into the Hauen, vse to salute this Image, and that of Saint Marke, with peeces of Ordinance, as well and more then the Duke. A Mer|chant of [37] Venice saued from shipwracke, by the light of a candle in a darke night, gaue by his last will to this Image, that his heires for euer should find a waxe candle to burne before the same. Aboue the said gallery are little chambers, in which they lay vp pieces of stone and glasse, with other materials for the foresaid painting, ala Mosaica, which is like to engrauing, and Painters hauing pensions from the state, doe there ex|ercise that Art, highly esteemed in Italy. The outward roofe is diuided into foure globes, couered with leade. Touching the inside of the Church: In the very porch thereof is the Image of Saint Marke, painted with wonderfull art, and the Images of Christ crucified, of him buried, and of the foure Euangelists, highly esteemed; besides many other much commended for the said painting like engrauing, and for other workemanship. And there be erected foure great pillars of Ophites, which they say were brought from the Temple of Salomon. At the entery of the doore is an old and great sepulcher, in which lies the Duke Marine Morosini. Not far thence is the image of Saint Geminian in pontificall habit, and another of Saint Katherine, both painted with great art. When you enter the body of the Church, there is the great Altar, vn|der which lies Saint Marke, in a chest of brasse, decked with Images of siluer guilded, and with plates of gold, and Images enamelled, and with the Image of Christ sitting vpon a stately throne, adorned with pillars of most white Marble, and many precious stones, and curiously engrauen. At the backe of this Altar there is another, which they call the Altar of the most holy Sacrament, made of the best marble, with a little doore of brasse, decked with carued Images, and with foure pillars of Alablaster, transparant as Christall, and highly esteemed; and vpon the same hang euery day two lampes of Copper: but at the times of feasts there hang two of pure siluer. Moreouer the Or|gans are said to be the worke of a most skilfull Artificer. In the higher gallery compas|sing the Church, is the image of Pope Pelagius, vnder which is a place where the holy relikes are kept, which Pope Clement the eight gaue to Iohn Delphin

[37] Venice

Knight, one of the Procurators of Saint Marke, and Ambassadour at Rome for [38] Venice, namely a peece of a bone of Phillip the Apostle, a peece of the cheeke-bone, and foure teeth of the Mar|tyr Saint Biagius: peeces of bones of Saint Bartholmew, and Saint Thomas (forsooth) of Canterbury, and of the Apostles Saint Matthew, and Saint Marke, (whose body they say is laid in the foresaid chest) and part of the haire of the blessed Virgin, and a peece of a finger of the Euangelist Luke, and a peece of a ribbe of Saint Peter, with ma|ny like, which they shew to the people to be adored certaine daies in the yeere. Aboue the Altar of Saint Clement, these verses are written, which shew how they worshipped Images in a more modest though superstitious age.

Nam Deus est quod I mago docet, sed non Deus ipse Hane vide as, sed mente colas quod cernis in ipsa: That which the Image shewes, is God, it selfe is none, See this, but God heere seene, in mind adore alone.

Likewise these verses of the same Author, be in another place.

80 Effigiem Christi qui transis, pronus horona, Non tamen effigiem sed quod designat adora. Esse deum ratione caret, cui contulit esse Materiale lapis, sicut and manus effigiale. Nec Deus est naec homo, praesens quam cernis Imago, Sed Deus est and homo, quem sacra signat Imago. As thou Christs Image passest, fall the same before, Yet what this Image signifies, not it adore. No reason that it should be God, whose essence stands Materiall of stone, formall of workemens hands. This Image which thou seest, is neither God nor Man, But whom it represents, he is both God and Man.

At the entry of the Chancell, is the throne of the Dukes, made of walnut-tree, all carued aboue the head, and when the Dukes sit there, it was wont to be couered with carnation satten, but now it is couered with cloth of gold, giuen by the King of Persia. There be two stately pulpits of marble, with Histories carued in brasse, where they sing the Epistles and Gospels. On the left hand by the Altar of Saint Iames is a place, where (if a man may beleeue it) the body of Saint Marke, by a creuice suddenly brea|king through the marble stone, appeared in the yeere 1094. to certaine Priests who had fasted and praied to find the same, the memory of the place where it was laied at the building of the Church about 829. being vtterly lost. I beleeue that the memory thereof was lost about the yeere 829. when superstition was not yet ripe, but that it was found in the yeere 1094. that age being infected with grosse superstition, let him that list beleeue. They themselues seeme to distrust this miracle, while they confesse that the same body was most secretly laid vnder the great Altar, and neuer since shew|ed to any man, but once or twice, and that after a suspicious manner. To the foresaid pulpits another is opposite, where the Musitians sing at solemne Feasts, and from whence the Dukes newly created, are shewed to the people, and likewise the holy re|likes (as they tearme them) are shewed twice in the yeere. The wals in the Church are so couered with the best marbles, as the lime and bricke cannot be seene: and these peeces of marble with their spots and brightnes, are very beautifull, whereof two are held for admirable Monuments, which are so ioined, as they liuely represent the I|mage of a man. Here Marino Morosini first of all the Dukes hung his Armes vp|pon the wals, whom the other Dukes after him in number forty three haue fol-

[38] Venice
[39] [40] Verona
[41] Verona

lowed, and there hung vp their Armes. In the middest of the Church hangs a banner, giuen by the Citizens of [39] [41] Verona , in token of subiection, and two others for the same purpose giuen by the Citizens of Crema and Cremona. The Marble pillars setin Caues vnder the Church, beare vp the pauement, which is made of peeces of the best marble, carued and wrought with little stones of checker worke very curiously, especially vn|der the middle globe of the roofe, and neere the great doore. And among the rare stones opposite to the singers pulpit, they shew one of such naturall spots, as it is e|steemed a Iewell, which by change of colour (they say) doth shew the change of wea|ther. Moreouer they shew certaine Images, carued by the direction of the Abbot Iohn Ioachim of old time, whereof many shew future euents, as that of two cockes carrying a wolfe vpon their backe, which they vnderstand to be Lewis the twelfth, and Charles the eight, French Kings, casting Lodouico Sfortia out of his Dukedome, and in like sort, (to omit many other more hidden) that of the Lyons fat in the waters, and leane vpon land, which they vnderstand to be the power of [42] Venice by sea, and the weakenes by land. Besides they say the same Abbot caused the Images of Saint Dominicke and Saint Francis to be drawne vpon the doore of the Sanctuary, long before they liued; and the title of Saint is added to each of them, but the name is not set vpon the pictures, yet they both are painted in the habit of their order. They shew two like pictures drawne by direction of the said Abbot, whereof they vnderstand one to be the last Pope, vn|der whom shall be one shepheard and one fould: but they say it is vnknowne what the other signifies. Before the new Chappell of the blessed Virgin, there be two little chambers, whereof one is called the Sanctuary, in which their holy relikes are kept, the 81 other is called the Iewell house, because the treasure of Saint Marke (so they appro|priate all publike things to Saint Marke) is there kept, and it is vulgarly called Luogo aelle groie, that is, the place of the Iewels.

The Procurators of Saint Marke, keepe this treasure, and make no difficulty to shew it to strangers of the better sort. In this place I saw the Ducall Cap, (vulgarly ill corne, or, Beretta Ducale) which the Dukes weare at their Creation, being of inestima|ble value, for the multitude and price of the Iewels, especially of a diamond vpon the crowne of the Cap, and a chrysolite set in the midst. I saw two crownes of Kings with twelue stomachers of pure gold set with rich Iewels (which the Noblewomen wore at Constantinople before the Turkes tooke it) and twelue other Crownes all of pure massy gold; all which the Venetians diuiding with the French, had for their part, when they tooke Constantinople, in the yeere 1203. I saw a saphyre of extraordinary bignes, and a Diamond which the French King Henry the third gaue to this state, when he retur|ned that way from Poland; and two whole Vnicornes hornes, each more then foure foot long, and a third shorter, and a little dish of a huge price, with innumerable ves|sels, which for price, rarenes, and workemanship, are highly valued. They say that a Candian thiefe tooke away this treasure, which is kept with many doores and barres of iron, but that he restored it, being betraied by his fellow.

In a Chappell of this Church, is a Font of brasse, with a brasen image of Saint Iohn baptizing, and the Altar thereof is of a stone brought out of Asia, vpon which they say Christ did sit, when he preached at Tyrus: but others say it is the stone vpon which the Patriarke Iacob did sleepe. They shew there the chaire of the blessed Virgin, of stone, and two peeces of mar-

[42] Venice

ble spotted with the blood of Iohn Baptist, and the marble sepulcher of Duke Andrea Dandoli. In the Chappell of the Cardinall Zeno, they shew the Rocke strucke by Moses, and distilling water, and two precious peeces of porphe|ry. In the vpper Vestry they shew the picture of the Virgin, painted by Saint Lukes hand, and the ring of Saint Marke, and his Gospell written with his owne hand, and a peece of the Crosse of Christ, and of the Pillar to which he was tied, and Bookes co|uered with massy siluer, and candlestickes, chalice, and many vessels of siluer guilded, all set with little precious stones, and the Bishops Miter of great price, and many rich vestures for the Priests. The chiefe Priest of this Church must be a gentleman of [43] Venice, and though hee be no Bishop, yet the Popes haue giuen him great priuiledges, and he is to be chosen by the Duke; because the Dukes built this Church, wherupon it is euer since called the Dukes Chappell. This Church of Saint Marke, is not vnworthily cal|led the golden Church, for the rich ornaments thereof, especially for the Images there|of, painted ala mosaita, like a worke engrauen. For the workemen doe incorporate gold with little square peeces of glasse, and guild the same ouer; then breaking them in very small peeces, they lay them vpon the pictures.

Among the Paris h Churches belonging to Saint Marke, is the Chappell of Saint Theodore, where the Inquisitors of Religion sit thrice a weeke: namely the Popes Nun|tio, and the Patriarke (an Inquisitor by his place, and at this time a Dominican Friar) and three Senators chosen by the Senate. Likewise the little, but most faire Church of Saint Germinian, is seated in the market place of Saint Marke, whose Priest according to the custome of [44] Venice, is chosen by them that haue unmoueable goods in the Paris h, and is confirmed by the Patriarke, in which Church the most notable things are, three Images grauen vpon the great Altar, and the sepulcher of Iohn Peter Stella, Great Chancellor, and the Altar of Lodonito Spinello, and the Monument of Iames and Francis Sansouine, famous engrauers. In the Church of Saint Mary Zebenigo, the Monuments of Sebastian Fosearint, a Phylosopher, and of IeRome Molini, a Florentine Poet, and the picture of the Lords Supper. In the Church Saint Vitale, the artificiall statua of that Saint on horsebacke. In the Church Saint Angelo, built by the family of the Morosmi, the Altar of the holy Sacrament. In the Church of Saint Fantino, the Architecture, and among other Images, the head of a Crucifix, and the singular Images of the bles|sed Virgin, and Saint Iohn, painted standing by the Crosse. In the Vestry of Saint Fan|tino (whose Monkes vse to accompany and comfort those that are executed) the two 82 Altars, and in the first of them the brasen Images of the blessed Virgin and Saint Iohn, and in the second the excellent Marble Image of Saint IeRome . In the Paris h Church of Saint Luke, seated in the middest of the City, amonument of foure most learned men, and another of Peter Aretine, called the scourge of Princes, are the most remark|able things. The Inquisitors worthily condemned the bookes of this Aretine, for the filthinesse of them (howsoeuer they be yet commonly sold) and the common re|port is, that they also commanded his horrible Epitaph to be blotted out, which was set in this Church of Saint Luke, in these words;

Qui gaice l'Aretin' Poeta Tusco, Chi disse mal' d'ogniun', four a che di Dio, Scusandosi, dicendo, is nol' conosco. Here lies

[43] Venice
[44] Venice

the Aretine, a Poet of Tuscany, Who spake ill of all but of God, Excusing himselfe, saying, I know him not.

Of the same Aretine saith Ariosto:

Ecco il flagello de'i Principi, Il Diuin' Pietro Aretino Behold the scourge of Princes The Diuine Peter Arctine. In the stately Church of Saint Saluatore, the Marble image of Saint Ierem, ano|ther of him, and a third of Saint Laurence, and the great Altar of pure siluer, are cu|riously ingrauen: and in the chappell of the holy Sacrament, the Image of Mary Magdalen; and in another chappell, the Image of Saint Augustine, praying among his Monkes; and not farre off two Images of the Monument erected to Duke Fran|cis Venerio: all painted with great Art, and the Altar of the blessed Virgn equall, or to be preferred to the best in the City: the Altar of St Antony, and two Monuments of Dukes, all adorned with rare engrauen and painted Images, and a faire paire of Or|gans. In the Church of Saint Bartholmew, the picture of Manna falling from heauen, and the brasen Images of Christ, of the foure Euangelists, 'and six Angels. In the Church of Saint Giuliano, many pictures, but especially that of Christ carrying his Crosse, and neere the doore another of Saint IeRome , and two Marble Images vpon the Altar. In the Church of Saint Stephen, rich with Marble and pillers, the Marble Images of the Apostles, with the pillars whereon they stand, and the Altar ingrauen with brasse, and the Monument of Iames Suriani, and another of Anthony Cornari with this inscription:

Antenij ad Cineres viator adsta Hic Cornarins ille, quem salebant, Rerum principia and Deos docentem Olim Antenoria stupere Athena, Accitus Patrias subinde adoras, Ornatus titulis fascibusque, Doctrina venetam beauit vrbem. At the ashes of Anthony, passenger stand, This is that Cornarius whom of old, Teaching the principles of Nature and the Gods, Antenors Athens was wont to admire. After called home to his Countrey, Graced with Titles and Magistracy, With his Learning he made [45] Venice happy.

These things I say are in these Churches most remarkeable.

The second sextary on this side the channell, vulgarly Il sestiero di Castello, hath the name of the Castle Oliuolo, which seated towards the sea, may seeme to be diuided from the Citie, yet it is ioyned thereto by a long bridge. Of old it was a City by it selfe, and therefore the Dukes Throne being established in the Iland Realto, the Bi|shops seat was made here, who is inuested by the Duke, and was consecrated by the Patriarke of Grado, till that being extinguished, this was raised to the dignity of a Pa|triarke, in the yeere 1450. In the Cathedrall Church of Saint Peter, this is written vpon the Chappell in Latine; 83 Who ere thou be that approachest, worship: Within these grates of Iron the crosse is inclosed, that is adorned with three haires of the beard of Christ, with a naile, the cup in which he drunke to his Disciples, and with a peece of the true Crosse, etc.

This Patriarcall seat hath two old pulpits of marble, the monuments of the Bishops and Patriarkes, which with the adioining Pallace of the Patriarkes, are the most re|markeable things thereof. In the Church of Iohn Baptist in Bragola, many curious pi|ctures, the sepulcher of that Saint guilded ouer, the Image of Christ, the pictures of the lesse Altar, especially that of Christ baptised, that of Saint Hellen, that of Christs resurrection, and the liuely picture of Christ sitting with his Apostles at his last supper. In the Church of Saint Mary Formosa, this inscription is read; Vincentius Capellus most skilful in

[45] Venice

Nauigation, and Prefect of the Gallies, nolesse praised of old, who receiued signes of ho|nour from Henry the seuenth, King of Britany, etc. There, vpon the great and very faire Altar, the Images of the foure Euangelists, and vpon the top, that of Christs resurre|ction, and of two Angels. In the Church Saint Marina, the statua on horsebacke ere|cted by the Senate to Tadeo della volpe of Imola, and the great Altar, with the pillars of prophry. In the Church of Saint Leone, the Images of Saint IeRome , of Christ at supper with his Disciples, of Iohn the Euangelist, and Saint Michaell, all painted by the hands of most skilfull workemen. In the Church of Saint Anthony, foure most faire Altars (in the second whereof the Image of Christ, and in the third rich with excellent pil|lars, the History of ten thousand Martyres painted, and in the fourth the espousals of the blessed Virgin, areal painted with singular Art) and a foot statua erected by the Se|nate to Victor Pisanus. In the Church of Saint Dominicke, the library, and pictures of the Altars. In the Church of Saint Francis di Paola, many things giuen vpon vow, and hung vpon the wals. In that of Saint Francis della vigna, a very faire and stately Church, the Altar of the Chappell belonging to the Family Grimani, and the pictures and brasen images of the same: and in the Chappell of the Family Dandoli, the picture of Saint Laurence martyred, and in the Chappell of the Iustiniani, being very rich, the Images of the foure Euangelists and twelue Prophets. In the Chappell of our Lady, the mo|nument of Marke, Anthony, Morosini, Knight and Procurator (famous in the warre which the French King Lewis the twelth, made in Lombardy, and thrice Ambassador from the State) also the famous library of this monastery, and the bels (which they say were brought out of England after Queene Maries death.) In the Church of the Saints, Iohn and Paul, (being one of the chiefe Churches) the situation, the architecture, the pictures, and the monuments of sixteene Dukes; and another of Marke, Anthony, Bra|gadini (who hauing defended the Iland Cyprus from the Turkes, when they tooke it, had his skinne fleed off, by the command of the tyrant, against his faith, in the yeere 1571.) Also three horsemens statuaes, one to Leonardo de Prato, Knight of Rhodes, ano|ther to Nichola Orsino Count of Pitiglia, both erected in the Church, the third for greater honour erected in the market place, to Bartholmeo Coleoni of Bergamo , for his good seruice to the State in their Warres; all three crected by the Senate. Also a foot statua erected by the Senate, to Deunys Naldo, a most valiant Commander of their foote, and the stately sepulcher of Iames de Cauallis, and the Chappell of the Rossary (magnificall in the architecture, in rare marbles, in the art of engrauers, and excellent pictures, especially that of Christ crucified.) In the Church of Saint Mary delle Virgini, (a Cloyster of Nunnes, built by the Dukes, and belonging to them by speciall right) two marble sepulchers. In the Church Saint Gioseppe, the admirable monument of the Germani (with admirable Images engrauen of the Duke Grimani created, and his Dutchesse Morosini, crowned, and the like curiously wrought:) also the Image of Christ transfigured, and another of Christ buried, are the most remarkeable things. And whereas the grauen images of this Church, be of rare beauty, they say that the chiefe of them were brought out of England, after the death of Queene Mary. In the Church of Saint Fustina (a Paris h Church, and yet the chiefe cloyster of Nunnes, twice rebuilt by the family Morosini,) two curious statuaes of marble of Paros. In the Church of the Holy sepulcher, (being a cloyster of Nunnes) the sepulcher of Christ like that

at Ierusalem, of ophites and like stones. In Saint Zachary a cloyster of Nunnes, 84 the pall of the Virgin painted, another like it in the chappell, the sepulcher or Altar vnder which the said Saint (father to Iohn Baptist) is laid, and at the backe of the great Altar, three sepulchers of Porphry and Ophyts, the stones of the great Altar, and the stately architecture of the Church, are the things most remarkeable: and the same cloyster hath great reuenues. In generall vnderstand that the Churches are for the most part built of bricke, and some few of free stone, though they be so couered with Marbles and like stones, as the bricke or free stone is scarce seene in the inside. In the Priory of St Iohn, belonging of old to the Templary Knights, and now to the Knights of Rhodes or Malta, it is remarkeable that the reuenues thereof be great, and that the Priory is giuen by the Pope, which Paul the third gaue to the Cardinall Saint Angelo his nephew (for so they call their bastards) whom Alexander the Cardinall of Farness succeeded, yet not as Cardinall, but as Knight of Malta, and after him the Pope gaue it to the Cardinall Ascanio Colonna. And the most remarkable things in the Church are the pall of the great Altar, the supper of our Lord painted, the picture of Christ speaking with the woman of Samaria, and that of Herods banquet, when he gaue Iohn Baptists head to Herodia. The Greeke Church belongs to this sextary, built in Rio di San' Lorenzo. The almes-house Saint Lazero, feeds foure hundred, or fiue hundred poore people; for all that beg are sent thither, and they haue many of these houses. These are the most remarkeable things in the Churches of this sextary.

The third sextary, or sixth part of the City on this side the channell (meaning to|wards the gulfe of [46] Venice) vulgarly is called Ilsestiero di Canaregio, of the canes or pipes which they were wont to vse in the building of ships. In the Church of the Prophet Ieremy (built by three families, Morosini, Malipieri, and Runandi, the sepulcher of Saint Magnus (who built eight Churches when the City was first founded) and the Image of the blessed Virgin much adored. In the Church of Saint Marciali, the Ima|ges aswel of the great Altar, as of the Altar of Angelo Raphaeli. In the Apostles Church (where excellent sermons are made in the Lent,) the carued Image of our Lady vpon the Altar, and her picture vpon the same painted by Saint Luke. In the Church of Saint Iohn Chrysostome, the pictures of three Theologicall vertues, and of Saint Marke, and the carued Images of the Virgin, and the Apostles. In the Church of Saint Giob, the ingrauing of the chappell of the Grimani, and of the Altar of the Foscari ; the pic|ture of Christ in the garden, with his Apostles sleeping, and the pictures of the next Altar, namely, that of the Virgin, Saint Sabastian, and Saint Giob. In the Church of Saint Mary de serui, the pictures of the great Altar, especially of the Virgins assumption, and also of the Virgins Altar, and of Saint Augustins Altar, especiall that of the wise men adoring Christ, and the carued Images of another Altar, the Marble sepulcher of Duke Andrea Vendramini, being the fairest of all other in the City, and the Orato|ry of the banished men of Lucea, who first brought into this City the weauing of silke, and of whom many were made Gentlemen of [47] Venice. In the Church of Saint Mary del' Orto, the huge Image of Saint Christopher, the History of Moses, and the prophicies of the last iudgement painted, the painting of the arched-roof, rare for per|spectiue Art, and che chiefe of that kinde, the Monument of

[46] Venice
[47] Venice

Iasper, Contarini Cardi|nall, of the Marble of Paros, and the pillers of our Ladies Altar, with many Marble stones. In the Church of Saint Mary de Crostechieri, the ancient pictures, the notable pall of Saint Laurence, worth seuen thousand crownes, and the pictures in the chappel of Lewis Vsperi. In the Church of Saint Lucia, the Monument and chappell of the Saints. In the chappell of Saint Luigi, the great Altar, fairest of those built of wood. In the Church of Saint Mary of the Miracles, the fairest of any Nunnery, for the beauty and rare stones, the walles couered with Marble, two Marble Images of two children vnder the Organs, (the works of famous Praxitiles,) the Images of marble of Paros, the stones of Porphery and Ophytes wonderfully carued, the great Altar of Marble, ingrauen with great Art, the brasen Images of Saint Peter, Saint Paul, and of Angels. These are the things most remarkeable. In the Church of Saint Mary of Mercy, Sansouine witnesseth this Epitaph, (which I will set downe, left any should thinke incredible, the like practises of Papists against Emperours, and Iohn the King 83 of England,) in these words: To Ierom Sauina, a Citizen of [48] Venice, Prior of Saint Ma|ries, notably learned in good Arts; but more renowmed for piety, which hee also shewed at his death towards his enemy, who gaue him poyson in the challice at the Lords Supper, by many arguments of his charity. He died in the yeere MDCI. Also in the great schoole, the same is witnessed in these wordes: To Ierom Sauina wickedly killed by poyson giuen, (O horrible villany) in our Lords Supper, etc.

The fourth sextary or sixth part of the City, and first of those beyond the chan|nell, (meaning towards the Territorie of Paduoa ,) is vulgarly called of the chiefe Church Il sestiero di San' Polo. In which Church of Saint Paul, the most remarkea|ble things are these: the picture of Christ washing his Apostles feet, the pall of siluer guilded, and the precious stones vpon the great Altar; the pictures of the Altar of the holy Sacrament, and of the blessed Virgin, and the Images of Saint Andrew and the Apostles vpon pillars. In the very faire market place of the same Church, of old a market was weekely held, and to the yeere 1292, the market was held heere on Wednesday, and in the market place of Saint Marke, on the Saturday; but at this day none is held here, but both in the place of Saint Marke, for the benefit of those that dwell there, and that the houses may bee more deerely let, which belong to Saint Marke. Neere the Church of Saint Siluestro, the Patriarkes of Grado dwelt, till the Bi|shop of Castello Oliuolo was made Patriarke. In the Church of Saint Iames of Rialto, narrow, but very faire, the precious stones and the pictures of great Art and antiqui|tie, and the fiue Altars. In the Church of Saint Mary Gloriosa, faire and great, the Bel|frey stately built, the Monument of the most famous Painter Titiano, two Images of Marble neere the great doore, the Marble Image of Saint Iohn, ouer against the Flo|rentine chappell, the chancell paued with Marble and adorned with the grauen Ima|ges of the Prophets, at the charge of the family Morosini; the rare pictures of the great Altar, the Epitaph of Francis Bernardo; who being imployed into England in his yong yeeres, made peace betweene King Henry, and the French King Francis, which many great men had attempted in vaine, and for this braue act was Knighted by both the Kings. These things in this church are most remarkeable.

The fifth sextary, and the second beyond the channel of the chiefe Church, is cal|led il Sestiero di Santa Croce: in which

[48] Venice

Church, being a cloyster of Nunnes, Duke Dominick Morosini lies buried, with this inscription: Here lies Dominick Morosini Duke of [49] Venice, with Sophia his Dutchesse; hee was a good Duke, and most wise, full of faith and truth; etc. He tooke the City Tyrus, and vnder him Istria and Pola were subdued with fifty gallies, where of were Captaines his sonne, and Marino Gradonico. This glorious Duke died in the yeere MCLVI. Also the Marble pillers of the great Altar, the brasen Angels, and the brasen Images, of Christ rising from the dead, of Saint Francis and Saint Anthony. In the Church of Saint Simion Prophet, the picture of Christs supper with his Apostles. In the Church of St. Giacomo dell' Orio, a piller estee|med for a Iewell, a Marble pulpit, one of the fairest in the City, and the Images of the chappell for christning. In the Church of Saint Eustace, the pictures of Christ whipped, of Christ carrying his crosse, and of Christ praying in the garden, all of great Art. In the Church of Saint Mary Mater Domini, the great Altar of most pure siluer, and the passion of Christ ingrauen, the Altar of the blessed Virgin with her picture; and the Altar of the holy Sacrament with the rich Porphery and Ophyte stones; and the Marble Images of Saint Marke, and Saint Iohn the Euangelist. In the Church of Saint Andrew, the fairest of this sextary, and a cloyster of Nunnes, the pictures of Christ crucified, and of his supper with his Apostles, and the most faire Altars of the Virgin, Saint Anthony, and Saint Nicholas. In the Church of Saint George the greater, (giuing name to the Iland in which it is seated, ouer against the market place of Saint Marke, and the chiefe Church next that of Saint Marke,) the pall of the great Altar, and the brasen Images; two brasen Images of the Organs, the seats of the wal-nut tree wonderfully ingrauen, another Altar built by Vincent, Moro|sini, the Altar of Saint Stephen the first Martyr; the Altar of the blessed Virgin and her Image, the Altar of Saint Lutia with her Image, and the wonderfull crucifix of 84 another Altar. In the Church of Saint Mary delle gratie, the infinite gifts hung vp there vpon vowes. In the Church of the Holy Ghost, the Pall of the great Altar, and the marble stones and pillars, and the brasen candlestickes, and a skreene of brasse guilded, and the pictures of Saint Markes Altar, the candlesticke of the great chappel, curiously carued, the rare Images and arched roofe of the Altar of the Cratch; being all the worke of the famous Painter Titiano, whose rare image also the Friars haue: and in the publike refectory of the Friars, the admirable pictures of the resurrection, of Sampson, and especially of Christ supping with his Apostles. In the monastery of Saint Hellen, (giuing name to the Iland, and founded by Alexander BoRome o, and be|ing one of the fairest in the City) a crosse of inestimable value. In the Church of Saint Andrew della Certosa, the monument of Austine Barbadici, who hartening the confede|rates to fight, was chiefe cause of the victory against the Turkes by sea, in the yeere 1571. and while he liued, by faire and rough tearmes, kept the league vnbroken, which presently vpon his death was dissolued. In the Church of Saint Nicholas del Li|ro, the sepulcher of Duke Dominicke Contarini , rich with porphery and ophyte stones, and a well of fresh water, lying very neere the sea, and hauing so full a spring, as it ser|ueth all the shippes and gallies. The almes-house of Saint Lazerus, is built for lepers. The old Lazereto is a pest-house, where the Prior and Physitians haue yeerely fee to attend the sicke. Not farre from that, is the new Lazareto, whither they are sent who are suspected to haue the plague: but as soone

[49] Venice

as they begin to be sicke, they are sent thence to the old Lazareto: and hither all suspected men are sent to try their health, which if they keepe for forty daies, then they are set free. These things are in this sex|tary most remarkeable.

The sixth sextary, and the third and last beyond the channell, is of the forme of the Iland, called Il sestiero di dorso duro. In the Church of the Saints, Geruaso and Protese, the grauen Images and pictures in the chappell of the holy sacrament. In the cloyster of Saint Agnes, the Prioresse bringeth vp six Virgins, which being of ripe yeeres, are either married or made Nunnes, and sixe more of good families sent thither in their place. In the Church of Saint Gregory, there is a second monument erected to Anthony Bragadini, traiterously slaine by the Turkes at the taking of Cyprus. The Iland Giudecca belongs to this sextary, the chiefe Church whereof is Saint Eufemia, it hauing nine other Churches. The Church of the Iesuites is called Saint Mary of Humblenes, and it hath pictured with great art the pals of the passion of Christ, of the Apostles Peter and Paul, of Christ circumcised, and of Saint Francis, and the great Altar is one of the fairest in the City. In the Church Carmini, a singular paire of Organs; the Images of the blessed virgins, foure Euangelists, and Christ crucified: and vpon the altar of Christ crucified, two stones shining like christall, which are esteemed for iewels. In the Church of Saint Mary of Charity, the rich chappell of San Saluadore. In the most faire Church of the Capuchine Friars, seated in the Iland Giudecca, the images of brasse, and the faire screene of the great Altar. In the most faire Church of Saint Mary the grea|ter, being a Nunnery, the rare pictures of the greater chappell. In the Church of the holy crosse Della Giudecca, the monument of the Cardinall Francis Morosini, sent Am|bassador to the Turke, and Nuncio to Pope Sixtus the fifth, in the French Court: and here the rest of his Family vse to be buried. The Monastery of the conuerted is for whores repenting. Another is built for Orphan Virgins, the Church whereof hath rich screenes of marble, with brasse images: and in the same liue some two hundred and fifty Virgins of almes, and by the worke of their hands, which comming to ripe yeeres, are either married or made Nunnes. These things are in this sextary most re|markeable.

The Venetians haue six fraternities or great schooles, such as be also at Rome , and the Gentlemen and Citizens all giue their names to one of them, as in England at Lon|don, the Citizens haue companies, into which the King, Queene, and Nobles, many times vouchsafe to be admitted. And in these schooles, as it were in Vniuersities, they vse to haue exercises of religion. The first of them is called Saint Mary of Charity, af|ter the rule whereof, the rest are framed, and the great Guardian thereof is chosen yeer|ly, 85 and weares a skarlet gowne with large sleeues, which they call Ducall sleeues, and he hath the title of Magnifito by priuiledge. These schooles giue dowries yeerely to 1500. Virgins, and distribute among the poore much money, meale, and clothes: for besides many gifts by last testaments daily giuen to those vses, each of the schooles hath some fiue or sixe thousand duckets in yeerely reuenew, and they are gouerned like common wealthes. In the said schoole, the Images of the Apostles, and the pi|ctures, especially one of the blessed Virgin, and another of the foure Doctors of the Church, are very faire. In the schoole of Saint Iohn the Euangelist, the passion of Christ is wonderfully figured, and Phillip the second King of Spaine, and his sonne Fer|dinand, and Don Iohn of Austria, and other Princes, haue beene of this fraternity. The third

is of mercy. The fourth of Saint Marke. The fifth of Saint Rocco, passing the rest in ceremonies and pompe, and number of brethren. The sixth is of Saint Theodore, and each of these hath his Church and Pallace, and precious monuments, and these are subiect to the counsell of ten; for there be many lesse schooles, each art hauing his schoole, and these are subiect to the old Iustice, and out of them when need is, souldiers are pressed.

It remaines to adde something of the magnificall building of this City. And in the first place, the market place of Saint Marke is paued with bricke, and it consists of foure market places, ioined in one; whereof two may rather be called the market places of the Dukes Pallace (ioining to the Church of Saint Marke) the one being on the fur|thest side from Saint Marke, betweene the pallace aud the great channell, the other right before the pallace towards the channell, foure hundred foot in length, and some one hundred and thirty in bredth. The third is before the Church doore of Saint Mark, and lies in length fiue hundred and twenty foot towards the Church of Saint Gemini|ano, and hath one hundred and thirty foot in bredth, which may more properly be called the market place of Saint Marke. The fourth is on the other side of the Church, towards the Church of Saint Basso. In this market place of foure ioined in one, are so|lemne spectacles or shewes, and all processions made, and there on Ascention day, is the Faire held, and the markets on wednesday and saterday: there they vse to muster souldiers; and there the gentlemen and strangers daily meet and walke. Before the doore of Saint Markes Church, are three peeces of brasse carued, and for bignesse like the bodies of trees, vpon which at festiuall daies three rich banners are hung, in signe of liberty, or as others say, for the three Dominions of [50] Venice, Cypro, and Candia.

Vnder the tower of the Clocke, fifty foot distant from Saint Markes Church, is a passage to and from this market place; and this tower all couered with marble, beares a remarkeable Clocke, which sheweth the course of the Sunne and the Moone daily, and the degrees they passe, and when they enter into a new signe of the Zodiacke, and aboue that the guilded Image of our Lady shineth, placed betweene two doores, out of one of which doores, onely at solemne Feasts, an Angell with a Trumpet, and the three Wise Men of the East following, passe before our Ladies Image, and adore her, and so goe in at the other doore. Aboue that, there is a carued Image of a Lyon with wings, and vpon the very top, two brasen Images, called the Mores, which by turnes striking with a hammer vpon a great bell, sound the houres.

The houses opposite to the Pallaces of the Procurators of Saint Marke, are called the houses of the State, and they belong to the Church of Saint Marke, and hauing some fifty shops vnder the Arches of the vpper roofes (where men may walke dry when it raines) they yeeld great rents to the Church. Opposite to these are the Palla|ces of the said Procurators, which are also in the said market place, which I said to be more properly called the market place of Saint Marke, and these being stately built, sixty sixe foot high, and the stones curiously carued, doe not onely adorne the market place, but in summer giue a pleasant shade to passengers, besides that vnder the Ar|ches of them, men may walke drie in the greatest raine, and the shops vnder these Ar|ches yeeld great rents, and vnder these Pallaces out of foure little streetes there be so many passages to and from the market place. These Pallaces are built at

[50] Venice

the charge of the State, the nine Procurators being to haue nine Pallaces: for as yet they were not 86 all built; but in the meane time any pallace falling voide, it was giuen to the eldest of them that had none, yet not according to their age, but according to their election.

The steeple or belfrey of Saint Marke, distant some eighty foote from the Church, and set ouer against it, is to be admired, not onely for the foundation, strangely laid vnder the earth; but also for many other causes. It is built foure square, each square containing forty foot, and it is three hundred thirty three foot high, of which feet the pinacle containes ninety sixe, and the woodden Image of an Angell aboue the pinacle couered with brasse and guilded, and turning with the wind, containes sixteene feete. It is adorned with high pillars of marble, and with a gallery at the bottome of the pi|nacle, made with many pillars of brasse, and vpon the pinacle with great marble Ima|ges of Lyons, and from the top in a cleere day, men may see a hundred miles off the ships vnder sayles; and it beares foure great bels, whereof the greater called La Trottie|ra, is rung euery day at noone, and when the Gentlemen meet in Senate with like oc|casions: but when a new Pope or Duke is made, all the bels are rung, and the steeple is set round about with waxe candles burning. I went to the top of this steeple, which hath thirty seuen ascents, whereof each hath foureteene lesse ascents, by which the going vp is as easie, as if a man walked on plaine ground, at the contriuing whereof I much wondered. In the lodge of this steeple, the foure brasen Images of Pallas, Apollo, Mercury, and of Peace, and aboue them, the figure of [51] Venice, with the Dominion by sea and land, and the Image of Venus the Goddesse of Cyprus, and of Iupiter the King of Candia, present themselues, and neere the great gate the Images of the blessed Virgin and of Saint Iohn Baptist, are highly valued.

Right ouer against the Dukes Pallace, in the foresaid second market place of the pallace, is the library, whose building is remarkable, and the architecture of the corner next the market place of the Bakers, is held by great Artists a rare worke, and diuers carued Images of Heathen Gods, and Goddesses in the old habit, are no lesse praised, as done by the hands of most skilfull workemen. On the inside, the arched roofes cu|riously painted, and the little study of iuory, with pillars of Allablaster, and rare stones, and carued Images (in which an old breniary of written hand, and much esteemed, is kept) are things very remarkeable. The inner chamber is called the study; in which many statuaes and halfe statuaes, twelue heads of Emperors, and other things giuen to the State by Cardinall Dominicke Grimani, are esteemed precious by all antiquaries. And in this Library are laid vp the Bookes, which the Patriarke and Cardinall Bessa|rione gane to Saint Marke (that is to the State) by his last will, and the most rare books brought from Constantinople at the taking thereof, and otherwise gathered from all parts of Greece. Out of this Library is a passage, to the chambers of the Procurators of Saint Marke: before you enter them most faire statuaes, aud on the inside rare pi|ctures, draw your eies to them.

Not farre from thence are two pillars (the third whereof in taking them out of the ship, fell into the sea, and could neuer be recouered) and they be of huge bignesse; for the erecting whereof, as a most difficult thing, great rewards were giuen to a Lumbard, and immunity was giuen to him by priuiledge, for all that should play at dice vnder them. Since it is accustomed, that all condemned men are executed betweene

[51] Venice

these pillars, which of old were put to death neere the Church of Saint Iohn Bragola, and vpon one of these pillars stands the brasen statua of Saint Marke, vnder the forme of a Lyon, and vpon the other stands the marble statua of Saint Theodor. The statua of Saint George beares a shield, in token that [52] Venice rather defends it selfe, then offends others, since the right hand carries a defensiue weapon.

Behind the Library is the Mint house (vulgarly called La zecca, whereupon I thinke the gold coyne of the Venetians is called Zecchino) in which house it is remarkeable, that there is no wood in any part thereof, but for feare of fire it is all built with stone, bricke, and barres of iron. Here the great statuaes of Gyants, lifting vp their massie clubs, as it were forbidding the entrance; and in the court yard the statua of Apollo, holding wedges of gold in his hand, to shew that gold is made to grow in the bowels of the earth by the vertue of the sunne, are things remarkeable.

87 From hence on rhe left hand is the market place, which I said to be the first of the Pallace, seated betweene the channell the Pallace. And from hence on the right hand is the fish market, in which (as likewise in that of Rialto) store of good fish is to bee bought twice in the day.

The market place in which the said Belfrey and Library are built, is also adorned with the stately Pallace of the Duke, all couered with Marble, and most sumptuous in the carued Images and pictures, and in the pillers of the Arched walke on the out|side. The first staires towards the second market place of the Pallace, and ouer against the said Library, are very stately, and are vulgarly called Scala de Giganti, that is the staires of the Giants, so called of two huge Marble statuaes of Mars and Neptune, which the common people call Giants. But the Pallace hath many other staires, whereby men ascend thereunto. Opposite to the aforesaid statuaes, are two other of Adam and Eue, but not so great as they: and not farre from thence is a stone guilded, with an inscription which the Senate placed there, in memory of the French King Henry the third, whom they entertained, passing that way from Poland into France. On the left hand is the Chappell of Saint Nicholas, which is the Dukes priuate Chap|pell. Hence you ascend into a large Hall (as they call it) or a large Gallery; in the middest whereof the golden staites shine with gold, and two marble Images and rare pictures. On the left hand of the said staires, is the passage to that part of the Pal|lace, which is assigned to the Duke for his dwelling, and in the first chamber, called the Dukes Armes, Sala del seudo, the pictures of Christs resurrection, and another of him crucified, are much praised, though it hath many other rare pictures. When you haue ascended the golden staires, your shall see foure rare pictures. From thence the way on the left hand leads to the Chancery, where many chambers are adioyning, proper to diuers Councels of State, all adorned with grauen Images and pictures of the best; namely, the chambers of the Councell rich in the painting of the arched roofe. That of the Pregadi, hauing generall rare painting and caruing. That called Ia secreta, in which the secret writings of the State is laied vp. The Chappell of the Colledge, where the Duke and the Senators daily heare Masse, and it appeares by an inscription, that the Antiquities were of old laid vp there, among the pictures where|of, that of Christs resurrection, and the Map of the Territory of Venlce, are much praised. That of the Councell of Tenn, in which the picture of the Wise-men offe|ring gifts to Christ is much praised, (neere the same are chambers, in which many rich Armors and rare

[52] Venice

Monuments are laid vp.) And that of the great Councell, one hundred fifty foot in length, and seuenty foure in breadth, adorned round about with rare pictures, namely on the side towards the foresaid second market place of the Pal|lace, the History of Frederlcke the Emperour, and of Pope Alexander the third is cur|sorily painted. Towards the foresaid first market place, lying betweene the Pallace and the channel, the History of Constantinople, taken by the Venetians and French, is painted; and the capitulation of the voyage, made in the Church, and the rest of the Saints in heauen, are reputed rare workes.

The prisons of old were vnder this Pallace of the Duke, but lately a new house is stately built of the stone of I stria, for that vse neere the bridge Della Paglia.

The foure square market place of Rialto, is compassed with publike houses, vnder the arches whereof, and in the middle part lying open, the Merchants meet. And there is also a peculiar place where the Gentlemen meet before noone, as they meet in the place of Saint Marke towards eueningе; and here to nourish acquaintance, they spend an houre in discourses, and because they vse not to make feasts one to another, they keepe this meeting as strictly as Merchants, lest their frinship should decay. The Gold-smiths shoppes lie thereby, and ouer against them the shoppes of Iewellers, in which Art the Venetians are excellent. There is the Pallace of a Gentleman, who prouing a Traytor, the State (for his reproch) turned the same into a shambles, and some vpper chambers to places of iudgement. The fish market lies by this shambles, a great length along the banke of the great channell, and in the same shambles and fish market, as also in the like of Saint Marke, great plenty of victuals, especially of fish, is daily to be sold. A publike Pallace stately built lieth neere the bridge of Rialto.

88 This bridge in the iudgement of the Venetians, deserues to be reputed the eighth miracle of the world. The old being pulled downe, this new bridge began to bee built in the yeere 1588, and was scarce finished in three yeeres, and is said to haue cost two hundred fifty thousand Duckets. It is built of the stone of Istria, vpon one arch ouer the great channell, and the ascent to the toppe hath thirty sixe staires on each side, and vpon each side of these staires, are twelue little shoppes couered with lead: not to speake of the carued Images, of the blessed Virgin, the Angell Gabriel, and the two protecting Saints of the City, namely Saint Marke, and Saint Theodore.

Thereby is a Pallace called Il Fontico de i Todeschi, because the Dutch Merchants haue it to their vse.

The Armory built for all kinde of Armes and Munitions, vulgarly called l' Arsenale, as it were the Tower of the Senate, is compassed with walles being in circuit more then two miles, where some foure hundred Artificers are daily set on worke about na|ual prouisions, and they receiue weekely for wages about one thousand two hundred duckets. Within the same is a seueral place to make cables, and within the circuit hereof and no where else in the City, they build ships and Gallies, and there bee alwayes in the same about two hundred gallies ready for seruice. To conclude, the State of Ve|nice, being not growne to full strength, did in a hundred daies space, arme one hun|dred gallies against Emanuel Emperour of the East, and no doubt their strength hath euery day growne greater to this time. In the said compasse of the Armory, lies a great boat called Il Bucentoro, because it carries about the number of two hundred; which boat hath vpon it a kinde of chamber which vseth to be richly hung, and coue|red ouer, when in the same the Duke and Senators be carried by water at some times of solem-

nity, especially at the feast of the Ascention, when of an old custome, they goe forth to espouse the sea, by the ceremony of flinging a ring into the same, and to challenge the command thereof, giuen them by Pope Alexander the third.

The Iewes haue a place to dwell in seuerally, called Il Ghetto, where each family hath a little house, and all haue one court-yard common, so as they liue as it were in a Colledge, or Almes-house, and may not come forth after the gates are locked at night, and in the day they are bound to weare a yellow cap.

Though the City bee seated vpon little and narrow Ilands, in the middest of marshes and tides of the sea; yet hath it gardens in great number, and abounding with rare herbes, plants, and fruits, and water conduits, which with thecarued Images and pictures, (out of the Gentlemens curtesie) may bee seene by any curious stranger.

The publike Libraries of speciall note are these: Di S Giouanni and Paolo: di San' Francesco: di San' Stefano: di San' Georgio Maggiore: and di Sant' Antonio. Also pri|uate Libraries may be found out by those that be curious, and will bee after the same manner easily shewed them, and are indeede most worthy to bee sought out for the rarenesse of many instruments, pictures, carued Images, Antiquities, and like rare things: For the Venetians being most sparing in diet and apparell, doe exercise their magnisicence in these and the like delights, and these precious Monuments, they will with great curtesie shew to any strangers, or to any louing antiquities, which my self-found by experience, more-specially at the hands of Sigr. Nicolao vendramini, a Gen|tleman dwelling in the Iland Giue decca, who most curteously shewed mee and my friends, though being altogether vnknowne to him, some rare clockes, admirable car|ued Images, and a paire of Organs hauing strange varieties of sounds.

The Pallaces of Gentlemen were called houses, but are, and worthily deserue to be called Pallaces, some hundred of them being fit to receiue Princes. For howsoeuer this Common-wealth at the first founding, was tied by many lawes to mediocri|ty, and the equality among the Citizens, yet pride hath by degrees seised vpon the same. The said Pallaces haue one doore towards the Land, and another towards the water, and most of them haue gardens. The foundations are laid of Oake in the waters, and the stone of Istria is much esteemed. The flooers of the vpper roomes are not boorded, but plastred with lime tempred with tiles beaten to dust. The win|dowes 89 are for the most part very large, the greater roomes lying almost altogether open to receiue aire, but the lodging chambers haue glasse windowes, whereof the Venetians brag, glasse being rare in Italy, where the windowes are for the most part couered with linnen or paper. And howsoeuer glasse be common with vs on this side the Alpes, yet it is certaine that the glasse makers of [53] Venice, dwelling in the Iland Mu|rano, haue a more noble matter, and thereof make much better glasse then we can. To conclude, as I said the Venctians are most sparing in diet and apparel, so not onely in the building of their houses, but in the furniture thereof, the general sort passeth their degree, and many of the Gentlemen vse Princely magnificence. These are accoun|ted the chiefe Pallaces: That belonging to the Procurators office, neere the Church of Saint Anthony. The old Pallace which belonged to the Templary Knights. That of the family Gritti neere the bridge Della Madonna. That of Alexander Gritti, neere the market place of Saint Iohn Bragora. That of Dandoli, neere the bridge Della Paglia. The

[53] Venice

Pallace neere Saint Francis Church, which the Senate bought, and vse to assigne it to the dwelling of the Popes Nuncio. That of the Dutchesse of Florence [54] , built vp|on the channell of the Dukes Pallace. That of the Vetturi, neere the market place of Saint Mary. That of the Patriarke Grimani, neere the Malipieri. That of the family Georgij, neere the same. That of Francis Priuli. That of Lodwick Georgij. That of the Capelli. That of Peter Giustniani. That of those of Pesaro, neere the Church of St. Benedict. That of the Loredani neere Saint Stephens Church. That of Zeni. That of Contarini . That of Siluester Valierij, neere the Church of Saint Iob. That of the Cornari, neere Saint Pauls Church. That of Iames Foscari ni, neere the Church Car|meni, That of the Michaeli, neere Saint Lewis Church. That of Lewis Theophili, neere the Church Della Misericordia. The chiefe Pallaces vpon the channell are these. That of the Loredani. That of the Grimani, neere Saint Lucia. That of Delphini. That of the Cornari, neere Saint Maurice Church, and that of the Foscari ni, an old buil|ding but hauing the best prospect of all the rest. In which the Venetians entertained the French King Henry the third. To conclude, there be two rich Pallaces in the Iland Giudecca, one of the Dandoli, the other of the Vendramini.

In this famous City are twenty thousand families, and three thousand of the Gen|tlemen, and no age hath beene so barren, which hath not yeelded worthy men for Martiall and ciuill gouernment and learning. Of this City haue beene three Popes, Gregory the twelfth, Eugenius the fourth, and Paul the second, and many Cardinalls of which these are the chiefe: Peter Morosini, Marke I andi, Anthony Corari, Iohn Ami|deus, and in our age Iohn Baptist Zeni, and Dominick Grimani. Also Peter Bembus was a Venetian, whom Pope Paul the third made Cardinall. Heere was borne Pan|talean Iustinianus, Patriarke of Consiantinople when the French ruled there. And Ve|nice hath yeelded many most learned men, Andrew Dandoli, Duke Francis Barbarigi, Andrew Morosini, who wrote the History of his time in Heroique Verse. And many famous Ciuill Lawyers, Lodwicke Foscari ni, and Ierom Donati. And many rare en|grauers, and painters, Titiano, Tenterotto, and Belino. And many Commanders in the warre, Iohn Bolari, Marino Gradinici, Dominick Morosini, (the first prouisors of Military affaires,). Andrew Morosini, and Simion Dandoli, and many more famous in all kindes of vertue, to the chiefe whereof I haue said, that the Senate erected many Statuaes and Monuments. Giue me leaue to adde this of the family Morosini, name|ly, that among the most famous men, whose pictures were in the chamber of publike meeting, before it was burnt; there were the pictures of Barbaro and Marco, and Autonia, Morosini: And that the same family hath giuen three Dukes, Dominico, Ma|rino, and Michaele; and three Patriarkes, and twelue Procurators of Saint Marke, (which number few families haue attained, onely that of the Contarini , that of the Iustiniani, and that of the Grimani, haue a little passed it). And that my selfe being at [55] Venice, found there eighty Gentlemen of this name. Let the Reader pardon this ob|seruation, which I make for the Confonancy of that name with my owne, onely dif|fering in the placing of a vowell, for more gentle pronuntiation, which the Italian speech affecteth; yet these Gentlemen being of one family, write their names some|what 90 diuersity, some writ-

[54] Florence
[55] Venice

ing in their owne tongue Morosini, others Moresini, and in the Latin tongue, Morocenus, and Maurocenus.

Of the hiring of chambers, and the manner of diet in [56] Venice, I haue spoken iointly with that of Paduoa , in the discription of that City, onely I will adde, that this City a|boundeth with good fish, which are twice each day to be sold in two markets of Saint Marke and Rialto, and that it spendeth weekly fiue hundred Oxen, and two hundred and fifty Calues, besides great numbers of young Goates, Hens, and many kinds of birds, be|sides that it aboundeth with sea birds, whereof the Venetian writers make two hun|dred kinds, and likewise aboundeth with sauoury fruits, and many salted and dried dainties, and with all manner of victuals, in such sort as they impart them to other Ci|ties. I will also adde that here is great concourse of all nations, as well for the pleasure the City yeeldeth, as for the free conuersation; and especially for the commodity of trafficke. That in no place is to be found in one market place such variety of apparell, languages, and manners. That in the publike Innes a chamber may be hired for foure sols a day; but for the cheapenes and good dressing of meat, most men vse to hire pri|uate chambers, and dresse their owne meat. That in the Dutch Inne each man paies two lires a meale. That no stranger may lie in the City more then a night, without leaue of the Magistrates appointed for that purpose; but the next day telling them some pretended causes of your comming to the Towne, they will easily grant you leaue to stay longer, and after that you shall be no more troubled, how long soeuer you stay, onely your Host after certaine daies giueth them account of you. To con|clude this most noble City, as well for the situation, freeing them from enemies, as for the freedome of the Common-wealth, preserued from the first founding, and for the freedome which the Citizens and very strangers haue, to inioy their goods, and dispose of them, and for manifold other causes, is worthily called in Latine Venetia, as it were Veni etiam, that is, come againe.

From [57] Venice to Farraria are eighty fiue miles by water and land: and vpon the third of February (after the new stile) and in the yeere 1594. (as the Italians begin the yeere [Note: Anno. 1594.] the first of Ianuary) and vpon Wednesday in the euening, my selfe with two Dutch|men, my consorts in this iourney, went into the Barke, which weekely passeth be|twixt [58] Venice and Ferrara. The same night we passed twenty fiue miles vpon the mar|shes, within the sea banke, to Chioza or Chioggia, or (to speake vulgarly, the better to be vnderstood in asking the way) a Chioza, the first village on firme land, or rather sea|ted in an Iland, where the Ditch Clodia maketh a Hauen. The next morning in the same Barke we entred the Riuer, and passed fifteene miles to the Village Lorea, and af|ter dinner ten miles in the territory of [59] Venice, and eight miles in the Dukedome of Fer|varia to Popaci, and vpon Friday in the morning twenty two miles to Francoline, where we paid for our passage from [60] Venice thither, each man three lires and a halfe. By the way on land vpon both sides the Riuer, we passed a pleasant plaine, and fields of come diuided by furrowes, in which furrowes Elmes were planted, and vpon them Vines grew vp to the tops. Such is the manuring of Lombardy, or the Lower part of

[56] Venice
[57] Venice
[58] Venice
[59] Venice
[60] Venice

Italy to|wards the West, where the Vines growing high, yeeld not so rich wines, as in the other parts of Italy vpon mountaines and hils, vpon the sides whereof the Vines sup|ported with short stakes, and growing not high, yeeld much richer wines. By this way our Barke staied many times in Villages, where we had time to eat, or to prouide victu|als to be carried with vs; and we had an Ingistar, or measure of wine, something grea|ter then our pint, for three sols of [61] Venice: we bought bread after the weight, for they haue loaues of all prices, in which a stranger cannot be deceiued. It is the fashion to see the meat in the kitchin, and to agree of the price before you eate it, which if you doe not, you shall be subiect to the Hosts insatiable auarice, who take pleasure to deceiue strangers. And the price of the meats you may vnderstand, by the Italians, whom you shall see buy of the same. And if the decrenesse displease you, you may carry drie figs and raisons, and dine with them, the price of bread and wine being certaine; but you must sup at your Hosts Ordinary, if you will haue a bed. I said that we left our Barke at Francoline, where we might haue hired a coach to Ferraria, for which we three should 91 haue paied twenty two bolinei, but the way being pleasant to walke, we chose rather to goe these fiue miles on foot.

Ferraria is a very strong City of Fiaminia, and neere the City, the RiuerPo diui|ding it selfe, hath made a long and broad Iland, which now is growne to firme land. [Note: Ferraria.] It was compassed with walles by the Exarches of the Easterne Emperors, Lords there|of, and after it was subiect to the Bishops of Raucnna; then it came into the hands of the Princes of the family of Este, the lawfull heires whereof possessed it to the yeer 1394, when it passed to the line of Bastards. These Princes of Este were at first Marquesses, and afterwards were created Dukes, and Hercules of Este was the third Duke, who liued about the yeere 1550. At this day the family of Este being extinct, the Bi|shop of Rome hath inuaded this Dukedome. The City seated in a plaine, is compas|sed with a fenny banke, and is of a triangular forme, the three corners being towards the North, West and South. On the South side the riuerPo did runne of old, but it hath now left his bed, which is dried vp to firme land. But the lesse branch thereof runneth from Francoline to Chioza, where it fals into the sea, the greater making many lakes at Comatio, yeelds the Duke much profit by the fishing of eeles. In the heart of the City is a large market place, and ioyning thereunto a little Iland, in which the father of Hercules of Este built a stately Pallace, called Belueder, and in the market place before the doore of the Pallace, there is a statua sitting in a chaire, erected to Duke Burso, and another of a horse-man, and of brasse erected to Duke Nicholas. The streets are broad, and very dirty in winter, and no lesse subiect to dust in sum|mer. The houses are built of free-stone, but according to the building of Italy, are almost flat vpon the top, so as that vpper roofe hath neither chambers nor windowes. The houses are not built one neere the other, but diuided with most pleasant gardens, and dispersed.

On the North side of the City without the walles, the Duke hath a large Parke for hunting, and to keepe therein many strange beasts. There be two stately Pallaces be|sides the Dukes; one of the Bentiuoli, the other of Caesar, Nephew to Duke Alfonso, who being eighty yeeres old, begot him of a Concubine; and because the Popes had intruded themselues into the succession of this Dukedome, which this holy mother the Church daily gaped to enioy, vpon the want of lawfull

[61] Venice

heires males; the Duke could not obtaine by intreaty, or any money, to haue the right of succession conuai|ed to this Nephew. And howsoeuer he were now eighty yeeres old, yet the opinion of his command in miltary affaires, made the common people report, that the Pope would grant the succession to his Nephew, vpon condition he should lead an Army into Hungary against the Turkes. But the euent shewed, that the Popes thought no|thing lesse: for this Caesar defending his possession fearefully, the Popes haue since that time, and long before I wrote this, inuaded this Dukedome, and vnited it to the Patrimony of Saint Peter. The circuit of the City is said to containe seuen miles, and in the same is an Vniuersity little frequented, and a faire Colledge wherein the professors read. The Duke hath two stables, in the one, one hundred twenty horses for coaches, in the other fifty for the saddle. In the Beneuentane Monastery, is the se|pulcher of the Poet Ariosto, borne in this City, and it is of red Marble, with this in|scription in Latine;

To Lodwick Ariosto Poet, a Patrician of Ferraria, Augustine Musicus, to so great a man and so well deseruing of him, hath caused this Monument and Image of Marble to be ere|cted at his owne proter cost, in the yeere of the Lord M D LXXIII, Alfonso the second being Duke: he liued LIX yeeres, and died in the yeere of the Lord M D XXXIII the eighth of the Ides of Iune.

The Statua of Marble is to the shoulder, and is set ouer his Tombe with those verses:

Hic Ariostus est situs, qui comico, Aures Theatri sparsit vrbanas sale; Satyraque mores strinxit acer improbos; Heroa culto qui furentem carmine Datumque curas cecinit, atque pralia; 92 Vates corona dignus vnus triplici, Cui trina constant, quae fuere vatibus, Graijs, Latinis, vixque Hetruscis singula. Here Ariosto lies, whose pen still feasts, The Ciuill eares on stage with comick ieasts, Whose Sayters scourg'd the foule sins of his time; Who sung the frantick worthy, in sweet ryme: Great Dukes, fierce battels, and their pensiue care. Thus hath one Poet, three crownes to his share; Greeke Poets, Latines, Tuscanes, each scarce one Of these attain'd, he hath all three alone.

In the Monastery Certosa there is a round pinacle, the Monument of Duke Borso. In the Church of Saint Mary of the Angels, are laid vp some trophies of victory against the Venetians, which when a Citizen of Ferrara shewed vpon a time to a Ve|netian, in fashion of bragging, he answered pleasantly and wittily: to my remem|brance, when you of Ferrara got this victory against vs, wee tooke the Countrey of Poleseno from you, and though we were ouercome yet we keepe that to this day. Ie|rom Saucnorolla a Frier was born in this City, who in a late age was of great fame and au|thority among the Florentines, and for some opinions of religion was burnt by the Pope. Here I paied thirty bolinei for a meale, in the chiefe Inne, where we were well vsed, when in baser Innes we had paied more with vile vsage.

From hence they reckon thirty foure miles to Bologna. Wee went on foot three miles to the village La Torre della fossa, and in the midst of the way, wee obserued the old bed of the Riuer Po, which was now dried vp. From hence we hired a boat for foure bolinei and foure quatrines, and passed in a broad ditch betweene high reedes, to a place called Mal' Albergo, that is, the ill lodging, being nine miles; and we vnderstood there, that foure souldiers were drowned the day before in the said ditch by their own folly, playing and tumbling in the boat. We had now passed seuen miles in the State of Bologno, and lodging here, each man paid for his supper sixteene bolinei. The next morning

a boat went from hence to Bologna, but since they asked for each mans pas|sage twenty two bolinei, and that the day was faire and the way very pleasant, we chose to goe on foot these eighteene miles to Bologna. In the mid-way we came to a Countrey Inne,. where they demanding excessiue prices for meat, we for sparing in the beginning of our long iourney, and loth to be made a prey out of their opinion of our gluttony, tooke bread and wine of them at the knowne price, and dined with some prouisions we had with vs; namely, one pound of Raisons, for which we had paid seuen bolinei, a pound of figges at the same price, and a pound of Almonds at the same price, bought at Ferraria to this purpose. After this refection we went the rest of our iourney through pleasant fields, manured after the Lumbard fashion, before discribed.

When we entred the gates of Bologna, the souldiers demanded a curtesie of vs, which wee gladly gaue them, perceiuing they would not search our portmanteaus, [Note: Bologna.] which otherwise by their office they may do. This is a City of Flaminia, of old subiect to the Exarchate of Rauenna, til the Eastern Emperors were cast out of Italy, by the con|spiring of the Popes with the Kings of Lombardy, and so the Exarchate was vnited to that Kingdome, and shortly after the Popes likewise conspiring with the French King Charles the Great, against the Kings of Lombardy, and diuiding Italy betweene them, this City fell to the Popes share, howsoeuer they did not then attaine the possession thereof, or at least did not keepe it long: for afterwards the City was subiect to many tyrants, sometimes vnder the Vicounts of Milan o, and at last inuaded by the Citizens thereof; namely the Family of Bentiuoli, vnder pretence to defend the common liber|ty, till the Pope about the time of the French King Lewis the twelfth, conspiring with him to inuade Italy, did cast out the Bentiuoli, and by little and little reducing the Ci|tizens to obedience, and vsing them to the Church gouernement, did at last set ouer them his Podesta, and a Cardinall Legate (both strangers) to gouerne them. This popu|lous 93 City is of a round forme, and of great circuit, but the wals are round about almost fallen downe. The City is seated in a large plaine, and such is the whole territory, one|ly on the South-side without the wals lie the Apennine mountaines, which diuide Italy almost in the midst, all the length thereof euen from Genoa , to the furthest limits of the Kingdome of Naples , bordering vpon: he sea towards the East. On the same South-side, are the schooles of the Vniuersity, and the monastery of Saint Michaell, and the rich stately monastery of Saint Dominicke, in which is the sepulcher of the said Saint curiously engrauen, and of white marble, and vnder a rich skreene lies the body, which they superstitiously worship, and they shew the place where the Saint gaue vp his last breath. Their refectory or place where the Monkes eat, is faire and large, and the Cellars of wine, and their store thereof are so great, as would better become the Temple of Bacchus, then a Cloyster of Monkes. It hath two foure-square Court yards, with arched Cloysters to walke vnder, and they be pleasantly planted round about with Cedars, of which they especially esteeme one, planted by the hands of that Saint, who likewise with his owne hand did beautifie a well of water no lesse esteemed by them. Their publike Library is much esteemed for many bookes of written hand, wherein they brag to haue a Bible written by the hand of Esdras. The building of this monastery is very stately, and it hath large galleries, as well below vnder the Arches, as round about in the vpperroofe. Here is a monument of Hans (that is Iohn) sonne to the Emper-

our Fredericke the second, and they haue a place giuen by priuiledge to the Dutch for buriall. The building of the City is anticke, and many houses seeme to haue beene built by the Lombards. The foundations of the houses are of free stone, and the rest for the most part of bricke, built with arched Cloysters towards the street, vnder which they walke dry in the greatest raine. The Pallaces of Gentlemen are built to|wards the street, stately on the inside, but with little shew on the outside, and they all seeme to haue beene built of old. The windowes are not glased (which the Venetians brag to be proper to their City, as a thing to be wondered at) but they are couered with paper, whereof part is oyled ouer. Towards the West side of the City, is a large mar|ket place two forked, in which is a faire conduit of water, with the Images of Neptune, and diuers Goddesses powring water out of their mouthes and breasts, and all made of mettall. In this market place is the Senate-house, vulgarly called Il palazo della signoria, on the one side whereof are the Courts of iudgement, on the other the lodg|ings of the Gouernour. At the very entry is a statua of brasse, erected to Pope Gregory the thirteenth, a Citizen of Bologna, which appeares by an inscription in the Cathedrall Church: and within the Pallace is a statua of white stone, erected to Pope Paul the third, and another statua of a Gyant. The staires of the Pallace are made winding, and rising by little and little, giue so easie an ascent, as a horse may goe vp without difficul|ty: (the like staites be at Ferrara in the Dukes Pallace, and at [62] Venice in the steeple of Saint Marke, and at Torge a City of Germany.) Within the Pallace is the statua of Iulius the second, Bishop (or rather the God Mars) of Rome , engrauen to his shoulders, with aleane and longface. Vpon the doore of the Pallace is written in golden letters, that the Emperour Charles the fifth held his Court there, when the Pope put the imperiall Crowne vpon his head, in the Church of Saint Petronius, which Church is of the old Lombard building: and this Saint is the protecting Saint of the City. Neere the state|ly Cathedrall Church of Saint Peter, is a house called the mountame of piety, where poore men may borrow money freely, bringing pawnes, to auoid the oppression of the lewes vsury. Among the Lombard buildings there is an old Tower, called d' Asi|nelli, built of bricke with foure hundred seuenty two staires, which they esteeme one of the highest in Europe. From this Tower without the gates, all the fields are full of Pallaces and Houses. At the gate of Saint Francis, is a pinacle with this inscription. The Sepuicher of Accursius, who wrote the glosse vpon the Law, Sonne to Francis H us. In the territory of this City is a medicinall water, found in the yeere 1375. very famous throughout all Italy, of which is prouerbially said; Chibene l' Acqua della Porretta, O che lo spezza, o che lo netta, that is, He that drinkes the water of Porretta, either it bursts him, or els it cleanseth him. The strangers students here, call the stately Pallace of Cardinall 93 Caup: the sinnes of the Dutch, as built by the Fines imposed on them. We staid in this City two daies, and being three consorts, hired a chamber each man for foure bolinei the day, the Hostesse giuing vs linnen, and dressing our meat, and we paid for an Eele by the pound fiue bolinei, (for they sell fresh water fish by the pound) for a pike the pound foure bolinei, for three apples two quatrines, for a pound of raisons foure boli|nei, for a pound of small nuts foure bolinei; for an ingestar of wine (a measure some|what bigger then the English pint) foure bolinei, for a wax candle six bolinei. It was now the time of Lent, and so we

[62] Venice

were forced to eat onely fish, as the Italians did.

In the territory of Bologna, there is a place almost an Iland, called Forcelli, which was an Iland of old, and Historians witnesse, that the Triumuiri, Augustus, Antonius, and Lepidus here diuided the world betweene them.

From Bologna the right way for Rome is directly to Florence [63] , which way I neuer passed, disposing (as I thought) my iourney more commodiously; yet for the direction of other passengers, it will not be amisse to set downe the way. From Bologna to Pianore are eight miles, to Lograno sixe, to Scaricalasino fiue, to Caurez three, to Fiorenzuola twelue, to Scarperia ten, to the bridge Saint Piero two, and to Fiorenza or Florente two miles.

At Bologna we chanced to light vpon post horses, being to returne twenty miles to Imola, and each of vs paid fiue poli for his horse. By the way towards the South were pleasant hils, towards the foot of the Apennine mountaines. On the left hand to|wards the North, were fields manured after the Lombard fashion before described, and we passed by the Castle Saint Petro, (the Italians call the walled Townes which haue no Bishops seat, by the name of Castles.) When we entered the gates of Imola, according to the custome, we deliuered our swords to a boy, who was to carry them to our Host, that he might keepe them till we went out of the Towne; and here each of vs paied two reali for our supper, and halfe a reale for our bed. The next morning we rode ten miles to the City Faenza, through a sandy way, and a barren soyle, yeel|ding some few vines growing vpon trees, and each man paid for his horse eight poli.

From hence our right way to Ancona, had beene to Forli Cesena, and Rimini; but our desire to see the old famous City of Rauenna, made vs goe out of the way twenty [Note: Rauenna.] miles to the said City, through a dirty way, and fruitfull fields of corne; and each of vs paid seuen poli for his horse. Rauenna is a most ancient City, whose wals the Empe|rour Tiberius either built or repaired. Here of old was the harbour for the nauie of Rome . Here the Emperour of the East, after the Westerne Empire was extinguished, made the seat of his Exarch. After, by the conspiring of the Popes, and the French Kings, Pipin and Charles the Great, all the Cities of this Exarchate fell to the Popes share. Yet others write that the French King onely added Tuseany to the Patrimony of Saint Peter; and it is most certaine that these Cities for long time did not acknow|ledge the Pope for their Lord, till at last the Popes in like sort conspiring with the French Kings, Lewis the twelfth, and Charles the eight, had their aide to subdue these Cities, and then Pope Iulius the second by terrour of his excommunications extorted Rauenna and other Cities from the Venetians, and casting out the Lords of other Ci|ties, the Popes from that time, being very skilfull to fish in troubled waters, haue got|ten possession of all the territories, from the confines of the State of [64] Venice, to Ferraria, Bologna, and along the Coast of the Adriaticke sea, to Ancona. It is said that Rauenna stands not now in his old place, for at this time it is some two miles distant from the Sea: but the soyle thereof is most fruitfull in corne, and vnfit to yeeld wine, and it is rich in pastures. The houses are built of bricke and flint stone, aud are so old as they seeme ready to fall. This City hauing been often taken by enemies, hath lost all the or|naments which it had, from so many Exarches and Kings of Lombardy,

[63] Florence
[64] Venice

and from the Bishops thereof, who were so powerfull, as they stroue long time for primacy with the Bishops of Rome . On the North-side of the City lies the sea, but distant from the same, and without the wals is a wood of Pine-trees, and not farre thence lie the ruines of a very old and most faire Church, Saint Mary the Round, whose roofe was admira|ble, being of one stone, and in the same Church was the rich sepulcher of the Lom|bard 95 King Theodoricus, which the souldiers pulled downe with the Church, to get the mettals thereof. On the East-side the sea lies some two Italian miles distant, where is the Hauen for ships, so much spoken of in the Roman Histories, where the nauy of Rome did winter, yet is it now neither conuenient nor secure for ships; neither indeed can any but very small boates come vp to the Towne. On the South-side without the golden gate (built by the Emperour Claudius) lie the ruines of a stately Pallace, built by the same King Theodoricus, and likewise of the City Caesaria. In a Chappell of the Cathedrall Church is a most rich Font, and they report that many Kingly monu|ments were of old in this Church. In the market place lies a vessell of Porphry, a King|ly monument, which the Citizens in the yeere 1564. brought from the foresaid sepul|cher of King Theodoricus in the ruined Church of Saint Mary, neere the gate on the North-side. In the monastery of Saint Francis, is the sepulcher of the Poet Dantes, with these verses in Latin;

Exigua tumuli Dantes hic sorte iacebas, Squallenti nullis cognite penè situ. At nune marmoreo subnix us conder is Area, Omnibus and cultu splendidiore nites. Nimiram Bembus Musis incensus Hetruscis Hoc tibi (quem inpri nis hae coluere) dedit. In a poore Tombe Dantes thou didst lie here, The place obscure made thee almost vnknowne, But now a marble chest thy bones doth beare, And thou appearest fresh as flower new blowne. Bembus with Tuseane Muses rauished, Gaue this to thee, whom they most cherished.

In the yeere 1483. the sixth of the Kalends of Iune, Bernar: Bembus the Praetor, laid this at his owne charge: The strength, merit, and crowne of the Friars minorite couents. S. V. F. and these verses were added in Latin;

Iura Monarchtae, superos, Phlegetonta, lacusque Lustrando cecini, voluerunt fata quousque. Sed quia pars cessit melioribus hospita castris, Actoremque suum petijt faelicior Astris. Hic claudor Dantes, patrus extorris ab oris, Quem genuit parui Fiorentia Mater Amoris. The Monarchies, Gods, Lakes, and Phlegeton, I searcht and sung, while my Fates did permit; But since my better part to heauen is gone, And with his Maker mongst the starres doth sit, I Dantes a poore banishd man lie here, Whom Florence [65] Mother of sweet Loue did beare.

In the Church of Saint Vitalis the pauement is of marble, and the wals all couered with precious stones of many kinds, but vnpolished as they were taken out of the mines, shew great antiquity and magnificence, and doe not a little delight the behol|der. Also there be certaine Images grauen in some stones, I know not whether by na|ture, or strange art, which are to be admired. Among which I remember one stone had the picture of a Turke in all the apparell they weare, another the Image of a Monke in his habit, another of a Priest with his bald head, and two other, the one most like the foot the other the leg of a man. There is an Altar of Alablaster, and the Church is of a round forme, whose roofe is painted A la Mosaica, like engrauing (of which kind of painting rare and

[65] Florence
[66] Venice

much esteemed in Italy, I haue spoken before in the description of [66] Venice.) In this Church is a fountaine of water, which by vertue giuen it from this Saint, (as they say) being thrice drunke off, giues remedy to the head-ach. Another Church of Saint Geruasiue is so ioined to this of Saint Vitalis, as it seemed to mee but a Chappell thereof; and in this Church also is the Saint buried, of whom it hath the name: and there be also the sepulchers of Placidiae, sister to the Emperour Honorius, and 96 of her sonnes and daughters, and of her nurse, with her husband. Here wee paid each man three poli for his supper.

From Rauenna we rode thirtie fiue miles to the old Citie Rimini (namely, ten to Sa|uio, fiue to Ceruia, fiue to Cesnadigo, and fifteene to Rimini) through wild fenny fields, and a great Wood of Pine-trees, and by the sandie shoare of the sea, betweene which and the Apenine Mountaines (diuiding Italy by the length) the Valley was so narrow, as we continually did see the snowy toppes of those Mountaines towards the South, and for the most part did see together with them the Adriatique sea towards the North. In the foresaid Castle Cesnadigo, the Post-master would haue forced vs to take new post-horses, if he that let our horses to vs, had not pleased him, by the paiment of some money: for the post-horses are knowne by a list of furre they weare in their bridles; and if a man ride into a Towne vpon a Post-horse, he must either goe away on foote, or take another Post-horse there, for no priuate man dare let him a horse, which makes passengers loth to hier post-horses of returne, though many times they may be had at good rate, rather then he will returne emptie with them; yet if a man will walke a mile or two, he may easily hier a horse in other Townes, which are frequent in Italy. And let no man maruel, that these Princes fauour the Post-masters and Inkeepers to the pre|iudice of strangers, because in that respect they extort great rents from them. By the way, in the Village Bel' Aria, each of vs paid two bolinei for passage of a Riuer. The Brooke Rubico, now called Pissatello, by this way to Rimini, did runne from the West in|to the Adriatique sea, and there of old was a Marble pillar, with this inscription in Latin; Here stay, leaue thy Banner, lay down thy Armes, and leade not thy Army with their Colours be|yond this Brooke Rubico; therefore if any shall goe against the rule of this commaund, let him be iudged enemie to the people of Rome , etc. And hereupon it was, that Iulius Caesar retur|ning out of France, and first stopping here, and then after he had seene some prodigious signes, passing ouer this Brooke with his Army, vttered words in Lattin to this effect; Let vs goe whither the prodigics of the Gods, and the sinnes of our enemies call vs. The Die is cast.

In the Market-place of Rimini is a monument of the same Caesar yet remaining, where [Note: Rimini.] words in the Latin tongue are grauen in a stone to this effect; The Consuls of Rimini did repaire this pulpit, decaied with age, in the moneths of Nouember and December, in the yeere 1555. Vnder that is written; Caius Caesar Dictator hauing passed Rubico, here in the Mar|ket place of Rimini spake to his fellow souldiers, beginning the ciuill warre. In the same Mar|ket-place of Rimini is a pleasant Conduit of water. The Citie hath no beautie, and ly|eth in length from the East to the West. On the West-side is a bridge built by the Em|perour Augustas, which they hold to be very faire. Towards the East is a Triumphall Arke, built by the same Augustus, with old inscriptions, and a pinackle erected, which shewes the Flaminian way to Rome , and the Emilian way towards Parma.

I said, that the Popes territory extendeth this way as high as Ancona, and

these inha|biters of Marca are accounted a wicked generation, the greatest part of the cut-throtes and murtherers dispersed through Italy, being borne in this Country. Our Hoste vsed vs very ill, demaunding of each of vs a poli for our bed, and three polo for our supper; and when we desired a reckoning, demaunding for a little piece of an Ele one polo and a halfe, and for three little Soles tenne bolinei, besides that by the aforesaid priuiledge, he forced vs (being Post-master) to take horses of him at what price he listed.

The next morning we rode fifteene miles to the Castle la Catholica, where is a bridge diuiding the territories of the Pope, and the Duke of section : then we rode to Pesaro ten [Note: Pesaro.] miles, and each man paied for his horsefoure poli, and all our way was through fruitful hills and little mountaines.

This Citie hath a faire round Market-place, and a plesant Fountaine therein, distil|ling water at eight pipes. The aire is thought vnwholesome; for which cause, and the great plentie of fruit, nothing is more frequent here, then Funerals in the Moneth of August, and the Inhabitants seldome liue to be 50 yeeres old: each of vs paid a Polo for our dinner, calling for what meate we liked, and agreeing first for the price.

From hence to Ancona ate fortie fiue miles, and wee hired three horses for twentie 97 fiue Poli, with condition, that our guide (vulgarly called Veturale, or Veturino, should pay for his horse-meate, and bring them backe againe. After dinner we rode fiue miles to the little City Fano compassed with high walles of Flint, and lying vpon a hill-side towards the sea, and subiect to the Pope, where we did see a triumphall arck of marble, curiously engrauen. Then we rode fifteene miles more to Senogalita, a strong Citie, and subiect to the Duke of Vrbin. By the way we passed the Bridge Di Metro (hauing foure-score Arches) and the Bridge Di Marctta (hauing fiftie Arches), both built of wood, and very low, as seruing to passe ouer little Brookes; which notwithstanding, by reason of the Mountaines being neere, doe often ouer-flow. All this dayes iourney was by the Sea-shore on our left hand towards the North, and fruitfull hills of corne towards the South, ouer which hung the Apenine Mountaines; whence many times the waters discend violently, by reason of the narrow valley betweene the fea and the said Mountaines. It is prouerbially said of the Magistrate of Senogallia; il Podesta com|manda and fallo stesso: that is, The Gouernour commaunds and doth it himselfe; where|by it seemes he is little esteemed. The Citie is of a small circuit, but very strong, and the houses are built of bricke, with a roofe something flat, after the Italian fashion. The Inne is without the gate, and so the more comodious for strangers, who may come late, and departe earely, which they could not do, if their lodging were within the walls. It is true, that he who buyes hath need to sell; for the Duke extorting great rent from the Inkeeper, he in like sort oppresseth the passengers: for a short supper at a common table, each man payed foure Poli, or Poali (a coine so called of Pope Paul). The next morning we rode fifteene miles to Fimesino, and tenne to Ancona, hauing the sea on our left hand towards the North, and fruitfull mountaines on our right hand towards the South. Fimesino is a Fort, and belongs to the Pope, but the Inne without the gate be|longs to the Duke of Vrbine : And againe, when you haue passed the Bridge, all the Territorie to Ancona is subiect to the Pope.

The Citie of Ancona is compassed with three Mountaines, and hath the forme of a [Note: Anconae.] halfe Moone. On the North side is a Mountaine, vpon which

the Gouernour dwelles, and vpon the East side is another Mountaine, and vpon the side of these two Moun|taines the Citie is built to the valley, and sea-side, towards the North. On the South|side is the third Mountaine, vpon which is the Castle called Capoaè Monte, built in the same place where the Temple of Venus stoode; and vpon this side the Citie is narrow, there being no houses built vpon the Mountaine, but onely in the valey vpon the sea. The Pope hath souldiers in this Castle, and thereby keepes the Citie in subiection: for the Citizens long defended their liberty, and how soeuer they were subiect to the Pope, yet secretly chose their Magistrates euery yeere, to the yeere 1532; at which time Pope Clement the seuenth built this Castle against the Turkish Pirates. but besides he vsed it to bring the Citizens in absolute subiection. The streetes are narrow, and the wayes ill paued with Flint. The Hauen is of a triangular forme, and is now very plea|sant, as of old it was of great fame for a most secure Port, yet it seemed not to me capa|ble of many or great ships. Perhaps it was of old fit to receiue the Roman Nauie of Gallies; but since they haue neglected to preserue it. Traiane the Emperour repai|red this Hauen, and adorned it with a stately triumphall Arke of marble, which re|maines to this day. About this Hauen there is pleasant walking, and the place where the Marchants meete, called la Loggia, lying vpon the sea, is as sweete an open roome, as euer I saw; but narrow, and nothing answerable for stately building to the Ex|change of London. It is beautified with sweete pictures, among which one of an An|gell, which lookes right vpon you, on which side soeuer you behold it, is much estee|med. They haue a prouerb, one Peter in Rome , one Tower in Cremona, and one Hauen in Ancona (for the excellency of them). Neere the gate of the Citie (to my remem|brance) on the East-side, is a very sweete Fountaine, powring water out of many heads of stone.

At Ancona, according to the custome of passengers, we agreed with a Vetturine, or letter of horses, that each of vs paying him fiftie fiue Poli, hee should finde vs horses, and horse meate, and our owne diet to Rome ; and to this end his seruant followed vs 98 on foote, after the fashion of the Italians, who ride slowly, and these seruants are called Vetturini, or Vetturals. Now we were to crosse the bredth of Italy, fro the Adriatique to the Tyrrhene Sea. The first day in the Morning, we rode fifteene miles to a little Citie, called Madonna di Loretto, through fruitfull Mountaines, and passing an high Promon|tary. By the way was an Altar, with this inscription in Latin; O passenger, goe on meri|ly, etc. Gregorie the thirteenth hath well paued the rest of the way. The like inscription is in the ascent of the Mountaine, vpon which the little Citie Loreto stands: for this way (in a fruitfull Countrey of corne, and a dirty soile) was paued at the charge of the said Pope.

A certaine chamber hath giuen beginning to this Citie and the Church thereof, then [Note: I. oreto.] which nothing is esteemed more holy among the Papists; and because many gifts of great price vse to be giuen by vow to our Lady of this Church, the City is well fortifi|ed against Pirats, who did once spoile the same, and were like againe to be inuited by the hope of rich spoiles to the like attempt, if the Towne lay vnfortified. It is of little circuit, and lieth in length from East to the West, so narrow, as it hath almost but one streete in the bredth, and all the houses of this streete are Innes, or Shops of them that sell Beades to number prayers. On the East side, after a steepe descent of a Mountaine, lies a valley of two miles, and beyond that the sea. On the North side, to wards Anco|ns, though the sea be very farre dis-

tant, yet from this Citie, seated vpon a high Moun|taine, it may easily be seene. Vpon the dores of this Church, famous for mens super|stitious worship, these verses are written:

Illotus tlmeat quicunque intrara, Sacellum, In terris nullum sanctius orbis habet. Enter not here vn washt of any spot, For a more holy Church the world hath not.

At the Church dore is a statua of brasse erected to Pope Gregorie the thirteenth. As I walked about the Church, behold in a darke Chappell a Priest, by his Exorcismes ca|sting a diuell out of a poore woman: Good Lord what fencing and truly coniuring words he vsed! How much more skilfull was he in the diuels names? then any ambi|tious Roman euer was in the names of his Citizens, whom he courted for their voices. If he had eaten a bushell of salt in hell; If he had been an inhabitant thereof, surely this Art could neuer haue been more familiar to him. He often spake to the ignorant wo|man in the Latin tongue, but nothing lesse then in Tullies phrase, and at last the poore wretch, either hired to deceiue the people, or (if that be more probable) drawne by fami|liar practice with the Priest, or at least affrighted with his strange language and cries, confessed her selfe dispossessed by his exorcisme. In the body of the Church, a Table of written hand, in the Greeke, Latin, and many other tongues, was fastened to a Piller, setting downe at large the wonderfull historie of the Chamber in the midst of the Church, which I confesse was lesse curiously obserued by me, abhorring from that su|perstition, and hastening from thence as much as I might; yet giue me leaue to set down the sum thereof out of the itinerary of Villamont a French Gentleman. This Chamber or Chappell (saith he) is the very house, in which the Queene Virgin of Nazaret was [Note: Let the Reader be|leeue as he list. Woe to him that le|lecues. Woe to him that be|leeues.] borne, brought vp, and saluted by the Angell, foretelling her of Christs birth, and in which Christ was conceiued, and in which the Virgin dwelt after Christs ascention, ac|companied with the holy Apostles, especially with Saint Iohn by Christs commaund, which the Apostles after the Virgins death, for the great mysteries done here, turned into a Chappell, consecrated to the sacrificing of Christ, and dedicated the same, and with their owne hands, made the great Crosse of wood, now set in the window of the Chappell, and in which Saint Luke made with his hand the picture and Image now set aboue it. Let mee adde: This Chappell from a House became a Chamber, and of a Chamber was made a Chappell, and it is built of bricke, and is thirtie foote long, twelue and a halfe broad. In the chimney (as Villamont saith) as yet remaine the holy ashes, which no man dare take away, and the Altar also, vpon which the Masse is sung, was made by the Apostles hand. There is a 99 roome into which you first enter, which is diuided from the Chappel by an iron grate, for no man enters the chappell without leaue, but must say his prayers in the outter roome; yet leaue is giuen to any that aske it. Villamont addeth, that he found by dili|gent search; that this Chappell was much reuerenced in the primitiue Church: but the holy land being subdued by Sarasens, then by Turkes; he faith it hapned in the yeere 1291. that this house was taken vp from the foundations, by Angels, who in the night miraculously carried it to the Sea shoare of Sclauonia, where it was made knowne to the people by the shining of the Virgines Image, and then by a vision of a religious man, the Virgine her selfe made knowne the History to him. He addeth the Virgins Oration, wherein shee giues her selfe many titles, which in later ages were first inuen|ted, and shee

doth so extoll her owne praises with her owne mouth, as hee that reades the old song of the blessed Virgin, would cry out with the Latine Poet, onely chan|ging the name. O how is she changed from that Virgin, which so modestly spake of her selfe.

Villamont addeth, that messengers were sent into Palestina, who found this Hi|story to be most true: yet this Chappell did not long abide in Slauonia, but the Angels in the yeere 1294. tooke it vp againe, and transported it to this Sea coast of Italy, where againe it was made knowne by the shining of the Image, and many miracles daily done; whereupon the Chappell of the Image was called Madonna di Loreto, that is, our Lady of Loreto. And because theeues lying in the wood, did spoile strangers, who daily came thither for deuotion, the Angels (as he saith) the third time tooke it vp, and set it downe in a priuate possession of two brothers, who disagreeing in the diuision of the profit rising by the concourse of people, the Angels the fourth time tooke it vp, [Note: This Image neuer rested till it came into the Popes Terri|tory where it is not more helpe|full to o|thers, then profitable to the Pope and Church men.] and placed it in this firme seat, where now it remaineth. After it was often visited by strangers, Pope Paul the second built an other stately Church ouer it, Pope Leo the tenth hauing first fortified the little City against Pirates. Let me adde, that Pope Sixtus the fifth, borne in this Marca of Ancona, established a Bishop in this Towne, and so made it a City. Villamont relating the treasure of this Church, among the rest, nameth cer|taine Mapps of Cities, and Mountaines, and the Images of the twelue Apostles, a great Crucifix, Candlesticks, and infinite Vessels of siluer, Images, Chalices, Crosses, of gold, and many precious stones of huge value, two Crosses made all of precious stones (whereof one was giuen by the Arch-Duke of Austria), and a Harte of gold set with precious stones (the gift of the Duchesse of Lorayne) and a vessell of huge value, which the French King Henrie: the third gaue, with this inscription:

Vt quae prola tua Mandum Regina beasti Et regnum and Regem prole beare velis. Henri. III. Franc. and Pol. Reg. Christianiss. M. D. LXXXIIII. Additaque Regni insigdia. O Queene who with thy Childe the world hast blest. Let not this King and Kingdome childlesse rest, Of Henry the third, of France and Poland most Christian King, in the yeere 1584. The Armes of the Kingdome are also set vpon it.

Thus farre Villamont relates,

He remembers no gift of greater value, then this of Henrie the third, yet (with leaue be it spoken) this King, a very slaue to the Romane Church, obtained not his petition. All these gifts are giuen vpon vowes, and my selfe did see in the outward reome of the [Note: Behold how holy these walles of bricke are, which can|not abide the impure touch of Marble,] Chappell (into which all are admitted) a Galley vnder all salles, all of beaten gold; gi|uen by the vow of the Duke of Florence [67] , vpon the recouery of his health Villamont adds that this Chapel is compassed with a wal of white Marble, curiously engrauen, but that this wall could neuer by any art bee fastned to the Chappell, and that the Chappell is also compassed with twentie pillars, bearing the Images often Prophers, and the ten Sybills. Hee adds, that many miracles are heere done, and first giues instance in the person of the Marques of Baden, in the yeere 1584. Secondly he sets it downe 100 for a Maxime, and proues it by an example, that no man euer tooke any thing out of this Church, without great mischiefe betalling him; and

[67] Florence

that the robbers thereof are compelled to restore, as it were by infernall furies. Let me say truly (alwaies reseruing due reuerence to the blessed Virgin, to whom the Scriptures teach such diuine worship to be most vnpleasing, as the Papists yeeld her), I say let me with due reuerence tell a truth. My selfe and two Dutch-men my consorts, abhorring from this superstition, by leaue entred the inner Chappell, where we did see the Virgins picture, adorned with pretious Iewels, and the place (to increase religious horror) being darke, yet the Iewels shined by the light of wax candles. When we were entred, the Priest courteously left vs, to giue vs space for our deuotion: but when we came forth (as the Italians prouer|bially speake of the Priests auarice, Euery Psalme ends in, Glory be, etc. as if they should say, All religion to end in profit) it was necessarie for vs to cast almes into an iron chest behind the Altar, couered with an iron grate. Therefore my consorts, of purpose to delight the Priests eares with the sound of money, as with musicke, did cast into that chest many brasse quatrines, but of small value, and my selfe being last, when my turne was to giue almes, did in stead thereof, gather some tenne quatirnes of theirs, which lay scattered vpon the grate, and got that cleare gaine by that Idoll. God forbid I should bragge of any contempt to Religion; but since it appeares, that such worship is vn|pleasing to God: and because Papists will haue all their miracles beleeued, I will freely say by experience, that hauing gotten these few quatirnes in such sort as I said, yet after that, God of his mercy preserued me in my long and dangerous trauell, and from that time to this day, by his grace, I haue enioyed, though no abundant, yet a competent e|state, and more plentifull then in my former dayes. The fourth miracle related by Vil|lamont (for I omit the third) is worth al the rest, which he saith hangs vp in this Church, written in the Italian tongue, and also printed; namely, that a French woman possessed with a diuel, came hither, and being exorcised by a holy Canon, did answer, that she had seuen deuils, and he casting them out, that the first called Sordo, at his comming forth blew out a torch; and that the second was called Heroth, the third Venteloth, the fourth Arcto. And while hee makes them all (without torture or commaund) to confesse their own wicted acts; and while he omitteth the other three, yet he doth not omit that the fourth told the Priest things vnknowne to the world, namely, that he shewed him the stone, vpon which the Angell stood, when hee saluted the Virgin; and likewise the place where the Virgin at that time stood, and that those places were afterward no lesse worshipped then the Chappell it selfe. This Villamont relates. Of these things reuea|led by the diuell, giue me leaue to say, that if the diuell had been the greatest friend the Church of Rome hath, he could not haue told a more profitable thing to it, and that the Roman Church is not altogether vngratefull, which beleeues the father of lies in so great a matter, and doth not so much as put him to his oath: but they are wise, to be of Ouids opinion,

Cur ego non votis blandiar ipsemeis?
Why should I not flatter my owne desires?

I will ende the rest in one word. There is incredible concourse to this place from all parts professing the Roman Religion, neither is any man in the most remote parts of Europe oppressed with any calamity, but hee vowes some gift to this Image. In this Church I did see fiftie banished men, vulgarly called Banditi, who were banished for murthers, and such like crimes, and now had their pardon, vpon condition, that for some yeeres they should serue the Emperour in Hungarie against the Turks. These men abhorred in all Italy, yet (no

doubt) at this time very deuout, did make stiffe vows, to expiat their sinnes, and to haue happie returne out of Hungarie, yet they held their hands from giuing any large almes. My selfe and my consorts were all this day fasting, for it had been an vnperdonable sinne to haue demaunded meate in our Inne, before wee had been in the Church, and would haue giuen open occasion to suspect our Religion. At last when wee returned to the Inne, our Vetturine gaue vs our dinner.

The same day after a slight dinner we rode foureteene miles, vpon a causey paued 101 with stone, and winding about a mountaine, then through fields abounding with O|liue trees, but hauing no vines and we came to the City Macerata, where the Popes Le|gate lies, and keepes his chancery for this Marca of Ancona. Part of this Prouince yeelds rich wine, whereof they haue onely white wine in the Innes. The second day in the morning, we rode twenty two miles to Poluertna, through a pleasant way, and fruitfull fields, yeelding corne and oliues. And by the way neere the City Tollentine, were the confines of the Marca of Ancona, and of the Dukedome of Spoleto. After dinner we rode ten miles to the Castle Sereuallo, through stony and barren mountaines. The third day in the morning we rode sixteene miles to Fuligni, through most stony and barren mountaines, which are called Apennine, and diuide the length of Italy, and through a large plaine planted with oliue trees, and compassed about with mountaines. This Ci|ty was built vpon the ruines of the City Forum Flaminium.

After dinner we rode ten miles to the City Spoleto, through a firtle plaine, but stony, yeelding together in the same field, vines, corne, Almond and Oliue trees, and at the end of the plaine this City is seated, partly in a plaine, partly on the side of a moun|taine, vpon the top whereof is a strong Castle, built vpon the ruines of an old Amphi|theater, to the which men passe ouer a bridge of stone, vpheld by twentyfour great pil|lars and ioyning two mountaines, which haue a deepe valley between them, but narrow and without water. In the Church of this Castle, they shew a picture of the blessed Virgin painted with Saint Lukes hand, of which kind there is an infinit number a|mong the Papists. Theodoricus King of the Gothes, built a stately Pallace in the City, which being ruined, Narses the Eunuch Gouernour of Italy vnder the Easterne Empe|rour did rebuild it. The Dukedome of Spoleto is subiect to the Pope, who tooke it, when he cast the Easterne Emperours out of Italy, and after extorted the grant there|of from the renewed Westerne Emperours. And the soile of this Dukedome is most fruitfull, of corne, wine, almond, and oliue trees, and of most sweet fruits. Of the wine Martiall thus writes;

De Spoletanis quae funt curiosa lagenis Malueris, quam si musta Falerna hib as. If with Spoleto bottels once you meet, Say that Falerno must is not so sweet.

The fourth day in the morning, wee rode ten mils through stony and most barren mountaines, and fiue miles through a fertile plaine; wherein grew together corne, vines, and oliue trees, (which trees I obserued alwaies to grow in stony ground, which soyle in Italy vseth to be more firtile then other,) and seuen miles through a more fir|tile plaine; in the end whereof is the City Narni, whose situation is altogether like that of Spoleto. The Italians told me that the soyle of this territory, is made dirty with the sunne and wind, and dusty with raine, which since I haue found confirmed by learned Cosmographers. On the South-side of Narni, the Riuer Negra fals with great noise from a steepe Rocke, and the Friar Leandro (who hath best discribed Italy) affirmes that the

Riuer Velino makes a Fen, (which Cicero numbers among wonderful things,) and that this Fen endeth in a Lake, of old called Veanus, now vulgarly called Lago di pie di luco, and that betweene the running out of the waters, there is a Fountaine of Neptune, (which Pliny hath described) and that this Lake is the Nauell of midst of Ita|ly; and lastly, that the water falling into the Lake (compassed with mountaines) by steepe discents, maketh noises like the groanes, yellings, and sighes of infernall spirits. From whence, and by other arguments, he seemes to proue plainely, that the verses of Virgill in the seuenth Booke of his AEneados, are meant of this place, and that others are deceiued, who thinke them meant by Tenaso in Apulia, especially since the vallies Ansancti are in this place, vulgarly called Nesanto, for Ansanto, which signifies on all sides holy, because they are fertile. The verses of Virgil are these;

Est locus Italiae in medio, sub montibus altis, Nobilis, and fama multis memoratur in oris, Ansancti valles, etc. Hic specus horrendum, and saeui spiracula Ditis, 102 Monstrantur, etc. Italtes Center hath great Mounts beneath A noble place, which is farre knowne by fame, The Ansancti valleyes, etc. A dreadfull hole, whereat fierce Dis doth breath, Here may be seene, etc.

After dinner, we rode twelue miles to a little Towne, lying beyond the Riuer Tyber, namely, eight miles to the Castle Otricoli, through woody Mountaines, and Valyes bearing Oliue trees, and corne together with those trees; and from thence to the side of the Riuer Tyber two miles in pasture fieldes. Here we passed to the West side of this so famous Riuer, where of old the Emperour Augustus built a stately bridge; but now men and horse passe in a ferry-boate, which is drawne ouer with the force of mens hands, by a great cable fastned a-crosse the Riuer. And least the boate should be carri|ed away with the swift streame, a second cable is fastned a-crosse the Riuer by postes on each side higher then a man; and they haue a third short cable, to the one end whereof the boate is fastened, and the other end hath a strong wheele, which is put vp|on the second high cable, vpon which the boat slips forward, as it is drawne with mens hands by the first low cable: for the bed of the Tyber is broade in this place, and hath his spring not far off, among the high Apenine Mountains, and falling thence with great force, would carry away any boat rowed with oares: But from thence the bed of the Riuer grows narrow, and is such at Rome , as it scarce deserues the name of a Brooke, and nothing answeres the glorious fame which Italians haue giuen it, who alwaies ex|toll their owne things to the skie. Hereupon it is necessarie, that when any store of raine falls, or much snow suddenly meltes, those waters falling from the Mountaines, should ouerflow the fields, and the Citie of Rome it selfe, as they haue often done, with great danger of the Citie, the same being not farre distant from this Ferrey, and these high Mountaines among which the riuer hath his spring. But from Rome it runs in a narrow bed: 2 miles to Ostia with a slow course, and there endeth in Lakes, the mouth of the hauen being so stopped, as the least Barks cannot passe to and from the sea. Here beyond our expectatio , our Veturine alleaged, that he had agreed with vs to pay for our diet, not for our passages of Riuers; by which captious trick, each of vs was forced to pay two Giulij for our passage ouer the Riuer. Of the foresaid twelue miles to the little towne where of I spake two miles remained, which we rode, and there lodged that might. The fifth day in the morning, wee rode seuenteene miles to Castel' nuouo, through woody Mountaines, and Valies of corne, in a way very

dirty and slippery; and here our Vetu|rine tied to pay for our diet, put a new tricke vpon vs, saying, that he would not dine, but goe on to Rome , yet if wee pleased to dine, hee would out of his duty stay for vs, o|therwise being ready to finish the rest of his iourney. We smiled at the knaues craft, and each of vs paied two poli and a halfe for our dinners.

After dinner we rode thirteene miles to Rome (of old the Head-Citie of the World) through winding hills and pastures; and when we came to the first Gate, we did meete [Note: Rome .] many English men on horse-back, without bootes, being all Priests, going to Madonna di Loreto. I was much afraid, lest some of them being Schollers of Cambridge, should know me brought vp in the same Vniuersitie; neither was the hearing of the English tongue, or the sight of English men, euer before so vnpleasing to me. From this first Gate we rode, in the way of Flaminius, by the winding banck of Tyber, and many caues vnder mountaines and hills, to the bridge called Ponte-Mole, which vniteth the said way of Flaminius, lying on both sides the Riuer, and there wee passed to the East-side of the said Riuer Tyber; and passing on the same way of Flaminius, we entered the Citie by a large Gate, vulgarly called Porta del Popolo, and by a Market place vulgarly called Fore del Popolo, in which Market-place is the Church of S. Mary del Popolo.

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2

3 CHAP. II.

Of my iourney to Naples , and my returne to Rome , and of the description of both Cities. Of my iourney cursory to Sienna , Fiorenza , Pistoia, Lucca, and Pisa, and the description of the three last Cities.

DEferring the view of Rome till my returne, I thought best to passe on presently to Naples , lest if I had staid longer, I might perhaps haue beene betraied into the hands of the Spaniards when I should come thither, for that Kingdome is subiect to the Spaniards, with whom the English then had warre: besides that in like cases, delay brecds danger; into which if I should haue fallen, I hoped to escape with more ease and contentment, when I had beene at the fur|thest of my iourney. Therefore according to the fashion, I agreed with a Vetturine at Rome , for forty foure Giulij to giue me a horse to Naples , and to pay for my diet and horsemeat. I say it is the fashion, especially in waies of danger and trouble to get meat, that passengers should agree with their Vetturine for their diet; which if they doe not, they shall be subiect to the fraud of Hosts, in such a iourney, and hardly get so good meat as they, who daily pas|sing, are well acquainted in all places. And in this tumultuary iourney to Naples , it is most of all necessary for strangers thus to agree with their Vetturine, since the Hosts are great extorters from all men, and especially from strangers; and it would be diffi|cult for strangers not knowing the fashion of that hasty iourney and of the Country, to prouide for themselues. When we went out of Rome , our consorts suddenly in a broad street lighted from their horses, and gaue them to the Vetturines to hold, and so went themselues to the Holy staires, vulgarly called Le scale sante, that they might there pray for a happy iourney; at which time my selfe and my consorts slipped into the next Church, and going in at one doore, and out at the other, escaped the worship|ping of those holy staires, and at fit time came to take our horses with the rest. They say that these staires were the same which Christ ascended in Pilates house at Ierusalem; and that they were from thence brought to Rome : and indeed at Ierusalem the place of them lies void, so as I would in this mnch rather beleeue the Romans, then in the tran|sportation of the Chamber at Lareto, which they would haue done by the Angels, and that often and at vnseasonable times, whereas in so many voyages into Palestine it was not difficult to bring these staires from thence. Yet they being of marble, and very rich, I would faine know how such a monument could be preserued, when Ieru|salem was destroied. And if they say they belonged to that house of Pilate, which they shew at this day, I dare be bold to affirme that the magnificence of these staires is no|thing answerable to the poore building of that house.

The twelfth of March we rode twelue miles to Marino, a Castle belonging to the Roman Family of Colonna, and we passed through a fruitfull plaine of corne, hauing on our right hand towards the South, the ruines of old Rome , and the Castle Tusculo, where Cicero wrote his Tuseulane questions, not farre from Palestrina, of old called Preneste, where Marius besieged by Scylla, killed himself, and we might often see the Tyr|rhene sea: and hauing

vpon our left hand towards the North, an anticke conduit, made of bricke, lying all the length of the way from Rome to the Easterne moun|taines, in which Marino is seated, and from whence the water was so farre brought to Rome , and vpon the same side hauing a new conduit built by Pope Sixtus the fifth, when the pipes of the other were broken: but the same is much lower and lesse mag|nificent then the other, and vpon this hand we had mountaines not farre distant. Ma|rino was of old called Marianavilla, and from this Castle the mountaines which by the way we had on our left hand toward the North, crosse ouer to the Tyrrhene sea, 104 towards the South, shutting vp the large plaine from Rome hither. And these moun|taines planted with vines, and hauing a sweet prospect into the same plaine, are very pleasant. Whereupon there be very many Pallaces of Roman Senators built vpon these mountaines, which lying high, of the fresh aire, vulgarly this place is called La Frescada. Among these mountaines in the Village Tiuoli, the deceased Cardinall Hipo|lito of Este, built a Pallace and a wonderfull garden, which being ten mile distant from the City of Rome , the passengers for the most part hauing scene Rome , did in the Car|dinals time, and yet many times doe passe that way. For it resembles a terrestriall Pa|radice, by reason of the fountaines, statuaes, caues, groues, fishponds, cages of birds, Nightingales flying loose in the groues, and the most pleasant prospect. In this Castle Marino we made some stay, to expect some passengers which were longer detained at Rome by their businesse.

And the Pope in this place giues sixty horsemen Musqueters to accompany the Carrier, vulgarly called Il Procaccia, and to defend him from the spoyling of banished men, vulgarly called Banditi. And for this cause all passengers goe in this Carriers company, neither dare any passe alone. For these banished men lurking vpon the confines of the Popes State and the Kingdome of Naples , many times make excur|sions as farre as these mountaines, to doe robberies, and the weeke last past they had killed many passengers, and had robbed the Carrier, who doth not onely beare letters, but leades many Mules laded with goods. The chiefe of these banished men was the Nephew (so they call Church-mens bastards) of the Cardinall Caietano, who hauing eight thousand crownes yeerely reut in these parts, was banished by the Pope, and he vnderstanding that a Roman Gentleman passed with that Carrier, who had great friends about the Pope, and hoping to make his peace by taking him prisoner, did for that cause assaile that Carrier and his guard, till hearing that the Gentleman while they fought, had escaped to the next City, he withdrew himselfe and his men into the moun|tainrs. This danger from banished men, makes the iourney to Naples very trouble. some; and it is not safe nor lawful for any man to leaue the company of this Carrier. So as the passengers rise before day, and take horse, and so sitting all the day, yet ride not abouc twenty miles, for the slow pace of the mules, and at noone they haue no rest, onely when they haue the Inne in sight, so as there is no danger of theeues, they are permitted to gallop before, that they may eat a morsell, or rather deuoure it: for as soone as the mules are past, they must to horse againe, euery man not onely making hast for his owne safety, but the souldiers forcing them to be gone, who are more slow then the rest. To conclude the mules going a very slow pace, it was very irkesome to the passengers to rise before day, and to follow them step by step.

Hauing dined at Marino, and our full company being come, we together with our guard of horse-men rode eight miles to Velitri, through wooddy mountaines,

infa|mous for the robberies of banished men, and vpon our right hand towards the South and towards the Tyrrhene sea, was a Lake vulgarly called Lago Nympao, which the old Romans (delighted with doing difficult things) vsed to fill with sea water, and therein to make nauall fights. One wood by which we passed was more dangerous then the rest, where the Pope maintaines forty foot to assist the Guard of horse, till they haue passed the same. The discent of the last mountaine neere Velitri, was two miles long, yet pleasant by reason of the multitude of Vines growing vpon short stakes, which vse to yeeld the richest wine. Velitri is by writers called Belitre, an old City of the Volsci, and famous for the birth of the Emperour Augustus, and the dwelling of the Octa|uian Family. The second day in the morning we rode thirteene or foureteene miles to Sermoneta, and in the midst of the way our guard of horseleft vs, and their trumpet as|ked of euery man a gift in curtesie, which we gladly gaue, and there new horsemen meeting vs, tooke vpon them our guard. After dinner we rode eight miles to a little towne La casa nnoua, and fiue miles to an old City, which Liuy callesh Priuernum, yet other Co'mographers write that the ruines thereof lie in a plaine two miles off, where|as this is seated vpon a mountaine, yet growing to a City by the decay of the former, is called Priuernum, and vulgarly Piperno. We passed through wooddy mountaines, 105 full of Oliue trees on the right hand, and a fruitfull plaine of corne, and many Or|chards of Orange trees, and like fruits, on the left hand. And among the mountaines on the right hand, the most remote was called Circello, of the famous Witch Circe, and it is a Promontory hanging ouer the sea, where at this day they shew the cup, in which Vlisses drunke the inchanted potion, and vnder the hollow caues of this mountaine, the Turkish Pirates lurke in the summer time, and rob the Christians. The last fiue miles of our iourney, all the passengers and souldiers were put before the Carrier and his Mules; for then we turned out of the plaine towards mountaines on the left hand, where (as they said) the banished men had the weeke before assailed the Carrier. After we had dined, the horse-men left vs, and certaine foot did after guide vs from one Ci|ty to another. The third day in the morning we had a guard of horse-men, and rode twelue miles to Terracina, an old City, so called in the time of the Emperour Tiberius, and we passed through a fertile plaine of corne on the right hand towards the Sea, and stony hils full of Oliue trees on the left hand towards the Land, and many vineyards, and ruines of houses neere the City. After we had this morning rode two miles, we passed by an old Monastery called la Badia della fossa nuoua, where they haue a monu|ment of Saint Thomas Aquinas, but his body was carried to the City Tolouse in France, when the Frenchmen had the Kingdome of Naples . And after we had rode ten miles our guard of horse left vs, and certaine foot meeting vs, conducted vs other 2 miles. In this way the waters in many places at the foot of the hils did stinke of brimstone, but infinite Laurel trees on all sides refreshed our smel. Terracina in the flourishing time of Rome was called Anxur, and it is seated vpon a mountaine, as most of the foresaid Cities are, and it lieth vpon the sea, which the land imbraceth like a halfe Moone, this Citie ly|ing vpon one horne thereof, and the Citie Caieta vpon the other, of which Citie the Cardinall had name, who did oppose himselfe to Luther. The flouds of the sea make great noise, with striking vpon hollow caues of Rocks. A souldier came out of the Tower of Torracina, and demaunded of euery man fiue baocci, which we paid, though it were onely due from them, who

had portmanteaues with locks. Neere this City we did see the ruines of a stately Theater. After dinner we rode ten miles to the City Fon|di, through a stony way, being part of the old way of Appius; and vpon the right hand we had a plaine towards the sea, and vpon the left hand rockey Mountaines towards the land, where wee passed by the Citie Monticello. At the mid-way, the Popes guard hauing left vs, we came to two old ruined walles, shutting vp the way, and lying from the Mountaine to the sea. This place called Sportelle, deuides the territories of the Pope and the King of Naples , and is kept by a Garison of Spaniards. I remember at our com|ming backe, these Souldiers demaunded of the passengers a gift in curtesie, and when some refused it, they stopped their passage, and onely troubled them in the searching of their carriage, vnder pretence that they might carry some prohibited things. Those Souldiers did accompany vs to the Citie Fondi. I call the same and some other places by the name of Citie, because they were Cities of old, though now they be onely Vil|lages, and haue no other beautie, but the ruines of age. This old Citie was sacked in the yeere 1534 by Barbarossa a Turkish Pirate. It is seated in a Plaine, hauing onely a meadow and a field ouerflowed betweene it and the sea, and the houses are built of Flints and such litle stones, but it had most pleasant Orchards, of Citrons, Oranges and Lemons. The Orange trees at one time haue ripe and greene fruites and buds, and are greene in winter, giuing at that dead time a pleasant remembrance of Som|mer. By our Veturines sparing, our diet was daily very short, and at Terracina we could not so much as get wine; and here our supper was so short, as we iudged our Vetturines good Phisitians, who perswade light suppers. The wines of Fondi and Cecubo (for the mount Cecubo is not farre distant) are much celebrated by the Roman Poets, namely, by Horace. The fourth day in the morning, we rode ten miles to Mola vulgarly called Nola, vpon a paued Causey betweene stony Mountaines, being part of the way of Ap|pius, and through great woods of Oliue trees, hauing by the way many Orchards of Oranges and like fruites, and entering neere Mola into a more open aire. Not onely this Village, but all this sea coast is called Mola, of the Miles (as I thinke) driuen by 106 waters falling from the Mountaines, and it is numbred among the most pleasant places of Italy. Mola is built vpon the ruines of old Formia, which are to be seene in the fields round about it. Among these ruines is the house of Cicero, who speakes of his Village Formia, where Scipio and Lelius came to recreate themselues; and there is also the sepul|cher of Cicero, so as it seemes he was killed by Anthony in this Territory. After dinner we rode eight miles through a wilde field with low shrubs, vpon a paued way, till wee came to the Riuer Garigliano, whose narrow and deepe streame we passed by boat, and staied long about the putting ouer of our horses, our company being great, and each horseman paied fiue baocci for passage. Neere this Riuer wee did see the ruines of a most faire Theater, built of bricke and flint, and of another old and round Theater, and of a Conduit built of brick, vpon a 140 arches. Not farre hence among huge and snowy Mountaines, is the Citie Traeto, which hath the title of a Dukedome, and was of old called Minturne. After we had passed the Riuer, we rode seuen miles to Sesso, and three miles to a Country house, through a fruitful Plaine of corne, hauing the Tirrhene sea so neare vs, as we might see it three or foure times. And because the other Carrier comming from Naples to Rome , lodged with his consorts a mile before vs in the Vil|lage Castellano, we were forced to lodge in this Country house. The fifth

day in the morning, at the beginning of our iourney, we met the said Carrier with his consorts, and we rode eight miles to the Village Francolisse, in a most pleasant way, betweene Hills of black clay like stone, but a most fruitfull Countrey. This Village lay on the left hand of our way towards the land, among very pleasant Hills; and the place is not farre distant, where Hanibal brought into straights by Fabius, did escape by a stratagem, tying fire vpon the hornes of Oxen.

After we rode 8 miles to the most pleasant City Capua, through a most sweet Plaine, [Note: Capua.] called Laborina, because it is laborious to the tiller, but it is wonderfull fruitfull, and a|boundeth with Oliue trees, and vines planted vpon Elmes. Here we dined, not accor|ding to our couenant at our Vetturines charge, but at our owne cost, and each man had such meate as he chose, and that (as I thinke) because the passengers being now out of danger, and in a place abounding with all dainties, refused to be dieted at their Veturines pleasure, and chose rather to feast themselues as they list. And in deede we had excel|lent cheare, delicate wine most white pure bread, and among other dainties, I remem|ber wee had blacke Oliues, which I had neuer seene before, and they were of a most pleasant taste. Here each of vs paid two Giulij and a halfe for our dinner. This City is newly built, but if you goe out of the Gates to Saint Maries Church towards Naples vpon the South-West side of the Towne, there you shall see a Colossus, and a Caue, and many Monuments of old Capua among the Orchards: the delicacies of which Ci|tie were of old so famous, as we reade, that the Army of Hanibal grew effeminate there|by. This new Citie hath a Castle vpon the North-East side, built vpon the walles, wherein is a Garrison of souldiers, which keepeth the Citie in obedience, and the Riuer Volturnus runnes vpon the same side of the Citie, which they passe with a bridge of stone, neere which there is an inscription, that Phillip King of Spaine repaired the way, and built the bridge. The Citie is of a little compasse, but strong, and it hath a faire Se|nate-House, and a faire Church called l' Annonciata, with a faire Altar.

After dinner wee had no guard, neither were tied to accompany the Carrier, but it was free for euery man to take his way and company, or to ride alone at his pleasure. So from Capua we rode eight miles to Anuersa, a new Citie, otherwise called Aduersa, and of old called Attella, whence were the old satyricall Comedies, which were full of baudery, and were called Attellane. And betweene this City and the Mountaine Ve|suuius, now called Somma, out of the way towards the land, and neere the Castle Airola, is the Valley Caudine, where Hanibal put the Romans, drawne into straites, disgraceful|ly to passe vnder a paire of gallowes, which were called the Caudine gallows, wel knowne to all that haue read Liuy.

The same afternoone we rode further eight miles to Naples . And all this way from [Note: Naples .] Capua to Naples , is a most fruitfull plaine of corne, and vines growing high vpon Elme trees, according to the Tillage of Lombardy, one and the same field yeelding corne, and 109 wine, and wood to burne, but the other wines of this Country growing vpon hills and mountaines, and all the other fruites, cannot be worthily praised. We entered Naples on the East side by the Gate of Capua, where the Vice-Ròies vse to enter in pompe. And this Gate is stately built, and vpon this side, the suburbes are long and faire, and the streete of Capua within the wals, is no lesse faire, in which is the prison: and because we were attired like Frenchmen, the prisoners scoffed at vs, and to my great maruell,

the Citizens of good sort did not forbeare this barbarous vsage towards vs.

[Figure:

The description of Naples , and the Territory.

] (A) Rome farre distant.

(B) Capua.

(D) Torre di Graco, and the Mountaine Somma.

(E) The Mountaine Pausilippo.

(F) The Iland Nisita, or Nisa.

(G) The Iland Procida.

(H) S. Martino (as I thinke) an Iland.

(I) Ischia, an Iland.

(K) Caprca, or Capre, an Iland.

(L) Palmosa an Iland, and beyond it the Syrenes Iland, famous by tables.

(M) The Citie Caieta.

(N) Circello, a famous Mountaine for the Witch Circe.

(P) The Bay of Baie orPozzoli .

(R) Linternum, now called Torre della Patria,

(X) The Promontory Miseno.

(Y) The Cape of Minerua.

(Z) The old Citie Cuma.

(a) The Gate of Capua.

(b) The Kings Gate.

(c) The Church S. Clara.

(d) The Castle of S. Ermo. (eéeee) Scattered houses.

(f) The Hauen.

(g) Il. Molle.

(h) The Castle deuouo.

(k) The Vice-Royes house.

(l) The new Castle.

(m) The Lake d'Agnano, compassed with the Mountaine Astruno.

(n) Grotta del can'.

(o) Solfataria.

(p) Pozzoii.

(q) Tripergola.

(r) The Lake of Auernus.

(s) Baie.

(t) Cento Camerelle.

(v) Piscina mirabile.

(w) The Elisian fields.

From the foresaid part on the East-side of the Citie, where we entred by the (a) Gate 110 of (a) Capua, without the walls, towards the land. Eight miles fro the Citie lies (D) Tor|re di Graco, now called Torre d'ottauio, where Pliny, writer of the Naturall history, and Admirall of the Nauey of Augustus, was neere the said sower choked with vapours, while too curiously he desired to behold the burning of the Mountaine Vesunius, now called Somma. This Mountaine Somma is most high, and vpon the top is dreadfull, where is a gulfe casting out flames, and while the windes inclosed, seeke to breake out by naturall force, there haue been heard horrible noises and fearefull groanes. Therest of the Mountaine aboundeth with vines, and Oliues, and there growes the Grecke|wine, which Pliny calles Pompeies wine; and of this wine they say, this place is called Torredi Graco. The greatest burning of this Mountaine brake out in the time of the Emperour Titus, the smoke whereof made the Sunne darke, burnt vp the next territo|ries, and consumed two Cities, Pompeia, and Herculea, and the ashes thereof couered all the fields of that territory. It brake out againe in the yeere 1538 with great gaprig of the earth, and casting downe part of the Mountaine. The Pallace there, taking the name of the next Village, is called Pietra Biancha, that is white stone, which on the inside is all of marble, decked with carued worke in the very Chambers, and there is an Image of a Nymphe sleeping, and lying vpon an earthen vessell, out of which great quantity of water flowes, and falls into Marble Channels, wherein fish are kept as in pondes. This Pallace was built in the yeere 1530 by a Counseller to the Emperour Charles the fifth. At the foote of this Mountaine, of old Decius, the first of all the Roman Consuls did by vow giue himselfe for the Army.

And at the bridge of the Brooke Draco, the last King of the Gothes Teius, was slaine, hauing three Bucklers all pierced with his ene|mies arrowes. On the same East side comming backe to Naples , (yet the saide Moun|taine lyes Northward) you shall come to a stately Pallace, which the Kings of Naples haue built, and called it Poggio Reale, being not aboue a mile from Naples . There of old was seated the Citie Paleopolis, and it lies in a most sweete Plaine.

From the said Pallace the way leades right to the Kingly (b) Gate, called Porta Reale, at which onely the King enters in solemne pompe, and from this Gate right to the West, lies a most faire and large streete called Strada Toletana, the way whereof on both sides is raised with a faire and large pauement for men to walk vpon, and it hath a faire Market-place. When you come to the end of this streete, there is the Church of Saint (c) Clara, called vulgarly San' chiara, which was built by Agnes of Spaine, wife to King Robert, where are artificiall sepulchers of the said Robert (comming of the French Kings) and of his wife Agnes, and of other Kings and Princes of the French family Durczzana. And there in a Chappell the Monkes day and night sing with a lamentable voice, or rather groane for the rest of their deceased soules. In the Church of Saint Dominick is an Altar, which they say, cost some twenty fiue thousand Crownes; and in the Veste|rie lie the bodies of nine Kings in coffins of wood, couered with peuter, and hauing black veluet laied ouer them. Among these Kings are Alphonso the first, King of Aragon, and Ferdinand his sonne, and Ferdinand the second. And in this place also, the Monkes in like sort sing, or rather houle rest to their soules. They shew a Crucifix, which they say, did speake to Thomas Aquinas in this manner; Thomas, thou hast written well of me, what reward doest them aske? And that Thomas should answere; No reward Lord-but thy selfe onely. I haue heard, that Saint Bernard knowing the fraudes and impostures of the Monkes, and not dissembling them, when the Image of the blessed Virgin did in like sort praise him, did with much more pietie and wisdome answere out of S. Paul, 1. Cor. 14. Let women be silent in the Church, for it is not permitted them to speake.

Not farre thence are the publike schooles of the Vniuersity, which the Emperour Fredericke the second founded there In the most faire Church of the Monkes of Saint Oliuet, the Images of Ferdinand the first, and Alphonso the second, are so liuely engra|uen, and doe so artificially represent them, as well in the bed dying, as vpon their knees praying, with the mourning of the by-standers, (the horror of Religion being increased with lampes continually burning,) as my selfe by chance passing by this Chappell, thought I had fallen among liuing Princes, not dead Images; and perhaps I haue seene a more sumptuous monument, but a more beautifull did I neuer see. In III the little Church of the Hermitane Friers, Saint Iohn in Carbonara, is a monument of Robert King of Naples , and of Ioane the first his sister, of white marble, being an Altar, which the Italians thinke the most stately monumenr of Europe; but for my part I dare not preferre it to some in Germany, nor to many in England, nor to the monuments of the Turkish Emperours. Many tables are hung vp by vow in this Church. There is a faire sepulcher of white marble erected to N. Caraccioli Marshall of the Kingdome. I omit the most faire Church of Saint Mary of the Preachers, almost all of marble, and the Cathedrall Church called Episcopio, and the Church of Saint Laurence.

Vpon the North-west and by-north part of the City, is the Fort called (d) S. Er-

emo cut out in a high Rocke, yet the ascent thereunto is so easie, as a horse-man may well mount to the top. Vpon this mountaines top lies a plaine; in which this Castle is sea|ted, which commands the City, though it were taken by the enemy. A little beneath is the monastery of the Carthusians, and vpon pretence to enlarge that monastery, the Emperour Charles the fifth built this most strong Castle, to bridle the wonted petu|lancy and inconstancy of the Citizens; and from thence there is a most sweet prospect as well into the City, as to the bayes of the sea.

Towards the South-side is the Hauen, and beyond the (f) bay of Naples lies firme land; for the Sea comming in from the West, makes this bay. Vpon this side is a forti|fication for the safety of the hauen, which is called (g) Il Molle, and it driues off the waues of the sea, and makes the Hauen like an halfe Moone, and therein at this time were twenty gallies and ten small ships. The Armory lies vpon the Sea, from whence the gallies and ships and land forces are armed; and among other things, there is kept the rich Armour (yet without any ornament of gold) of the French King Francis the first, which he did weare when he was taken prisoner at Pauia. Thereby lies a large market place, in which is a faire fountaine, with many Images casting out water. Also there is a Tower where they set light by night to guide sea men into the Hauen. In the said market place is a stone, vpon which many play away their liberty at dice, the Kings of|ficers lending them money, which when they haue lost, and cannot repay, they are drawne into the gallies, for the Spaniards haue slaues of both sexes.

On the outside of the said Molle, or fortification vpon the hauen towards the west, and neere to the shore, lies the most strong fort called (l) Castello nuouo, seated in a plaine, and built by Charles the first of Arion, and so fortified by Alphonso the first, King of Aragon, as it is numbred among the chiefe forts of Europe. The inward gate is most faire all of marble, and it hath a little fouresquare hall, in which the Parliaments are yeerely held, and the Viceroyes weekely sit in iudgement. Neere this hall is a faire tow|er, in which the Kingly ornaments are laid vp; namely, a scepter of gold, with great diamonds vpon the top, the sword with the haft and scabbard of gold, adorned with precious stones; the Kings Crowne shining with precious stones, a golden crosse, an huge pot of gold set with precious stones, great Vnlcornes hornes, and the chiefe kinds of precious stones.

Further towards the West, (yet so neere, as the garden of the Pallace lies vpon the ditch of this Castle), is the (k) Viceroyes Palace, which hath a large and most sweet gar|den, and delicate walk, paued with diuers coloured and engrauen marbles. And in this garden are two banquetting houses, whereof one is very stately built, and hath a sweet fountaine close to the table continually powring out water. Also there is a delicate cage of birds, wrought about with thick wyer, and it is as big as an ordinary stil-house, delicately shadowed round about, wherein are many kinds of singing birds, as well of Italy as forraigne Countries.

A little further within the water, is the (h) Castle of the egge, built vpon a rock by the Normans, which Rocke is of an ouall forme, and gaue the name to the Castle, vul|garly called Castel' del' vuono, which at this day is ruinous; and some say it was the Pal|lace of Lucullus; but it is certaine that the Normans built it, as they did also another Castle which is old, and called the Capuan Castle, of the adioining Capuan-gate. Na|ples was of old called Parthenope, of one of the Syrens there buried, whom they write to haue cast her selfe into the sea,

for griefe that by no flattery shee could detaine Vlisses 112 with her. The Citizens of old Cuma built Naples , and left it should grow great to the preiudice of Cuma, they pulled it down againe till at last oppressed with a great glague, vpon the warning of an oracle, they built it againe, and changing the old name Parthe|nope, called it Naples , which in Greeke signifies a new City. It is seated at the foot of hils and mountaines, in length from the North-east to the South-west, or rather see|meth to be triangular, whereof two corners lie vpon the sea, and that towards the West is more narrow then the other, and the third blunt corner lies towards the mountaines. Vpon the East-side there be pleasant suburbs, and vpon the West-side more large suburbs; but vpon the North-side without the wals, there be onely some few (eeeee) scattered houses built vpon the sides of hils.

The houses of the City are foure roofes high, but the tops lie almost plaine, so as they walke vpon them in the coole time of the night, or at left in generall the tops are not much erected, like other parts of Italy, and the building is of free stone, and shew|eth antiquity: but the windowes are all couered with paper or linnen cloth; for glasse windowes are most rare in Italy, and as it were proper to [68] Venice. It hath three faire broad and long streetes, namely, La Toletano, la Capuana and la vicaria, the rest are very narrow. There be eight gates towards land, and as many towards sea, among which the Capuan gate, since the Emperour Charles the fifth entered thereat, is decked with monuments and statuaes. There be in this City very many Pallaces, of Gentlemen, Barons, and Princes; whereupon the City is vulgarly called Napoli Gentile: Among these, two Pallaces are most stately, one of the Duke of Greuina, which the King of Spaine forbad to be finished; the other of the Prince of Salerno. There be foure publike houses, called Seggij, in which the Princes and Gentlemen haue yeerely meetings, and there also is the daily meeting of the Merchants. Almost euery house hath his foun|taine of most wholsome waters. Neere the market place are many Innes, but poore and base; for howsoeuer the City aboundeth with houses where they giue lodging and meat, yet it deserues no praise for faire Innes of good entertainement. On all sides the eye is as it were bewitched with the sight of delicate gardens, aswell within the Ci|ty, as neere the same. The gardens without the wals are so rarely delightfull, as I should thinke the Hesperides were not to be compared with them; and they are adorned with statuaes, laberinthes, fountaines, vines, myrtle, palme, cetron, lemon, orange, and cedar trees, with lawrels, mulberies, roses, rosemary, and all kinds of fruits and flowers, so as they seeme an earthly Paradice. The fields are no lesse fruitfull, bringing forth abun|dantly all things for the vse of man. The Kings stables without the wals are worth the seeing, for the horses of this Kingdome are much esteemed; and if any man buy a horse, to carry out of the Kingdome, he payes the tenth part of the price to the King.

The City being seated vpon the sides of hils, and by lying open to the South, be|ing subiect to great heates, and most parts of the streetes being narrow, so as in wal|king the heat is not to be endured, and yet they cannot vse coaches, one fashion plea|sed me beyond measure, that at the end of many streetes they had chaires, vulgarly called Seggioli di Napoli, which those that are weary doe enter, and they being couered round about, and onely hauing windowes on the sides, he that is carried therein, can|not be seene of any, and yet himselfe may see all that passe. Two

[68] Venice

Porters carry these chaires by two long staues fastened thereunto, and lift them but little from the ground, and so for a moderate price carry the passenger to any part of the City. After I obser|ued the same fashion at Genoa , which is in like sort seated vpon the sides of hils and mountaines, and in Cities so seated, I thinke this fashion very conuenient.

The territory of Naples hath many famous antiquities, and wonderfull things to be seene, which that we might behold, we went early in the morning on foot out of the Southwest-side of the City; and hauing passed long suburbs and scattered houses we came within a Musket shot to the mountaine (E) Pausilippo, which is wonderfully plea|sant, aswell for the houses and villages built vpon it, as for the excellent fruits which it yeeldeth of all kinds. This mountaine being hard to be ascended, extendeth it selfe in good length from the sea towards the land, so as the way would be very troublesome to Pozzols, either ascending the mountaine, or compassing it, had they not found a re|medy 113 to this inconuenience. Therefore the Progenitors of these Citizens (which some attribute to Lucullus, as they doe all magnificall things, and others to one Bassus: but Leander the Cosmographer, a witnesse without exception, attributes it to Coccius a Ro|man,) I say, their Progenitors with wonderful Art and huge expence, digged a passage vnder this mountaine, and so made a plaine way to Pozzoli and those parts. This way Strabo cals a Caue, and it is vulgarly called La grotta di Napoli, and serueth this fa|mous City in stead of a gate, yet is it a musket shot distant, and alwaies lies open. And the foresaid Leander witnesseth, that it is twelue foot broad, twenty foure high, and two hundred long, to which length if you adde 500. foote more, which at both ends was digged, but lies not couered as the rest, but in open aire, this worke may well be said to be an Italian mile long. My selfe obserued, that part of the passage vnder the mountaine, to bee nine hundred and sixteene walking paces long, and nine broad, and the hight I imagined to double the bredth, yet is it in some places biger then in other. And for the bredth, it is certaine, that two coaches, or Carts may passe together, one by the other. The enterance and the going out at the other end, are like two gates, and of old light came in by many holes or windowes from the top of the mountaine; but the falling of earth did by little and little stop this light; and in the time of Seneca this passage was so darke, as he compares it to a prison, and at last the light was so stop|ped by the fall of earth, by nettles and shrubs, as there was no light at all, till Alphonso the first of Aragon, King of Naples , opened two windowes towards the two ends, which onely light it hath at this day to direct passengers. At the entrance of either end, the opposite gate seemes no bigger then a full Moone, and a man entering there, would seeme a little child. It hath no light in the middest, but like twilight, or the Oui|dian light which is in thicke woods, and in the twilight of morning and euening pas|sengers vse torches, and continually the carters or horsmen when they passe by the midst of the caue, vse to giue warning one to the other, crying vulgarly Alla marina (that is towards the sea) or Alla Montagna (that is towards the mountaine) according to the side on which they come. Before we entered this caue, among other stately Pallaces, one vulgarly called, Merguilino, built by Iames Sanazzarro, a famous Poet almost of our age, and giuen by his last will to a religious house, contains the sepulcher of a lear|ned man, vpon which Bembus is said to haue written these verses,

Da sacro cineriflores, hic ille Maroni Sincerus, Musaproximus, vt tumulo. These relikes decke with flowers, Sincer

us here In tombe as muse to Maro comes most neere.

Vpon the mountaine of Pausilippo, is the sepulcher of Virgil, shewed in two places, whom Seruius writes to haue beene buried in this way neere Naples ; and that these verses were written vpon his sepulcher;

Mantua me genuit, Calabrirapuere, tenet nunc Parthenope, cecinipascua, rura, Duces. Mantua n borne, Calaber dead, me holds Parthenope, who sung ploughs, Dukes, sheepefolds. Or thus; Mantua gaue me life, Calabry death, my graue Parthenope, who sung pastures, Ploughs, Captaines braue. Or thus; Mantua life did lend to me, Calabers laid me on deaths carre; My bones lie at Parthenope, Who sung sheepe, tillage, feates of warre.

And the best iudgements hold, that he was buried in the Church of the Friars regular canons, at the entrance of the caue, as you go fro Naples , and not in the Church at the go|ing out of the Caue; and though both places shew the sepulcher, yet these verses are in neither place, but the inscriptions are worne out with age: the Monks report, that there was a statua of brasse vpon his sepulcher, which those of Mantua stole fro thence, and in|deede, 114 at Mantua they shew such a statua, whether stolne from hence or no, let them dis|pute.

When we had passed this Caue, wee bent our way from the Sea towards the land, and came to the Mountaine (m) Astrune, being of forme like a Theater, compassing a large Plaine. Alphonso the first, King of Aragon and Naples , and his sonne Ferdinand, vsed to inuite the Princes, Nobles, and People of the Kingdome, to hunting in this place, turning the dogs and beasts they hunted, into the valley, himselfe and the noble men sitting in a pleasant Groue vpon the top of the Mountaine, and the people being scattered round about the Mountaine, to behold the sport. In the same plaine com|passed with this Mountaine, is the Lake of (m) Agnano which is said to be without bot|tome, and to haue nothing in it but frogs. And at the foote of the inside of the Moun|taine next to Naples , there is a venimous Caue, vulgarly called (n) la grotta del'can', that is the Caue of the dogge; because they trie the poison by putting dogs into it This Caue is some eight foote high, and sixe broad, and goeth some foure paces vnder the Mountaine, where a signe is set, beyond which, if any liuing thing passe, it presently dies. Pliny writes, that this caue was called Cherone a scrobae, euaporating a pestilent aire. We gaue two poli to a woman (dwelling there) for a dog, to trie the poyson with it, which dog wee fastened to a long staffe, and so thrust him into the caue, holding him there, till he seemed dead, and being taken our, would not moue for any blowes wee gaue it; then according to the fashion, wee cast the dog into the aforesaid Lake, and when he was drawne out, he began by little and little to moue, and at last, being come to his senses, ranne away, as if he had been madde. The common sort attribute this to the blessing giuen to the water by the Saint of which it is named but nothing is more cleere, then that the sprinkling of any water will reuiue the spirits choked with any ill vapour. Besides, many haue tried, that liuing things cast into that caue, and held there for longer time then is vsuall, could neuer be fetched againe to life by this or any other water. They report, that a French Gentleman of Tournan trying to fetch a stone out of this caue beyond the aforesaid signe, paied for his curiosity by vnrecouerable death. And that the French King Charles the eight, commanding an Asse to be thrust into this caue, the beast could neuer be fetched to life againe. And that don Iohn, base sonne of the Emperour Charles the fifth, forced a Gallyslaue to goe into this caue, and he falling

dead, forced another slaue to fetch him out, who likewise fell dead, and that hee killed the third slaue with his owne hand, because hee refused to fetch out his two dead fel|lowes. Many cast frogs into this caue, and except they presently leape back, this vapour kills them, which is said to rise out of Mines of Brimstone and other mettals. Into the foresaid Lake they cast flax, which will be sleeped in that water in 14 houres, though it lies vsually two weekes in other waters. And this water, though cold to touch, yet seemes to boile. The Earthquakes and flames breaking out of these Mountaines, by the vapours inclosed, gaue the Poets occasion to faine, that Giants were buried vnder them. Not farre hence are the wholesome baths, vulgarly called I bagni d'Agnano, which kind of baths are very frequent in this part. Heere lie the ruines of a great Vil|lage of Lucullus, and Writers affirme, that hee brought the Sea water into the foresaid Lake, cutting the passage through Mountaines. Here also are the ruines of the Village of Cicero, which retaine the old name, and the Emperour Adrian dying at Bait, was bu|ried here, and his successor Anthony here built a Temple to him.

Vpon the top of a Mountaine neere this place, is a round field like a Market-place, vulgarly called (o) Solfataria, which Strabo cals Forum vulcani: and Pliny writes, that of old this place was called Campi Flecrci. It is of an Ouall forme, somewhat more long then broad, hauing 1500 foote in length, and 1000 in breadth, being compassed on all sides with Mountaines, except the enterance, lying towardsPozzoli . All the earth is hollow, and being beaten with a mans foote, soundeth like an emptie vessell; and not only the earth by the Brimstone is made yellow, but it made our bootes and shooes of the same colour, with walking vpon it, yea, when I cast a piece of siluer vpon the ground, it was presently made yellow and with no rubbing could be made white againe. In this O|uall Market place (as I may call it) there is a short and narrow ditch of water, which is 115 almost round, and the water thereof boyles, as if fire were vnder it. They say if any thing be cast into it, that it will be sodden in short space; but some part of it will be con|sumed: and Leander reports, that one cast foure egges into it, and presently tooke three fully sodden, but the fourth was consumed. Also he witnesseth, that this little ditch is not alwaies in one place, but in time workes it selfe from one place to another in this circuite, and yet is neuer greater, and that the old ditch is filled presently with new mat|ter. An horseman cannot well come to this place, and as the same Leander writes, an horse man comming boldly thither, was swallowed vp into the hollow earth. And that the strange heate of this water may appeare, one of the Viceroyes Guard, a Duch|man, and comming hither, according to their fashion, to guide his Countrey men my consorts, told vs, that one of his fellowes not long before, comming in like sort as hee did, to guide his Countrimen hither, either being carelesse, or rather (as it is most pro|bable) hauing drunke too much, and not guiding his feete well, by chance stumbled into this ditch, and when one of his friends tooke him by the hand to pull him out, that he pulled of all the skinne from his hand, and that after better aduice, they pulled him out with a cloake flung about him, but that within few daies he died, neither could the Phisitians giue him any remedy or promise any hope of his life. At the foote of the Mountaine there is a hole, where the vapours with their owne motion, continually cast vp little stones and stinking smelles; but if any man moue these vapours by a staffe, or any thing put into the hole, the more they are stirred, the greater stones they cast vp,

yea flames of fire sometimes. There bee some cottages neere this place, where they make Brimstone, and all these parts smell of brimstone, and if the winde blow from hence towards Naples , the stinke thereof may bee smelled thither. On all sides here be Baths of wholesome waters, which of old were famous.

After we had passed huge ruines of old buildings, we came at the foot of a moun|taine to the City (p)Pozzoli , of old famous, and called Puteolis, to which all these ruines are said to haue belonged of old, and it had the name of the Latin word Puteus, as also it hath the present name from the Italian tong, of the wels, which are frequent. I say it hath the present name of the Italian word Pozzo, signifying a well, though some will haue it named presently of Puzzo, which signifies a stink, because of the smell of brim|stone in these parts: but the city being most ancient, cannot haue the old name of an Ita|lian word: and it is certaine, that the Roman Princes of old vsed this part for the place of their recreation; for the great sweetnes of the Country, and the plenty of medicinall waters, whereupon they gaue it the first name. Others say that it was of old called Di|ciarchiam, but at this day it is calledPozzoli , or Puzzoli. Here we dined, and were for|ced to giue our swords to the Host, there being a great penalty set vpon any that carry their Armes. The City hath nothing worth the seeing, but the old Church, first built to Heathen Idols, and after by Christians dedicated to Saint Proculus, and it hath the names of the workemen that built it grauen vpon it, and there be shewed the bones of a Giant of wonderfull bignes. The Hauen of this City was of old very commodious, but by negligence is growne of no vse.

Here the sea entring betweene two Mountaines, was of old called the Creeke of (P) Baie, of that Citie seated on the opposite shore, or the Creeke ofPozzoli , of this Ci|tie. Suetonius writes that the Emperour Tiberius consulting about his successor, and inclining more to his true Nephew, Thrasyllus the Mathematitian should answere, that Catus should no more raigne, then he should ride ouer the Creeke of Baie. Wherefore Caius being Emperour, and hearing of this diuination (not as others say, in emulation of Xer|xes, who made a Bridge ouer Hellespont, nor to the end that with the fame of this great worke, he might terrifie the rebellious Germans and Britans) did build a Bridge ouer this creeke of the sea, being about three miles long, that hee might thereupon passe from Baie toPozzoli . Of this Bridge thirteene piles of bricke may bee seene neere the shore atPozzoli , and as many on the other side neere the shore of Baie, and some of these piles haue yet arches vpon them, but ready to fall. And from these piles the In|ner part of the bridge was founded vpon two rankes of shippes fastened with ancors, and couered ouer with a bancke of earth, to make the passage like the way of Appius. 116 The rest Suetonius addeth in these or the like words. Ouer this bridge he went to and fro for two daies; the first day vpon a trapped horse, hauing his head adorned with a Crowne of Oake leaues, and bearing an Hatchet, a Sword, and a Garland, and a robe of cloth of Gold. The next day in a Coch-mans habit, driuing a Coch drawne by foure famous horses, carrying before him Darius a childe, one of the pledges giuen by the Parthians, his Pretorian Souldiers accompanying him, and his friends following him in a coach, etc. He that desires to comprehe d the magnificence of this work, must first know, that the Mediterranean sea is very calme, hauing little or no ebbing or flow|ing, and that this Creeke is yet more calme, and that this bridge was built in the furthest part of the Creeke, very neere the land. These

things considered, (if my iudgement faile not), there is greater cause of wonder at the Bridge built by the Duke of Parma besieging Antwerp, being in like sort built vpon barkes fastened one to the other, and also at the Bridge of London, bearing a great ebbing and flowing of the sea, and built of free stone, vpon so firme a foundation, as it beareth many great and faire houses vpon it: but whatsoeuer the magnificence were, surely the vanitie of this worke was great, to spend so much vpon this Bridge, the way by land being not a mile longer then by the Bridge. Giue me leaue to digresse so farre, as to remember, that the Territorie of Fa|lernum is not farre from Pozzols, the wine whereof called Falernum, is so much praised by Horace. After dinner we went from Pozzoii, to view the Antiquities lying vpon this Creeke; and first we came to the Labyrinth, a building vnder ground, which hath the name of the multitude of roomes, with such passages to and fro; as a man may loose himselfe in them; and here wee had not onely neede of the thread of Ariadne, but of light also to conduct vs. Leander thinks, that all this building was to keepe fresh water: Then we came to the Amphitheater, being of an Ouall forme, the inner part whereof is 172 foot long, and 88 broad, the building whereof is little ruined: And Suetonius writes, that this was built for the Plaies of Vulcan. Not farre thence, neere the shoare, is a foun|taine of cleare and sweete water, flowing plentifully out of the sea, so that for a great distance we might with our eies distinguish the same from the sea water, which Leander thinks to haue been brought by pipes vnder the earth, to these houses of the old Ro|mans. Neere this place are the ruines of many buildings, now called Belgeimano, which the Emperour Tiberius is said to haue built, when hereturned with triumph from the German warre. Betweene the rocks that compasse this sea, is the way Attellane, which leades those that passe to Rome , to the way of Appins, and there be many baths, for most of the waters are medicinall.

Neere the Lake of Auernus vpo the side towardsPozzoli , lies a Mountaine, (q) which lately broke out of the earth, where of old were the bathes of Tripergola, whence the dwellings in this part, and this place, are called Tripergola, and here of old were many large and stately buildings, but by reason of many Earthquakes, and roberies of Pirats, the houses were long since forsaken, and at last in the yeere 1538 were swallowed vp by the earth. For in that yeere vpon Michaelmas day was a terrible Earthquake in this place, which brake out with fire in great flames, casting vp stones, with a great tempest of winde, and darkenesse of the aire, so as the people thought the worlds end was come. And at this time the ashes of this fire were carried by the winde to places twentie miles distant. At last after seuen daies, this confusion ceased, and then the aforesaid Moun|taine breaking out of the bowels of the earth was first seene, being three miles high, and at the bottom foure miles compasse. Vpon the toppe of this Mountaine is a hole some fistie paces broad, which towards the bottom growes more and more narrow, where it seemeth round, and of little compasse, hauing a cleare water, yet giuing a stink of brim|stone, and this hole is like a Theater made by art. In the foresaid feare-full Earthquake, caused by the breaking out of the vapours inclosed vnder the hollow earth, many fa|mous bathes were lost, and no more seene. Not farre hence is the Mountaine of Christ, so called, because they say, that Christ with the squadrons of the Fathers, passed this way when hee ascended from Hell. But the French Gentleman Villamont worthily iudgeth this to be fabulous, and likewise the miracle of the Crucifex here, bearing the markes of

Christ, yet doth he giue too much credit to the miracles of Loreto.

117 Vpon the shore of the creek of (r) Baie, lies the Lake (as Virgil saith) of the foule stink|ing Auernus. This Lake is a naturall Hauen, but is not vsed, because the Hauen of Lu|crinus is betweene it and the sea. It is compassed with high hils on all sides, but onely where the Sea enters on the South-side at a passage fifty paces broad, and the forme of it is round, and the hils that compasse it now seeme pleasant, but of old were all coue|red with a thicke wood, which shutting vp the aire, and by the shadow drawing many birds to it, was thought to be the cause that these birds stifled with the smell of brim|stone, fell suddenly dead, till the Emperour Augustus caused the wood to be destroied. And of the birds thus killed, the Lake was called Auernus. For this smell of brimstone, and the shadow of the foresaid wood, darkening the Lake, and the blacke colour of the water, and because the sunne is shut out from the Lake by the hils, this Lake was feined by the Poets to be one of the Lakes of hell. Leander writes of a fountaine here, the water whereof no man would drinke, because they thought it came from hell, de|riued by the heat of Phlegiton, whereupon an Oracle was built here, as in a place con|secrated to Pluto, and the Cymerians liuing here in a Caue, entered this place when they had sacrificed to the Gods for the soules of the dead. Leander also saith, that they vsed to sacrifice men in this place, and nameth Elpenor sacrificed by Vlisses (for he vn|derstands Homer to meane this place,) and also Misenus sacrificed by AEneas, though Virgil write that he died here. Some will haue this Lake to be the famous Fen of Ache|ron, of which Virgil writes;

Tenebrosa palus Acheronte refuso. The darke Fen of Acheron powred out.

This also Sernius affirmes, and shewes that this Lake comes from the infernal Riuer Acheron, so called as without ioy. But Leander shewes that Acheron faigned by the Po|ets to be a riuer of hell, is a riuer of Calabria, and that there is another riuer of that name in Greece. They say that the water of this Lake Auernus seemes blacke, because it hath no bottome: but Leander affirmes that some by a long rope found the bottome to be three hundred and sixty fathome deepe. The hils that compasse Auernus are very steepe, with a head long fall, whereupon Virgil saith;

Facilis discensus Auerni. The discent of Auernus is easie.

Vnder the hill towards the West side, is a Caue, which they call the caue of Sybilla of Cuma; and among many roomes there is one, in which shee is said to haue attended her deuotion, but Leander thinkes this place to haue been a sweating Bath. Of this caue Virgil thus writes:

Horren daeque procul Secreta Sybillae: Antrum immane petit. and inferius: Extisum Euboicae latus ingens rupis in Antrum, etc. Vnde runnt totidem voces, responsa Sibillae. Of dreadfull Sibill the farre distant rites To the vast caue he goes. And after An huge den cut out in the Euboyan rockes vast side, etc. Whence rush so many voyces, Sybill answering.

From these hilles to the neighbour Citie Baie, they say the earth is all hollow with caues vnder it, and that the Cimerians of old dwelled vnder an hill towards the sea|shore. And Leander thinkes that caue to haue belonged to them; and surely whether it belonged to them, or any old Prophets, or to the Prophetesse Sibilla, or whose worke soeuer it was, the wonderfull Art and huge expence therein do plainely appeare. These Cimerians of old did leade strangers vnder the earth to the Oracle, and were diggers in mines, and reputed to haue the spirit of diuination; whereupon the King gaue them pensions for reueal-ing secrets vnto him. These men neuer saw

the Sunne, but came abroad onely in the night; whence is the prouerb of Cimerian darkenesse, and the ficti|on of the Poets, that they did leade strangers to the Court of Pluto They write, that these hauing deceiued the King by false diuination, were by him destroyed. Vpon the Hilles of Auernus, they shew the ruined Temple of Mercurie, and another Temple of 118 Apollo, little broken downe. Nero began a ditch to be made from the Lake Auernus to Ostia, to auoide the trouble of going by sea. From the said Lake there was a sluce of old into the Lake Lucrinus, by which when there was any floud of the sea, the water passed out of Lucrinus into Auernus Lake: but this is now stopped since the foresaid Earth|quake of Tripergula. The Lake Lucrinus is so called in Latin, of the gaine made by fishes sold. Suetonius writes, that Iulius Caesar let in the Sea to this Lake as also into the other. For the Senate of Rome making great gaine of the fish sold here, (till the Sea did once breake in with such force, as the fish went out of these Lakes at the ebbing of the Sea) did thereupon commaund Caesar to giue remedie thereunto, which he did, raising bankes against the Sea, at which time he made a passage for the fish out of one Lake in|to another. Wee gaue a Clowne three poli for leading vs through the Caue of Sybilla.

Vpon the Sea shore lies the bath, commonly called of Cicero, which the Phisitians call the bath of Tritoli, of a Latin word for rubbing, the letter F being changed into T, and this Bath lieth neere the ruines of the Village of Cicero, called his Academy. I know not whether this Village (or rather Pallace) had the name of Academy or no; for I finde in my notes a Village of Cicero in the way from Naples toPozzoli , and likewise the mention of this bath of Cicero, and his Academy, neere the Lake of Auernus. And Leander mentions a village of his, in both places: but Villamont speakes of a Village neerePozzoli , and of a Pallace in this place called Accademy; and these differ not much from my notes: but others confound the Village and the Bath, putting both together, so as writing of these intricate caues vnder the earth, my selfeam fallen into a Labe|rinth, wherein I had much rather die, then goe backe to Naples for searching the truth. We entered this Bath Tritoli, and gaue a Clowne one Poalo for conducting vs. The passage to enter was straite, and extendeth farre vnder the Mountaine, and there is a marke set, which they say no man euer passed. We did sweate extreamely, yet I desi|red to come to that marke, till at last feeling my spirits begin to faile me, I was glad to returne, and to creepe vpon the earth, where the aire was more cold then aboue. They say that this bath is very healthfull, and much frequented in the spring time, and that Nero had of old a Pallace built ouer it.

Neere this lie the ruines of Baulos or Boaulia, named of the oxen stolen, by Gerion, for here was the Temple of Hercules, and Seruius, expounding Virgil, saith that Eneas did here speake with Hercules. Leander writes that Hortensius did here make cesternes, wherein hee kept his so much prised Lampreyes. Tacitus and Suetonius in the life of Nero, make mention of this place. For Agripina mother of Nero, passing by water from the Village of Piso to this Baulos, was of purpose and by the commaund of Nero put in|to a rotten boate, that she might be drowned, which boate splitting in the middest of the passage, Agripina perceiued the intent, and silently (the neight being darke) slipped into another boate, and so for that time escaped: but her waiting-maide being in great danger, and crying out that shee was Mother to Nero, found death by that name, by which she hoped to saue her life, being presently struck into the water by one of the conspiratours. At last when wicked

Nero resolued to kill his Mother he inuited her to a feast, entertaining her louingly on the Sea shore, and when she returned, out of shew of duty attending her to this Baulos, lying betweene the Misene Promontory and the Lake of Raie; but at the same time he commaunded that she should be killed, and here vnder the earth we did see her sepulcher in a caue, curiously carued, and one of the si|nest old monuments I did euer see.

Hence we passed to (s) Baie, an ancient Citie, and for the sweetenesse preferred to Rome by Horace:

Nullus in vrbe locus Baijs praelucet am aenit. No place of Rome sweete Baie doth excell.

The situation of this Citie is most sweete: but all the houses neere the shoare are drowned, except the Baths, and the houses vpon the mountaine are all ruined, neither doe any dwel here, but some few poore and miserable people (such as the husbandmen of Italy are commonly) yet these ruines shew the pride and magnificence of that old 119 time. This Citie is said to haue the name of a friend of Vlisses there buried. Here bee the foresaid ruines of Caligula his Bridge, which I said doe lie on this side the Creeke. Here we did see the stately ruines of two Senators houses, where the excellent pictures did yet remaine vpon the highest roofe. They shewed vs a tree (as they said) turned in|to a stone and the ruines of the Temples of Diana and Venus.

From hence we walked towards the Mountaine Misenus, and neere the dead sea; first, wee came to (t) a hill, made hollow by the building vnder it, which is vulgarly called of the number of the roomes Cento camerelle, that is, One hundred little cham|bers. Leander saith, that it was a Cesterne to keepe fresh-water, whereof the Romans had great store in these parts, whether they came certaine seasons of the yeere to recre|ate themselues; and all this Territorie on both sides neere this Creeke or Bay of the Sea, are so full of ruined Palaces, Temples, and Sepulchers, as a man would say they were not seuerall Villages, but one great Citie. This said building is large, and foure square, and sustained by foure rankes of foure square pillars, into which wee were let down at a hole in the earth. Round about the entrance there were many Celles, almost foure square, and of an vnequall bignesse, parted with enteries winding about, and be|cause the building is intricate, some thinke it was a Laberinth.

(v) The ruines of a stately building are opposite to this, into which wee descended by fortie staires; it hath no windowes, but all the light comes in at crannies, and it hath foure rankes of fouresquare pillars to beare vp the arched roofe. Euery ranke hath twelue pillars, and in all they be fortie eight, and each one is twelue foote distant from the other, and twelue foote high; to which if you ad the high roofe of the building, the roome is twenty fiue foot high, which I beheld not without being amazed at the mag|nisicence of the Romans in these buildings. This house is little broken downe, and the plaister of the wall is so hard, as I could not pierce it with my dagger, and it is vul|garly called la piscina mirabile. It is certaine, that the Romans of old bestowed great charge in building places for the keeping of fish, and some thinke this was built to that purpose by Antonia, the wife of Drusus; others say by Hortensius: but Leander saith, that it was built to keepe fresh water, and he (with other Writers) doth iudge it a stately monume t of the Pallace of Lucullus built neere Baie, which he proueth out of Plutarch, who mentions one Pallace of Lucullus in his foresaid village for his Summer dwelling, and another here neere Baie for his Winter abode. And Tacitus saith,

that the Empe|rour Tiberius foreseeing his death, and often changing places, at last came to this place, and here died. It were an infinite worke if I should seuerally describe the Pallaces of Marius, Caesar, and Lucullus.

I will not omit, that our Guides (I know not how credibly) shewed vs certaine round (w) fields, compassed round with Mountaines, and at this time plowed, which they said were the Elisian fields.

We are now come to the (x) Misene Promontary, which hath the name of Misenus, friend to Eneas, buried here, or rather by him sacrificed to the gods at the Lake Auernus as is aforesaid. Vpon the top of this Mountaine was a Tower, of old called Faro, vp|on which a light was hung for a sea-marke. Vnder the Mountaine (especially where it growes narrow, and vpon three sides is washed by the Sea) there be so many houses vnder the earth, as the pillers thereof seeme onely to beare vp the Mountaine, and a|mong them there is one called Grotta Traconara, of the winding passages therein, which by the ruines now remaining, seemes to haue been a magnificent worke, and this Lean|der thinkes to haue been built to keepe fresh water.

Right opposite to this mountaine, is the (Y) Cape of Minerua and neere that lies the Iland (K) Caprea, or Capre, easie to be seene by the white and high cliffes, and famous by the cruelty, and more then goatish lusts of the Emperour Tiberius, when he with-drew himselfe out of the sight of the Senate and people of Rome , to liue there in solitude. This Iland hath no Hauen, neither can little boates land there; whereupon being safe from Pirates, it was held a place of pleasure in the time of Augustus. The creeke of the sea, comming in betweene these two foresaid Promontories, was of old called Sinus Cratera. Vpon the side of the mountaine Misene, lying towards Cuma, is a lake of salt 120 water, called the dead sea, into which, water fals our of the creeke of rozzols, and it was of old more large. For Suetonius writes that Augustus kept one Nauy in this Lake, and another at Rauenna, to guard the vpper and lower sea. And Tacitus writes that his suc|cessour Tiberius kept two Nauies in those places. At this day the Lake is parted from the Sea, with a banke some fifty paces broad, and it is almost round in forme, and some two miles broad; and Plutarke writes that Lucullus made this Lake to keepe fishes therein.

From this mountaine Misene, we walked vpon the Sea shore fiue very short miles, and came to the ruines of the old City (Z) Cuma, built by the Calcedons of the Greek Iland Euboia, and the oldest City in all Italy, and it is said to haue had the name of a good presage from the Captaines of the Nauy, or a woman great with child of that name. It was seated of old vpon a hill neere the sea shore, and yet on the side towards the land, the wals are standing, but the daughter hath deuoured the mother: for the increase of Naples , was the decrease of Cuma, yet the ruines still remaine, and vpon the top of the hill was the Temple of Apollo, of which Virgil writes;

At pius AEneas arces, quihus altus Apollo, etc. But good AEneas, high Apollees Towers, etc.

And there is yet an ancient Temple partly ruined. A triumphall Arch is yet vnbro|ken, but some say the foresaid Temple was consecrated to Hercules. Of old Aristoda|mus did lead the forces of Cuma, and after his victory they made him their Prince: and Liuy writes that Tarqutnius the proud, being banished came to him, and there died. Hi|storians write that Drusus made a Ditch from this shore towards Capua. In the hill or mountaine of Cuma, there is a labyrinth vnder the earth, and from this hill we did see diuers Ilands neere the Land. The Poets fable that in one

of them called (F) Nisa, the Witch Calipso dwelt. That in the second called (G) Procida, the Gyant Typheus was bu|ried, because of the flames that sometimes breake out of the earth. The third is called the (H) Iland of Saint Martine. The fourth is called (I) Ischia, wherein the Kings of Naples haue a strong Castle, to which the King fled for a time, when the French King Charles the eight tooke Naples .

We walked along this shore of the sea, to the Tower called (R) della Patria, being sixteene miles from Naples , eight miles from Baie, and fiue miles from Cuma. It is sea|ted in a pleasant place, and vpon the West-side hath a Lake called by the name of the Tower, and the Riuer Vulturnus running into the sea. On the South-side the sea is neere, and vpon the East and North sides, it hath pleasant fields and hils. At this day there is no building standing but the said Tower, and a poore miserable Inne to lodge passengers. But among the shrubs there be many ruines of houses, and of a bridge, and this place was of old called Linternum, whether Scipio the African retired into vo|luntary banishment, to flie the enuy of the vngratefull Romans, and there he built him a stately Pallace, and a sepulcher in which he would be buried; saying that the vngrate|full Romans should not haue so much as his bones. Liuy in his twenty two Booke cals Linternum a sandy soyle, beyond Vulturnus from Rome : but Leander thinkes that hee spake this of the territory, not of the place it selfe; and that the rather, because in his twenty three Booke, he writes; that Sempronius the Consull, did lead the forces to Lin|tcrnum beyond Vulturnus, and there doth agree in the situation thereof with all writers; and the sharpe fountaine like vineger, whereof Pliny writes, is found a|mong these ruines, which water he saith makes them drunken that drinke thereof, though others write that they haue taken it moderately without any such effect. Pliny also writes, that this water moderately taken, hath the vertue to cure the head-ach. While Scrpio liued here in solitude, Liuy and Plutarke write, that certaine bold and va|liant Pirats, vpon the fame of his vertue, came to see the face, and heare the words of so great a Captaine. Liuy in his thirty eight Booke, writes that he did see two sepulchers of Scipio, this at Linternum, and the other at Rome , neere the gate Capena, both decked with carued Images; and that these verses were written vpon his Tombe at Linternum;

Deuicto Annibale, capta Carthagine, and aucto Imperio, hoc cineres marmore tectus habes. 121 Cui non Europa, non obstitit Africa quondam, Respice res hominum, quam breuis vrna premat. Hannibal foild, Carthage sack'd, and th'Empire Inlarg'd, thine ashes in this marble lie, Whom Europe or Afrique, nere made retire How short a chest holds? see mans vanity.

Leander thinkes that Scipio was buried in this place, aswell because Liuy writes it; as for the words of Scipio related by Valerius Maximus, that his vngratefull Countrey should not haue so much as his bones. And he thinks that the monument at Rome was either built by Scipio in the time of his prosperity, or by his friends long after, in me|mory of so worthy a kinse man. As we walked from Cuma to Linternum, we did see no memorable thing, but tooke this iourney onely out of desire to see the monument of this famous man, neither did we know the danger from banished men in this place, who often resort to this poore Inne; yet for that cause this way from Naples to Rome , more commodious then the other, and therefore hauing post-masters appointed there for publike affaires, had long beene forsaken by passengers. This way to Rome is thus distinguished into miles. From Naples to la Patria sixteene miles, to la Rocca foure|teene,

to la Fratta eighteene, to Ponte Curto, ten, to Capetano eight, to Frusalone eighteen, to Piedauani three, to val'di Montone twenty two, to la Ficha foureteene, to Rome eight. There is no house at Linternum but the foresaid base Inne, and there we lodged, and found not our supper answerable to the fruitfulnesse of Campania, neither had we any beds, and could hardly get cleane straw, which inconueniences were accompanied with the feare to be surprised by the banished men, so as we slept not one winke that night. Here we did see two Towers, one compassed with water, and neere the Tower della Patria, we did see the ruines of a stately Pallace, which they said was the Pallace of Scipio, and that he was buried there. Also we did see a pillar, vpon which were the Armes engrauen of the Kings of Spaine and Naples , and we did see the ruines of a bridge, which shewed the old magnificence thereof. But there was nothing to be seene, that might counteruaile the danger we had runne. Our iourney the day before from Naples to Baie was very pleasant, through most fruitfull hils of corne and vincs. But from Cuma to this Tower, the way vpon the sea shore was wild and barren, yet not farre distant within land we might fee most pleasant and fruitfull hils.

When we had passed a night without sleepe at Linternum, we returned early in the morning to Naples , by the same way we came, but with a more right linc. And there I made no stay, because England then had warres with Spaine, but tooke the next oppor|tunity to returne to Rome with the Carrier, after the same fashion I came hither; and I paied to my Vetturine fifty two poli for my horse and horse-meat, and my owne diet from Naples to Rome , and beyond my couenant (to gratifie him) I was content to pay for my diet the first and last meale, which I promised of my owne free will, yet should haue beene forced thereunto, for otherwise he would haue carried me fasting to Rome , and haue giuen me slender diet at Capua, being a plentifull place; and I obserued the other passengers to doè the like in these places, where they were out of danger.

I passe ouer the iournies, (which I haue discribed before, and wil only say in a word, that we returned to Rome , where that I might stay with more security, to see the anti|quities [Note: Rome .] thereof, it hapned very fitly, that the Cardinall Allan an Englishman, hauing vsed to persecute the English comming thither, and therefore being ill spoken of by them, had changed his mind, since the English had ouerthrowne the Spanish Nauy, in the yeere 1588. and there was now small hope of reducing England to papistry, and therefore to gaine his Country-mens loue did not onely mislike that they should be intrapped at Rome , but did himselfe protect them, though suspected for religion, so they would seeke his fauour: whereof I being aduertised by the experience of others, when I had in silence, and through many dangers seene Naples subiect to the King of Spaine, and was now returned to Rome , I presently went to the said Cardinall, and after the fashion, hauing kissed the hemme of his vesture, I humbly desired, that according to this his curtesie, for which hee was much honoured in England, 122 hee would receiue mee into his protection, till I might view the antiquities of Rome . He being of a goodly stature and countenance with a graue looke and pleasant speech bad me rest secure, so I could commaund my tongue, and should abstaine from oftence. Onely for his duties sake, hee said, that he must aduise me, and for the loue of his Countrey intreate me, that I would be willing to heare those instructions for reli|gion here, which I could not heare in England. I submitted my selfe to these conditi|ons, and when (af-

ter due reuerence made) I would haue gone away, the English Gen|tlemen and Priests there present, ouertooke me in the next roome. Among these was an Englishman, a Priest of Calabria, who in my iourney from Naples hither, had been my consort by the way, at the table, and euen in bed, whom I had often heard talk|ing with the Italians of English affaires, but more modestly and honestly then any man would expect of a Priest. He taking my selfe and one Master Warmington an English Gentleman by the hands, with an aftonished looke, did congratulate with me, that I, who had bin his companion at bed and boord, and whom he had taken rather for any countriman, was now become an English man. All the rest commended my iudge|ment, in comming to the Cardinall, and inquiring after my lodging, promised to be my guides in Rome , and for Countries sake, to doe me a good offices, and so after mutuall salutations, I went from them. I well knew, that such guides would be very trouble|some to me, for they (according to the manner) disputing of Religion, I must either seeme to consent by silence, or maintaine arguments ful of danger in that place, besides that to gratifie them for their courtesie, I must needes haue runne into extraordinary expences. Therefore hauing told them my lodging, I presently changed it, and tooke a chamber in a vitling house, in the Market-place, close vnder the Popes Pallace, where I thought they, or any else would least seeke mee, and so being free from that burthen, and yet secure in the Cardinals promised protection, I began boldly, (yet with as much hast as I possibly could make) to view the Antiquities of Rome .

[Figure:

The description of Rome , drawne rudely, but so as may serue the Reader to vn|derstand the situation of the Monuments.

] I. Il Borgo. II. Trasteuere. III. l'Isola. IIII. The Gate del popolo. V. The 123 gate Pinciana. VI. The gate Salara. VII. The gate Pia. VIII. The gate di San' Lorenzo. IX. g. Maggiore. X. g. di S. Gionanni. XI. g. Latina. XII. g. di S. Sebastiano. XIII. g. di S. Paolo. XIV. g. di. Ripa. XV g. di. S. Pancratio. XVI. g. Settimiana. XVII. g. di S. Spirito. XVIII. g. Fornac: XIX. g. la portusa. XX. g. di Belucdere. XXI. g. di S. Angelo. XXII. Monte Capitalino. XXIII. M. Palatino. XXIIII. M. Auentino. XXV. M. Coelio. XXVI. M. Esquilino. XXVII. M. Viminale XXVIII. M. Qui|rinale. XXIX. M. Vaticano XXX. M. Ianiculo XXXI. M. Pincio XXXII. M. Citorio. XXXIII. M. Iordano. XXXIIII. M. Testaceo. XXXV. The bridge di S. Angelo. XXXVI. b. Vaticano XXXVII. b. Sisto. XXXVIII. b. di quatro Capi. XXXIX. b. di S. Maria. XL. b. di S. Bartolomco. XLI. b. Sublicio. A. The Church of S. Giouanni Lateran'. B. C. of S. Pietro. C. C. of S. Maria Maggiore. D. C. of S. Croce in Hie|rosolyma. Q. The Pallace of the Pope. 3. Beluedere. 4. Castel' di S. Angelo. 5. l'obelisco di Ginlio Cesare. 6. The sepulcher di Cestio. 7. Circus Maximus. 8. The Church of S. Stefano rotondo. 9. Trofei di Mario. 10. lacolonna di Traiano. 11. la colonna d' Antonio. 12. The Church of S. Maria srpra la Minerua. 13. C. di S. Maria rotonda. 14. The Market-place Nanona. 15. C. di S. Maria della consolatione. 16. The Market place di Fiori. 17. C. de la Tri|nita. 18. C. di S. Rocco. 19. The Bath of Dioclesian. 20. le sette sale. 21. The Arch of Constan|tine. 22. The Arch of Vespasian. 23. The Arch of Septimius Seuerus. 24. The Theater of Marcellus. 25. The Pallace of the Cardinall di Farnese.

Rome being situated on the East side of Tiber, may further bee distinguished into three parts seated on the West side of Tiber, whereof the first is called (I)

Il Borgo, and it containeth the Popes Pallace, compassed with high walles by Pope Nicholas the fifth, and the Garden thereof, which of the faire prospect is called Beluedere, and the Libra|rie, and the Church of Saint Peter In vaticano, and the field or Market-place lying be|fore the Church, and the strong Castle Saint Angelo, all which were compassed with walles by Pope Leo the fourth, and for a time this part was of him called Leonina, but now it is called Il Borgo. The second part is called (II) Trasteuere that is beyond the Tiber, and was called of old I anicolo, of the Mountaine included therein; and also was called the Citie of the men of Rauenna, of the Souldiers which Augustus kept at Raucn|na against Anthony, and after placed them here. And because the aire is vnwholesome, as the winde is that blowes heere from the South, it is onely inhabited by Artisans and poore people. And at this day it is compassed with walles, which seeme ancient, saue that it lies open towards the Tiber and Rome , and it is adorned with Churches and buil|dings, but much seuered one from the other. The third part is called (III) l' Isola, that is an Iland of Tiber, which of old was called Licaonia, of the Temple of Iupiter of Licao|nta. When Tarquinius the proud was of old banished from Rome , the people abhor|ring to conuert the goods of such a wicked man to priuate vses, did make his ground a field for training of souldiers, and called it Campus Martius, and the Senate commanded the great store of his corne, chaffe, and straw, to bee cast into the Tyber, of which matter growing together, they say this Iland first came. After a Temple was built in this Iland, to Esculapius, brought hither from Epidaurus in the shape of a Serpent; and the Ile being consecrated to him, was then made in the forme of the ship that brought that serpent, whereof there is a monument in the Garden of Saint Bartholmew, namely a stone in the forme of a ship with a Serpent grauen vpon it. It is a quarter of a mile in length, and some fiftie paces in bredth, and it is full of stately Churches and houses.

If you draw a line from the East-side of the Mountaine Capitolino (XXII) to the Gate del popolo, (IIII) lying towards the North; and from the said Mountaine draw aline to the furthest part of the Bridge vpon the West side of the Iland of Tyber, this compasse may truly be called Rome , as at this day it is inhabited; for the rest lies wilde, hauing only ruines, and some scattered Churches and houses, and towards the South, fieldes of corne within the walles. They say, that Romulus did onely build vpon three Mountaines, the Palatine, the Capitoline, and the Celian, yet others adde the Esquiline, and that he compassed them with walles, and that he built the Gate Carmentalis, so cal|led of the mother of Euander, which lies vnder the Capitoll vpon the right hand be|tweene the rock Tarpeius and the Riuer Tiber, and was also called the cursed Gate, of the 300 Fabij, which went out of the same to fight, and were all killed in one day. And 124 that he built the Roman Gate lying neere the Mount Pallatine, towards the Amphithea|ter, called Obelisco, and the Gate Pandana, so called, because it was alwaies open. After, seuen Mountaines being inclosed, Rome had eight Gates, and after thirtie foure (as Li|uy writes), and at last thirtie seuen Gates.

At this day the first Gate is called (IIII) delpopolo, lying on the East-side of Tiber towards the North, which of the Riuer was of old called Flumentana, and of the way of Flaminius, to which it did leade, was called Flaminia. The second Gate is called (V) Pin|ciana, of a Senator of that name, and of old was called Collatina of a Pallace adioyning, and it is a mile distant from the former Gate. The third Gate is called (VI)

la Salarta, of salt brought in that way, and was of old called Quirinalis, of the Temple, or the Mountaine adioyning of the same name, and also called Agona of a Mountaine, or as hauing no corner; and also called Collina of a Hill, and it is lesse then a mile distant from the last named Gate. The fourth Gate is called (VII) la Pia, of Pope Pius the fourth, who repaired it, and the way without it, and it is more then halfe a mile distant from the last named Gate. At this day it is many times called Saint Agnese of a Church ly|ing neere it. And it was of old called Viminalis of Oseyres growing there, and also called Figulensis of Potters dwelling there, and also called of old Numentina of a Castle. I will omit the Gate, of old called Inter Aggeres, because almost no ruines therof remaine at this day. The fifth Gate is called (VIII) di S. Lorenzo of the Church neere it. It was of old called Tiburtina (though others think that Gate was neerer to Tyber on this side) and Esquilina of a place neere it, and Taurina of a bulles head which still is grauen vpon it; and it is a mile and a halfe distant from the last named Gate. The sixth Gate is cal|led (IX) Maggiore, and was of old called Neuia, and Labicana, and Praenestina. The se|uenth is called (X) dt S. Giouanni, and it was of old called Caelemontana of a Mountaine, and Quercotulana of an Oake, and Settimia, and Asinaria. The eighth is called (XI) La|tina of Latium to which it leades, and was of old called Firentina, and is more then a mile distant from the seuenth Gate. The ninth from the eighth more then halfe a mile distant, is called (XII) di S. Sebastiano, of the Church to which it leades, and was of old called Capena of the Citie or Riuer of that name; and also Camena of a Church, and Ap|pia of the way which Appius the Censor paued, and Fontinale of the Fountaines; and some write it was called Trionfale for part of the Triumphes that did enter there. And the brother of the Horatij escaping in the fight against the brothers Curiatij, did returne at this Gate: without the same is the Sepulcher of Scipio the Africane, whereof I spake describing Linternum neere Naples (where he would be buried, farre from his vngrate|full Countrey). The tenth Gate is called (XIII) di S. Paolo of the Church whither it leades, and was of old called Trigemina of the 3 Horatij going out there, and called Osti|ensis, as leading to Ostia where Tyber runs into the Sea, and it is a mile from the [...] Gate, and as much distant from the Riuer Tyber. The eleuenth Gate lies on the West side of Tyber, in that part of the Citie which I said is called (II) Trasteuere, and is distant from Tyber halfe a quarter of a mile, being called (XIIII) di ripa, and was of old called Portuensis, as leading to the Hauen of Rome , made by the Emperour Claudius. The twelfth Gate almost a mile distant from the former, is called (XV) di S. Pancratio, and of old was called Aurelia of Aurelius the Emperor, or of the way Aurelia, and of others called Pancratiana, and it lieth neere the Mountaine Ianiculo. The thirteenth Gate halfe a mile distant from the former, is called (XVI) Settimiana, of the Emperour Settimius, whose name is engrauen vpon it, and it was repaired by Pope Alexander the sixth. Some think this Gate was called Fontinale, others Festinale, and it is the last Gate in Trasieuere. The fourteenth Gate is called (XVII) di S. Spirito and it is the first in that part of the Citie called (I) Borgo. The fifteenth gate is called in the map (XVIII) Fornacum, but I find it called by Writers del Torrione, and Posterula, and to be repaired by Pope Nicho|las the fifth. The sixtenth Gate is called (XIX) la Portusa, being neete to the Popes stables. The seuententh is called (XX) di Beluedere, lying neere the Popes Pallace and (3) Garden, and it is called in some Mapps Angelica, and by others Giu-

lia, of the Pope Giulius. The eightenth is called (XXI) di S. Angelo, and delCastello of the Castle S. An|gelo, and it was of old called Enea, and more lately di Cenello. I passe ouer the Gate called of old la Trionfante, where the greatest triumphs did enter, because no ruines remaine 125 thereof, but onely it is said to haue bin seated neere the Triumphall Bridge. (XXXVI)

It remaines to speake of the waies leading to Rome , which I will note with the letters of the Gates leading to them. And first I will onely name the wayes that are within the walles.

The first la Suburra begins at the Amphitheater, called Coliseo (20), and leades to the Church Saint Lucia in Orsia. The second la Sacra, lies from the Arch of Constantine (21) to the Arch of Vespasian (22), through Forum Romanum (23), to the Capitol (XXII.) The third la Nuoua, did leade from the greater Pallace in Mount Palatine (XXIII) to the Bath of Antonius in Mount Auentine (XXIIII). The fourth la Trionfale, did leade from the Mount Vaticano (XXIX), to the Capitol in the Mount (XXII) Ca|pitolino. The fifth la via retta, was in the Campius Martius, where is la colonna di Tra|iano (10).

The Frier Leander describing Rome , nameth twentie nine waies within and without the walles namely, 1. Appia. 2. Latina. 3. Labicana. 4. Campana. 5. Praenestina. 6. Cumana. 7. Flaminia. 8. Cassia. 9. Tiburtina. 10. Collatina. 11. Nomentana. 12. Salaria. 13. Emilia. 14. Portuesen. 15. Cornelia. 16. Claudia. 17. Valeria. 18. Ostiensis. 19. Laurentina. 20. Ardeati|na. 21. Galica. 22. Tiberina. 23. Settimia. 24. Quintia. 25. Gallicana. 26. Triumphalie. 27. Praetoriana. 28. Laticulesen. 29. Aureliana. And vpon these waies hee relates many stately Pallaces built out of the Citie. Now I will note the waies without the Gates by the same letters, by which I haue noted the Gates leading to them. Among these the most famous is the way of Appius, called the Queene of waies, most part of the chiefe Triumphes entring that way. It begins at the Gate of Saint (XII) Sebastian, and is pa|ued to Capua, and then deuided into two waies, that on the left hand leading to Brun|dusium, and that on the right hand leading toPozzoli and to Cuma, hauing stately Pal|lates on all sides, and it hath the name of Appius Claudius the Censor. In this way two miles from the Citie the Romans built a Temple in memory of Hannibal who in|camping there, was forced to raise his siege with disgrace. The way of Flamintus is no lesse famous, which lies from the Pillar of Antoninus (11) to the Gate (IIII) del popolo, and did leade to Rim. ni vpon the Adriatique Sea, and part of it was called Quincia, and it was ioyned with the way called Claudia, and of old was called the large way. Where the way of Flaminius endes, there begins the way AEmilia, made by his fellow Consul AEmilius, Lepidus, leading to Bologna, and paued to the very Alpes. Yet there is another way of the same name neere Pisa. The way Collatina is without the Gate (V) Pinciana; the way Salaria without the Gate (VI) Salaria; the way Tihurtina without the Gate (VIII) Saint Lorenzo, the way Praenestina without the Gate (IX) Maggiore, on the left hand or East-side; and the way Labicana on the right hand or South-side of the same Gate. In the way Praenestina is the stately Conduit, or Aqueduct of Pope Sixtus Quin|tus, extending it selfe many miles vpon the next Plaine, where lie the ruines no lesse wonderfull, whereof I spake in my iourney from Rome to Naples . To conclude, the way Latina is without the Gate (XI) Latina; the way Ostiensis without the Gate Saint (XIII) Paolo; the way Aurelia without the Gate (XV) Saint Pancratio; which (if I be not deceiued) was called also the way Vitelia, paued from the Mount Ianiculo

to the Sea. But who would not wonder, that from the Gate (XIX) Portusa, the way should leade into the Valley of Hell (for so it is called), close to the holy Seate of the Popes.

Rome was of old called Septicollis, of seuen Hilles, or little Mountaines contained within the walles, namely Capitolinus, Palatinus, Auentinus, Celius, Esquilinus, Viminalis, and Quirinalis. Hereof the first and chiefe is (XXII) Capitolinus, of old called Satur|nius, of the Citie Saturnia, and Tarpeius of the Virgin Terpeia, which betraying her Countrey to the Sabines, giuing them entrance at that place, was for reward there kil|led by them. And at last in the raigne of Tarquin the proud, it was called Capitolinus of a head digged out of the ground. At this day it is vulgarly called Il Capidoglio. It is diuided into two parts, namely, the Capitolium, and the Rocke Tarpeius, lying on the Northside of the hil. And it had sixty Churches, wherof the chiese was of old dedicated Ioni Optimo Maximo, where the Triumphers vsed to giue thanks for victory, and to 126 offer rich spoiles to Iupiter. And it was adorned with the stately building of the Capi|tolium, and with many stately Palaces of noble men. The second Mount is called (XXIII) Palatinus, of Palantus, Grand-father to Euander, (among many diuers opi|nions following Virgil). At this day it is vulgarly called Palazzo Maggiore, and it is a mile in circuit, but is not at all inhabited. And vpon the side lying towards the Circus, they shew a little house in the place where Romulus dwelt, onely preserued in memory of him. And vpon this Mount Catilina and Catullus and Cicero did dwell. The third mountaine was called (XXIIII) Auentinus, of birds, by whose flight they vsed to prophecy, or of the King Auentinus. And it was of old called Romorio, of a place in the top, where they obserued the flight of the birds, and it hath two miles in compasse. The fourth Mount is (XXV) Celius, of Celius King of Hetruria, and was of old called Querquetulanus, of a Wood of Oakes. And a little Mountaine being part of it, is vul|garly called Celiolus, where I shall shew the Church of Saint Iohn the Euangelist to bee seated. Vpon this Mountaine was the house of Scipio the Africane, neere the Church of Saint George. The fifth Mountaine was called (XXVI) Esquilinus, or Esquilia, of the guard of the Pretorian souldiers, or of the fragments of meate cast there to feede hawkes. It reacheth from the Market-place of Traian, to the Baths of Dioclesian, and the Gate of S. Lorenzo, and the monument of Marius, vulgarly called I Trofei. And at this day it is called Cespius, and they say, that Virgil dwelt vpon this Mountaine. The sixth Mount was called (XXVII) Viminalis, being long and narrow; and some say it is part of the Mount Esquiline, but all writers generally reckon it among the seuen hills, and it had the name of the Church of Iupiter Viminius, so called of the Oseyers growing there, and they say Marcus Crassus dwelt vpon this Mountaine. The seuenth Mount was called (XXVIII (Quirinalis of the Quirites, or Senators dwelling there, or of the Speare of Iuno, and it was also called Egonus. At this day it is vulgarly called Monte Cauallo There be two other Mountaines beyond the Tyber, which are seated in Tosca|ny, not in Latium; for Leander makes all the places most neere to Rome on this side to be|long to Hetrurta. The first of these Mountes is called (XXIX) Vaticanus, of the cry|ing of an infant, or of a god of that name, as Gellius writes, which god was the god of prophecies. Pope Leo the fourth compassed this Hill and the next field with walles, and called it Leonina, but at this day it is called Il Borgo. The other Mount beyond Tyber was called (XXX) I aniculus of I anus dwelling and buried there, and is now vul-

garly called Mortorio. Within the walls of Rome there bee some other Hills or little Mountaines, but lesse famous. The first is called (XXXI) Pincius, and vulgarly de li hortuli, reach|ing to the Gate Salaria. The second was called (XXXII) Citorius, and of old Citate|rius of the Tribes descending from thence to chuse Magistrates, as those that were su|tors to be Magistrates descended from the Mount Pincius, and went into Campus Mar|tius. The third Mount lesse and more obscure, is called (XXXIII) I or danus, of the family Orsini, who at this day haue their Pallaces vpon it. The fourth Mountlesse and obscure is called (XXXIIII) Testaceus, of earthen pots, for the Potters of old dwelt there, and the images and vessels of the Temples were for the most part of earth. And when the dead bodies were burned, the ashes were laied vp in these vessels, whereupon a heape grew to a Hill, and a Hill to a Mount. Many doe falsely thinke, that it had the name of such vessels, in which tribute was brought to Rome , and then the vessels were broken here.

Of old eight bridges were built ouer Tyber, among which is reckoned Pons Miluius, vulgarly Ponte Mole, without the gate (IIII) Delpopolo more then a mile distant from Rome , and neere this bridge Constantine the Great, vnder the signe of the Crosse did o|uercome the tyrant Maxentius. Also this bridge was famous for the night lusts of Ne|ro. The second bridge is called (XXXV) di Castel' Sant' Angelo, and it was of old cal|led Elius, of the Emperour Elius Adrianus, who built it; but Pope Nicholas the fifth built it as now it stands, and set vpon it the Image of Saint Peter with his keyes, and of Saint Paul with his sword. The third bridge is called (XXXVI) Vaticanus, as leading to that Mount, and was also of old called Triumphalis, of the Triumphes passing vpon it, and it was not lawfull for the Countrey people to enter that way, but at this day 127 onely the ruines thereof are seene. The fourth bridge is called (XXXVII) Ponte-Sisto of Pope Sixtus the fourth, who repaired it. It was of old called Ianiculonsis of that Mount, and Aurelius of the way of that name, and it was built of marble by Antoni|nus Pius, and after being decaied, was long called Ponte Rotto, that is, the broken bridge, till the said Pope repaired it in the yeere 1475. and it is two hundred and fifteene foote broad, and is built vpon three Arches of stone. The fifth bridge ioining Rome and the Iland, and next to the Capitolium, is called (XXXVIII) Ponte at quattro Capt, and was of old called Tarpeius, of the Rocke Tarpcia, which is in the Mount Capitolino, and was called Fabricius of the repairer, and it is seuenty foot long, and hath but one Arch of stone. The sixth bridge of a Church neere it is called (XXXIX) di S. Maria AEgit|tiaca, and was of old called Scnatorim and Palatinus, and it is somewhat longer then the bridge Sisto. The seuenth bridge of a Church neere it is called (XL) di S. Bartolomeo, and it is opposite to the fifth bridge, and ioineth the Iland with that part of Rome cal|led Trasteuere, and of old it was called Psquilinus, and Cestius, and it is sixty foot long, hauing but one Arch of stone. The eight bridge at the foot of the Mount Auentine, was of old called (XLI) Sublicius, because it was built of wood, in the warre with the Tuscanes, that it might be more easily broken and repaired. And we read that the Tuscanes being Victors, had taken Rome , if Horatius Cocles had not defended the bridge, till it was broken downe behind him, which done, he saued himselfe by swim|ming. After that Emilius Lepidus built this bridge of stone, and called it Emilius; and when it was broken with floods, first the Emperour Tyberius repaired it, and then An|toninus Pius built it very high of marble, and condemned

men were cast from it into the water. This bridge being the first that was built ouer Tyber, now is not to be seene by any ruines.

Rome by the great power of the Emperours, and since of the Popes, hath beene long most famous, and was first built in Latium vpon Tyber, fifteene miles from the Tyrrhene sea, (as the Greekes write) by Ascanius, Eurilantes, Romulus, and Remus, Ne|phewes to AEneas, or (as other Greekes write) by the Achiui, or (as other Greekes write) by the sonnes of Roma, a woman of Troy, married to the Latine King of the Aborige|nes, which sonnes were Romulus and Remus, or (as Xenagoras writes) by the sonne of Vlisses by Circe, to omit many other opinions of the Greekes. The Latine Historians doe no lesse vary. Some say it was built by the sonnes of AEneas, namely, Romulus and Remus. Others say that Ascanius built Alba, and Remus built Capua, and Romulus built Ianiculum, after called Rome . But I omit these diuers opinions, and will follow Leander the Fryar, who saith that Rome the daughter of the King in Italy, built Rome the same yeere that Moses was borne. And when the City had beene long forsaken, for the vn|wholsome ayre of the Fennes adioining, that Euander comming from Arcadia into Italy, seated himselfe vpon the Mount Palatine, and built a City called Palantium, of his City in Arcadia, and he being dead, that Hercules comming with an Army, left some of his consorts here, who built vpon the Mount of Saturnius, after called Capitolinus. Before the destruction of Troy, for the vnwholsome aire, Rome being againe forsaken, that the Albani began to dwell there in Cottages, and seed their flockes there. For by the continuall ouer flowings of Tyber, the field was made fenny, and the aire vnwholsome; but Historians write that vpon sacrifices made to God Vertuno, these Fennes by little and little were dried vp. Hee adde that Amulius tooke the Kingdome of the Albani from his brother Numiter, whose daughter Rhea a Vestall Virgin being great with child by Amulius, Mars, or any other, brought forth Romu|lus and Remus, and Amulius left them by Tyber to perish in the waters, but a shee wolfe sed them, and after Faustulus ouerseer of al the flocks and cattell of Amulius, tooke them home, who comming to ripe yeeres killed Amulius, and restored their Grand-father Numitor to his Kingdome: but themselues being desirous to build a City vpon the Mount Palatine, at the foote whereof they had been cast out, Romulus drew with a plow the circuit of the Citie, of a quadrangular forme, in the 430. yeere after the destruction of Troy, and in the yeere of the World 3211. He gaue Mount Celius to be inhabi|ted by Celius King of Toseany, aiding him against the Sabines, and then taking by force 128 the Sabine weomen, and they making peace betweene them, he gaue to Tatius and his Sabines for their dwelling the Mountaines Capitolinus and Quirinalis, and to his brother Remus the Mount Auentinus, and kept for himselfe and his men the Moun|taines Palatinus and Esquilinus, till the rest being dead, himselfe alone became Lord of all. The seuen rockes were of old called seuen hils, hauing a pleasant plaine betweene them and Tyber: and this circuit is in forme of a bent bowe, the Tyber standing for the string. Romu'us made the City foure square, but he being dead, Ancus Martius in|closed the Mount Ianiculus beyond Tyber, and Seruius inclosed other Mounts on this side of the Tyber. Six Kings raigned two hundred forty three yeeres in Rome , and Torquine being banished, it became a popular State, wherein Consuls yeerely chosen did gouerne, and eight hundred eighty seuen Consuls, in foure hundred sixty foure yeeres, by forty three battels obtained the Empire almost of the

whole world. In the meane time the Decemuiri (that is tenne men) ruled for two yeeres, and the Tri|bunes for Military affaires, hauing Consular power, ruled forty three yeeres, and in the time of any difficult warre, a Dictator was chosen, who with absolute power ruled till that businesse was ended, and there were no Magistrates for foure yeeres. At last Iulius Caesar with the title of perpetuall Dictator, inuaded the Empire, which being after diuided into the Orientall and Occidentall Empire, and the Occidentall being destroied by the incursions of barberous Nations, the Bishops of Rome by little and little cast their Orientall Lords out of Italy, and erected a new Occidentall Empire in France, that they might inuade the power of the Roman Emperors, and of the hea|uenly iurisdiction vpon earth, vnder pretext of Religion, by a new monster of a Ro|man wit, drawne from the supremacy of the Apostle Saint Peter.

Pliny in his time makes the circuit of Rome twenty miles, and Vopiscus in the time of the Emperour Aurelius, makes the circuit fifty miles, but he ioyned to Rome all the neighbour villages. At this day if you adde to Rome the two parts beyond Tyber, cal|led Trasteuere and Borgo, the circuit at the most is fifteene miles, for others say thir|teene or fourteene, besides that a very great part of this circuit within the walles is not inhabited: and the walles not withstanding lie not vpon their old foundations, neither are built of that matter, but as it pleased those who repaired them. Among which Belisarius gouernour of Italy, vnder the Emperour Iustinian, built Rome demolished by the Gothes, and made the circuit of the walles lesse; and Pope Adrian the first, a Roman, the wals being fallen, built them as now they stand, and many of his succes|sours haue since added new ornaments to decaied Rome . But the old wals (as appeares by some ruines) were built of foure square stone, the rest are of diuers building, as it pleased the repairers, and haue a bricke gallery to walke vpon, vnder which men may stand dry when it raines; and they being ready to fal with age, haue many round Tow|ers, which in like sort are ready to fall. Rome at this day is troubled with the old ouerflowings of Tyber, by reason of the Tybers narrow bed, not able to receiue the wa|ters, falling suddenly from neere mountaines, after great raine or melting of snow. For memory whereof, these inscriptions are vpon the wals of the Church of Saint Mary sopra Minerua. In the yeere 1530. (if I be not deceiued; for the first words are raced out) the Ides of October, Clement the seuenth being Pope.

Huc Tyber ascendit, iamque obruta totafuisset Roma, nisi celerem virgo tulisset opem: Thus farre came Tyber, and all Rome had drown'd, Had we not from the Virgin, swift helpe found.

And there in another place this verse is written, in the yeere MVD.

Extulit huc tumidas turbidus Amnis aquas. Thus farre this muddy brookes water did swell.

In each place is a red marke vpon the wals how high the water ascended, by which it appeares, marking the seat of the Church, that all the plaine was ouerflowed be|tweene it and the Tyber. By reason of these flouds, and for that the City is built vpon the caues of old Rome , (which makes the foundations to be laid with great charge) and also by reason of the vapours rising from the Baths, the aire of Rome is 129 at this day vnwholsome. The Romans drinke raine water, and the troubled waters of Tyber, kept in Cesternes, and they bragge that it is proper to the water or Tyber, the longer it is kept to grow more pure. Surely strangers doe not like that water, howsoe|uer the Romans (making a vertue of necessity) doe say that it was onely made

good to drinke at Rome , and no where els, by the blessing of Pope Gregory the Great.

Now being to describe the antiquities of Rome , I will first set downe out of order the seuen Churches, famous for the indulgences of Popes, which they say were built by the Emperour Constantine the Great. Then I will set downe the rest in due order, as they are seated: And because I finished in hast the view of Rome in foure daies, I will distinguish the Antiquities into foure daies iournies.

The first day being to visit these seuen Churches, by reason of their distance, and the hast we made, I and my consorts hired each of vs a mule, each man for two poli, and we neuer found our errour till the euening, when we demanding the way of a man of meane sort, he replied thus with some anger; What doe you ride to heauen, and we poore wretches goe on foote without shooes to visit these holy Churches. By this we found our errour, and were glad that we had passed that day without further danger. In generall these Churches are bare on the Inside, without any pictures, except some few about the Altars. This day we first rode to the chiefe Church, (A) dt S. Giouanni Laterano, seated vpon Mount Celius, and built by Constantine the Great, in his Pallace, and it hath a stately Font, in which that Emperour was baptized; and in the Church there be foure most faire pillars of brasse. The Church is sustained by foure rowes of bricke pillars, and there hang certaine banners taken from the French, and neere the doore the Popes, Sergius the fourth, and Siluester the second, are buried in low monu|ments. In the Church yard are old sepulchers, and little pillars of marble. Neere to this Church lie those holy staires, whereof I spake in my iourney from Rome to Naples , when our Italian consorts went to pray for a happy iourney, kneeling without the grates. But they that will haue the grates opened, to pray there, vse to creepe vpon their knees from staire to staire, and vpon each staire to say a pater noster, and Aue Maria. These staires are twenty six in number, diuided into three rowes, and they be of marble, vulgarly called Scale Sante, and were brought from the house of Pilate in Hierusalem. It is not safe for him to inquire after relikes, who will not worship them: yet to satisfie the curious, I will set downe the chiefe by beare-say. Here they shew a tooth of Saint Peter; a Cup in which Saint Iohn dranke poyson at the command of Demitian, and had no hurt. The cloth with which Christ dried his Disciples feet, the heads of Peter and Paul, the rodde of Aaron, the Arke of the couenant, the table at which Christ supped; three marble gates of Pilates house, the Image of Christ being twelue yeeres old, with the like. Part of these (they say) were brought from Hierusalem by the Emperour Titus, yet he was no Christian, nor like to regard the monuments of Christ. One Chappell of this Church is called, Sanctum Sanctorum, and is thought to haue beene the Chamber of Constantine, neither may any woman enter it. To con|clude, the place is shewed here, in which many counsels haue beene held, and the Popes long dwelt here, before the Pallace in the Vaticane was built.

The Church of (B) Saint Peter in the Mount Vaticano, ioines to the Popes Pallace, they say it was built by Constantine the Great. The Popes haue giuen full remission of sinnes to them that pray here vpon certaine daies, and like remission for certaine yeeres sinnes, praying on other daies; and the remission of the third part of all sinnes, praying there vpon Saint Peters euen. And you must vnderstand that all these Churches haue some like indulgences. Here they shew the bodies of Saint Simeon, and Saint Iude the Apostle, and Saint Iohn Chrysostome, and of Pope Saint Gregory the Great: and the head of

Saint Andrew and of Saint Luke the Euange|list, and halfe the bodies of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and Christs face printed vpon the hand-kercher of Veronica, and the head of the speare thrust into the side of Christ, and among many pillars brought from Hierusalem, one vpon which Christ leaned, when he did preach and cast out Diuels, which yet hath power (as they say) to cast out Diuels. Alwaies vnderstand that in Italy Priests that cast out Diuels, are 130 most frequent, neither are they wanting in any place where the Papists can hide their impostures. Great part of these relikes they say were sent by the Turkish Emperour to Pope Innocent the eight. But I omit these things, into which none but Papists may safely inquire, and returne to the monuments which lie open to euery mans view. The Chappell is most rich in which Gregory the xiij. lies, and the stately sepulcher of Pope Paul the third hath most faire statuaes. The statua of Saint Peter of brasse placed vnder the Organs, was of old erected to Iupiter Capitolinus. In the Court of the Church (for I cannot call it a Church-yard) the Emperour Otho the second lies buried, in a low se|pulcher of Porphry. There is a most faire Pineaple of brasse, guilded, more then fiue cubites high, which they say was brought hither from the monument of the Empe|rour Andrian, in the place where the Castle of Saint Angelo now stands, (as likewise the Peacockes were brought from the Monument of Scipio.)

The third Church of St Paul is without the (XIII) gate of St Paul, about a mile from the City, in the way to Ostia, and they say it was built by Constantine, and it stands vp|pon eighty eight pillars of marble, in foure rowes, each pillar being but one stone, and it is adorned with marble staires, and pictures Alla Mosaica, as if they were engrauen, which are onely in the chancell and neere the doore. The Popes haue giuen great in|dulgences to these Churches, as well as to others. They shew here the bodies of Saint Timothy, Saint Celsus, and Sant Iulian, Disciples to Saint Paul, and halfe the bodies of Saint Peter and St Paul, and a Crucifix which of old spake to Saint Briget, the Queene of Sueuia, and many armes and fingers of Saints. Neere this Church is that of Saint Anastatius, where the head of Saint Paul being cut off, made three leapes, and in the place where it fell, they say there sprang vp three fountaines, which are there to bee seene.

The fourth Church of Saint (C) Mary Maggiore, is vpon the Mount Esquiline: I will omit hence forward the indulgences and relikes, lest I be tedious. This Church is adorned with forty pillars of Marble. The rich Chappell di praesepio, (so called of the cratch in which Christ was borne, being kept here) is stately adorned with the paue|ment engraued, the arched roofe guilded, pictures Alla Mosaica as if they were engra|uen, the stately sepulcher of Pope Nicholas, and his statua of white marble. The Chap|pell of Pius Qutntus, built for him after his death by Sixtus the fifth, is adorned with the Victory painted in golden letters, which he and his confederates had by sea against Selimus Emperour of the Turkes, and is adorned with statuaes guilded, with foure Angels guilded, and precious stones, together with the rare Art of engrauers and Painters.

The fifth Church S. Lorenzo, is without the (VIII) gate of that name, in the way to Tiburtina, something more then a mile from the City, and it is said to be built by Constantine the Great. He that goes to this Church euery wednesday in a whole yeere, shall deliuer a soule from Purgatory, if the Pope keepe his promise. It is adorned with a Pulpit of white marble, and most faire ophite stones, and at the doore, with a sepul|cher of Saint Eustacius, of white

marble curiously carued, and another sepulcher op|posite to that.

The sixth Church S. Sebastiano, is without the (XII) gate of that name, more then a mile out of the City, in the way of Appius. Here is a place called Catacombe, and there is a well, in which they say the bodies of Saint Paul and Saint Peter did lie vnknowne a long time, and here is a way vnder earth to the Church yard of Calixtus, where they say the Christians lav hid, in the times of persecution; and that there were found 174. thousand which had beene made Martyres, and that eight of these were Bishops of Rome . Here on all sides with amazement I beheld the ruines of old buildings, and the sepulcher of the Emperour Aurelius is not farre from this Church.

The seuenth Church (D) di S. Croce in Gierusalem, is seated between the gate Mag|giore, and the gate S. Giouanni, vpon the Mount Celius or rather Celiolus, being part of it, and it is said that Constantine the Great built it. Here they shew a little vessell filled with the blood of Christ and the spunge which they gaue him with vineger vpon the crosse, and the title which Pilate writ vpon the Crosse, and one of the thirty pence which 131 Iudas tooke for betraying Christ. And no woman may enter into the Chappell where|in Helena is said to haue praied, but once onely in the yeere vpon the twelfth of March. And this Church giues the title to a Cardinall.

The second day we began the view of Rome with the (Q) Popes Pallace, seated in the part of the Citie, called Il'Borgo; which Pallace Pope Nicholas the third built, and Ni|cholas the fifth compassed with walles, and the Pallace is of great circuit, and the staires are so easie, that horses and Mules may goe vp to the top of the Mountaine, and with easie ascent and descent beare the Popes carriage. At the enterance there be three gal|leries one aboue the other, whereof the two first were built by Leo the tenth, and Paul the third, and the third and highest by Sixtus Quintus, and they are all fairely painted and guilded. Vpon these lie two large chambers, and beyond them is a vast and long gallery of foure hundred seuentie and one walking paces, in the middest whereof is the famous Librarie of the Popes In vaticano; and therein are many inscriptions of the Pope Sixtus Quintus who repaired it, and it is adorned with many faire pictures guilded all ouer. I did fee the seuerall roomes thereof. The first one hundred fortie and seuen walking paces long, had three rowes of Cubbards filled with bookes: the second was thirtie nine paces long; and the third containing the bookes of greatest price locked vp, was twentie paces long. Pope Sixtus the fourth built this Librarie, with the Chappell of the Pallace, and the Conclaue. The wall of the Chappell shineth like a glasse with precious stones: where the Pope Sixtus Quintus commanded Michael Angelo to paint the day of Iudgement, and the common report is, that this Pope promised this famous Painter that he would not come into the Chappell, till he had finished his worke; yet by some Cardinals perswasions that he broke his promise, and that the Painter there|upon made the pictures of the Pope and the Cardinals in hell amongst the Diuels, so liuely as euery man might know them. Betweene this Chappell and the Conclaue, (where they chuse the Popes) lies a Kingly Gallery, not vn worthily called vulgarly Sa|la Regia, (which others call Sala del Conclaue). The wall of this Gallery in like sort shi|neth with pretious stones, and the pauement is of pretious marble, the arched roose all guilded, and at the vpper end I wondred to see the Massacro of Paris painted vpon the wall, with the Popes inscription greatly commending that detestable cruelty. At the same vpper end the foresaid Chappell

(as you come vp) lies one the left hand, and the Conclaue on the right hand; in which Conclaue the Cardinals meete to chuse the Pope, deuided into seuerall roomes, but meeting at a common table, and when they haue chosen him, they leade him into a Chappell at the lower end, and neere the dore of the said Kingly Gallery and place him there vpon a hollow seate of Marble. I know not whether this be the chaire, in which the sex of the Pope is tried, but I am sure it is hollow, with a hole in the bottom. After they put a Banner out of a high window, and there make knowne to the people the name that the Pope hath chosen, and then his armes are hung vp round about. This Chappell at the lower end of the said Gallery, hath the name of Pope Paul the third, of the Family of Farnese, and it is little, and of a round forme (as I remember), but it is beautifull beyond imagination. The images of the Apostles seeme to bee of siluer, and Paradice painted vpon the arched roofe, with Angels flying, being the worke of Michael Angelo, seemed to me admirable. Vpon the other side of the said Library is the priuate Gallery of the Pope, looking into the Gar|den (3) Beluedere, which is seated vpon the side of the Mount Vatican, where Pope In|nocent the eight built part of the Pallace, and called it Beluedere, of the faire prospect of all Rome subiect to the eye. And Pope Iulius the second placed in this Garden many very faire statuaes, namely, of the Riuer Nilus, of the Riuer Tyber, of Romulus and Re|mus playing with the papps of a shee-Wolfe, all being placed in the open Garden, and a most faire statua of Apollo, another admirable statua of Lycaon with his children, another of the boy Antoninus, whom the Emperour Adrian loued, another of Hercules another of Cupid, another of Venus, another of Cleopatra sleeping with her arme ouer her face, and bearing a Serpent, being a wonderfull faire statua. And these are all locked vp, and not to be seene without fauour.

Hence we went to the Castle (4) of Saint Angelo of old called Moles Adriani, for it 132 was the Sepulcher of the Emperour Adrian, vpon the top whereof was the Pineapple of brasse, which before I said was since placed in the open Court-yard of Saint Peters Church. This Sepulcher of Adrian called Moles (4) was demolished by Beasarius, in the warre of the Goathes, vpon the ruines whereof Pope Boniface the eight built this Castle, and Pope Alexander the sixth compassed it with walles and ditches, and placed therein a guard of Souldiers, and built from this Castle to the Popes Pallace an open and a close gallery, by which vpon any tumult, the Pope may passe safely from his Pal|lace to the Castle. And after Pope Paul the third built very faire chambers in this Ca|stle. On the outside is the statua of Pope Pius the fourth, and within is the statua of Paul the third, vpon which these verses are written of the Emperour Charles the fifth comming to Rome .

E Lybia venit Romanas victor ad arces
Caesar, and in niueis aureus iuit Equis.
Ille triumphauit, sed tu plus Paule triumphas; Victor namque tuis oscula dat pedibus. With victory to Rome from Affrick came Caesar, on milke white horses, golden all. He Triumph'd, Paul thy triumph hath more fame, This Conquerour to kisse thy feete did fall.

In this Castle they shew the head of Adrtan, the statua of Saint Peter, a bunch of Grapes of brasse, the place where the Cardinall Caictan escaped out of prison, and a Trap-doore where prisoners are let downe into a dungeon. The chambers are built in a circle round about the great chamber in the middest, which is called Salaregia, and without is a round Garden within the walles, and vpon the top of the Castle, in the place of the said Pine-apple, is

the statua of the Angell Michael, of which the Castle hath the name. The medowes of Qutntis Cincinates lie neere this Castle.

In the (5) Market place or field before the Church of Saint Peter (where of old was Metonianus Circus), Sixtus Quintus adorning Rome with many ornaments, erected an Obeliske seuentie two foote high, vpon the top whereof the ashes of Iulius Caesar were put of old: but in the yeere 1586 this Pope consecrated the same to the Crosse, and put vpon the top of it a Crosse guilded, and beneath foure Lions guilded. This Obe|liske is vulgarly called La Guglia di S. Pietro. The globe, in which the ashes of Iulius Cae|sar were put, is now shewed in the Capitoll, and in the place thereof stands the said Crosse, with the Armes of the said Pope.

In this part of the Citie called Il Borgo, and in the very Market-place before Saint Pe|ters Church, is another Church called Saint Marie In Campo Santo, because the yard thereof is all of earth brought from Hierusalem, wherein all strangers are buried, and they say, there bodies are consumed in three dayes. Neere that lies the Church of Saint Spirito (called also Sassia of the Saxons that of old dwelled there), and this is an Hospi|tall for the sicke, and for Orphanes, the rent whereof is said to haue been each day se|uen thousand Crownes, till Pope Sixtus Quintus did alien great part thereof to other v|ses, and still of the surplusage at the yeeres ende, many Orphen Virgins are married. The Chappell of Saint Angelo lies close to the Castle, and was built by the Pope, who singing the Leteny there in the time of a great plague, made the Romans beleeue, that he did see Michael the Angell putting vp a bloudy sword in the sheath, and hereof the Castle hath the name. And it is a Schoole, or Fraternitie of Gentlemen, like to our Companies in London. The Church of Saint AEgidius the Abbot, hath great concourse to it in the moneth of September, when Agues raigne in Rome ; for this Saint is the Pa|tron for Agues.

From hence we went out of (II) Borgo by the Gate Saint Spirito, and entered the se|cond part of Rome Trasteuire, by the Gate (XVI) Settimtana, where vnder the Church of Saint Peter Montorio, is the [...] of Nero, that is a place to represent Nauall fights, and neere it is the like of Iulius Caesar. From this Church, to the Church Saint Honorio, is a Plaine, wherein was the large and long Circus or Theater of Iulius Caesar. In this part of the Citie the Church of Saint Cecilia giues the title of a Cardinall, and so 133 doth the Church of Saint Grisogona. The said Church of Saint Mary in this part of the City, is the same which the old Romans called Taberna Meritoria, where they shew a Fountaine, whence (they say) that oyle did flow abundantly, and runne towards Ti|ber, the same night when Christ was borne; and this Church also giues the title of a Cardinall, and the old Romans called it Taberna Meritoria, of the souldiers nourished there, after they were past seruice by age or wounds. This Church of Saint Peter is seated vpon the Mount Ianiculus, in which there is a stately Monument erected by Pope Iulius the third, to his vncle the Cardinall dt Monte. The Church of Saint Pan|cratius hath many stones of porphry, and giues the title of a Cardinall, and the Friars of Saint Ambrose dwell in this Monastery. The Church Saint Honorio is a Monaste|ry, and giues the title of a Cardinall. Neere the gate called Ripa, was of old the Ro|mans Armory, of great circuit, lying vpon the Tyber, the vast ruines whereof yet re|maine, and the people of Rome seruing for more then two hundred yeeres in the warres without any pay, was wont here to take Armes at their going forth, and here to lay them vp at their returne. And neere this place he the meadowes, giuen by

the people of Rome to Mucius Scaeuola, for his valiant behauiour with King Porsena.

Hence turning to the left hand, we came to the (III) Iland of Tyber, in which the Church of S. Bartholmew (of old consecrated to AEsculapius) is adorned with 4 stately pillars of porphry, it giues the title to a Cardinall. At the foot of the bridge (XXXIX) S. Maria, as you come out of the Iland and enter into Rome , is the ruined house of Pon|tius Pilate, and opposite to that is the most ancient Church consecrated to the Moone, and vpon the other side another to the Sunne. Here also is the Theater of Marcellus, and the porch of Mercury.

Not farre thence is a marble head, called Bocca della verita, that is, the mouth of truth, of a woman (as I remember) falsifying her oath, and bewraied thereby; but others say it is the Idoll of Rbea. Here also is the Church of Saint Mary, called the Greeke Schoole, in which Saint Augustine is said to haue taught, but it is shut vp. At the foot of Mount Auentine. (where the Iewes vse to fish) if you looke backe, you shall see the ruines of the old bridge Sublicius (XLI) Thence going to the gate of Saint Paul, a|mong vines, you shall see the ruines of one hundred and forty garners for corne, built of old by the Romans. In the pleasant meadow wherein the (XXXIIII) mount Testaceus lies, the Romans were wont of old to keepe their Olimpike games. The se|pulcher of (6) Caius Cestius is most ancient, rising in a pyramis, and the inscription shewes it was built in three hundred and thirty daies, which the common sort falsly thinkes to be the Monument of Romulus. This monument of stone is compassed with wals, and it hath an inscription in great letters, but raced out. Some also thinke that it is the monument of Publius Sestius. From the gate of Saint Paul we returned into the City, and vnder the Church of Saint Gregory, where Laundresses continually wash, they say that of old the (7) Circus Maximut), or greatest Theater) did lie betweene the Mount Palatine and the Mount Auentine, being more then a quarter of a mile long, and halfe a quarter broad, which was built by Tarquinius Priscus for the hunting of Buls, and running of horses, and after was inlarged by Iulius Caesar and other Empe|rours, so as it receiued 260 thousand beholders, being adorned with pillars and com|modious seates, and at this day the place is called Cerchi. Neere this place were of late three rowes of pillars, one aboue the other; and this monument is called Il Setti zonio di Senero, of seuen souldiers engraued thereupon, and is thought to be the sepulcher of Septismius Seuerus, but the Pope Sixtus the fifth pulled it downe. Neere this place vp|pon (XXIIII) Mount Auentine lie the Bathes halfe ruined of Antonius Caracalla, built of bricke, the large chambers whereof, almost innumerable, are of exceeding height, hauing many stones and pillars of marble, whereby it appeares to haue beene a most stately work. The (8) church of S. Stephano Orotando, seated in mount Celius, giues the title of a Cardinall, and is possessed by Fryars of Hungary, and it was a Heathen Church of Faunus. There lie old and high wals, said to haue beene part of the conduit bringing water to the Capitoll. I haue before spoken of the Church of (A) Saint Iohn Lateran, being one of the seuen Churches, and of Constantines Font therein, and of the Chappel called Holy of Holies, and of the holy staires. I wil adde that here is an Obe|liske, called la Guglia, of old consecrated to the Sunne, and brought out of AEgypt, 143 which Iulius Caesar, or Augustus, did direct in the Circus Maximus, but Pope Sixtus the fifth brought it hither, in the fourth yeere of his Popedome, and the yeere of our Lord 1588. and consecrat-

ing it to the Crosse, set a guilded crosse vpon the top of it. This Obeliske, if it were of one stone, were to be preferred to that of Saint Peter, neere the Popes Pallace, for otherwise it is higher and more curiously carued. I haue spoken be|fore of the Church (D) S. Croce in Gicrusalem, being one of the seuen Churches, seated neere the gate Maggiore. At the gate of this Church they shew a place where the whores keepe a feast vpon the twenty of August, and there of old was the Temple of Venus. The Theater of bricke which is in this Church, they say was built by Statilius Tamrus. Hence returning into the City, we passed by a place, where of old was a mo|nument called Trofei di Marie, erected to Caius Marius, triumphing vpon Iugurtha and the Cymbri, and they say that the ruines thereof were admirable, but now it is all defa|ced. Neere the staires of the Capitoll, they shew a ruinous heape which some say, was this monument of Marius. Passing towards the Capitoll, we did see a Triumphall Arch erected to Galienus, which of the Church adioining is called the Arch of Saint Vito, and it is little perished with age.

Concerning the Churches lying from the Capitoll to the south parts of Rome : The Church of Saint Anastatia, that of Saint Mary In portico (of old dedicated by the Hea|thens to Pudicitia), that of Saint Iohn, that of Saint Paul vpon mount Celius, that of Saint Mary In Dominica, that of Saint Sistus, that of Saint Sabina vpon Monnt Auen|tine (in which they shew a stone cast by the Diuell at the head of Saint Dominicke, and broken by miracle,) that of Saint Prisca (of old dedicated to Hercules) that of Saint Balbina vpon Mount Auentine, that of Saint Iohn at the gate Latina (where it is said Do|mitian cast Saint Iohn into boyling oyle, but he escaped without hurt) that of Saint Mary in Via, without the gate of Saint Paul, towards Ostia, all these Churches giueti|tles to Cardinals. Neere the Church of Saint Alexius, is a palme tree, whereof I remem|ber not to haue seene any other at Rome . In the Church of Saint Saua the Abbot, neere the other vpon Mount Auentine, be the sepulchers of the Emperours Vespasian and Ti|tus his son, of white marble, and the Altar hath two pillars of porphery.

The third day we began our view of Rome , at the (10) pillar of the Emperor Traian, erected to him making warre against the Parthians, which he neuer saw, dying in his returne. It is seated in a little market place, and was consecrated by Pope Sixtus the fifth to Saint Peter, whose Image of brasse guilded ouer, is set vpon the top thereof, with this inscription in Latin; Sixtus the fifth dedicated it to Saint Peter, the third yeere of his Pope|dome. The victories and actions of Traian are ingrauen vpon it, and his ashes were of old placed in the top, and here also was the horse of Traian. This pillar is said to be one hundred twenty three foote high, and it hath within, two hundred twenty three staires to the top, and forty foure windowes to let in light. Hence we turned towards the City, and came to (11) Campus Martius, neere the hill Citorius, which now is called piazza Colonna, of the pillar of Antoninus Pias there erected, which Pope Sixtus the fifth dedicated to Saint Paul, setting his Image on the top, and it hath about one hundred and seuenty staires to ascend, and fifty sixe windowes, and the outside is curiously en|grauen with the actions of Antoninus. The foresaid Campus Martius was the field of Tarquin the proud, which the people of Rome dedicated to Mars, for military exercises. Neere the Church of Saint Mary liberatrice dalle pene d'Inferno, seated in Forum Rominum, and neere the (23) Arch of Settimius was of old the Temple of Vesta, where her Virgines kept the

sacred fier, and the Image of Minerua, and being conuicted of vn|chaftity, were led out of the gate Salaria with silence and were buried aliue, in a place there called Campus Seeleratus, being left or buried in a caue with a candle lighted, and water and milke. Neere this Church are most high pillars of the ruines of a marble gal|lery, which Caligula built from the Capitoll to the Mount Palatine. The (12) Church of S. Mary Soprala Minerua, is so called, for being of old consecrated to Minerua, and it giues the title of a Cardinall. Behind the Altar, is the statua of Pope Leo the tenth, and neere it another of Clement the seuenth, both of white marble; and another of Paul the fourth of brasse. In this Church I did see the most proud procession of the Pope, and there was such a presse to kisse his feet, as I had almost beene carried by force to passe them, or vndergoe capitall danger by refusall. The Church of (13) Saint Mary Re|tonda, 135 was of old called Pantheon, and the building is most ancient and magnificent, being round in forme, and hauing no window, but all the light comming from the open roofe, whence the water falling is conuaied vnder the pauement, and it is about seuen|ty walking paces large euery way. The porch is borne vp with fifteene marble pillars, each pillar being of one stone, and all of admirable beauty and bignes. The doore is of brasse, the wals of brick, with the inside couered with precious stones, and the paue|ment is of marble and porphery. Marcus Agrippa sonne in law to Augustus built this Church, and dedicated it to Iupiter the Reuenger, and to Ceres, and to all the gods, whereupon it was called Pantheon. Not farre thence are the ruines of the Bath of A|grippa, in a place called Ciambella, und neere the Church of Saint Eustace, great ruines of the Baths of Nero are yet remaining. The place of old called (14) Circus Agonius, is now called la piazza Nauona, and it is the largest market place of Rome , wherein markets are kept euery wednesday. The Romans vsed it to see plaies and games of old, being a large place, yet of greater length then bredth. Here lies the Spaniards Church Saint Iacobo, and many of that Nation dwell there; who vpon Easter euen, and vpon festiuall times of their owne Nation, vse to make fier-workes there, with many other solemne games. It hath three fountaines, but the building is poore. At one end of this market place, in a corner of a street opposite to a publike Pallace, is the statua of Pasquin; vpon a wall of a priuate house, which hath neither armes nor feet, they being cut off by pas|sengers in the night. For all libels, euen against the Pope himselfe, vse to be made in forme of a dialogue, and fastened vpon this statua of Pasquine, and another of Marfo|rio (whereof I shall speake after) they two bearing the persons one of the question ma|ker, the other of the answeret. Neere the Church of (15) Saint Mary de la Consolatione, as we came backe into the City, our guide shewed vs a place, where the house of Ouid did stand. Concerning the Churches lying about the Mount Capitoline; that of Saint Mary In Acquiro, seated in the market place vulgarly piazza Crapanella, giues the title of a Cardinall. In the same market place is the monastery and Church of the Iesuites. The Church of Saint Mauro hath a little Obeliske erected. That of Saint Eustaeo giues the title to a Cardinall. Neere it lies the Church of Saint Lew is proper to the French, (for all Kingdomes and Prouinces haue their peculiar Churches at Rome .) The Church of Saint Apollinaris, and that of Saint Thomas In pariont, and that of Saint Laurence In Damaso and that of Saint Angelo Inpiscaria (which of old was confecrated to Inno) and that of Saint Nicholas In Carcere, doe all giue the titles of Cardinals. The Church and Hospitall called

Saint Mary del' Anima, is proper to the Dutch Nation. The Church and Hospitall of Saint Thomas, vulgarly di S. Tomaso, is built for the Eng|lish, and is seated neere the (25) Pallace of Farnest.

The fourth day we began the view of Rome at the Market-place, called (16) la piazza di Fieri, lying in the way from the Iland of Tyber, as you goe to the Bridge of S. Augelo. Here was the house of the harlot Flora, who made the people of Rome her heire, wherup|on the Romans to couer her shame, made her the goddesse of flowers, and yeerely kept her birth day vpo the third of April, of which feast I shall speak after. This Marketplace is seated in the most inhabited place of Rome , among all the chiefe shops of Merchants. And therein the family of Orsini haue a Pallace, and neere the same was the Theater of Pompey, and his court or publike house, pulled down because Caesar was therin killed. And from this Market place towards the Iland of Tyber, lyes the streete of the Iewes. In the way from the Church of the Trinitie, to the Mount Quirinalis, vulgarly called (17) Monte Cauallo, were the famous Gardens of Salustius, and neere that Church was the Naumachia (that is the place to represent Nauall fights) called of Augustus. Neere to the Church Saint Rocco, lies the (18) Sepulcher of Augustus called Mansoleum, the ruines whereof yet remaine. He built it for himselfe and other Emperours, of a round forme, and adorned it with stones of Marble and Porphery, and like pillers and Obe|liskes, placing his owne statua of brasse vpon the top, so as they daily dig vp goodly Images out of the Caue and Garden neere it. The Pinacle of this Monument Pope Sixtus the fifth remoued to the Church Saint Marie Maggiore, and this monument with the Groue planted about it, reached from the Church Saint Rocco, to Saint Marie delpopolo. Neere to the Gate (IIII) del Popolo lies the said Church of that name, vnder the Adtar whereof the bones of Nero were laid, which, they say, were kept by spirits, 136 till Pope Pascall by reuelation from the blessed Virgin had warning to cast the bones into Tiber. Whensoeuer the Plague is in Rome , this Church is made one of the seuen in the place of Saint Sebastian, with all the indulgences to it belonging, and it alwaies carries that title. Here bee two faire Sepulchers, whereof one is for a Chauncelor of Millan, the other for Pope Sixtus the fifth sisters sonne, both the worke of Andrew San|souine. The yard of this Church hath an Obeliske, almost as faire as that neere Saint Iohn Lateran, which Pope Sixtus the fifth also erected. Concerning the Churches from this Gate del popolo, to the (XXII) Mount Capitolino, the Church of Saint Laurence in Lucinia, that of Saint Siluester, that of the holy Apostles, that of Saint Marcello, and that of Saint Marke, doe all giue titles to Cardinals. Neere the Church Saint Siluester is the Monastery delle Conuertite, that is, of Harlots repenting, and becomming Nunnes. The Church S. Mary de Rione dellapigna, is a Monastery di Sante Donne miserabili, that is, of holy miserable women, and neere that is another Monastery delle mal Maritate, that is, of women vnfortunately married and left in want by their husbands. The fore|said Gate delpopolo, was repaired and beautified by Pope Pius the fourth. Neere it lies the most sweere Vineyard of Pope Iulius the third, and his pleasant Fountaine, casting vp water two elles high. Not farre thence is a triumphal Arch erected to Domitian, vul|garly called Portogallo. From this gate Delpopolo, towards the (V) gate Pinciana, and neere the (17) Church della Trinita, we did see the Pallace of the Florentine Cardinall de Medicis (who

[69] Florence

from a Cardinal became the Duke of Florence [69] by right of succession).

And this Pallace was rich and stately, the staires winding so artificially, as it was a beau|tiful sight to look in a perpendicular line from the top to the foot, and vpon the staires was a faire statua of Apollo. Hence there was a Gallery open on the sides towards the Garden, fuil of beautifull Images, of Lions, a shee-Wolfe, a Ramme, all of white Marble, with other Images, and very faire pillars. And the first Garden had onely flowers; the second in the vpper part, had a sweete Groue, and the lower part was full of fruit trees. There was a Fountaine with a brasen Image of Mercurie vpon it. Vpon a Mount called Pernasso, were many Images of white Marble, of Pegasus, of the Muses, and one of Cleopatra, fairer then that I saw in the Popes Garden, with two Ima|ges of Cerberus, and another monster. There were two large Cesternes of Porphery. And in a Chamber were the Images, of a Satyr, a Nimph, and a Gryphon. Lastly, in the Groue were staires paued with carued Marble, with figures of fishes, and there was a most faire statua of Europa sitting vpon a Bulles backe. The outside of the Groue was all of Firre trees, which are greene in winter, but the inside had most pleasant walkes a|mong rowes of many other kindes of trees. In this Groue was a most sweete Arbour, hauing foure roofes, and as it were chambers, one aboue the other, the first whereof is twentie staires from the ground, whence lay a most large and most faire Gallery of stone, vnder which was a most pleasant solitarie walke, betweene two walles, all set with Orange-trees, and like fruit.

The large way leading to the Cities Gate Pia, was paued by Pope Pius the fourth, and hath on each side a pleasant walke, and is also called Pia of the same Pope, as the (VII) Gate is which hee built. Betweene this Gate and the next of (VIII) Saint Laurence was of old a large Park, in which the people of Rome kept beasts to be hunted. Hence we went towards the Mount Quirinalis, vulgarly (XXVIII) Monte Cauallo, and vnder the most pleasant Vineyard of the Cardinall of Ferraria, were many Caues and old ruines, and there is a field, where in honour of (16) Flora (as I said formerly de|scribing that Market-place) the harlots of Rome kept a yeerely feast, and dwelling in the foresaid Caues, vsed to runne from thence naked into this field, with vnspeakable libertie of speech and gesture.

From hence passing a little lane, we ascended to (XXVIII) Monte Cauallo which is so called of two horses of Marble set there, which they write to haue been giuen to Nero by Mithridates King of Armenia, the one wrought by Phydias, the other by Praxi|tiles. The common people holdes one of them for Bucephalus, and thinkes that Alex|ander holdes his bridle, and that they were wrought by the foresaid engrauers in emu|lation one of the other. But the farre different age of Alexander, and the said engrauers makes this opinion vnprobable. Two men are ingrauen, who holde the bridles of the horses, as if they should leade them, and some thinke that they were made for two hor|ses 137 of Diomedes, which did eate mans flesh, and were tamed by Hercules. The Pallace of Nero was neere this Mount, and from thence they shew some ruines thereof. This Pallace (as histories doe witnesse) did reach from Mount Celius to Mount Palatine, and to the furthest part of Mount Esquiline, and it was compassed with a lake, hauing with|in the circuit thereof, Meadowes, Vineyards, Woods, and Parkes, and all the house was guilded, and thereupon was called golden; it shined with Iuory, and pretious stones, and the great Hall thereof did moue round like the World, casting out flowers and odors. From hence

Nero saw Rome burnt with ioy, and all this building was burnt in the time of Traian the Emperour; and when Nero had finished this house, he said, that he began then first to dwell like a man. Vpon this said Mountaine of the horses, the Pope hath a stately Pallace, which a Cardinall of Ferrara built, and he being dead, Pope Gregorie the thirteenth seased vpon it. The staires are very faire, each hauing his pillar, and the ascent is most easie. I think a fairer Gallerie can hardly be seene, being one hun|dred and twentie walking paces long. There is a Chamber wherin Pope Sixius the fifth died. A second wherein Ambassadours are heard. A third in which Cardinals are chosen. The Popes study is very pleasant, and so is the Garden, hauing many Foun|taines, Groues, Labyrinthes, a Rocke artificially distilling water, and many most sweet Arbours. Moreouer, on this Mount is the most faire Fountaine of Pope Sixtus the fifth, called the Happie; for hither is the water brought from the stately Conduit with|out the Gate Maggiore, in the way (IX) Praenestina, reaching many miles, which was built by Pope Sixtus the fifth, with Imperiall magnificence, in the yeere 1587. And this Fountaine casteth out waters from the mouthes of foure Lions of white Marble. Like|wise vpon the same is the Image of Moses, striking the Rocke with his Rod; and there be two other mouthes lower to cast out water, and it is all engrauen with the said histo|rie of Moses.

Descending from this Mount, we did see in a priuate Gentlemans house an horse of brasse, esteemed at twenty fiue thousand pounds sterling, which Henrie the second had placed at Paris (as they said), it death had not preuented him. Hence towards the East we went forward towards the Bathes of Dioclesian, and by the way at the foote of the Mount of the horses, we did see the Bathes of Constantine. A man cannot sufficiently wonder at the ruines of Dioclesians Baths, by which it seemes they were of incredible greatnesse; and they report, that this Emperour compelled many thousands of Chri|stians to worke vpon this building for many yeeres. Vnder the earth are gates and diuers passages of vnknowne extent. Vpon these Bathes Pope Pius the fourth in the yeere 1561 built the Church Saint Mary of the Angels, and with the consent of the people of Rome gaue it to the Carthusian Friers. In the roomes of this Bath Pope Gre|gorie the thirtenth, in the yeere 1575 built a Granary for Corne, and the said Church of Saint Marie is beautified with faire pillars thirtie spannes compasse, and with exquisite pictures, especially those two neere the Altar, of the Emperor Maximilian and his Em|presse. Hence we went to the Church of Saint (C) Marie Maggiore, being one of the se|uen Churches, and vnder this Church, vpon a Hill neere Saint Potentiana (which giues the title to a Cardinall) of old were the Nouatian Bathes. And vpon Mount (XXVI) Esquiline, neere the Church Saint Laurence In Palesperna, (giuing title to a Cardinall) were of old the Olimpike Bathes. And the said Church of Saint Marie is built, where the Temple of Isis stoode, highly honoured of the old Romans. Pope Sixtus the fifth brought hither in the yeere 1587 the foresaid Obeliske, from the Sepulcher of Augustus neere (18) Saint Rocco and it is the lowest and the least of all the Obeliskes. Vpon this Mount Esquiline was a place for burning dead bodies, but the Romans being offended with the smoke, Augustus gaue that field to Maecenas, who made most famous Gardens there. Hereabouts lies the Chappell of Saint Luke, peculiar to the Painters, and there was a groue consecrated to Iuno. The Church of Saint Anthony is little, but full of faire pictures, and in the Vineyard of the Hospitall, was the

stately Church of Diana. And the famous Church of Mars was built, where that of Saint Martin now stands (which giues the title to a Cardinall). As we went from Mount Esquiline to the Thea|ter of Vespasian, we saw by the way a rare Monument, built by the said Emperour, or 138 his sonne Titus vpon Mount Esquiline. It hath nine Cesternes vnder the ground, and is vulgarly called Sette sale, of seuen seuerall chambers, where of each is seuentene foote broad, twelue foote high, and one hundred thirtie seuen foote long, and hath foure doores, which so answere one another, as a man may see all the roomes at once. Neere the Church of Saint Clement is the wonderfull Theater of Vespasian, vulgarly called Il Coliseo, in which the people were wont to see the fighting of Fencers, the hunting of wilde beasts, and like games, and it receiued one hundred and nintie (others say eightie fiue) thousand persons, and the outside was of old round, but the inside of Oual forme, and as high as the top of Mount Celius. I obserued the building now to be of bricke, and the foundation to be sixtie walking paces broad, and to haue foure rowes of seates one aboue the other, and the inside from the foundation of the seates to bee eight wal|king paces broad, and one hundred thirtie and fiue paces long. The ruines of the like Theater, but lesse, built by Statilius, lie neere the Church (D) San'Croce.

The foresaid Church of Saint Clement giues the title to a Cardinall, but the wals are all ruined, and this part is not inhabited, neither is the streete paued from thence to the Church (D) S. Croce, in memory (as they say) of Pope Ioane, which being great with childe, and hauing gone a folemne Procession from (A) Saint Iohn Lateran, to the said Church of the (D) holy Crosse, as she returned this way, amidst her pompe was deliue|red of a Childe.

Neere to the said Theater of Vespasian lies the Triumphall Arch erected to Constan|tine the great, when he had ouercome Maxentius, and it is most faire and curiously car|ued. Neere that is the Church of Saint Marie the new, which giues the title to a Car|dinal, and in the Garden is a monument of the idoll Serapis. The (22) Triumphal Arch erected to Vespasian, and Titus when hee came from the destruction of Ierusalem, hath but one Arch, and is lesse then the former erected to Constantine, but it is no lesse ador|ned with their actions engrauen. Neere the said Church of Saint Marie the new, lie the vast ruines of the famous Temple of Peace, the roofe whereof is richly engrauen. Neere this is a kind of Gibet, which they called of old Tygillum Sororium, that is, the si|sters rafter, because when the Horatij three brothers had killed the Curiutij three bro|thers, yet onely one of the Horatij remaining aliue, he returning into the Citie, and fin|ding his sister weepe for her priuate losse in a day of publique ioy, killed her with his owne handes, and for shew of iustice, was condemned to passe vnder this rafter, with|out further punishment, in respect of his desert in that battell. Vpon mount Palatine of old was a Pallace, now called vulgarly (XXIII) Il-palazzo Maggiore, in which most of the Emperours did dwell, and vpon the ruines thereof the deceased Cardinall Far|nese had a pleasant Vineyard. And at the foote of this Mountaine, neere the Chappell of Saint Theodor, they say that Romulus and Remus were cast forth and nourished by a shee-Wolfe: for they say, that Tyber of old did runne this way, though now it hath changed the bed. The Church of Saint Cosmo giues the title of a Cardinall, and there the Temple of Romulus was of old seated. Also the Temple and Pallace of the Empe|rour Marcus Aurelius, and his Empresse Faustina, daughter to Antoninus Pius, were in this place. In the same field of

old called the (11) Roman Market-place. I said be|fore, that the Temple of the Vestall Virgins was seated, neere the Church Saint Marie Liberatrice, which was also consecrated to Venus. There also in the field called Vac|cino, three pillars are yet remaining of the ruines of the Marble Gallerie which Caligula built, and those pillars are very high, and not farre from them was the Lake or Gulfe, into which Curtius cast himselfe for his Countries sake. The Triumphall Arch erected to L. Septimius Seuerus, for his victory against the Parthians, is curiously engrauen with that warre, and it is the fairest Arch, next that of Constantine, and it is seated at the foote of the Mount Capitoline, in the Market place, called of old Forum Romanum (for it began at the foote of the (XXII) Mount Capitoline, and reached to the foote of (XXIII) Mount Palatine, where now is the Church of Saint Cosmo.) And therein was a Monument erected, called la Ringhiera, from whence Orations were made to the people, and it is probable, that this was the place called Rostra, where Cicero made his Orations to the people, for Antiquaries agree that it was in this Market-place. In which 139 also at the foote of the Capitol, of old was a Pillar, called Milliare Aureum, which shew|ed the way to all the Gates, and whether soeuer a man would goe. There also at this day is a Church with a brasen dore, where was the Treasurie of the people of Rome , the gates whereof Iulius Caesar broke, and tooke from thence infinite treasure. Neere this place is the statua of Iupiter Panarius (others say of the Riuer Rheine) vpon the head whereof stood one of the feete of Domitians horse of brasse, and this statua is now cal|led Marforio, and it is of Marble, lying at length as vpon a Tombe, as that (14) of Pas|quin stands vpright against a wall, and vpon these two Images are fastened all the libels of Rome , framed in manner of dialogue. This statua of Marforio was of late taken vp by Pope Clement the eighth out of the valley, and placed vpon this Mount before the Capitoll, as appeareth by the inscription besides that the place was to be seene whence it was taken.

Vpon this Mount (XXII) Cápitoline, of old was seated the famous Capitoll, and now there is the Senate house, the building whereof hath no magnificence. Betweene two Senate houses is a yard, in which lies the Rock Tarpeia; from the top whereof condemned men were cast of old. In the fore-yard of the Capitoll, is a horsemans sta|tua of brasse, guilded, which was erected to the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, and for the engrauers art is held of inestimable price. Fro this place great part of Rome lies open to the eye in a sweete prospect. The foresaid statua was set in this place by Pope Paul the 3 in the yere 1538. Therby lies a foot statua of white Marble, and the fore said monument, (9) which Pope Sixtus the fifth, in the yeere 1590 remoued to this place from the old monume t erected to Coius Marius. There also is the foresaid statua of (23) Marforio which was taken away by the Consuls of Rome from the first place, and placed here by Pope Clement the eight. Here also is the pillar of Combat, and a most pleasant fountaine built by Pope Sixtus the fourth, where lie two ancient Images of white mar|ble of two riuers Tygris and Nylus. There be also three pillars brought from the Tem|ple of Concord (where the old Senators of Rome did meete.) Within the Capitoll or Senate house it selfe, we did see many most faire antiquities, namely, statuaes erected to Iulius Caesar, to Octauius, to Augustus, and to Marius seuen times Consull; the I|mage of Hercules of brasse guilded ouer, which was digged out of the ruines of the Temple of Hercules, in the time of Pope Sixtus the fourth, also the Images of Her|cules his sonne, of Iupiter,

of Minerua, and of Ceres, all of marble, a head of brasse vpon which was engrauen Iunius M. Brutus; two statuaes of yong men, whereof one stan|deth vpright in the habite of a seruant, the other being naked, hath one foot aboue the other knee, with a needle in his hand to pull a thorne out of it, and both are of brasse guilded ouer, and of admirable beauty. The Image of Auentine digged out of Mount Auentine, a brasen image of a shee wolfe which gaue sucke to Romulus and Remus, and it was made of fines imposed vpon vsurers, a brazen statua of AEneas, a brasen statua erected to Pope Sixtus the fifth, for repressing the banished men, another of marble erected to Pope Leo the tenth. We did see in the hall of Iudgement within this Capi|toll, the statuaes of marble erected to Pope Gregory the thirteenth, to Pope Paui the third, and to King Charles made a Senator of Rome . Vpon the sight of these, a Gen|tleman told vs, that by a Law he was made infamous, who should make mention of erecting a statua to any Pope while he liued. In the foreyard of the Capitoll, we did see the fragments of an huge Coloffus, and vpon the wall neere the staires, the Triumphs of Marcus Aurelins, engranen in square marble stones. There we did also see marble fragments digged vp vnder the Arch of Settimius, vpon which were engrauen the names of Consuls, Dictators, and Censors, and vnder the very porch, the head of an Emperour, the pillar of Nauall fights, the sepulcher of Settimius Alexander Seuerus, and of his mother Iulia Mammea, brought hither from the field of Fabricius; the image of Minerua, certaine images of brasse of the Monster Sphynx; the bones intombed of Agrippina neece to Augustus, and wife to Germanicus; the Image of a Lyon deuouring another beast, and certaine ancient vessels to keepe wine. Vpon this Mountaine, of old were sixty Temples; but of all other the Temple of Iupiter Optimus Maximus built by Tarquine the proud, was most esteemed by the old Romans. From this Mountaine 140 we ascended by 128. broad staires of marble (brought hither from the Temple of Quirinus vpon Monte canalle) to the Church of Saint Maria Ara Caeli, built vpon the ruines of the Temple of Iupiter Feretrius, and of the Pallace of the Emperour Augu|stus. And vpon these staires were two statuaes erected to the Emperour Constantine, and the Church it selfe is adorned with many marble pillers and stones, and a Pulpit of porphery, and it hath the name of an Altar, which they shew there erected to the Son of the Virgin, by Augustus, who they say had read in the Oracles of Sybilia, that a Vir|gin should bring forth a sonne. The arched roofe of the Church is richly guilded, and here Pope Pius the fourth consecrated the spoiles taken from the Turkes in the nauall victory of him and his confederates, the memory whereof is there kept by an inscrip|tion vpon a pillar. Also the Senate and people of Rome , haue here erected a table to Pope Paul the third, vpon which is written in golden letters, that while he was Cardi|nall, he erected here many antient monuments digged vp in Rome at his owne charge. On the other side of the Mount Capitoline, (towards the West as I remember) at the very foot of the mountaine, is the Tullian prison, appointed for that vse by the old Kings Ancus Martins and Tullus, in which they say the holy Apostles Peter and Paul were imprisoned; and at this day there is a Church vnder the earth, called Saint Peter In Careere.

The (24) Theater of Marcellus sonne to the sister of Augustus, is neere the Pallace of the Family Sauilla. Not farre thence towards the fish market, was the Porticus of Octa|uia, sifter to Augustus, but no ruines now remaine thereof. The (25) pallace of the Cardi|nal Farnese is seated in a plain, being one of the fairest in Rome ,

which for the dignity of such a City, hath very few stately Pallaces. Here I did see an admirable statua, cut out in one stone, of a Bull treading a woman vnder his feete, with the Images of two bro|thers standing vpright, and of a hunting dogge, with the figure of a high Rocke. Con|cerning the Churches which we did see in this daies iourney. The (23) Church of Saint Adrian in the market place called Romanum, or Boiarium. The Church of Saint Peter and Marcellanus (betweene the (20) Theater of Vespasian and the Church (A) S. Giouanni in Laterano, the Church of Saint Matthew, in the way towards (C) Saint Mary Maggiore the Church of Saint Pietro in vincula (vpon (XXVI) Mount Esquiline, (where is a sepulcher of white marble of Pope Iulius the second, adorned with faire statuaes, namely, one of Moyses of the rare worke of Michael Angelo,) the Church of Agata, vpon the same mountaine, the Church of Saint Vito In Macello, the Church of Saint Eusebius (neere the mounment called (9) Trofei di Mario the Church of Saint Prasside, seared neere (C) S. Maria Maggiore whose chappell called Horto del Paradiso, no woman may enter), the Church of Saint Quirico, the Church Saint Susanna vpon (XXVIII) Monte Cauallo, the Church Saint Vitallis: Al these Churches giue the titles of Cardinals. The Church Saint Costanza, is a long mile out of the (VII) gate Pis and was of old dedicated to Bacchus, where is a most faire sepulcher and large, of porphry, ten ordinary spannes deepe, and fifteene long, curiously engrauen with boyes quaf|fing, and bearing cups of wine, as in a Feast of Bacchus, which some thinke to be the se|pulcher of Constantia a Virgine, daughter to Constantine, but the engrauing like a Feast of Bacchus seemes more ancient, and to be wrought by the Heathen Romans, and it is vulgarly called the sepulcher of Bacchus. This Church is of a round forme and little, but very faire, and borne vp with twelue rowes of marble pillars, set in a round com|passe. Neere this lies the Church of Saint Agnese, hauing doores of brasse, where the Lambes are kept, whereof the Pals of Arch-bishops are made, which the Pope so dear|ly sels.

At my first comming to Rome I lodged in a publike Inne, and paid three giulij each meale, then as I haue written, I hasted my iourney to Naples , and after returning to Rome , I hired a chamber by the day, and bought my owne meat, but my haste to be gone, made me not to note my particular expences. Onely I remember that they who sold any thing in the market, vsed to look into the hands of the buyers to see whether they brought siluer or brasse coyne, and thereafter made their price; whereupon many shewed siluer, till they had bought, and then paid in copper, which the people durst 141 not refuse. And from hence it was, that in a solemne pompe, when the people fell on their knees before the Pope, and I thought they onely expected his blessing, they all cried out; Holy Father command that we may haue white bread, and that the Gen|tlemen may be forced to take our brasse quatrines: so as it seemes they refused to re|ceiue them. I scarce bought my meat one or two daies in Rome : For after I had beene with Cardinall Allen, I formerly said, that to shun the company of his Englishmen, I changed my lodging, and my selfe and two Dutch Gentlemen my consorts, tooke a chamber in a victualling house, close vnder the Popes Pallace; and each of vs paid for our bed each night one or two baocci, and bought our meat in that house, agree|ing for the price before we did eat it, and so being ready vpon all euents of danger, and hauing no carriage to trouble vs, we hoped if need were to escape; yet still I rested much vpon the Cardinals promise, and being free from Englishmens company, and

hauing two honest Dutch Gentlemen for my consorts, both borne in the Palatinate of Rheine, where they professe the same religion as in England, I did with more security set my selfe freely to satisfie my curiosity in the view of Rome .

After being desirous to see the mouth of Tyber, where it fals into the sea, I went out of the gate of Saint Paul, and hauing the narrow bed of Tyber on my right hand, passed twelue miles to Ostia, through fruitfull hils of corne, and a vast wood at my iournies end. Here is a strong Castle seated in Latium, and belonging to the Popes of Rome , which Pope Martin the fifth built, and Pope Iulius the second did more strongly forti|fie, but nothing remaines of the stately buildings of that City, but some poore houses. Strabo writes, that King Ancus Martius first built this City, in a soile to which the Riuer brought much dirt. It is certaine that of old the ships did cast Anchor without the Ha|uen of the City, and sent their goods to Rome in Gallies and Barkes drawne vp by a rope, the Hauen being not so deepe to beare them. The Citizens were free from Tri|bute, to make them dwell there, the aire being then (as also at this time) very vnwhol|some. Now the Tyber seemes to end here in a Lake, and the waters runne in little chan|nels vnder the paued high waies. The Hauen of Traian is a mile and a halfe from the Towne, being broad enough, but so barred with sand and like matter, as no ships can come to it; and onely small Barkes sometimes passe from Naples and neere places to Rome , and that very seldome. The foresaid Hauen was first built by Claudius, then re|paired by Traian, and called of his name, of which Suetonius writes thus in the life of Claudius; He made the Hauen of Hostia, drawing an arme on the right and left side, and making a barre at the entery, where it was deepe, which barre, that he might make more stable, by Art, he sunke the ship wherein the great Obeliske was brought from AEgypt, and vpon piles heaped vp, placed a most high Tower, like to the Pharo of Alex|andria, out of which light was hung out by night, to direct the ships, etc.

When Traian repaired this Hauen, the Citie Portuensis was built on the other side of Tyber, towards the South-East, in the soile of Toscany, the Bishop whereof is one of the seuen Cardinals assistant to the Pope. The branch of Tyber falling from Hostia and diuiding it selfe, maketh an Iland compassed with the sea, on the other side, in which are many ruines of stately houses and great stones of Marble. This Hauen see|ming of no vse, and barred vp for the securitie of Rome from any Nauall siege, the onely Port that Rome hath, is called Citta'vecchia, seated vpon the shoare of Tuscany betweene the foresaid Hostia and Ligorno, the chiefe Hauen of the Duke of Florence [70] . In this ha|uen of Rome , of old called Centum Cellae, and after ruined by the Saracens, and after built againe, the Popes of Rome (possessing many places in the neighbour soile of Toscany) did build a strong Castle, and called it Citta Vecchia. I returned from Ostia to Rome the same day, and paied fiue giulij for my Mule, and two for my dinner.

I had purposed to see the famous Garden of the Cardinall of Ferraria at Tiuoli, (whereof I spake in my iourney to Naples :) but Easter was now at hand, and the Priests came to take our names in our lodging, and when wee demaunded the cause, they told vs, that it was to no other end, but to know if any receiued not the Cummu|nion at that holy time, which when we heard, wee needed no spurres to make haste from Rome into the state of Florence [71] .

[70] Florence
[71] Florence

142 Onely I had an obstinate purpose to see Bellarmine. To which end hauing first hired a horse, and prouided all things necessary for my iourney to Sienna ; and hauing sent away my consorts to stay for me, with my horse and boots at an Inne in the Suburbs, that I might more speedily escape, if my purpose succeeded not: I boldly went to the Iesuites Colledge, and Bellermine then walking in the fields, I expected his returne at the gate, the Students telling me that he would presently come backe; which falling out as they said; I followed him into the Colledge (being attired like an Italian, and carefull not to vse any strange gestures; yea, forbearing to view the Colledge, or to looke vpon any man fully, lest I should draw his eyes vpon me). Thus I came into Bellermines chamber, that I might see this man so famous for his learning, and so great a Champion of the Popes: who seemed to me not aboue forty yeeres old, being leane of body, and something low of stature, with a long visage and a little sharpe beard vp|pon the chin, of a browne colour, and a countenance not very graue, and for his mid|dle age, wanting the authority of grey heires. Being come into his chamber, and ha|uing made profession of my great respect to him, I told him that I was a French man, and came to Rome for performance of some religious vowes, and to see the monu|ments, especially those which were liuing, and among them himselfe most especially, earnestly intreating, to the end I might from his side returne better instructed into my Countrey, that he would admit me at vacant houres to enioy his graue conuersation. He gently answering, and with grauity not so much swallowing the praises I gaue him, as shewing that my company should be most pleasing to him, commanded his Nouice, that he should presently bring me in, when I should come to visit him, and so after some speeches of curtesie; he dismissed me, who meant nothing lesse then to come againe to him.

The very same hower at ten in the morning, vpon the Tuseday before Easter, I came to my consorts in the Suburbes, and presently we tooke horse after a short breakefast. The way from Rome to Sienna is thus vulgarly noted: A Borgetto, sixe miles, a l' Isole, one; a Bacchano, sixe; a Monterose, fiue; a Sutri, foure; a Roneignone, three; a lago di vigo, one; a viterbo, seuen; a Monte fiaschoni, seuen; a Bolsena, seuen; a San' Lorenzo, foure; a Acquapendente, sixe; a Recorseto a la Paglia, twelue; a Scancericho, foure; a Buon' Conuento, seuen; a Saraualle, foure; a San' Michaele de la Seala, sixe; a Sienna , sixe; In all from Rome to Sienna ninetie sixe miles. I will follow my Italian consorts in describing this iourney, who doe not much differ from this vulgar number of miles, each of vs paid fifteene paoli for his horse from Rome to Scienna, and we had but one Vetturine, who went with vs on foote, for the Italians vse to ride a slow pace, and he was to bring back our horses, and to pay for their meat and for his owne. The first day after break|fast we rode twentie two miles to Monterose, through fruitfull hilles of Corne, and some wilde barren fields, and Woods at our iournies ende. After wee had rode fiue miles, we came to a monument lying vpon the high way, and called the Sepulcher of Nero, in the place where hee killed himselfe, when the Senate had condemned him. And when we came to the little Towne Bachano, I obserued the mountaines to com|passe it in the forme of a Theater with a Lake in the middest, like the mountaine Astru|mo neere Naples . Out of this Lake comes a Brooke called Cremera, vpon the banke whereof three hundred Fabij with fiue thousand of their followers, of old were kil|led in one day. Bacchano of old called Campagnano, hath the name of Bacchus. And it giues the

name to the Territory, and to the Wood neere it, which is infamous for robe|ries. Monterose is subiect to Pope Clement the eighth (then liuing) his Nephew (so they call their bastards;) and though it be seated within the old confines of Hetruria, yet now it is vnder the Popes dominion. Here we supped at an Ordinarie (vulgarly Al pasto) and each man paied foure giulij, and all the company complaining that so much was demaunded for our supper, the Hoste so thundred among vs like the bragging souldier, as he soone made both strangers and Italians glad to be quiet. The second day in the morning we rode eight miles to Lago diVigo, where we broke our fast, vpon reckoning (vulgarly al conto) and each man paied eight baocchi. After breakfast wee rode foureteene miles to a little Citie Monte fiaschoni, hauing passed by the way the Ci|tie 143 Viterbo, where Pope Caelestine the third placed a Bishop, and made it a Citie. Of old it was gouerned by Princes borne in the Towne, till vpon ciuill dissention betweene the Family of Gatti (aided by the Roman Family Colonna) and the Family Magancesi (aided by the Roman Family Orsini), the Pope brought the Citie into his subiection, about the yeere 1446. A most high Mountaine lies neere Viterbo, bearing Chesnuts, and a great Wood of Oaks, infamous for robberies, where we did see many quarters of theeues hanging vpon the trees. The way to Viterbo was through a fruitfull Plaine of corne, and beyond this Mountaine were store of Oliue trees and Vines. Viterbo was of old called Faliscum, and it hath 3 Cities within the wals: but we passing suddenly through it, I obserued nothing markeable but a faire Fountaine in the Market-place. The way from thence was through a fruitfull Plaine of Corne to the said little Citie Montefias|choni, seated vpon a high Hill, at the foote whereof begins the Lake of Bolsena, and it is subiect to the Pope, hauing no singular thing in it, but the white and red Muskedine, one of the most famous Wines in Italy. Here we three Consorts had two beds for ten baochi, and we supped vpon reckoning, and each man paied two giulij. The third day in the morning we rode eight miles by the Lake Bolsena, through a Plaine of Corne hauing woody Hilles of Oakes, not farre distant, with store of Chessenut and Oliue trees. In this Lake there is an Iland, which the Queene Amalasuenta, famous for her wisdome, was killed by the commaund of the King of the Ostrogothes. And in the Ca|stle of Balsena they shew a piece of bread consecrated for the Lords Supper, which be|ing in the hand of a Priest not beleeuing that it was the very body of Christ, did shed bloud, (as they say, who haue many such lying Miracles). Then we rode sixe miles to the Castle Acquapendente, through a plaine of Corne, where each man paied one giulio for his dinner vpon reckoning. After dinner we rode through wilde Mountaines bea|ring little Corne, twelue miles to the Brooke Paglia, running vnder the Castle Redicofa|ni, and diuiding the States of the Pope, and the Duke of Florence [72] , and we rode further in the State of Florence [73] foure miles to a Country Inne, (as I thinke called Scancicricho) where each man paied three poali and a half for his supper at an Ordinarie (vulgarly Al pasto), hauing almost nothing but red Herrings and Sallets to supper. The fourth day in the morning, vpon the last day of Aprill after the new stile, in the yeere 1594, wee [Note: Anno 1594.] rode thirteene miles to a Countrey Inne, through high Hilles of Corne, and for the greater part very firtile, where each man paied seuen baochi for his breakefast.

[72] Florence
[73] Florence

The same day we rode eighteene miles to Sienna , through most pleasant Hilles, and a firtile Plaine of Corne, with store of Vines on each side, and many Pallaces of Gen|tlemen, (so they call their houses, built of Free-stone, with a low roofe, and small mag|nificence), and most frequent dwellings of husbandmen. We came to Sienna the Friday before Easter day, and in a publike Inne each man paied three reali for his Sup|per.

The next day I went to Fiorenza for money, and rode through Woods and fruitful Hils to the Castle Poggio (walled townes being called Castles) and after through stony Mountaines bearing Corne and Oliues, till I came to the Village Tauernelle, being se|uenteene miles from Sienna , where I paied two reali for my dinner vpon reckoning. After dinner I rode fifteene miles to Fiorenza , through stony little Mountaines, bearing great store of Oliues, Almonds, and Chessenuts, and many Poplar trees, and towards our iourneyes end, store of Cedar trees; and wee passed by innumerable Pallaces of Gentlemen, and a most faire Monastery called la Certosa, and a desert Rocke, vpon the top whereof an Heremite dwelt all alone. This Territorie yeeldes great store of Pine|trees, the boughes whereof are thicke and round at the top, but the rest of the tree hath neither boughes nor leaues, and it yeelds a very great Nut, with very many kernels in one shell, which are pleasant in taste, and much vsed here in Banquets. By the way I did meete a Dutch Lady, with her Gentlewomen, and men-seruants all in the habit of Franciscan Friers, and not onely going on foote, but also bare-footed, through these stonie waies; and because they were all (aswell men as women) in Friers weeds, though I looked on them with some suspicion, yet I knew not their sexe or qualitie, till vpon inquirie at Florence [74] , I vnderstood that the Dutchesse of Fiorenza (or Florente) hearing [...] 140 [...] 141 [...] 142 [...] 143 144 that some women were passed by in Friers apparrell, and thinking they were Nunnes stolne out of their Cloisters, did cause them to bee brought backe vnto her, and so vn|derstood that vpon pennance imposed on them by their Confessour for the satisfacti|on of their sinnes, they were enioyned to goe in that Friers habit bare-footed to Rome ; whereupon she dismissed them with honour.

I forgot to note what I paid for my horse from Sienna to Florence [75] , whether we came vpon Easter day, and there I lodged in the Dutch Inne, and paid three reali each meale. But I did not at this time view the Citie, deferring it till my returne.

The next morning I tooke my iourney to Pisa, that by often remouing, I might shun all question of my religion, into which they vse more strictly to inquire at this time of the yeere, when they vse to obserue who receiues not the Sacrament: for how|soeuer there be lesse danger of the Inquisition in this State, yet the Duke vsing not, and scarce being able to protect those that rashly giue open offence, I thought good thus warily to auoide these snares. I went this iourney on foot, meaning leisurely to see the next Cities, so little distant one from the other, as they were pleasant iourneys on foot, especially in so pleasant a Countrie. The first day in the morning I walked ten miles to the Castle Prato, through the pleasant Valley of the Riuer Arno. This pleasant Ca|stle (or walled Towne) is of a round forme, hauing (at the very enterance) a large Mar|ket place, wherein stands a faire Cathedrall Church, adorned with many stones of mar|ble: and here I paied twelue creitzers for my dinner.

[74] Florence
[75] Florence

In the afternoone I walked ten Italian short miles to the City Pistoia, through a most pleasant plaine called the Valley of Arno, tilled after the manner of Lombardy, bearing [Note: Pistoia.] Corne and Wine in the same field, all the Furrowes being planted with Elmes, vpon which the Vines grow. This Citie is seated in a Plaine, and compassed with Moun|taines, which on other sides are somewhat distant, but on the North-side hang ouer the same, and here (as likewise at Prato and Florence [76]) the streetes are paued with broad free stone, most casie to walke vpon. And the Cathedrall Church is stately built, and the pauement is of Marble curiously wrought, like the Church of Sienna . The Citie hath the name (in the Latin tongue, as also in the Italian) of a plague which inuaded the Citie, when the Troopes of the Rebell Catilina being ouercome, fled thither, whose po|steritie being seated there, hath nourished a greater plague by perpetual factions, shew|ing thereby of what race they came. Desiderius King of Lombardy compassed the Ci|tie with a wall. After the Florentines about the yeere 1150 subdued this chiefe Citie of Hetruria, vnder whose gouernement, first the faction of the Neri and the Bianehi brake out, and defiled the Citie with murthers, which being extinct, the faction of the Cancellieri and the Panzaditi began, which lasted almost to our time, with incredible hatred and murther. But of late times, the Duke of Florence [77] published an Edict, that vpon great penaltie, no man should weare any Roses, or other signes of faction, which till that time they did beare vpon the parts of their body, where they might most easily be seene. From hence I walked three miles through little Mountaines to Sarauale, and two miles to Pouanni, where the Plaine begins to open; and three miles to the Brooke Pescha, where I paied a Creitzer for my passage by boate, and fiue miles to Borgo nuouo, through Mountaines full of Chess-nuts and other nut trees, and eight miles in the ter|ritorie of Lucca, through a large plaine, to a solitarie Inne, called La Moretta. By the way I paid (vpon reckoning) on reale and a halfe for my breakefast, and in this Inne I lodged, and paied (at an ordinarie) three reali for my Supper.

The next morning I walked one mile to Lucca; the Emperour Charles the fourth [Note: Lucca.] made this Citie free, which hath kept the Libertie to this day, gouerned by Senators, but liues in parpetuall feare of practises against this libertie from the great Duke of Florence [78] . It is seated in a plaine, and strongly fortified, and compassed with Mountaines on all sides, but somewhat distant, and onely lies open on the side towards Pistoia, be|ing two miles in compasse, and hauing about thirtie foure thousand Inhabitants. The strectes are narrow, and paued with broad free stone, most easie to walke vpon. The Pallaces of the chiefe Gentlemen are built of free stone, with a low roofe after the Itali|an fashion, and they haue many pleasant Gardens within the walles. In the corner to|wards 145 North-west by North is a strong castle, neere which lies the Cathedrall Church, stately paued with Marble, but very darke, as most of the Papists Churches are built, ei|ther because they think darkenesse increaseth Religion, or to make it an excuse for their burning candles in the day. There also lies the Senate house; and al the Innes are in one street, that they may more easily look into strangers, for any practise against their liber|ty; for which cause no man may weare any weapons in the city, nor so much as a knife, except the

[76] Florence
[77] Florence
[78] Florence

point be blunt These Citizens first spread through Italy the Art of making silke, and weauing it into clothes, and by this traficke they haue very rich families Here I paid (at an Ordinaric) o reali for my dinner and supper. From Lucca I walked, miles through a pleasant Plaine, to the Mountaine of Pisa, which diuides the Territories of those two Cities, and it is very high and stoney, yet is full of Rosemary, Time, and sweet smelling hearbs, and the passage of it is 2 miles long. After I went 3 miles through fenny ground, often ouerflowed with the Riuer Arno, and came to Pisa. Arno is a little Riuer [Note: Pisa.] talling from the Apenine Mountaines neere Florence [79] , through which City it runs, and so passeth through a most pleasant and fruitful Plaine to Pisa, through which Citie it also runs; and by reason of the narrow bed, and the neere Mountaine of Pisa, is subiect to o|uerflow vpon any great raine, so as with great hurt it drowneth the fields of Pisa, and those that lie fro thence to the Sea. Pisa of old famous for nauigation, was made free by the Emperor Charles the fourth, about the yeere 1369. But long after it was the second time sold to the Florentines by Galeacius Vicount of Millan. Then they practised with the French to recouer their liberty, when Charles the eight passed that way to conquer Naples , til they were the third time subdued by the Florentines; since which time the fa|mily of Medici inuaded the liberty of Florence [80] , together with that of Pisa, vnder the title of Great Duke of Florence [81] , which they hold to this day. But whe Pisa was thus brought in subiection to Florence [82] , many of the chiefe Citizens chose rather to liue at [83] Venice, and other places, in perpetual banishment with their posterity, then to be subiect to the Flo|rentines Pisa was of old called Alpheo, of the builders comming from their dwellings neere [...] a Riuer in Greece. The brook Arno runs from the Last to the west through Pisa, seated in a Plaine, and towards the North-West by North is a Gate, and a most faire Cathedral Church, paued with Marble curiously wrought, and hauing a most faire pulpit In which Church, neere the high Alter, is the Sepulcher of the Emperor Henrie the seuenth, whom Plutina and many German Writers affirme, to haue been poisoned by a wicked Monk of the Order of the Predicants, at the Communion of our blessed Lords Supper. Vpon this monument these words are written in Latin.

In this [...] to be dispised, are contained the bones of Henry the seuenth, Count of Lu|ceburg, and after the seuenth Emperour of that name, which the second yeere after his death, namely 1319. the twentyfiue day of the Sextiles, etc. were brought to Pisa, and with great honour of funer all laid in this Church, where they remaine to this day.

The steeple is neere the Church but feuered from it, which seemes to threaten the sal|ling from the top to the bottome, but that is done by the great Art of the workemen, deceiuing the eye; for it is as strongly built as the Church. I ascended the same by two hundred and forty staires of marble, in which ascent it hath seuen galleries on the out side. Not farre then to is a yard vsed for common buriall, called the holy field, vulgar|ly Campo Santo. In which the Emperour Fredericke Barbarossa, returning from Hic usa|lem, did lay great stone of that earth, which he had vsed for ballast of his ships; and they say that dead bodies laid there, doe-

[79] Florence
[80] Florence
[81] Florence
[82] Florence
[83] Venice

consume in a most short time. This yard is com|passed with a building all of Marble, which lies open like a Cloyster, (we call it a terras) and the same is couered with lead very sumptiously, hauing in bredth 56 pillars, and in length 189. each distant from the other thirteene walking paces. So as (in my opinion) this yard for buriall is much more stately, then that most faire yard for the same pur|pose, which I formerly discribed at Leipzig in Germany, called in Dutch Got saker. In this place is a sepulcher stately built of marble of diuers colors, with this inscriptioin Latin; Pope Gregory the thirteenth, borne at Bologna, commanded this to be made, so the most [...] the [...] Lawyer Iohn Buon' Compagno, his brother by the Fathers side, deceased in [...] the yeere 1544 at Pisa, where he was chiefe Professour of that Law. 146 Here I did see another sepulcher with this inscription in Latin; To Mathew Curtius Physitian. Duke Cosmo made this at his owne charge, in the yeere 1544.

At the West corner of the City, is the Armory, vulgarly called L Arsenalo, where they build and keepe the Dukes Gallies, which were there at this time no more then seuen in number; for the Duke vsed to send out in summer time some two or three Gallies, (and seldome any more) to spoile the Turkes, which he might doe more bold|ly, because the Florentines haue no cause to feare the Turkes, since they vse no traffick by sea, but send out their silkes and other commodities by strange ships, and onely take care to entertaine those Merchants well, who bring them corne and victuals by sea. At the same West corner of the City, is a bridge of bricke ouer the Riuer Arno, built high in the midst, with three Arches, vnder which the boates passe. And towards the East there be three other like bridges. Neere the first bridge is another gate of the City, leading towards the sea, and neere the same, is the most sweete walke, that euer I beheld. It hath in bredth some fiue rowes of trees, on each side, and a like distance of greene grasse betweene those trees, but it reacheth in length many miles; and out of the Riuer Arno are drawne two ditches, which runne all the length of it, one vpon each side: so as the Citizens in summer time, vse to take boat in Arno, at their doores, with a a basket of victuals; and so many Families of them, passing by the ditches on both sides the walke, sit downe a good distance the one from the other, and there sup and conuerse with great pleasure. On the South side of the City a strong Fort lies neere the wall, and there is the third gate of the City. In the midst of the City vpon the banke of Arno, is the Pallace of the Duke of Florence [84], and there is a statua erected to Ferdinando the Duke then liuing, who much fauoured this City, in which he was borne. Not farre thence is a little, but most faire Chappell, all of marble, built in the forme of a Thorne, vulgarly called La Capella lesu di Spina. The pleasant seat of the City, the curtesie of the Citizens, and my desire to conuerse with the Professors of the Vniuersity, made me spend some daies in this City, where I paid by the day for my chamber and bed three creitzers, and my Host was tied to buy and dresse such meat for me as I desired, wherein I spent some three Giulij by the day, and if I had purpo|sed to stay long, I might haue liued well at a more easie rate.

[84] Florence

2

4 CHAP. III.

Of my iourney to Ligorno, my returne to Florence [85] , and to Sienna , and the description of these Cities. Of my iourney by Land to Lirigi, (in which againe I passed by Lucca and Pisa,) and by sea to Genea, with the description of that City, and my iourney by Land to Pania, to Mi|lano, to Cremona, and to Mantous, with the discription of the Cities, and of my returne to Padena.

I Hired a horse for three Giulij from Pisa to Ligorna, an Ha|uen of this state, which Ftolomy of old called Liburuum, (of which name there is another Hauen betweene Istria and Dalmatia), and Cicero called Labro. Not farre from Pisa I passed by boat the brooke Serpe, running from Lucca; and paid two creitzers for passing my horse, and one for my selfe. Then for three miles I rode vpon a paued way, and thirteene miles more through a plaine of pasture, full of many woods and Lakes, which lakes and fenny grounds, lying neere Pisa, make the aire vnwholsome some möneths of the yeere, and the Citi|zens much subiect to sickenes.

So after sixteene miles riding, I came to Ligorno, which was of old fortified by the Pisans, and those fortifications were demolished by the Genoest, in the yeere 1297. but peace being made betweene them, this place returned vnder the command of the Pi|sans, and they being after subdued by the Florentines, this place came also into their 147 hands; and when the French King Charles the eight, in the yeere 1494. restored the Pi|sans to liberty, this place followed their fortune; till the Pisans againe being subdued by the Florentines in the yeere 1509. this place also returned to their subiection. It is said to haue the name of Ligornus sonne to Phaeton. Cosmo de Medicis, Duke of Florence [86] , began to fortifie againe this ancient Towne, and to measure out the circuit and the streetes thereof. And Duke Francis tooke vpon him to goe forward with this vnperfe|cted worke; and he being dead, Duke Ferdinand his brother, at that time liuing, brought it to the forme of a most strong Fort, and faire City. And at this time the streetes began to be replenished with houses, for the Duke made this place as it were a sanctuary to offenders, vpon whom he vsed to impose for punishment, either to dwell there for euer, or at least for some yeeres, and to adde one or more houses to the buil|ding: so as the City was now faire and populous, but it was filled with Citizens guilty of crimes, and of no ciuill conuersation. My selfe hearing that they were such men, perhaps out of preiudicate opinion, did thinke their lookes barbarous, which made me looke more warily to my selfe, and to those things I had with me. The City is sea|ted in a plaine, somewhat longer from the North to the South, then it is broad from the East to the West; and the sea lies vpon it, partly on the North, and partly on the South, and altogether on the West side. And it hath one Tower on the North side, and another one the South side, reaching into the sea, out of which they hang lights by night to direct saylers: and betweene these Towers, full on the West side, there is a Ha|uen for

[85] Florence
[86] Florence

great ships further out into the sea, and also neere the City and compassed with the wals thereof, are two Hauens for Gallies and small Barkes. The Riuer Arno running from the East to the West, passeth by the City on the North side, and there fals into the sea; and at the corner on the North side is a strong Fort. Here I paid (vpon reckoning) two giulij for my supper, and as much next day for my dinner, and retur|ning to Pisa by water, I paid seuen creitzers for my passage.

Two weekes being thus spent, I thought good to returne to Florence [87] , that I might receiue my money, which I had not receiued before, because for feare of the inquisi|tion, I onely staied there Easter day in the Dutch Inne. Therefore hiring a horse for foure giulij, I rode forty miles to Florence [88] , through the pleasant valley of Arno, partly tilled after the manner of Lombardy, where the same field yeelds corne, wine, and wood, partly diuided into sweet pastures. By the way it hapened that I brake a bough of a mulbery tree, to shade me from the sunne, and falling into the company of an honest Gentleman, he told me I seemed a stranger, because I carried that bough, since those trees planted in the high waies, belonged to the Duke, who preserued them for silke|wormes, and had imposed a great penalty vpon any that should breake a bough there|of; so: as if I passed with this bough through any village, I should be sure to be taken and kept prisoner, till I should pay a great fine: whereupon I presently cast away this bough, with many thankes to him for his gentle warning.

How Florence [89] came to be subiect to the House of Medici, with the title of Great Duke, I must hereafter shew in the discourse of the Florentine Commonwealth. At [Note: Florence [90] . vulgarly Fioren|za.] this time I will set downe (as briefly as I can) the discription of the City, and fields ad|ioining It is a most sweet City, and abounding with wealth, the Citizens are much commended for their curtesie, modesty, grauity, purity of language, and many vir|tues. The City is innobled with the Dukes Court, and with stately Pallaces, built within and without the wals, and for the stately buildings and sweet situation, it is wor|thily called Florence [91] the beautifull, vulgarly Fiorenza la bella. It is said to haue had the name Florentia in Latin, either of the Fluentini, (a neighbour people of whom they come) or of the perpetuall happines into which it grew like a flower, or of the Citizens wealth, and the Cities beauty flourishing like a flower. The pauement of the City is not of flint (as at Rome) nor of bricke (as at Sienna) but of very broad and faire free stone. The houses after the manner of Italy; are built with a low roofe, excepting the Pallaces, which are stately built of free stone engrauen. The windowes (as in all the Ci|ties of Italy (excepting [92] Venice alone) are not glased, but either lie altogether open, to take aire, or are couered with oyled paper and linnen cloth. The streetes are most broad, and haue an open aire. In discribing the Citie, I will begin without the walles, 148 And first towards the North and East, it is compassed with pleasant Hills, planted with excellent fruit trees, and lying in the forme of an Amphitheater, and behind them the high Mountaines of the Apenine, somewhat remoued, are instead of strong walles to the Citie. Also on the

[87] Florence
[88] Florence
[89] Florence
[90] Florence
[91] Florence
[92] Venice

South side, it hath like Hilles, and distant Mountaines, but to|wards the West it lies open to the most pleasant Valy of Arno, which Valy continueth as farre as Pisa, and to the sea-side. On all sides without the walles, Pallaces of Gen|tlemen are most frequent, and houses of Citizens, not distant aboue three or foure clo|ses one from the other, whereupon the Emperour Charles the fifth beholding the Citie and the Countrey from a high steeple, affirmed, that Florence [93] was the greatest Citie in the whole world; and when hee perceiued that the standers by [...] doubtfull of his meaning, he added, that in good earnest he reputed all the Pallaces without the walles, compassed with Hilles and Mountaines as with walles, to bee within the circuit of the Citie. It is seated (as it were) in the Center of Italy, betweene the aire of Arezzo, produ|cing quick wits (where Peter Aretine the Poet was borne, of a sharp wit, though hee a|bused it wantonly), and the aire of Pisa lesse pure, and yeelding men of strong memory, so as it hath had by this temperature of aire, many Citizens as well sharpe to learne sci|ences, as strong to retaine them. The Riuer Arno running from East to West diuides the Citie, but into vnequall parts, the farre greater part lying on the North-side, and the lesse on the South-side; and the bridge to passe from one to the other, is almost in the very middest of the City, which is fairely built, yet is more magnified by strangers then it deserues. It hath little houses vpon it, where with it is couered, and vpon each side are Gold-smithes shops, which make small or no shew at ordinarie times: but when the Duke Ferdinando brought his Dutchesse (the Daughter of the Duke of Loraine) to the Citie, at her enterance, those shops were furnished with vessels of sil|uer, and many rich Iewels, yet borowed of the Citizens to that purpose. And how|soeuer some strangers may wonder at it, yet they who compare that bridge with the bridge of London, or those Gold-smiths shops with the daily shew of the Gold-smiths in Cheape-side, shall finde no cause to wonder thereat. The bridge hath two hundred twentie eight walking paces in length, and is built vpon seuen Arches. There bee three other bridges ouer Arno, but farre lesse in bignesse and magnificence then the former; for the Riuer is shallow, scarce couering the sand or stones, though beyond the Citie it be increased with other waters, and is subiect to ouer-flowing vpon any great raine. The Citie is of a round forme, and vpon the walles thereof lie eight Fortes, whereof the greatest and strongest lies towards the South. And the farre greater part of the Ci|tie on the North side of the Riuer, lies in a Plaine, but in the lesse part on the South side of the Riuer, the houses towards the North-East are built vpon the sides of Moun|taines, and the dwellings are more scattered, hauing many and large Gardens; and in that part there is a place vulgarly called le Ruinate, that is, the ruinous, because the hou|ses haue been often ruined by Earthquakes, and there you shall find this inscription in Latin: Duke Cosmo in the yeere 1533 forbad the houses of this Mountaine to be rebuilt, which thrice fell by the fault of the soyle. Neere that place lies a lane vnpaued, in memory of a Vir|gin that dwelt there, whom a yong man loued, who was borne of a Family of a contra|rie faction to hers, betweene whom many cruelties had been exercised, and they mutu|ally louing each other, and despairing to get their friends consent for mariage, and at last being impatient of delay, resolued with what danger soeuer to meet together. But it hap|pened, that the yong man being to ascend into the Virgins Chamber by a ladder, was surprised, who to saue the reputation of the

[93] Florence

Virgin, confessed, that he came to rob the house, whereupon he was condemned to die, and being led to execution by the house where the Virgin dwelt, she laying aside all shame, came running out, with her loose haire about her eares, and embracing him, confessed the truth publikly, with which ac|cident both their parents were so moued, as laying aside all former malice, they contra|cted affinity, and the young man deliuered from the bonds of the hangman, was tied to her in the sweet bond of marriage. And of this wonderfull euent, the Florentines thought good to keepe this memorie for posteritie. The Duke hath two Pallaces with|in the City, whereof one is called Pallazzo di Pitti, seated in this part of the City, which a Gentleman of Florence [94] by name Lucca della Casa de Pitti, began to build but falling in|to 149 pouerty and not able to finish it, was forced to sel the same to Cosmo de Medicis, being Great Duke of Florence [95] , and shortly after conuicted of treason, was beheaded. This is the most stately Pallace in the Citie, in the Garden whereof, called Belueder, are many most sweete shades among pleasant Groues, together with a pleasant Caue and Foun|taine. They say, that one Mule did bring all the matter to this building, in memorie whereof, these verses are written vpon the picture of the said Mule:

Lecticam, lapides, and marmora, ligna, Columnas Vexit, conduxit, traxit, and ista tulit. The Litter, these stones, marbles, pillers, wood, Did carry, leade, draw, beare, this Mule so good.

The outward side of the Pallace is of Free-stone engrauen, and the Ornaments with|in are Regall. Betweene the two Chambers, wherein the Duke and the Dutchesse lie apart, is a very faire Gallery, and in the chamber of the Dutchesse, is a second bed most like her owne for the Duke when he pleaseth to lie there, and there is a Table wrought with siluer and pretious stones, valued at 3000 Crownes. In the dining roome are ma|ny faire statuaes, and the figure of thirty Cardinals chosen at one time by Pope Leo the tenth, being of the house of Medici. In the very Court are two great loadstones. The strong Fort called Saint Meniato, lies ouer this Pallace, and indeede ouer all the Ci|tie, which was built by Alexander de Medicis, nephew to Pope Clement the seuenth, and had lately been kept by a Garison of two thousand Spaniards, as likewise another Fort on the other side of Arno, built in the time of the free State, was likewise kept by a Gari|son of 100 Spaniards: For the Dukes of Medici aduanced to their Dukedome by the Emperor Charles the fifth, did at first admit these Garisons of Spaniards vnder an Itali|an Captaine, either to shew their confidence in Spaine, or to fortifie themselues against the Citizens, whose libertie they had inuaded; but Duke Ferdinand then liuing (the Fa|milies of Citizens being now extinct or suppressed, who had liued in the free state, and could not indure subiection) being now confirmed in his Dukedome, had lately ef|fected, that these Spaniards should yeeld the Fortes to him, and depart the Countrey. Vpon the North-side of the Riuer Arno, and vpon the banke thereof, is a monument of a horse buried in the high way, with this inscription in Latin: The bones of the horse of Charles Capelli Venetian Ambassador, when the Citie was besieged in the yeere 1533. And these verses were added:

Non ingratus herus, Sonopes memorande, sepulchrum Hoc tibi, pRome ritis haec monumenta dedit. Praise worthy horse of warre thy thankfull Lord Thee for thy merits doth this Tombe afford.

[94] Florence
[95] Florence

The Citie hath diuers Market-places, 1. Mercato Vecchio; 2. S. Spirito; 3. Santa Croce; 4. S. Maria Nouella, 5. Plazza della Signoria, which is the fairest and largest of all the rest, and therein is the Senators Pallace, and many stately statuas, one of a virgin taken by force, and of the rauisher beating her keeper, and treading him vnder his feet; another of Hercu|les, treading Cacus vnder his feet (for the Florentines beare Hercules in their great Seale); the third of Dauid, all which are of white Marble; the fourth of Perseus, carrying in one hand the head of Medusa vpon his Shield, and treading the bulk of her body vnder his feet, curiously wrought in brasse. In the same Market-place is a most faire Fountaine set round about with faire statuaes of brasse, and in the midst thereof, the statuaes of a Giant, and of three horses, almost couered with water, all wrought in white marble, do power the waters out of their mouthes into the Cesterne. In the corner of this market place is the Senators Pallace, so called, because the Senate was wont to meete there in time of the free State, but now it is the Dukes pallace, and the second that he hath within the Citie. Therein I saw a Cat of the Mountaine, not vnlike to a dog, with the head of a black colour, and the back like an hedghog, a light touch wherof gaue a very sweet sent to my gloues. Here they shewed vs (as they vse to shew to curious strangers) the Dukes Treasure (as they cal it) namely, vessels of gold and siluer, Roses hallowed by the Pope (which these Princes hold for rich presents); many chambers and galleries, hauing a sweet prospect vpon the Arno, and adorned with pictures and statuaes, notable for the 150 matter, art, and price; a most faire looking glasse; a Theater for Comedies; one table of Porphery valued at fiue hundred Crownes; another of Iasper stone, valued at foure hundred Crownes, a table then in the workmans hands vnperfected, the Iewels wher|of they valued at fiftie thousand Crownes, and the workmanship at twelue thousand Crownes. Moreouer, they shewed vs the pictures of the Popes of the house of Me|dici; rich swords and hats, and a lather of siluer to mount into the coach; and many notable antiquities; and certaine birds of India, with many other beautifull things, which they vse to shew to curious strangers, and for the same expect some reward of them in curtesie. Among other things, I wondered to see there the picture of Flizabeth our famous Queene: but the Duke of Florence [96] much esteemed her picture, for the ad|miration of her vertues, how soeuer the malitious Papists had long endeuoured to ob|scure her fame, especially in those remote parts, whose slaunders God turned to her greater glory. Here they did shew vs the great Dukes study, called Il studiol' del gran Duca, in which wee did see most faire pictures; two chests of Christall guilded ouer; diuers statuaes, not of brasse, but of mixt mettals, shining here like siluer, there like gold; a cup of Amber, a little Mountaine of pearles, wrought together by the hands of Duke Francis; a Pyramis of Pearles as they grow in oyster-shels; two kniues set with Iewels, and a third Indian knife; a naile halfe turned into gold by Torneser an Alchumist, the other part still remaining Iron; a piece of gold vnpolished, as it was digged out of the Mines; two pictures of Flemings, whereof one was valued at fiue hundred, the other at eight hundred Crownes; a clock of Amber; a piece of Amber falling vpon a Lizard, and retaining the liuely forme thereof; a stone called Vergoara that cureth poyson; the head of a Turke all of pure gold; a most beautifull head of a Turkish woman; a Table of gold, and of Iasper stone, and other Iewells, among which one Emerald of a perfect greene colour, was highly valued,

[96] Florence

being round, and almost as big as an egge, for they that kept it, reputed it worth one hundred thousand Crownes.

Not farre thence is a Pallace of the noble Family of Strozzi, and another of Alxe|ander great Duke of Florence [97] , wherein is a ruined chamber, in which certaine conspi|rator, killed him. In the stately Church of S. Maria del [...], are many most faire statuaes, and the pauement and outward parts of the walles, aswell of the Church, as of the steeple, are of carued Marble. And here are kept three triple Crownes of three Popes of the Family of Medici. The tower or steeple is very high, and in the ascent are 3 galleries round about the outside, and it is all stately built of Marble, hauing foure hun|dred fortie and nine staires to the first gallerie. In which being most faire, and all of Marble, the Emperor Charles the fifth supped, when hee came to Florence [98] . And from this gallery to the second are fifty nine staires, and from thence to the third sixty eight staires, where at the very top is a wonderfull hollow Globe of Brasse, wherein 30 men may stand together, and vpright; for it is higher then any man, and is vulgarly called la Cupula. Another most ancient Church lieth close to this, which was of old dedicated to Mars, and now is dedicated to S. Iohn Baptist, and it is of around forme, and hath a most stately Font, with the dores of mixt mettall, much richer then Brasse, and cutiously carued, the like whereof, they say, the World yeeldeth not. And therein are to be seene the monument of Pope Iohn the twenty three, deposed at the Councell of Constantia, who before his Popedome was named Balthassar Cossa: the Statua of the same Pope of mixt mettall; and diuers other statuaes of the same mettall shining like gold. To conclude, in this little, but most faire Church, are kept the monuments of the Pisanes subdued, namely, a Pillar, a Basket, and a chaine, and other notable things. Not farre thence is the faire Church, called S. Maria Nouella, vpon the wall whereof this verse is written;

Sacrum pingue dabo, non macrum sacrificabo, I will giue Fatlings, not leane Sacrifice.

Which verse they obserue may, by beginning with the words backward, bee a true verse, and of direct contrary sense, in this manner;

Sacrificabo macrum, non dabo pingue Sacrum: Sacrifice leane, not Fatlings giue will I.

151 But the Monkes will not haue it vnderstood in the last sense, vnprofitable to their profession, but rather in the first, as if men were bound now to giue the Clergy their best goods, as they were of old to giue the fattest sacrifice to God. In the Church called L'Annonciata of the Angels Annuntiation to the Virgin; the wals are round about hung with Images of men, and of mens feet and Armes, some of wood, some of met|tals, which were offered to our Lady vpon vow, by those that had recouered health of body, or had beene cured of diseases in those parts. And as it cannot be expressed how much the Italians do attribute to the virgin, so there is more concourse to this Church, then to any other. In the Church of Saint Laurence, they keepe many relikes, with vn|credible reuerence; and shew them to the people to be adored. In a Chappell of this Church are many faire statuaes of Marble, and one most faire erected to Duke Alexan|der killed by treason, by which he is made sitting with a sad countenance, his right hand laid to his mouth, and his left hand resting vpon his knee. And there be two sta|tuaes of Giuliano An-

[97] Florence
[98] Florence

gelo, and Michaele Angelo, two famous Painters and Engrauers. In another Chappell are low monuments erected to Duke Cosmo of Medici, and to Laurence his sonne, who built this Church; and to the Dutchesse of Cosmo, and to Duke Francis, and to his lawfull sonne deceased (for he had a base sonne yet liuing af|ter his brother Ferdinando had succeeded him) and also to Paulus Iouius, the Historian dying in the yeere 1574. (as I remember.) The Monument of Cosmo had this in|scription in Latin; By publike consent to the Father of his Countrey. In a stately Chappell of this Church is the Library of Pope Clement the seuenth de Medici, ful of rare greeke and latin bookes, but especially they shew the Commentaries of Iulius Caesar, a writ|ten bible, Maps of Ptolomy drawne with lines of gold, the Hierogliphica (an old man|ner of writing) of the AEgyptians, and the Pandects in written hand, brought from Pisa subdued. I dare not say that this is the same Library, which was gathered by Lorenzo of Medici, in the yeere 1484. but I am most sure that I did see these bookes in one of them. In this Church and the foresaid Chappell, was also a monument erected to Duke Ferdinando then liuing. Neer that is a garden, in which we did see two Ostrages, and flax of India, making most strong threed, and the hearbe that yeeldeth this flax, much like an Artichoke, but farre greater. In the monastery of Saint Marke, which Duke Cosmo built for Dominican Friars, is a Chappell proper to the Family Saluiati for buriall, which is very rich with diuers coloured marbles, images of brasse, and pictures, espe|cially one rare picture of a red vale, which seemed two fingers distant from the wall: And in this monastery is another Library of rare Bookes. The Hospitall of S. Maria Noua, is said to passe all others in Italy, for all necessaries to cure and nourish the sicke, and for orderly attendance, whereto that purpose are ninety six beds in one roome. Not farre thence are two stables of the Dukes, and in both of them were some thirty two horses of price.

The Duke kept fierce wilde beasts in a little round house, namely, fiue Lyons, fiue Wolues, three Eagles, three Tygers (of black and gray colour, not vnlike Cats, but much greater) one wilde Cat (like a Tyger) Beares, Leopards (spotted with white, black and red, and vsed sometimes for hunting), an Indian Mouse (with a head like our Mise, but a long hairie taile, so fierce and big, that it would easily kill one of our Cats), and wilde Boares And the Keeper told vs, that the Duke and Dutchesse, with many Gentle|men, came lately to behold them, (sitting in a gallery built round about the yard) at which time certaine men were put into little frames of wood, running vpon wheeles, to prouoke these beasts to anger; which being let loose in the Court-yard, walked with|out offending one the other, and to this ende these men had many fire-workes, from which the most fierce of them did runne away, onely the wilde Boare rushed vpon one of these frames wheeling towards him, and not only turned it ouer, but rent out a board with his Tuske, so as all the company were affraid left the man who lay therein should perish.

Vpon the wals of the Church S. Croce, is a monument of Arno ouerflowiug, with this in scription in the Italian tongue: In the yeere 1333. the water of Arno ouerflowed to this height, and in the yeere 1557. to this, yet higher. In this Church is the sepulcher of 152 Michael Angelo Bonoritio, a most famous Engrauer, Painter, and Bullder, whose bones were brought from Rome , at the instance of Duke Cosmo, in the yeere 1570, and laid here. It is most certaine that he was most skilfull in those Arts; and of him the Italians greatly boast, and with all tell much of his fan-

tasticke humours: namely, that when he painted the Popes Chappell, (whereof I spake in discribing the Popes Pallace) that he first obtained the Popes promise, that no man should come in, till the worke were fi|nished; and vnderstanding that the Pope had broken this promise, comming in him|selfe with some Cardinals at the backe doore of the vestery, that he being then to paint the last Iudgement, did so liuely figure the Pope and the Cardinall (that tempted him) amongst the Diuels, as euery man might easily know them. But that is abhominable, which the Romans of the better sort seriously tell of him, that he being to paint a cru|cifix for the Pope, when he came to expresse the liuely actions of the passion; hired a Porter to be fastned vpon a Crosse, and at that very time stabbed him with a penknife, and while he was dying, made a rare peece of worke for the Art, but infamous for the murther: and that hereupon he was banished Rome , and went to the Court of the Duke of Vrbino, where he was entertained with much honour. And they report also that when he was recalled to Rome with pardon of that fault, the Dutchesse of Vrbino being bold vpon her former acquaintance, should entreat him at his leasure to paint all the Saints for her: and that he to shew that so great a taske should not be imposed vpon a workman of his sort, should satisfie this request, or rather put it off with a rude and vnciuill iest, sending her the picture of a mans priuy part, most artificially painted, and praying her to take in good part the Father of all the Saines, till he could at leasure send their pictures.

In the house of Iohn Bolena a Flemming, and an excellent engrauer, I did see yet vn|perfected a horse-mans statua of brasse, fifteen els high, the belly of the horse being ca|pable of 24. men, whereof foure might lie in the throat; and this horse was made as go|ing in the high way, putting forward the neere foot before, and the farre foot behind, and standing vpon the other two, which statua was to be erected to Duke Cosmo, being va|lued at 18. thousand crownes. Also another foot statua of white marble, which was to be erected to Duke Ferdinand then liuing. When I had seene these things within the wals, and about the same, I went out to neere places, to view other rarities; and I and my two Dutch consorts, each of vs hired a horse for a giulio and a halfe by the day. Early in the morning we went out by the plaine lying on the west side, and came to Pratoline, the [Note: Pratoline.] Dukes famous garden, seuen miles from the City, the conduits whereof for water if a man well consider, he may iustly say of the gardens of Italy, as Mounster saith of the Towns of Valesia, that their water costs them more then their wine. This garden is di|uided into two inclosures, compassed with stone wals. In the vpper inclosure is a sta|tua of a Giant, with a curled beard, like a Monster, some forty sixe els high, whose great belly will receiue many men at once, and by the same are the Images of many Nimphos, all which cast out water abundantly. Neere the same are many pleasant fish|ponds, and there is a Caue vnder the earth leading three miles to the Fountaine of wa|ter, from whence by many pipes the waters are brought to serue the workes of these Gardens. There is a Fountaine which hath the name of a Laberinth close by it. And a Fountaine of Iupiter and Iru distilling water; the Fountaine of the Beare; the Fountaine of AEsculapius; and the Fountaine of Bersia. I call these by the name of Fountaines, vulgarly called Fontana, which are buildings of stone, adorned with many carued Ima|ges distilling water, and such are placed in most parts of Italy in the marketplaces, open and vncouered: but in this and like Gardens, these Fountaines are wrought within little houses, which house

is vulgarly called grotta, that is, Caue (or Den), yet are they not built vnder the earth, but aboue in the manner of a Caue. It remaines I should speak of the lower Garden, which is much more beautiful the the vpper: for at the first entrance, there is a Pallace of little co passe, but stately building, being of a round forme, the midst whereof containeth the great chamber, larger then the other rooms, which round about the same are little, but beautifull, and richly furnished for priuate retreit. From vn|der all the staires of the Pallace, and the pauements round about, with the turning 153 of a cocke, spoutes of water rise vp in great force. For in respect of the heat of the Country, they take great pleasure to wet the passengers in this sort. Vnder the Pallace there is a Caue, vulgarly called la grotta Maggiore, (which and like Conduits made as is abouesaid, I will hereafter call fountaines, because they are so vulgarly called.) In the said Caue, a head of marble distilleth water; and two trees by the turning of a cocke shed waters abundantly, and a little globe is turned about by Cupid, where the Images of Duckes dabble in the water, and then looke round about them; and in the middest of a marble table is an instrument, which with great art and force, driueth wa|ter into any furthest part of the Caue. So many and so diuers are the castings of the water, as the most wary man cannot escape wetting, where they make sport to betray all lookers on in that kind. Neere this, and vnder the Pallace, is a Bath, the wals where|of shine with glistering stones, and therein is a table of Alablaster. Neere this is a caue strongly built, yet by Art so made, as you would feare to enter it, lest great stones should fall vpon your head: and here by the turning of a pipe, certaine images of Nimphes are carried by the water out of the Caue, and in againe, as if they had life, no water being seene: and in this Caue seeming ruinous, are the most curious Images of many beasts that euer I did see. In the next fountaine, with the turning of a Cocke, the vnseene waters cause a noise like thunder, and presently a great shower of raine fals. But among all the Caues or Fountaines vnder the Pallace, one is most faire and large, at the one end whereof, vpon the turning of a cocke, by the same motion of water vn|seene, the Image of Fame doth loudly sound a Trumpet, while the image of a Clowne putteth a dish into the water, and taking vp water, presents it to the Image of a Ty|ger, which dringeth the same vp, and then moues his head, and lookes round about with his eyes, which is as often done as they please, who haue the skill to order the Cocke At the other end of that Caue, is the Image of Syrinx with her fingers halfe turned into reedes; and right against that, is the Image of Pan sitting vpon a stoole, with a wreathed pipe in his hand, and Syrinx beckening to Pan, to play vpon the pipe, Pan puts away his stoole with one hand, then standing on foot, plaies vpon his pipe, and this done, lookes vpon his mistresse, as if he desired thanks or a kisse for his paines: and then takes his stoole againe, and sits downe with a sad countenance. I know not that any place in the World affoords such rare sights in this kind; but lest I should be tedious, it shall suffice onely to name the other Images and Caues. As you goe downe from the Pallace, you shall first see the Caue of AEolus, another of Parnassus, where, with the turning of a cocke, a paire of Organs doth make sweet musicke; and there is a head which together with the eyes in moued to and fro by the vnseene water, and there is a pleasant shade with many statuaes (or Images) curiously carued, and there the Duke doth many times eat. The third fountaine is called Il villano, that is, the Clowne. The fourth la pestaria, that is, the fish-pond, where a Ducke of India hauing foure wings, did swimme in the water. The

fifth La lauandara, the Laundresse, where the statua of a woman with the turning of a Cocke, beats a bucke, turning the clothes vp and downe with her hand and the battledor, wherewith shee beateth them in the water. The sixth vulgarly Caccioli, containes vessels to keepe the water cold. The se|uenth Del Rosso. The eight Grotta Copito, and in this Caue on all sides are marble chaires, whereupon passengers willingly sit after their walking: but assoone as they lightly presse some of the seats, a paile of water fals vpon his head that sits vpon it; be|sides the pauement is of marble, and therein many stones are so placed, as lightly tou|ched with a mans foot, they cast vp water into his very face and eies. There be also well wrought Images, of a Serpent biting the finger of a Man, and of a Toade creeping to and fro, and of a Dragons head bowing downe to drinke water, which presently it vomits vp againe. The ninth Il satiro, the Satire. The tenth La mascara, a woman with a vizard. To conclude, there is a large cage of birds, made of wier, and open to the aire, in which are birds of all kindes and many Countries, not onely singing to delight the eare, but of most pleasant and diuers colours, to delight the eye.

Returning from this garden, we rode to the Dukes Pallace, called La Petraia, where at that time he held his Court, (such as I shall in due place relate) and there we did see 154 Duke Ferdinando, and his Dutchesse, daughter to the Duke of Loraine, and the young Princes and Princesses of the house of Medici walking into the Garden.

Thence we rode in our returne to Florence [99] , to another Pallace of the Dukes, called Il Castello, being two miles distant from Florence [100] : in the Garden whereof wee did see a faire Oke, called la Quercetta, to the top whereof we ascended by staires, and there with the turning of a cock, the water sprung vp on all sides. There is a Fountaine, or a statua of a woman, made of mixt mettall (richer then brasse; called vulgarly di Bronzo,) and this statua shed water from all the haires of the head, and there be seates which cast out water when they are set vpon. Here in another Caue are diuers Images of beasts of Marble, curiously wrought, namely, of Elephants, Camels, Sheepe, Harts, Wolues, and many other beasts, admirable for the engrauers worke. Here our guide slipped into a corner, which was only free from the fall of waters, and presently turning a cock pow|red vpon vs a shower of raine, and there with did wet those that had most warily kept themselues from wetting at all the other fountaines. This Garden was full of pleasant hills and shades of Cipresse trees, and had three Cesternes of Marble to keepe water. Hauing now spoken of all the Dukes Pallaces within and neere the Citie, giue me leaue to relate by others report, that the Duke hath another Pallace ten miles distant from Florence [101] , called Il Poggio, which he built for the pleasure of hunting.

This day being thus spent, we returned to Florence [102] ; and the next day wee went out on foote by the South Gate, to the stately Monastery of the Carthusians, called la Cer|tosa, hauing in our company Italian Gentlemen, who caused vs to bee well entertained there, and inuited to dinner in their publique Refectory, where we had great cheare of fish, Pastry, and Sallats, but no flesh, which those Friers neuer eate, at least not publike|ly. I made mention of

[99] Florence
[100] Florence
[101] Florence
[102] Florence
[103] Florence

this Monastery in my iourney from Sienna to Florence [103] , at which time those that did pennance about Easter, flocked thither in great troopes, and now our Italian Consorts gaue vs the meanes to view the same. The Church is stately built, and the seates of the Chauncell are of Nut-tree. They did shew vs the statua of Saint Chrisostome to the middle of siluer, whose relikes also they keepe, and they shew|ed vs one of the pots in which they said Christ turned water into Wine in Cana of Ga|lily, (whereof the Papists shew many.) Also a statua of Saint Dennis Areopagita, of siluer, and like relikes kept there. These Friers professe great austeritie in Religion, and are tied to keepe silence, not Pithagoricall for some yeeres, but perpetuall, the laybrethren excepted, who doe the manuall workes of the house. They neuer eate flesh, for such is their rule, which if they breake, yet they doe it not in the publike place of eating The Priest hauing sung Masse, doth after it many times bow downe his head, and then falles prostrate on his face, praying. Each Frier hath foure cells or chambers, and his pri|uate Garden planted with fruit trees, and therein a priuate well. They haue no beds, but sleep vpon straw, and eat priuately In their owne Celles, only eating together in the publique roomes on the feast dayes, so as they may easily in priuate breake this vow of not eating flesh, if they list. To conclude, they giue large almes to the poore, and thus by shew of holines, getting great riches from Lay-mens gift, they think to deserue hea|uen, by giuing them (as the prouerb is) a pig of their owne sow. The seate of this Mo|nastery is very pleasant, vpon a Hill or little Mountaine. Hence wee returned to Florence [104] .

All the Cities of Italy haue many houses wherein strangers may hire Chambers, cal|led Camere locanti; and in Florence [105] there be only three or foure publique Innes, all in one streete for daily passengers, and three huoses like Colledges, called Albergi, for those that make long stay in the Citie, wherein they may hire Chambers for ten giulij the month, the host being tied, after the manner of Italy, besides their Chamber and bed, to dresse their meate, and finde them linnen. I liuing after this fashion, remember these rates of things bought: for a pound of Almons vulgarly vna lira di Mandole, one giulio: a pound of great grapes dried, and called Susini sixe creitzers, two pigeons one giulio, that is eight creitzers; two Apricotts a quatrine; a pound of Mutton, foureteene fifteene or sixteene quatrines; a pound of Lambe twelue quatrines; two egges fiue or sixe quatrines, a pound of Raisons or lesse grapes dried two baelli; and of another 155 kinde, called Passere, sixe baelli; two Hennes fortie or fiftie sols; two Capons sixtie sols; two Apples one quatrine, and seuen Apples, one baello; an Orange two qua|trines; two Citrones one baello; a pound of drie figges seuen or tenne quatrines; a pound of the greatest reasons, or dried Grapes called Sebibi, twelue quatrnies, and the best kinde eighteene quatrines; a pound of Rice foureteene or fifteene quatrines; a ves|sell called boccale, of Oyle, twelue crietzer or baelli (being all one); a pound of butter, containing twelue ounces, two giulij, each ounce being seuen quatrines; two ounces and a halfe of sugar fiue baelli; an ounce of Nutmegs sixe baelli, a pound of Wal|nuts twelue quatrines; two little fresh cheeses, called Recotti, thirteene quatrines; a fit proportion of any herbe for sallats one quatrine; and little proportions of any spice one quatrine, which proportion you may increase as you list. And I being lodged in

[104] Florence
[105] Florence

the Albergo of the golden keyes, called Allechiaui d'oro nel'chiasso di [...] Beuigliane, paied for my chamber by the month twelue giulij or reali; and moreouer for salt at table fiue Crietzeri or baelli. And in these Albergi, he that desires to liue at an ordinary, without trouble to buy his meate, vulgarly In dozina, shall pay for each meale two giu|lij, and if he stay long, shall pay no more for two meales. And they were wont to giue a stranger his chamber and diet in these houses for tenne Crownes the moneth, each Crowne being ten giulij.

I being purposed to liue in the State of Florence [106] this Summer, especially desired to spend my time in learning the Italian tongue, reputed the most pure in those parts; to which end I resolued to returne to Sienna , and liue in that Vniuersity: but because many Dutch and English Gentlemen liued there, which were of my acquaintance, and solita|rie conuersing with the Italians best fitted my purpose, I rather chose to liue at the Ca|stle S. Casciano, being a pleasant seate, and lying eight miles from Florence [107] , in the way to [Note: San' Cas|ciano.] Sienna . And because I liued in a publique Inne, and in a great high-way, and was shortly to passe through the Dutchie of Millan, subiect to the Spaniards, who then had warre with England, I did, for the auoiding of danger in that iourney, giue out that I was a Dutchman: but I staied here much longer then I purposed, for it happened at this time, that the Roman Inquisitors pursuing an English Gentleman, who had escaped their hands at Rome , did in stead of him cast another English Gentleman into prison, who then lay at Sienna , and was not much vnlike him. And howsoeuer the first Gen|tleman escaping, the second was shortly set fiee, yet this chance made inee make lesse haste to Sienna ; besides that I had my diet here at an easie rate, spending not aboue on Giulio each meale, and yet hauing such meate as I most desired, neately dressed, and be|ing diligently attended: but especially the most pleasing conuersation of a Gentleman dwelling there, called Nicolao della Rocca, made me most vnwilling to leaue that Castle, and the rather because he had made me acquainted with a learned Kinsman of his Ra|phaele Columbano a Florentine. And I freely confesse, that the curtesie and manifold vertues of this Gentleman Nicolao della Rocca, then tooke such impression in me, as I shall not onely so long as I liue dearely loue him, and his memory, but bee glad to doe any pleasure to his least friend, or any Florentine, aswell for their generall good desert, as for his sake more specially. He was my companion in viewing the pleasures of this Territory, where among other things I did see many delightfull Groues (vulgarly Bos|chetti), Nets to catch birds (Ragnaij), Gardens for that purpose (Vccellart), al belonging to the Noble Florentine Families of Buondelmonte, and Guicciardini, hauing Pallaces neere adioyning (of which sports I shall more largely speake in the due place, treating of the Italian exercises.) And to make the delights of my stay in this place more par|ticularly iustified, and to explane some euents therein mentioned, I will adde two Epi|stles, which I then writ of this subiect, the first from this place, the second from Flo|rence, after I was departed from this Castle, and these being written in Italian, I will al|so turne into English.

156 All' Illre Sigr Il Sigr T. H. Nobile Inghlese mio ossmo, A Pisa in Casaa di Messier T. A.

MAndato ch io hebbi le meie lettere a la vulta di vos' Signoria, stetti di lane fin' hora sempre in su l'occhi and l'orecchie

[106] Florence
[107] Florence

(non senza rincrescimento della tardanza) badan|do le suoe. Queste beanedette lettere tanto badate and hormai capitate, spieghai con tanta furia, non che fretta, che piu non hebbe mai l'affamato di mettersi a tauola. E lodato sia Iddio, poiche s' e indugiato vn' pezzo, finalmente il parto s'e fatto maschio, che tanti and cosi varij so|no i soggetti proposti da lei, che paiano rechiedere risposta distesa. Onde io che son' scarico d' ogni impedimento, and sto sfacendato nella villa, come vn' Romito nel deserto, mi stenderò (con sopportatione però delle suoe orecchie) nel rispondere a tutti i partico|lari d' esse. E prima le dirò raguaglio piu minutamente del caso Siennese. Sappia dun+que che pochi giorni fa, il Sigr. G. M. con tutto che se fosse publicamente impacciato in fatti di Stato, non dimeno per cauarsi il capriccio, trauestito da Suizzero, and par trop|po (come mi pareua) contrafatto, voise arrischiarsi d'andar' da Fiorenza a Roma. Il viag|gio gli riusci commoda[...]c e, pero non s'era piu presto tornato a Sienna , and di la (con suoa buo|na ventura) senza punto d tardanza messosi in camino la volta di Fiorenza , che dal'Inquisitori Romani sopragi[...]se vn mandato al Podesta di Sienna di farlo prigione. Hora auenne ch'il Sigr G. L. stando a Sienna and essendo (come sa lei) grandone, à aere allegro and hauendo altri contrasegni della suoa barba and cera, fu preso dai Sbirri, and per l'Inquisitori messo in prigione. Doue seppe con tal'discretione portarsi che loro auuedutosi d'hauerlo pigliato cosi in escambio, gli resero la liberià, laquale gode stando a Sienna fin' hora. Ma quel mandato passando olire, arrivò fin' a Fiorenza , doue il Sig' G M. per via d'vn' amico in Corte (non dico gia ch' il gran Ducan [illeg.] e fosse cons[...]euole) essendone informato di sera in su l' Aue-Maria, diede subito a le gambe, tenendo la volta di Paduoa , in tal fretta che pareua proprio volar' di la dell' Apennino senza a le Ringratiato [...] il cielo che sia fugito a saluamento, che con tutto che a noi altri Todes|chi rileua nulla, pure anch' io come vn forestiero in attristo and ho viuo risentimento delle disgratie d' altri che da suoi amici and dalla patria sono lontani. Non posso tenir le risa quando m' ima|gino gli f[...] i salti ch' egli fa sopre le montose scoglie. I contadini deuono pensar' ch' egli vada a la caccia d' i Caprioli, che forse non s' accorgeranno quante fiate egli riuolge gli ovcchi sopra le spalle, and ad ogni passo guata,di paura a che qualche Veltro Romano non se gli auentasse adosso L'importanza, ch' egli non se faccia securo sotto qualche frasca, doue per ogni picciol' vento che soffi[...], protrà essere tradito: che non fermandosi per strada, vil' do saluo, inteso che gli biac|chi Romani per tracciar' in Stato d' i Veneti, poco, in State d'i Veneti, poco, di la dell' Alpi, nulla vagliano. Hora che va|da egli a buon' viaggio and vi dirò fuora di burla, ch'io a la prima senti gran' dispiaecre di que|sta percossa, finche intese le dette nuoue, mi son'rihauuto. Del resto, buon' per loro, che questo gli sia accaduto nel'State Fiorentino, che altramente i Preti l'arebbino fatto vn'mal scherzo. Tal sia di questo. Hora per ristorarci, ragionamo vn' poco d' Orlando. E' quanto a la vostra gran buona lingua Toscana (respondendoui capo per capo), vedete come non è melsenza Mosche ne vostra lettra (per gratiosa che sia,) senza suoe punture and fianchate. Può far il cielo, come si puo capitar' male per essere frainteso. Ch'io burla di voi? Dio non voglia ch'io burla d'amici miei mai mai mai: Mi rallegro ben co[...]i tal' volta, andche volete ch' io faccia [...]oi? non conos|cendo altro soggetto delle lettre di trattenemento, che Cortigianie O baie. S' io pensassi che l' ore|ste scritto da buon' senno, mi verrebbe talmente la Senapa al naso, che sarei per coz-

zar' col cappo contra il muro. Ma son' chiarissimo, che conquesta brigha m' habbitate volsuto dar' la baia, per farmi montar' in bestia contra mi stesso. Dunque vi replico, che malgrado vostra mi [illeg.] stupis|cio ancora d'i vostri Toscanismi, non ch'io pensi ch'abbiate auanzato Petrarcha Dante,Bocca|cio, con quelli altri maestri della' fauella volgare, ma che d'vn Nouizo siate riuscito vn' gran' Dottore, hauendoui fatto gran' profitto senza ch'io me n' auedesse, si non in quel tratto che me [illeg.] ue deste saggio per le vostre tanto garbate and gentile lettere. Talmente ch' il torto e vostro, d'esserui apigliato alle parole non al senso mio. Doglieteni poi di voi stesso per quel' disagio ch' il scriuere nella lingua Toscana vi possa recare, ch'io in Sul' ragionar' he cauato da vostra bocca propria, che questo vi sarebbe caro, and da parte mia spero coglierne frutto, dandoui occasione di segnar' le meie scorrettioni, and di farmi parte di quei vostri belli passi di Lasco. Il che vi suplico 157 far' meco a la libera, and in cito mostrarmi quanto mi vogliate bene. Conquesta risposta state cheto, sinon, fò giuro d'assassino, che vi loderò tanto in sul' viso, che vine verrà rossore. Pas|so inanzi, done mi motteggiate, d'hauer messo quel' Oime a bella posta per far mostra elo|quenza, and fatte professione d' essere schifo de lo scriuere per vergogna del vostro rozzo stilo. Buona fe: Riconosco l'Ironia. Contentateui and godeteui nel' seno senza trionfaruine, ch' io vicedo volentieri in ogni fatto d'ingegno, pure che mi sia lecito di parreggiarui d'amore. Ma per vindicarmi di vostre sferzate, and accioche non crediate ch' io cagliassi affatto per vostre brauerie Toscanesche, m'ingregnerò di riuolgere la colpa che m'imputate in su le spalle vostre. Et penso durarci poca satica, poiche voi sopra quella medesima parolina, Oime, hauete fat|to vn' si bel' discorso, che vi debbano hauer' vna dolce inuidia gli valenti Teologi, i qua|li però hanno il grido, poter' d' ogni poco di soggetto ragionar' dalla leuata infin' al tramon|tar' del sole. Mi pare poich' andate troppo animosamente a la volta d'i Ciarletani, non curando di farui nemice queste gentaccie, a che se si aia nell' vnghie senza essere ben'prouisto di Copia verborum, mi racomando, che in quanto al' menar' la lingua, non hanno pari. Dauanzo la con|fidenza della lingua sciolta, and della prontozza d'ingegno, vitrasporta a dir' molto male con|tra la cosa piu garbata che altra che si sia nel mondo, cioe lettre di trattenemento. Per leuarui questo errore, succintamente dirò. Le cose che piu s'adoperano ci deuono essere piu care. L'aere che ci nodrisce, sopra ogni cosa si pregia. Il pan' and il vino, senza chi non si puo essere, piu si procacciano, che fasiani, tordi, O quaglie! Tali sono le lettre sopradette, ch' in ogni gentil' bri|gata piu si ragiona di cortesia, d'Amore, di ciancie, che del piattire, o maneggiar'il stato. Et per non fasti dirui con infiniti argomenti: l'Arte and l'ingegno del'Oratare, si mostrano nella ra|rità and sterilità della materia che si tratta, come nel' lodar' l'Asina, nel' dispregiar' le scientie, é cose simile. Ora per lettre di facende, non è huomo di si grossa pasta, che non le spedisca destra|mente: la narratione del' biosogno, vn Miracomando, and bello finito. Maquelle altre, se non siano abellite con l'inuentiono, and quasi lisciate con certe strauaganzo, riescono fracide and di poca lode al scrittore. E' vero, ch' i Secretarij, Notaij, and tali gente facendate, scorticandosi (per modo di dire) ne lo scriuere, and impazzan done gli ceruelli, hanno qualche pretesto di ra|gione, a lamentar si d'i complementi amoreuoli. Ma voi scio perati, stando nelle città, and che piu importa nelli studi Toscani, doureste hor maigridare: viuano le lettre di trattenemento, piene diparole gratiose. Hora fatte voi, andate, e si non vi pare ch'io v'habbia

ben' acconciato, pig|liateui spasso dell' eloquenza contadienesca. In su' l' stringere, mi date delle Signorie per farmi piacere, and me n' auertite ancora. O questo si. M' hauete tocco a punto doue mi duo'e. Et non vedete ch' in Italia c'ha carestia d'ogni cosa delle Signorie in fuora, che si danno a buona rata infino a i fachini. Tanto che si ben' io ne fosse ambitioso, tuttauia per il souerchio godere, ne re|staria suogliato. Datemi allegramente del voi, senza parlar' in astratto con l' idei, che non mi terrò per affronto, anzi per Arra d' Amore. Io per me, uedendo che le Signorie non vi sono a grado non vi ne darò mai al'auuenire, si non in escambio di quelle, che mi mandarete a me, and in quel caso vile ronderò con l'interesse. Quanto a le vostre offerte si calde d'amistà, non mi basta l'animo spieghare, quanto mi son' ite a sangue. Ma forza m'e responderui in pre|sente con l'animo, fino che m'occorre farlo con l'opere: pure in quel mentre miui impegno, and miui dono per tutto quel che porta il mio valsente Fatte di me cio che volete tenetemiui per schiauo, and si bisognasse, vendetemi a Turchi: che volete altro? Direte poi che son' [illeg.] b aie an|che queste, and non sapete ch'il Poeta sotto parole finte adombra il vero? Credetimi, se non volete ch' io vsa di furiosi protestationi, perchae in ogni modo voglio che mi si creda. Parlo da senno, commandatomi a fidanza, doue posio essere buono per vostro seruitto, come io mi seruirò libera|mento di voi, il che vedrete in effetto per la brigha che vi da l'inclusa. Et con quaesto vi bacio le mani, and anche le guancie (a la venetiana).

Da San' Casciano a li vinti tre di Luglio. 1594 . Desso in guisa di fratello, Fines Morysoni.

158 All' Illre Sigr il Sigr Nicolao Della Rocca mio ossmo, a casa suoa in San' Casciano.

o sia consegnata a le mani, etc. CHe possino essere consinate nelli studioli d'i Mercatanti queste faconde, (per non dir' peg|gio): poiche m' hanno fatto, non dismenticarmi di V. S. (che questo non farebbono g[...]amai), ma b [illeg.] e n' a'inaugiar' troppo a farle fede della mia dolce rime branza di lei. Hora essendo o in su la partenza per andar' la volta di Paduoa , mi son' mosso a scriuerle queste poche righe, con patto che non le manda al' Academia della Crusca per essere censurate, poiche essendo io (per dire, a Cauallo, forza e, che loro participano della confusione and del' scompiglio in che io mi [...]rüouo. E pure possible ch' vn' galant' huomo suo pare manca della pRome ssa? Io staua a vedere con che si|curtà lei procedesse meco, per pigliarne qualche saggio di suo amore, and l'a(peccaua parechi gior|ni (dirò liberamente non senza mio sconcio) per darle l' vltimi Id [illeg.] e ij. Ma poiche, operism [illeg.] o moragine, o altra cagione che si sia, questo aboccamento non c'eriascito, ne manco ci resta mezo a reuederci per acconciar' a bocca questa brigha Non c'ha altro remedio si non di far'pace a bell' agio per lettre. A che debito io mentre che starò a Paduoa non mancarò da parte mia, and tornato che sarò in paese mio, secondo l'occorrenze, raffazzonorò quel' poco della fauella Toscana, che d' vn' viaggio fra tante confusione di lingue m' auanzerà, and le chiarirò, ch' il suo amore mi sarà assai piu cresciuto, che questa n [illeg.] o n mi sarà scemati. Duoe cose mi promano. La prima e quel' carico delle suoe cortesie vsate verso di me, che m'ha mes|so in su' l' dosso, di tanto peso quanto lei sa: loquale il Sigr Raphaele Colombani di qua anche piu m' aggraua, chi m' ha inuitato amoreuolmente a casa suoa, m' ha menato a la Cer [illeg.] t osa, and in somma trattomi con tanta amoreuolezza quanta non si può dire. Io lo rece|uo come satto per amor' di V. S. (che non m' inganno delli miei pochi

mer [illeg.] u i) and tutta io non lene ringratto altramente, perche in questi simili, fatti non c' ha pagha ai parole. Il secondo [...] ar|tello che lauoràne l'mio ceruelio s' e ch' essendo, io talmente tenuto a V. S. mi sento grauata la conscienza, a hauerla ingannata in vn' certo particulare. Il che tanto piu mi pesa quanto piu per quel' inganno mi si toglie affatto ogni speranza, di poter' mostra lene grati[...]udine, se per caso mi se presentasse l' occasione, (della quale quanto io sia bramoso, Dio vel' dica.) Hora per sgrauar' l' vna and sgannar l' altra a vn' tratto, per questa charta (priuilegiata come le maschere, di non arrossire per grande che sia la vergogna del' Patron) le fo fede ch' io son Inghlese, e non mica Todesco, come l' ho dato ad intendere fin' hora. Et accioche non ne ritragga d' essere abba|tuto in qualche Iuntatore, o personaggio indegno di quella s[...]oa accoglienza che m'ha fatta so|pra modo gentile, sappia che per rispetti honore no li io m' habbia in tal' guisa mascarato. Non dubito punto, che l'e gia hormai chiara l'inimicitia ch' abbiano i nostri con i spagnuoli, tanto che si l' vn' capitasse in man' dell' altro, difatto restaria prigione infino che fosse riscattato. Hora hauendo Io da passare fra pochi giorni pel' Ducato di Milan o, mi pareua cosa sciocca di darmi a conoscere, spetialmente stando io in vn' hosteria nella strada maestra, per doue tutti di quelle bande giornalmente passano. Ho firma speranza, che lei sia per farmi buona l' iscusa, o vero al manco per perdonarmi l' errore. Si ricorda che le son s[...]ruitore piu che mai, ne posso essere piu suo che mi sono, and mantenga l' Inghlese nella suoa buona gratia per quella suoa gentilezza propria, per laquale e stata acquistata al Todesco: che degnandosi di commandarmi in persona d' Inghlese, mi rincuoro far' ogni gran' cosa per amor suo, che potrebbe far' qual si voglia To|desco. Et con questo, abbracciandola cosi da lontano, mi l' offero and racomando vna volta per sempre. Et di nuouo le bacio le mani.

Da Fiorenza a li dieci d' Aousto, l' An' 1594 . Di V. S. affettmo. seruitore, F. M.

159 To the noble Gentleman M. T. H. a Gentleman of England my most respected, at Pisa in the house of Master T. A.

AFter I had sent mine vnto you, mine eyes and eares were euer attentiue to receiue your answere, not without some griefe that it was so long delaied. These bles|sed [Note: Thus in English,] letters so much expected, are at last ariued, which I opened in as great haste, as hun|gry men set downe to table. And faire is our fortune, after patient expecting, at last wee haue got a man-childe: for so many and so diuers are the subiects you pro|pound, as they seeme to require a large answere. And therefore I that am as much at leasure in the Countrey, as an Hermit in the Desart, will enlarge my selfe (with your patience) to answere all the particulars. And first I will giue you an account of the chaunce at Sienna . Know then that of late Master W. M. howsoeuer hee had publikely imploied himselfe here in matters of State, yet to satisfie his owne hu|mour, would needes venter to goe from Florence [108] to Rome , apparelled like a Switzer, and (as it seemed to me) too much disguised. His iourney fell out well, yet hee was no sooner returned to Sienna , and from thence (by good aduenture) gone towards Florence [109] , but a Mandate came from the Inquisitors of Rome to put him in prison at Sienna . Now it happened, that Master W. L. lying then at Sienna , and being (as you know) high of stature, and of cheerefull countenance, and hauing other markes of his beard and face, was taken by the Scrgiamts, and imprisoned by the Inquisi-

[108] Florence
[109] Florence

tors of Sienna . Where hee carried himselfe with that discretion, as they perceiuing they had mistaken him, set him at libertie, which hee now enioyes at Sienna . But the Man|date passing forward came to Florence [110] , where Master W. M. hauing notice there|of in the euening about Aue Marie time, by a friend in Court (I say not with the Dukes priuitie,) presently tooke him to his heeles towards Paduoa , in such haste, as hee seemed to flie ouer the Apennine without wings. And now (God be praised) hee is in safetie For howsoeuer this chance importeth not vs that are Dutchmen, yet my selfe as a stranger, am sorrie for any disaduentures happe|ning to others, who are farre from their friends and Countrey. I cannot hold from laughing, when I imagin with my selfe, what large steppes hee makes o|uer the rockey Mountaines. The Countrey people will thinke that hee hunts for Kiddes, not marking how often hee lookes backe, for feare least some Roman Greyhound should lay hold on him behind. The maine doubt is, that hee thinke not himselfe safe, where hee may bee betraied; for if hee stay not by the way, I dare assure you of his safetie; the Roman Hounds hauing little skill to hunt in the State of [111] Venice, and none at all beyond the Alpes. Now let him goe on his happie voyage, and I will tell you without iest, that I was much astonished at this accident, till I was restored by vnderstanding this happie euent. It was well for them that this happened in the State of Florence [112] , for otherwise the Priests would haue sifted them like bran. So much for them. Now for pastime, let vs talke a little of Orlando. And that I may answere you from point to point, first, concerning your excellent Tuscan language; see how there is neuer honv without stinging Bees, neither are your louing letters without their exceptions. How soone a man may be blamed, being misunderstood. Should I iest at you? sure I neuer iest at my friends, sometimes I am merry with them, and what would you haue mee doe, know|ing no other subiect of idle letters, but complement and mirth. If I thought you had written this in earnest, I should take such pepper in the nose, as I should bee readie to run my head against the wall: but I am most certaine you haue picked this quar|rell with mee, to make mee angrie with my selfe. Therefore I replie howsoeuer you take it, that I am still amased at your Tuscan eloquence, not that I think you passe Petrarch Dante, and Baccaceo, and the other great Masters of that language, but that of 160 a nouice, you are become a Doctor, before I could perceiue it, had you not giuen mee this taste thereof by your gentle letters. So as you are in the wrong, taking my words and not my meaning; and blame your selfe for the trouble you haue in answering mee in the Italian Tongue, since I vnderstood from your owne mouth, that you would willingly exchange such letters, which for my part will bee profitable to me, giuing you occasion to correct my errours, and to impart vnto mee the eloquent phrases of Lasco. And this I pray you doe freely with me, and therein shew me how much you loue me. Be content with this answere, otherwise (I sweare by no beggars) I will praise you so much to your face, as I will make you blush. I goe forward, and come to your quip, that I began my letters with the word (Alas) to shew my cloquence, and that you were ashamed to write to mee for your rude stile. Very good, I finde the Irony: content your selfe that I gladly yeelde to you in all points of wit, so it may bee lawfull for me to equall you in loue. Yet to reuenge

[110] Florence
[111] Venice
[112] Florence

this frump, and that you may not thinke I am daunted with your Toscan brauery, I will attempt to cast that vpon your owne shoulders, which you impute to me, and this I thinke to doe with ease, since vpon this one little word (Alas) you haue made so faire a discourse, as you may iustly bee enuied by our great Diuines, who vpon the least subiect are held able to discourse from morning till night. Againe, me thinkes you are somewhat too bold with the Mountibankes, not caring to make them your enemies, into whose hands if you fall, without being well stored with Copia verborum, woe be to you, for you know they are most skilfull Fencers with the tongue. Moreouer, the confidence of your skill in this tongue, transports you to speake ill of the most gentle and delight|full thing in the world, namely, of complementing letters. And to cure you of this er|rour, I will briefely remember you. That the things of greatest vse, are most deare vn|to vs. The aire that nourisheth vs, is most of all deare. All men seeke more for bread and wine, without which they cannot liue, then for Phesants, Black-birds or Quailes: such are letters of complement: for in euery gentle company, there is more discourse of courtesie, loue, and toies, then of Law or State matters. And not to be tedious with many arguments. The art and wit of the Orator is most shewed in the barrennesse of the subiect whereof he speakes, as in praising the Asse, dispraising liberall sciences, and in like subiects. Now for letters of busines, no man is so blockish that cannot easily dispatch them; when he hath told the businesse, and bid farewell, all is done. But if letters of complement bee not beautified with inuention, they are dull, and the writer deserues small praise. It is true, that Secretaries, and Scriueners, tyred with writing of businesse, haue some reason to declame against letters of complement, but you being at leasure, and liuing in a Citie, yea, in an Vniuersitie of Toscany, should say with me, well fare letters of complement, full of gratious words. Goe too now, and if you thinke I haue not wel fitted you, heareafter make your selfe sport with our Country eloquence. Towards the conclusion, you giue me many Master-ships (or worships) to doe mee pleasure, and you remember me of it, least I should not see it. Indeed you haue now hit me iust where my paine lies, yet you know nothing is so cheape in Italy as masterships, which are plentifully giuen to very Porters, so as if I loued them well, yet the very plen|ty of them, would make them irkesome. Write you to me without any speaking of Masterships in the third person, which I wil take for no disgrace, 'but rather for a pledge of your loue. And for my part, since these titles are vnpleasing to you, I will hence for|ward send you no more of them, except it be in exchange of those you shall send me, in which case I will pay you with vsurie. Touching your affectionate offers of loue to me, I cannot expresse how I take them to heart, but for the present I can returne you no|thing but words, till occasion serues to witnesse my loue in action, and in the meane time I leaue my selfe at the stake with you, yea, I giue my selfe to you, all that little I am worth, doe with me what you please, keepe me for your seruant, and if neede hee, sell me to the Turkes: what would you haue more? You will say also that this is writ|ten in ieast, yet you know that Poets vnder fained words shadow the truth. Beleeue me, except you will haue me vse furious protestations, for I will and must be beleeued. 161 I speake in good earnest, commaund me with securitie, where I am good for your ser|uice, for my selfe will freely make bold with you, as in effect you may see in the trouble I giue you by the inclosed. And so I kisse your

[113]Venice

hands, and also your cheekes after the manner of [113] Venice.

From Saint Casciano this 23 of Iuly, 1594 . The same, as your brother, F. M.

To the noble Sigr. the Sigr. Nicolao della Rocca my most respected, at his house in Saint Casciano; or to his hands.

LEt this foolish businesse (not to say worse) bee confined to Merchants counting|houses, since it hath made me, not forget you (which it can neuer doe,) but to vse too great delay in giuing you testimony of my kind remembrance of you. Now being ready to take horse for my iourney to Paduoa , I thought good to write these few lines vnto you, with condition that you send them not to be censured in the Academy della Crusea, for my selfe being thus remouing, they must needes participate the confusion in which I am for the present. Is it possible that a braue Gentleman like your selfe should faile of his promise? I stood looking with what securitie you would proceede with mee, to take it for an euidence of your loue, and expected many daies (I will say freely not without some inconuenience) to haue the happinesse to see you ere I went. But since either by your forgetfulnesse, or other reason best knowne to you, this our meeting hath not succeeded, and there is no more hope that wee should meete to reconcile this quarrell, there is no other remedie but to make our peace at leasure by ex|change of letters. In which dutie (for my part) I will not faile, so long as I shall stay at Paduoa . And when I shall bee returned into my Country, I will vpon all occasions, scoure vp that little Toscane language, which after my long iourney through confu|sion of tongues shall be remaining vnto me, to make it appeare to you, that howsoeuer my language be decreased, yet my heartie loue towards you shall euermore increase. Two things lie heauie vpon me; first the burthen of your curtesies, wherwith you haue loded me, as you best know, and wherwith Sigr Raphaele Colombani hath newly charged me here, by inuiting me friendly to his house, by leading me to the Monastery Certosa, and by entartaining me with vnspeakable kindnes, which I take as done for your sake, (knowing my owne small desert), and yet I doe not so much as thanke you for it, be|cause I know such fauours can not bee repaied with words. The second thing which lies heauie vpon me, is that being thus bound vnto you, I am ashamed to haue deceiued you in one point, which so much the more grieues mee, because this deceit hath vtterly taken from me all hope, to expresse my loue to you hereafter vpon any happie occasi|on, then which nothing should be more pleasing to me. Now at once to disburden my selfe, and to cleare you for being any longer deceiued, by this paper (hauing the priui|ledge of Maskers vizards, which neuer blush, howsoeuer their Masters haue cause to bee ashamed), I let you know, that I am an Englishman, and not a Dutchman, as I haue hitherto caused my selfe to bee reputed. And lest you should there|by doubt, that you haue cast your loue vpon a Iugler, or a man vnworthy your so great fauours; know that for honourable respects I haue thus concealed my Countrey. I am sure you know, that the English haue warre with the Spa|niardes, so as either falling into the hands of the other, should bee lawfull pri|soners vpon Ransome, and I being within few dayes to passe through the Dut|chey of Milan , did therefore thinke it no wisedome to make my selfe knowne, especially lying in a publique Inne, vpon the beaten high-way, which all men of those parts daily passe. I am confident that you will make good my excuse, or at least pardon my errour; remember that I am your seruant more then euer, neither can bee [...] [...] [...] 158 [...] 159 [...] 160 [...] 161 162 more yours then I am; and main-

taine the Englishman in your good fauour, by the same gentlenesse, in which you vouchsafed it to me as a Dutch-man: for in whatsoeuer you shall commaund me as an English-man, my heart serues mee to doe you as faithfull seruice, as any Dutchman whatsoeuer. And so imbracing you thus farre off, I offer and recommend my selfe to you once for all. And againe I kisse your hands.

From Florence [114] this tenth of August, 1594 . Your affectionate seruant, F. M.

I had taken my iourney from Saint Casciano to Florence [115] , that I might receiue money, and now vpon a sudden occasion being to returne to Sienna , and from thence to Pado|ua, I hired a horse to Sienna , but haue omitted what I paied for the same, and so I retur|ned to Sienna by the same way I came, namely, to Trauernelle fifteene miles, and to Sienna seuenteene, which iourney for others instruction I will particularly set downe.

To Saint Casciano eight miles; to Colmo foure; to Barbarino sixe; to Puodibonzo sixe; to Sienna fiue, being in all thirtie two miles.

The situation of Sienna is most pleasant, vpon a high hill, and the forme not vnlike to an earthen vessell, broad in the bottom, and narrow at the mouth, which narrow part lies towards the West, where comming from Florence [116] , you enter by the Gate Ca|molea. Neere the same is a Fort, wherein the great Duke keepes souldiers, and there without the gate is the Church of Saint Marie, whether was great concourse of people for deuotion. From hence to the East gate, leading towards Rome , the streetes lie euen and plaine, though the Citie be seated vpon a mount; and in this part toward the East, the City is broadest, and from this gate a man may see the Castle Redicofini, forty miles distant, vpon the confines of the States of the Pope and the great Duke. Betweene the said gates, as it were in the center of the City, lies a most faire Marketplace, in the forme of an Oyster, and lying hollow as the shell thereof is. And there is a stately Pallace of the Senate, built when the Citie was free; in the front whereof is a statua of mixt met|tall, vulgarly called di bronzo, which seemes to bee apparelled, hauing on the head a broad hat and this statua strikes the houre of the clock. On the South-East side with|in the walles lies a large field, which was then sowed with corne, yet the Citie hath few or no Gardens within the wall.

Not farre from the walles on the South-side, lies the Cathedrall Church vulgarly called Il Domo, and howsoeuer it be little, it seemed to me the fairest Church in Italy. It hath but one dore, to which you ascend by long and broad Marble staires. All the pauement is most beautifull of ingrauen Marble, adorned with Images of the fiue Sy|bills; and there be in this Church some twentie Images of mixt mettall, besides many other of Marble. The seates of the Chauncell are of Walnut-tree, curiously carued; and all the roofe of the Church is painted of skie colour, and all set with starres. Vpon the inside, and in the vpper part of the Church, are the Images of the Popes, wrought in stone to the shoulders, set round about, where betweene Gregorie the fourth, and A|drian the second, I wondred to see the head of Pope Ioane, with the inscription naming her, especially in a Citie so neere Rome . Hauing noted this at Sienna , and after my com|ming [Note: Pobe Ioane. This monu|ment (as I heard) was defaced in the time of Pope Cle|ment the eighth then liuing.] into England reading the same, I searched Histories to see

[114] Florence
[115] Florence
[116] Florence

how they agreed in this matter, which the Papists cannot heare with patience. And I found in approued Authors, that after the said Gregory the fourth, succeeded Sergius the second (confirmed by the Emperour Lotharius, in the yeere 844); then Leo the fourth (dying in the yeere 854); then Pope Ioane (setting two yeeres and few moneths, and dying in the yeere 856); then Benedict the third, then Nicholas the Great (in the yeere 858); then the foresaid Adrian the second (in the yeere 867.) And if any man aske, why the heads of Sergins the second, Leo the fourth, Benedict the third, and Nicholas the great being omitted, the head of Pope Ioane should stand betweene the heads of Gregorie the fourth, and Adrian the second, I leauing the curious search 163 thereof to them that list dispute it, as a matter nothing to my purpose, can suddenly giue no other reason thereof, then that I coniecture the said heads were set on the other side of the Church: for at that time I was content to note the same, without casting this doubt, and so not searching to satisfie my selfe therein. But I dare boldly affirme, that my selfe and the two Dutch-gentlemen my consorts, did see this monument in this Church neere the doore on the right hand as we came in. And since that time, I haue conferred with diuers worthy English Gentlemen, who affirmed that they did see the same. In this Church are two sepulchers, one of Pope Alexander the third, the other of Pope Pius the second. And in a Chappell of this Church, is a most faire Font.

From this Church discending by slope and steepe streetes towards the South-west wall, you shall come to a most pleasant Fountaine, called Fonte Branda, without the South-gate, of which the Citizens prouerbially say, that if a stranger drinke thereof, he shall so loue Sienna , as he shall very vnwillingly and scarce at all depart from the City. But the Florentincs in scorne of the Siennesi, haue a prouerbe, Chi de fonte Bran|da beue, diuenta pazzo; He that drinkes of the fountaine Branda, becomes a foole. It casts out water by nine mouthes of stone, and there be three places where Laundresses wash, and neere the same is a pleasant groue. On the same South side towards the Sea, some few miles from the Towne, lies a fenny plaine called La Maremma, most fruitfull in corne, but infamous for ill aire; so as the place being forsaken by all Italians, is tilled by the Grisons, comming downe from the Alpes to this place in winter time, when the Alphes are all couered with snow, and in the spring time returning backe in|to their owne Countrey Sienna it selfe is much subiect to raine, so as a Spaniard com|ming often thither in rainy weather, did write, or is said to haue written to his friend, for a wonder, that it alwaies rained at Sienna . On the North-east side of the City, two large fields within the wals, are sowed with corne: All the pauement of the streets is of bricke, which lasteth the longer, because there be neither carts nor coaches, but all burthens are carried vpon the backes of Asses. There is a stately Pallace which Pope Pius the second built, who was a Citizen of Sienna , of the Family of Picciolomini, and there in the Mount Oliuet the passion of Christ is curiously grauen. It is vulgarly and truely said, that Sienna abounds with Fountaines, Towers, and faire Weomen: There is no better place to liue in through all Italy, then the state of Florence [117] , and more specially the most sweet City of Sienna . The Citizens whereof are most curteous, and they haue many publike meetings of the young weomen and Virgines to dance, where the doore is open for any Citizen or stranger.

Besides Sienna is commended for the best language, and in the same, and in

[117] Florence

all the state of Florence [118] , men liue safe from robberies, and from the murthers, which are fre|quent in Lombardy. Adde that they haue delicate diet, at Florence [119] at a reasonable rate, and in the rest of the territory at a very cheape rate. Our Hostesse at Sienna gaue vs cleane linnen often changed both at bed and boord, a large chamber, a good bed, a lin|nen canopy oft changed, and did prouide our meat very cleanly; for which each man paid no morethen ten giulij by the moneth. We bought our owne meat, and I remem|ber that the price of oyle was twenty fiue lires the barrell, that I paid for as much wood as an Asse would beare foure baelli. They haue butter, but not so good as in the valley of Arno, and they sell it twenty two sols the ounce. The Magistrate sets a price vpon euery thing to be sold in the market, neither dare any man sell ought, before his price be set; and vpon the Butchers stals, a bill is set of the prices at which they must sell their meat, so as a stranger cannot be deceiued. The price of wheat was 120. lires the Moggio, containing forty eight English peckes, and each lire is a giulio and a halfe. The Toscanes hold Rammes stones fried for a great daintie, which they call 1 a Granella, and sell it after a giulio the pound, at Sienna commonly they eat Kids flesh for three baeli the pound, and a whole Kidde for foure giulij and a halfe, Mutton two baeli and a halfe the pound, a Kiddes head three baeli, Bacon eighteene quatrines the pound, Cheese a giulio the pound, little birds a quatrine a peece, a vessell of wine con|taining thirty two boccali and a halfe for ten giulij and two baeli.

164 The eighteenth of Nouember in the yeere 1594, I rode forty miles to Lucca, and ten [Note: Anno 1594 Nou. 18.] to Pisa. If any man desire to know the right way from Sienna to Pisa, I will set it downe by relation of a friend, who rode the same in a day and night, without intermission, being fifty miles; the first seuen through mountaines, thirteene miles through pleasant hils, and thirty miles in a plaine, tilled after the Lombard fashion, with corne, and vines growing vpon Elmes, and he reported the way to be most safe by night as well as day, though a man were knowne to carry money. But I returne to my owne iourney from Sienna , where I hired a horse to Lucca for foureteene giulij; and the first day in the morning I rode twenty two miles to Castell Fiorentine, in a narrow plaine, betweene fruitfull hils of pasture and corne. By the way I lighted at Castell Certaldo, seated vpon a mount, that I might see the sepulcher of Iohn Boccacio, vpon which these verses (of his owne inuention while he liued) were engrauen:

Hac sub Mole iacent cineres ac ossa Iohannis, Mens sedet ante Deum meritis ornatalaboris; Mortalis vitae genitor Boccacius illi: Patria Certaldo, studium fuit alma Poesis. Vnder this Pile Iohns bones and ashes lie, His soule at rest enioies his labours hire; Borne at Certald, he studied Poesie, Boccacio was the sirname of his Syre.

Collucius Pierius hath added more in old Lombard letters, in the yeere 1375, and vp|pon the very sepulcher other writings are raced out, vnder which this is written in La|tine: Lact antius Theobaldus when he was Podesta (or Gouernour) at Certaldo for the people of Florence [120] , admiring his pleasant wit and quicke inuention, did for the renewing of his memory, erect this monument to him at his owne charge, and that by fines imposed in the yeere 1500. Also his statua without a beard carued in marble, was set vpon his Toome.

[118] Florence
[119] Florence
[120] Florence

At Castell Fiorentino I paid three giulij and a halfe for my dinner, and one giulio for my horse-meate.

After dinner I rode fifteene miles to Ponte Capiano, where euery horse of Carriers laded, and of Vetturines hired, paieth two giulij to the Duke, which taxe they say the Duke imposed, to withdraw Merchants from trading that way, leading to Lucca. All the way the fields were tilled on the Lombard fashion, with corne, and vines growing vpon Elmes. Before we had rode two miles, I passed the Riuer Arno, and paid halfe a giulio for my passage. At Ponte Capiano I paid ten baeli for my supper vpon reckoning, and twelue baeli for oates for my horse, and eight baeli for hay, straw, and stable roome. The second day in the morning I rode through the like way, (hauing mountaines on my right hand towards the North) seuen miles in the state of Florence [121] , and six miles to Lucca in that free state. This City I haue discribed before; and here I paid for my din|ner vpon reckoning two giulij and a halfe. After dinner I hired a horse for two giulij, and rode through like way, in a fruitfull plaine, fiue miles in the state of Lucca, and then fiue miles more to Pisa, passing into that state ouer a high mountaine, and the rest of the way lying through fenny grounds. This City I haue discribed before, and here I paid for my supper three giulij or reali.

And because the passage by sea was more dangerous from Ligorno to Genoa , I hired a horse to Lirigi for one piastro or siluer crowne. The first day I rode twelue miles, through an open plaine, to Via Regia, and there passing out of the state of Florence [122] into that of Lucca, I rode eight miles through a thicke wood, where the quarters of theeues were newly hung vp, who few daies before had robbed and almost killed a French|man; and then entering againe the state of Florence [123] , I rode one mile to Pietra Santa, and fiue miles more in the same state of Florence [124] , and one mile and a halfe in the state of Lucca, and halfe a mile to Masso in the state of the Prince of Masso, who is a Marquesse of the Family of Malaspina. All this way being through a plaine, tilled after the manner of Lombardy, with mountaines of Chessenuts on the right hand, hauing in all rode this day twenty eight miles.

In this Citty of Masso the Post-master staied vs from going any further, pretending 165 to giue vs new horses, because those we had were hired of his man at Pisa: but the true cause was, that we might lodge in his house that night, to which my companions a|greed, but my selfe being destrous to see the quarries of marble at Carrara, tooke of him halfe the piastro I had paid at Pisa, and so I left my horse. Then turning out of the way, I went on foot three miles to Carara, through wooddy mountaines abounding with Chesse-nuts. This Towne is subiect to the Prince of Masso, and is famous for the marble, which is much preferred before other, as well for the exceeding whitenes of some stones, as for the length of pillars and tables digged thence, which madeit much esteemed at Rome in the time of the free state, and of the Empire; and by rea|son it lies neere the sea, the stones are more easily conuaied to Rome , or els where. In one of the quarries called Pianella, I did see many stones digged out, which were as white as snow, and other quarries haue veines of all colours: and they sell as much marble as an Oxe will draw for twenty sols; but if it be carued there, the price is grea|ter, according to the

[121] Florence
[122] Florence
[123] Florence
[124] Florence

workemanship. Each quarry is proper to some priuate man, and if any man digge in another mans quarry, they fine him at twenty crownes, or more according to the dammage. When I beheld the beauty of Men and Weomen in these parts, which seemed to me greater then in any other part of Italy, I remembred the Pa|triarke Iacob, who laid party coloured rods in the watring troughes, when the Ewes were in heat, to make them bring party coloured lambes: and I thought by the same reason and force of nature, that they who digged these white marbles, might haue a more beautifull race. The Innes of this Towne were base, and onely fit to entertaine Artificers: and here I paid for a poore supper of herbes, egges, and chessenuts, ten baeli.

The second day in the morning, I went forward in my iourney on foot, and that a|lone, first three miles to the confines of the Marquesate of Masso, then foure miles in the Territory of Genoa , to a strong Fort belonging to that State, and seated in a plaine; and I paid for my passage ouer the Riuer Magra two baeli: and after I went three miles ouer mountaines, abounding with Oliue trees, and the tree Lecha yeelding a fruit like the Oliue, and so I came to Lirigi, a Hauen Towne vpon the Tirrhene sea, whence we were to sayle by the shore to Genoa .

There we expected passengers and a good wind for some few daies. And at the same time there was the French Cardinall of Ioyeuse, who was to saile into France. I paid each night foure bolinei for my bed, and eating vpon reckoning, I spent lesse then two giulij by the day. They vse to make this voyage to Genoa in little Barkes called Fregate, and a lesse kind of boates called Feluce, and each night to strike into some Port vpon the Coast. I passed in a Feluca, and paid three reali for my passage.

The first day we sayled in a short space from Lirigi to Wien, a Hauen not farre di|stant, vnder a promontory, at the enterance into this sea, but the wind being high, and our boat little, and somewhat ouer loaded, and the marriners themselues shewing no great confidence, we durst not put forth to sayle any further. I paid a cauelotto, that is foure bolinei for my bed with a companion, and six bolinei for my supper. The second day the wind being somewhat calmed, we sailed not without danger thirty miles, to Sestri another Hauen. This day was the day of Saint Katherine, the Patronesse of Mar|riners, who thinke that no man was euer drowned that day, but they obserue that after that day the winds vse to grow boisterous. I would willingly haue gone by land, but this Coast being all of high Rockes, there was no good high way ouer them, nor commodity for passage. Yet you cannot imagine a more fruitfull and pleasant place, then the narrow vallies and hils lying vpon the sea side: onely this coast lying vpon the south sunne; breathing fier out of Affricke, is subiect to great heat in summer time. This Territory doth so abound with fruitfull trees and flowers, as the markets are fur|nished with them in the very moneth of December. It yeeldeth noble wines; namely, Lavernazza, and in villages called Cinqueterre, the wine called Le lagrime di Christo, that is, the teares of Christ, which is so pleasant, as the Ialians say, that a Dutchman tasting it, did greatly lament that Christ had not wept in his Conntrey. At Sestri we had delicate white bread and excellent wine, (as likewise in all this iourney) and all 166 things at a cheape rate, and each man spent there nine bolinei.

The third day we sailed ten miles ouer an arme of the sea, to Porto Fino, called of old the Hauen Delfinus, now they call it Fino for the goodnes thereof. On the East side of this Promontory the sea was most calme, but when we passed to the West side, the winds were so high, and

the waues so troubled, as we had almost beene cast away, and were by force driuen vpon the side of a Rocke, where my consorts trusted to their crucifixes, vowes, and beades, (vpon which they number their praiers), and my selfe creeping vpon hands and knees, with great difficulty first got to the top of the rocke, where being in safety, the name of the Hauen came in my mind, which answereth to my Christian name, and thanking God for my deliuerance from this danger, I was glad that I escaped christening in this Hauen of my owne name. After my other con|sorts climbed to me, and thence we went on foot ten miles by the twilight of the eue|ning and Moone light, to a village, where each man vpon reckoning paid sixe bolinei for his supper.

The next morning early before day breake, we went forward on foot, our consorts of Genoa often warning vs to be silent for feare of theeues, and after we had gone sixe miles, we came by the breaking of the day to Genoa . By the way we did see a Village [Note: Genoa] all ruined, and they told vs that Turkish Pirates landing suddenly, had spoiled the same and burnt it, and had pulled downe the Churches and Altars, and among other Prisoners, had taken away a most faire Virgine from her bridegroomes side, who had married her the day before.

[Figure: The description of Genoa .]

(A) The Fort of the sea banke, (B) Statuaes erected to the builders thereof, (C) the Pallace of Andreetta D' Auria, without the wals vpon the sea, (D) the statua of Andrea d' Auria vpon the wall, (E) the new Fort, (F) the new streete most stately built, (G) the Cathedrall Church, (K) Saint Mathewes Church, (L) the Dukes Pallace, (M) the inner Hauen, (N) the Tower Faro and the ruines of the Fort called La Briglia, that is, the bri|dle, (PPPP) three gates of the City, and the fourth leading to the Hauen. On the North-east side where the sea lies (P) vpon the City we entered, and at the very ente|rance, we did see two stately Pallaces of Georgio d' Auria, and a Gentleman called Seba, 167 and sixe other Pallaces, but lesse stately. Gtnoa is seated vpon the sides of mountaines and hils, declining from the highest mountaine on the Westside, towards the East, and to the sea side. Vpon the foresaid North, and North-east side, werelong suburbs, and two gates, and without the wals a Riuer fals from the Westerne mountaines towards the East, and so into the Sea. On the South-side is the outward Hauen, in the forme of a halfe moone, vpon the horne whereof towards the East, lies the sea banke, called La Mola, about 600. paces long, which keepeth off the waues of the sea that beat vpon the City on the East side. And in the middest of this bank is a (A) Fort built to detend the Nauy. There also are certaine statuaes (B) erected to the founders of the building. And in the furthest corner of this hauen towards the City, is an (M) inner hauen, com|passed with wals, where the gallies lie vnder a couered biniding. Neer that is the Armo|ry of the City, and the chief gally in the Port called, La Reale, the Regal, was about seucn|ty fiue walking paces long, and they sayd that foure hundred Rowers belonged to the same. At the other horne of the outward Port towards the south-west, is the (N) tower Faro vpon firme land, kept by certaine watchmen, who by night hang out lights to di|rect the marriners at sea. Neere that lies the Fort Lahiigita, that is, the bridle, which the French King Lewis the twelfth fortified: but the Citizens: expelling the French out of the City, demolished the same. Thence as you walke towards the City, and before you enter into the gates, lies; C) the stately Pallace of Andreetta D' Auria (or Doria) the buil|ding whereof, the garden, the staires to discend to the sea, the banquetting house, and diuers open

galleries, are of Kingly magnificence. Not farre thence vpon the wall is a (D) statua erected to Andrea [...] Aurta, late Admirall to the Spanish Fleete. Then you come to the (P) gate of the City, and not far thence within the wals, is (P) ano her gate leading to the inner Hauen, where the Gallies lie. Not farre thence is the most faire Ca|thedrall (G) Church, in which is an ancient monument of mettall, digged out of the adiovning valley, which hath an old inscription, shewing the antiquity of the City-Not farre thence is the (K) Church Saint Matthew, wherein the Prinets of the Family of [...] haue long had their monuments. Neere that lies the (L) Dukes Pallace, not his priuate Pallace, but publike, which is kept by a guard of Dutchmen, who also haue the keeping of two of the strongest gates of the City. In the Court yard of this Pallace, is a foot ftatua, armed and of white marble, erected to the foresaid Andrea d' Aurta, by the Senate with the title of Father of his Countrey, because ne had lately restored the Citizens to their liberty. And in an vpper chamber called Sala brutta, are diuers statuaes in the habits of Senators, erected to Paulo Spinola, to Eattista Gri|maldo, and Ansidio Gri. S. C. On the West side without the wals are Pallaces of Gen|tlemen, almost innumerable and in the highest part of the City, was the new Castle (E) most strongly fortified, which the Citizens demolished to preserue their liberty. A little lower and within the wals, is the new streete, vulgarly (F) La strada Nuona, lying from the West to the North-east, each house whereof is built with Kingly mag|nificence, neither doe I thinke that any City in the world hath so faire a streete. These houses or rather Pallaces may be seene by strangers, for the Gentlemens seruants keep|ing them; willingly shew them to any desiring that fauour, aswell in expectance of reward, as for the honour of their Master and Countrey. My selfe did see the Pallace of Giouan Battista d' Auria, the building whereof was very stately, and the garden not onely most pleasant, but adorned with statuaes and fountaines. And in one of the chambers were the Gentlemens Armes, whereof some were of pure siluer guilded o|uer The City hath certaine inner gates, which alwaies stand open and shew that the circuit of the City is now much increased and vpon these gates are chaines of iron, for remembrance (as they say) of their liberty once lost.

The whole circuit of the City, excepting the Mola, is fiue miles; and saue that the inner Hauen strikes somewhat into the City, it seemeth almost of a round forme. No doubt the City is of great antiquity, which some say was built by Gianus King of Ita|lie, and of him had the name; and that the Promontory [...], was of old called the vineyard of Gianus. The monument in the Cathedrall Church witnesseth that this Ci|ty flcrished among the old Cities of Italy, about 300. yeeres before Christs incarnation. 168 Others will haue the City named of a Latin word, as the gate of Italy. It is fortified toward the sea with all art, and towards the land aswell by nature as art, there being but one way to come to it, and that ouer high and steepe rockes. The streets are narrow, the Pallaces are stately built of marble, and the other houses of free stone, fiue or sixe stories high, and the windowes are glased, which is rare in Italy. The streetes are paued with flint, and the houses of the suburbs are almost as faire as within the City. Corals are fished in this sea towards Sardinia and Corsica Ilands, not farre distant, and the ounce thereof is here sold for three lires. Now in the very moneth of December, the markets were full of summer flowers, herbes, and fruits, whereof I shall speake more in the due place. It is prouerbially said of this City; Montagne senza legni, Mar' senza pesci,

huomini senza fede, donne senza vergogna, Mori bianchi, Genoa superba: That is, Mountaines with|out wood, Sea without fish, Men without faith, Weomen without shame, white Moores, Genoa the proud. In good earnest, they report that the Merchants being not bound by writing, make little accompt to breake their promise, and the French liberty of the Weomen makes the Italians iudge them without shame, and as Florence [125] is called the faire for the building, so I thinke Genoa is called the proud.

The chaires called Seggioli, whereof I spake in the discription of Naples , are also in vse here, in which the Citizens of both sexes are carried vpon two Porters shoulders, through the streetes lying vpon the sides of hils, the chaires being couered with a cur|taine drawne, and hauing glasse windowes, so as they may see all men, and themselues be vnseene. Besides, in regard of the narrow streetes, and the steepe mountaines on all sides, they vse horse litters here in stead of coaches. The men in their feasting, dancing, and free conuersation, and the weomen in their apparell, come neerer to the French then any other Italians. Here I paid one reale by the day for my chamber, and dressing my meat, which I bought my selfe, all things being at good rate in the City, as in the Countrey. There is such store of fruits, as they giue a citron for a quatrine, and two Oranges for a quatrine; and to end in a word, my diet here was for the manner and price not much differing from the same at Pisa.

They accompt ninety miles from Genoa to Milan , which iourney I went on foot, willingly exposing my selfe to this trouble, partly to spare my purse in the bottome, partly to passe more safely in this disguise through the Dutchy of Milan , subiect to the Spaniards, who then had warres with the English. The first day after dinner, I walked all alone, seuen miles to Ponte Decimo, by the banke of a riuer betweene stony moun|taines, but frequently inhabited. And I paid eight soldi for my supper on reckoning, and a cauellotto (that is foure bolinei) for my bed. The second day I went on foot ele|uen miles, ascending all the way high mountaines, and tired with the difficulty of the iourney, onely refreshed with the hope of an easie discent from the mountaines: and being very hungry by the way, I chanced to meet with a begging Friar of the Order of Saint Francis, who hauing victuals in his bag, gaue me to eat, but would receiue no money for it; saying, it was against their rule to handle any money. Thence I walked seuen miles downe those mountaines, in the territory of Genoa to Gauidon, and foure miles more through a plaine and dirty way, in the Dutchy of Milan to Seraualle, where I paid foure cauellotti (that is sixteene bolinei) for my supper and my bed. The third day in the morning, I walked foureteene miles in a dirty way to Tortona, where I paid one soldo for tribute (as all passengers pay) and seuen soldi for my dinner vpon recko|ning. Thence I walked after dinner in a dirty way fiue miles to Ponte Curon, and further in a way somewhat fairer fiue miles to Voghera. All this way in the Dutchy of Milan , was in a most fruitfull plaine of corne, with Elmes planted in the furrowes, and vines growing vpon them, and such is the way in all Lombardy, and to the very City of Pa|duoa. At Voghera I paid three reali for my supper and bed.

And here by chance I sound an English Merchant in the Inne, who talking rashly, did voluntarily (without being examined whence he was) professe himselfe to be a Dutchman, and my selfe in disguised poore habit, sitting at the lower end of the table, and speaking to him in the Dutch language, he was forced for want of the

[125] Florence

language, to say that he was a Dutch-man, but borne vpon the confines of France; and knowing no 169 no other language but the French, whereupon I speaking to him in the French tongue, he had as little skill in that, as in the Dutch; so as I might perceiue that he dissembled his Countrey, and being not willing to presse him, as hauing beene my selfe often for|ced in like sort to dissemble my Countrey, did forbeare to speake any more to him in the Dutch or French tongue, and we began to discourse in Italian, wherein he had spoken little before he vttered these words, Iome ne repentiua: that is, Irepented my selfe therof, whereas an Italian would haue said, Iome ne pentiua, by which fillable added by him, I presently knew he was an English man. Supper being ended, he perceiuing himselfe to haue beene thus pressed by a poore fellow, sitting at the lower end of the table, tooke me for a spie, and feared I should betray him, and presently went into the stable, where he commanded his seruant to saddle their horses, that they might ride all night towards Genoa . But I following him, and boldly speaking English to him, he was soone content to stay all night, and to take me in my homely apparell for his bedfellow.

Hauing passed this night merrily, I hired a horse the fourth day for foure cauellotti, and rode eleuen miles to Bastia, then I walked on foot seuen miles to Paula, and being [Note: Paula.] afoote-man, I paid fiue foldi for my passage ouer the Riuer Po. This iourney hither|to was in a dirty way, hauing plaine fields on both sides, tilled after the foresaid man|ner of Lombordy and many rich pastures, which are rare in all other parts of Italy. En|tering Paula I passed a stately bridge, built ouer the Riuer [...], which runnes from the West to the East, and after sixe miles falleth into the Riuer Po. This bridge was two hundred walking prices long, and so broad as two carts might passe together, and was built of stone, and couered ouer the head with a roofe, with open aire on the sides, and supported with pillars. The City lies in length from the East to the West, and a new faire street diuides it in the middest, by the bredth from the South to the North. On the West side of this street are two market places, one greater then the other. In the lesse is a [...] called Regia Sole, of mixt mettall, (vulgarly Dibronzo) which some write to haue beene made with art magicke, by the Emperour Anastasius, for his own image, and to haud beene placed by him vpon the pillar of the souldiers at Rauenna, where he kept his Court, and after Rauenna was taken by Charles the great, that this Image being to be carried into France, was by the way left here. Others will haue it the statua of the Emperour Antoninus Pias: for they are deceiued who thinke it the statua of Odoacer King of the Lombards, who hath another statua in this market place. On the [...] West side of the foresaid new street towards the North-side, is the Castle which Iohn Galiacius first Duke of Milon built, and the same Dukes Library; but almost voide of Bookes, and in this Castle lies a Garison of Spaniards: Neere that is the Church of Saint [...], in a Chappol whereof, is a stately Sepulcher, in which they say the bones of that Saint were laid; being brought thither out of the Iland Sardinia. And this sepulcher is of marble curiously engrauen, and worthy to be sought out and be|held. There I did reade this inscription written in Latin vpon another sepulcher: The French King Francis the first being taken by Caesars Army neere Pauia, the foureteenth of Fe|bru[...], among other Lords these were Lorayne Francis Duke of Lorayne, Richard de la Poole Englishman, and Duke of Suffolke, banished by his tyrant King Henry the [...]. At last Charles Parken of Morley, kinseman of the said Richard, banished

out of England for the Catholike Faith by Queene Elizabeth, and made Bishop hereby the [...] of Phillip King of Spaine, ded out of his small meanes erect this Monument to him, etc. In a Cloyster of the same Church, is a Sepulcher of this Charles Parken Bishop, decensed in the yeere [...]. There is another Monument of [...], King of Lombardy; and another of the Bishop [...], with this inscription in Latin; Most [...] in the Greeke and Latin langues, who being Consull, was sent hither into bamshment. And with these verses,

[...] [...] Hath Death [...] ought? my goodnes mounts the Skies, Great is my same, my worke liues in mens eyes.

On the East side of the saide new streete, and towardes the North, lies the 170 Church of Saint Francis, where is a monument of Baldus the Ciuill Lawyer, and they shew his head of an extraordinarie bignesse. Without the walles of the Citie on the North side, is a piece of ground of some twentie miles circuit, compasted with a wall in many places broken downe, vulgarly called Il Barco, that is, the Park which Iohn Galia|cius Duke of Milan walled in to keepe fallow Deare, Hares, and Conies: but at this day it is diuided into Pastures and plowed fieldes. On the furthest side of this Parke from the City, is the place where the French King, Francis the first, was taken prisoner by the Army of the Emperour Charles the fifth. Not farre thence is the Monastery of the Carthusians, called la Certosa, where the building of the Church, the stones of Marble, the engrauing, the top couered with Leade, part of the great Altar of Alablaster (highly valued), the Sepulcher of Iohn Galiacius first Duke of Millan, and the reuenew of the Church exceeding three hundred thousand Crownes by the yeere, deserue admirati|on. The buildings of the Citie are of bricke, and seeme to be of great antiquitie. The Emperour Charles the fourth in the yeere 1361, at the instance of Galiacius the second, gaue this Citie the priuiledges of an Vniuersitie. The King of Spaine permits lewes to dwell here: but they may not stay in Milan aboue twentie foure houres. This Citie was the seate of the Kings of Lombardy, whose old Castle is to bee seene neere the Church of Saint Michael. After it was subiect to the Kings of Italy, and the Berengarij being ouercome, it was subiect to the Emperour Otho the first, by right of his wife, and successiuely to the Emperours, with some shew of a free Citie, which freedome that they might more fully attaine, they willingly yeelded themselues in the yeere 254 to the Archbishop of Rauenna. After they were subiect to vsurping Citizens, whom the Vicounts of Milan expelled, and so ioyned this Citie to their State, which together with the Dukedome of Milan came to the Spaniards hands, in the time of the Em|perour Charles the fifth. I lodged here in a faire Inne, but common to the baser fort, the Hostesse whereof was a Masculine woman, and by the night letting in Ruffines to drinke, I was not a little affraid of some violence to bee offered mee in my chamber; whereupon I firmely resolued with my selfe, to lodge euer after in the best Inne, and of best fame, especially in Lombardy, infamous for murthers, and here I paied for my sup|per and my bed three reali.

I went on foote from Pauia, going forth at the Nothwest Gate twenty miles through [Note: Milan o.] rich Pastures, to Milan , called la grande, that is, The great, of the large circuit thereof. The Citie hath the name of Olanus, a Tuscane Captaine; or the Latin word media lana, that is, Halfe wooll, of those kinde of stuffes made in the Citie. It is large, populous, and very rich, seated in a Plaine (as all Lombardy lies) and that most firtile, and by the commoditie of a little Ri-

uer brought to the Citie by the French, and almost compas|sing the same, it aboundeth also with forraine Merchandise. Of old it was the seate of many Roman Emperours: but the Historie of the Citie being contained in the Histo|rie of Italy, I will onely remember, that the Archbishop thereof long time challenged the Primacie in the Italian Church, neuer acknowledging the Bishop of Rome for supe|riour; and that he crowned the Emperour with a Crowne of Iron, after the people of Milan had approued him: That the King of the Ostrogothes had the same Crowne set vpon his head after his victorie, which Crowne (they say) was giuen, in signe that the Empire and the command of Milan were to be won by Iron. That the Citizens of Mi|lan were often Rebels to the Emperours. That the Vicounts made vicarij of the Citie, did by little and little subiect the Territorie, and the Citie with title of Duke of Milan . That the Family of Vicounts being extinct in Duke Philip about the yeere 1447, the Dukes of Orleance by right of their Mother, and Francis Sforza by the right of his wife, chalenged the inheritance of the Dukedome: but the Emperour thought the same to bee fallen backe to his right. That Francis Sforza was by the people first made Captaine of their forces, and then chosen Duke. That the French King Francis the first, defending the right of the Dukes of Orleans, cast Sforza out of the Dukedome in the yeere 1449. That the Emperor Charles the sift, casting out the French in the vere 1521, first restored Sforza to the Dukedome, with some restraint of his power; but he being dead, inuaded the Dukedom himself, wherupon after many contentions and battels, it came to his suc|cessours 171 the Kings of Spaine, of the family of Austria, to whom at this day it is subject.

The Citie is of a round for me, and hath nine gates, the building shewes antiquitie, and the houses are of bricke and low built excepting some stately Pallaces (such as is that of the Duke of Terra Noua) the streetes are broad, and the pauement of bricke, rai|sed in the middest with broad stones.

When I came to the Citie on foote, I made offer to enter at the Gate called Genese on the South side: but the Guard refused me as a foot-man to pasle into the Citie; and lest by my importunitie I should haue made them looke more narrowly into my qualitie, (they being commonly expert men, to find out any disguised person), I went backe into the Suburbes, as it I would lodge there; but as soone as I was out of sight, I wal|ked further towards the East, compaising a great Fen, and so ioyning my selfe to some Citizens, returning from walking in the fieldes, I entered with them into the Citie, by the next Gate on the same South side, which Gate is called Lodouico, and was only kept by one souldier. A little Brooke within the walles compasseth the very center of the Citie circularly; beyond which Brooke, on the North-side within the walles, not farre from the Gate Zobia, is a large Meadow, wherein are no houses: for there is the most strong Castle seated in a Plaine, and kept by a Spanish Garrison, into which no French|man may enter. Therefore I hauing gotten so difficultly into the City, restrained my curiositie from attempting to view this Castle, lest I should rashly expose my selfe to great danger. Further towards the North without the Gate Renza, is a large Hospitall for those that are sicke of the plague, hauing more chimnies (as they say) then the yeere hath dayes. Not tarre from the Gate Genese, is the Church of S. Laurence, which os old was dedicated to Hercules by the Emperour Maximinianus Erculeus buried in the same; and it hath a rare Image of the Virgin Marie, and 16 stately Marble Pillars, and the building is

Magnificent. The Emperour Theodosius is said to haue giuen to S. Ambrose Archbishop of Milan , one of the nailes wherewith Christ was fastened to the Crosse, and the brasen Serpent that Moses lift vp in the Desert (the Image of which Serpent was of mixt mettall, vulgarly called di bronzo), and they say, that S. Ambrose left these reliques in the Churches of S. Tccla and of S. Ambrose; and the Altar vnder which the body of S. Ambrose lies, is valued at 28000 Crownes. In the Church Delle Gratte, be|longing to the Bene dictine Friers, not farre from the Gate Zobia, is a stately Throne, and vnder it an vnperfected monume t, which Duke Lodouico Sforza purposed to haue built for himselfe: but the French cast him out of his Dukedome, and he died in France. And in this Monastery is a notable Library, and in the place where the Friers eate, the supper of our Lord is painted with wonderfull art. In the little Chappell of S. Gottard, is the sepulcher of that Saint, whose name the mountaine of the Alpes doth beare, which is most famous for the difficult passage. The great and stately Cathedrall Church called Il Domo, is built all of white marble, and supported with some 100, marble pil|lars, in which at this day they sing the masse of S. Ambrose, differing from the Roman Masse, and onely agreeing therewith in the words of consecration.

From Milan to Cremona are accounted 52 miles, and I making short stay at Milan , for the danger of my abode there, hired a horse to Cremona for a Crowne of gold wanting 8 soldi, and riding out at the Roman Gate, and bearing the Carrier company, of whom I hired my horse, rode 12 miles the first day after dinner to Marignano, through a plaine Country of rich pastures, where I paied 3 reali for my supper. The second day I rode 30 miles to the Castle Pizighitone, through like rich Pastures, hauing by the way paid 24 soldi for my dinner, and neere my iournies end 3 soldi for my passage ouer the Ri|uer Adda, and at this Castle 1 paied 30 soldi for my Supper. The French King Francis the first, taken prisoner by the Emperour, in the yeere 1525, was for a good space kept with much honour in the tower of this Castle. The third day in the morning 1 rode ten miles to Cremoná. The Family Pallauicini (at this day chiefe in the City) when the Em|pire [Note: Cremona.] of Rome decaied, made themselues Lords of this Citie, whom Galeatius Vi|count of Milan subdued, and vnited the City to the State of Milan , and so by the said Dukedome subdued by the Spaniards, it came into their subiection. The Cardinall Francis Sfondrato, and Eusebius the writer of the Ecclesiasticall Historie, 172 were borne in this Citie. The forme of the City seemes very like to a Cardinals Hat with broad brimes, and it is seated in a Plaine, one mile distant from the Riuer Po. Wee entred this Citie by the narrow part lying towards Milan , and there is a most strong Fort built to keepe the Citizens in awe, and kept by a Spanish Gari|son, and seated in a plaine field, wherein are no other buildings but the Fort it selfe. From hence going to the opposite and broader part of the Citie, is a large and very faire Market place, neare which is a Tower or Steeple, of such height and beautie, as the Ita|lians prouerbially say, One Peter at Rome ; one Hauen at Ancona; one Tower at Cremo|na; thereby noting the excellencie. This Tower is built of bricke, and hath foure hun|dred ninetie and two staires in the ascent. Neare the same is a statua of a Giant, who, they say, was ouercome by Hercules, the founder of the Citie; and the Citizens keepe a feast once a yeere, at which time with many ceremonies they adorne this statua with rich robes. Neere this Tower and Market place, lies the stately Cathedrall Church, and the fairest and richest Monastery is that of

Saint Dominick. This Citie hath many stately Pallaces, and the streetes thereof are broad and very pleasant. Here I payed thirtie three soldi (that is the fourth part of a Ducaton) for my supper.

From hence to Mantua are fortie fiue miles, whether I hired a horse for fiue lires: The first day we rode twentie two miles, where going out of the Dutchie of Milan , and passing the Riuer Oye, wee entered the Dutchie of Mantua , and then rode nine miles to Mercaria. And by the way we passed the pleasant Castle, or rather Citie cal|led Bozilia, belonging to Iulius Gonzaga, being of the Family of the Dukes of Man|tua; which Castle was built with open cloisters or arches toward the streete, vnder which the passengers walke drie in the greatest raine, and such are the buildings of the Cities in this Dukedome, and in many neighbour places. By the way also in a solitary Inne I paid fifteene soldi for my dinner, and at Mercaria I payed thirtie foure soldi for my supper.

The second day we rode fourteene miles to Mantua through most fruitfull fieldes, [Note: Mantua .] tilled after the manner of Lombardy, and in a most durtie highway. The Histories re|port, that this Citie had the name of Manto, the daughter of Tyresias. It is seated in the middest of Fennes or Lakes, made by the Riuer Mencius. The buildings are partly of Brick, partly of Free stone, and the streetes are large and cleane. The forme of this Ci|tie is round, saue that the foresaid Lakes on the North and East-sides enter into the Citie, in the forme of an halfe Moone. Comming from Cremona I entred Mantua on the West side, by the Gate Praedella, where is a faire streete called Il Borgo. On the same side towards the South, is the Gate Pistrella, which leades to the Dukes stately Pallace called Teye, seated some mile out of the Citie, and compassed with water, where in the Giants Chamber I did see most faire pictures, and it is built in a quadrangle onely two stories high, with a low roofe, after the manner of the building of Italy. On the South|side is the Gate of [...], whence the way lies by the banke of the Lake to a Village called Petula, two miles distant from the Citie, in which, they say, that the famous Poet Virgil was borne, and shew the house where his parents dwelt. Partly on the North, and partly on the East side, the Citie is compassed with Lakes, which vsually are couered with infinite number of water foule; and from these Lakes there is a passage into the Riuer Po, and so by water to [126] Venice. On the North-East side is the Gate of S. George, whence betweene the two Lakes is a causey two hundred walking paces long, and be|yond it a bridge of stone fiue hundred paces long, like to a faire gallery, couered ouer the head, and supported with bricke pillars, hauing open windowes, two paces distant one from the other, then passing a drawbridge, you come to another causey betweene the said two Lakes, which causey is two hundred forty walking paces long, before you come to firme land. On the East side of the said bridge, and within the Citie, the Dukes stately Pallace lies vpon the Lake, and to this Pallace ioyneth the Cathedrall Church of Saint Peter, where also is a pleasant Market-place. There lie the Dukes stables, and in one of them were some hundred horses for the saddle, and in the other as many for the coach, and he hath a third stable without the Gates, wherein is the like number of young Colts. On the North-side, at the furthest banke of the Lake, is one onely Gate, 173 and a like bridge to passe into the Suburbes, and there lics the way to the chiefe Pallace of the Duke, some few miles distant from the Citie, called [...], the building whereof

[126] Venice

is onely two stories hic, with a low roofe, and the chiefe chambers were hung with guilded leather, after the Italian maner, three skins whereof were commonly sold for a Crowne, and the Gardens of this Pallace were exceeding pleasant. In the middest of the Citie Mantua is a large Market place, wherein the Iewes haue their shops, and sell all manner of wares, for all trafficke is in their hands, growing rich by the pouertie of the Citizens; and being so much fauoured by the Duke, as they dwell not in any seue|rall part of the Citie, but where they lift, and in the very Market-place; neither are they forced (as in other parts of Italy) to weare yellow or red caps, whereby they may bee knowne, but onely a little piece of yellow cloth on the left side of their cloakes, so as they can hardly be distinguished from Christians, especially in their shops, where they weare no cloakes. Such be the priuiledges which the Iewes haue gotten by bribing (es|pecially in the Dutchéy of Sauoy) through the vnsatiable auarice of our Christian Prin|ces. Neere this Market-place is the large Church of Saint Andrew, and the Senate|house, in which they shew two statuaes of Cupid (whereof one is ancient, and of much greater value then the other), and a very long Vnicornes horne, and a paire of Organs of Aliblaster, besides Iewels, and vessels of gold and siluer. Not farrethence is the third Market-place of Iustice. To conclude, at the gate of Saint Francis Church is the head of Virgil, which the Neapolitans say (as in the description of that Citie I formerly said) was stolne from the Sepulcher of Virgil, vpon the Mount Pausilip. In the Pallace called dellaragione, is another statua of Virgil, sitting at a Table of brasse, as if hee were writing, and crowned with Laurell. I said formerly, that there is a passage from the Lakes into the Riuer Po, and so by water to [127] Venice, and the Duke, to take his pleasure vpon the water, hath a baot called Bucentoro, because it will beare some two hundred, and it is built in the vpper part like a banqueting house, hauing fiue roomes (with gla|sed windowes) wherein the Duke and his Traine doe sit; and these roomes are sup|ported vpon a boat, the Mariners that row the same, sitting vnder the said roomes, the first and largest roome whereof was fifteene walking paces long, with benches on both sides; the second was eight paces long, the third fiue, and the fourth likewise fiue paces long; the fifth was a Gallerie ouer the other roomes fortie paces long, and open, to which they mounted by staires out of the first roome. And this boate doth not one|ly much differ from our Kings barges, aswell for the bignesse as the rich furniture, but also is flat in the bottome, the waters being still and calme on which it passeth. These roomes according to occasions haue more or lesse rich hangings, when the Duke ei|ther goeth out to disport himself, or when he takes any iourny therin, (as oft he doth.)

It is vnlawfull to weare a sword without licence of the Magistrate, either at Milan , Cremona, Mantua , or almost in any Citie of Italy; onely at [128] Venice and Paduoa , and the Cities of that State, strangers may weare Swords, and onely the wearing of Pistols or short gunnes is forbidden. At Mantua I paied three reali each meale, and being to de|part thence. I was forced to take a Bill of the Customers, by which they signifie to the Guard at the gate, whether the passenger be to goe on horseback, on foote, or by coach, and what tribute he is to pay; for which Bill a footeman paies 3. soldi, another passen|ger six. Thus the Princes of italy hauing small Territories, doe not onely burthen their subiects with

[127] Venice
[128] Venice

taxes, but all strangers, and strictly take account from the exacters therof.

Being to goe from hence to Paduoa , we went out of the gate Saint Ceorge, and I hi|red a horse from Mantua to the Castle Este for eleuen lires. The first day wee passed by a Forte of the Venetians most strongly fortified vpon the consines of that State, which Fort lies vpon the Riuer Athesis, and is called Lignaco, and rode some twenty miles through a Plaine tilled after the manner of Lombardy to Monteguiara, where I paied for|tie soldi, (that is two lires) for my supper. The next morning I rode nine miles to the Castle Este, whence is the Family of the Dukes of Ferraria, long flourishing, but now extinct. From thence I passed by boate 15 miles to Paduoa , and paied 22 soldi for my [Note: Paduoa .] passage. This day when I returned to Paduoa , was the 14 of December, after the new stile, in the yeere 1594, which city and the rate of vittles there, I haue formerly described,

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2

5 CHAP. IV.

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Of the Sopulcher of Petrarch at Arqua. Of my iourney to Vicenza, [129] Verona , Brescia, and Bergnmo, in Italy), then passing the Alpes, to Chur, Zurech, Solothurn, Geneua, and (in my returne thence) to Berna (in Sweitzerland), thence to Strasburg (in Germany), and to Chalon, to Paris , to Roan, and to Diepe (in France), and finally of my passagety [...] Land, to London (in England).

WHilest I expected the commoditie of the Spring for my iourney home-wards, I went to [130] Venice to receiue money there, and retaining a sufficient proportion in my hands, I thought to make ouer the rest to Paris by bills of exchange, but France hauing been now long wasted with ciuill war, I could not finde one Merchant of [131] Venice, who had any the least Traffick at Paris . Therefore persisting still in my ob|stinate purpose to returne by France, I thought at least to procure the change of this money to Geneua: And so only out of my desire to see the Citie of Geneua, I resolued againe to passe ouer the Alpes into Sweitzerland, though I had formerly seene those Townes. Then I bought an Hungarian horse for twentie Crownes of a Dutch Gentleman newly ariued in these parts. And while I prepared all things necessary for my iourney, and expected a sit season of the yeere, it came in my minde to see the Monument not farre distant of the famous Poet Francis Petrarch, and being willing to giue my horse rest, I went on foot with certaine Dutch Gentlemen thirteene miles to Arqua. By the way we did see a most faire Monastery Praia, and the Baths of Abano, the water wher|of doth boile with such heate, as it would fetch off the skinne being touched.

At Arqua is the sepulcher of Fetrarch, of red marble spotted, and it hath this inscrip|tion in Latin:

To the worthy man F. P. a Laureat Poet, his sonne in Law Francis Lus-debro Sauo of Milan , for their inward conuersation, loue, affinitte and his succession, left this memory. Vnder that followed these verses:

Frigida Francisci lapis hic tegit ossa Petrarchae, Suscipe virgo parens animam, sate virgine parce, Fessaque iam terris, caeli requiescat in Arce. This stone doth Francis Petrarches bones inclose, Take my soule Virgin, spare it Virgins sonne, Tired on earth in heauen let it repose.

Then followed letters raced out.

MCCC [...] XX. XVIIII.

Then followed the third inscription in Latin, with his Image.

To Francis Petrarch, Paulus Valdezucus admiring his Poems, and succeeding him in the possession of his house and fields, made this Image in the yeere MDXCVII. the Ides of September.

There is also a Fountaine, vulgarly called the Fountaine of Petrarch, vpon which these verses are written.

Fonti numen inest, hospes venerare liquorem, Vnde bihens cecinit digna Petrarcha Deis. Some god dwells here, wor-

[129] Verona
[130] Venice
[131] Venice

ship the sacred Spring, Whence Petrarch drinking, heauenly Rimes did sing.

Petrarch dwelt at Arqua, and here in the same house wherein they say he dwelt, the hi|storie of Petrarches life is painted, where the owner of the house shewed vs some house|hold stuffe belonging to him, and the very skinne of a Cat he loued, which they haue dried, and still keepe. Here I did see his Studie, (a pleasant roome, especially for the sweet prospect) and likewise a faire picture of Lucretia ready to die. No situation can be imagined more pleasant, then that of Arqua, lying in the mouth of Mountaines 175 abounding with Oliue trees, and opening themselues vpon a fruitfull plaine on the East and North sides. This plaine yeeldeth nothing in pleasantnes, or in fruitfulnes to that of Capua, famous for the corrupting of [...] Army. But it is a [...] worke to praise the Euganian hils, which so many Poets and Writers haue magnified.

Vpon Friday the third day of March (after the new stile) in the beginning of the yeere 1593, according to the Italians (beginning the yeere the first of Ianuary) of the [Note: Ar. 1595.] end of the yeere 1594, according to the English (beginning the yeere vpon the twenty fiue of March) I turned my face to iourney towards my deere Countrey. And the first day I rode eighteene miles to Vicenza, through a most pleasant plaine tilled after the manner of Lombardy (where one and the same held yeelds plenty of corne, and hath Elme trees growing in the furrowes, which support the vines; so that one field giues bread, wine, and wood for to burne By the way my curiositie made me turne aside two miles out of the way, that I might see a wonderfull Caue, and a most pleasant parlor at Costoza, in the house of Cesario Irento a Gentleman of Vicenza. The Caue was large, and fit to receiue diuers bands of souldiers. The Parlor was called the prison of AEolus god of the Windes; because there were certaine mils, which in summer time draw much wind out of hollow Caues, and disperse the same through all the chambers of the Paliace refreshing all that dwell there with a most pleasant coole air. And vpon this Parlor this verse of Virgill was written:

AEolus hic clauso ventorum [...] cere regnat. AEolus here in the winds prison raignes:

The City of Vicenza is a faire City compassed with a wall of bricke: but the buil|ding [Note: Vicenza.] howsoeuer it be very stately, is not like to that of other Cities in these parts, in this one point, namely, that the second story of the houses hangeth ouer the streetes, and being supported with arches, giueth the passengers shelter from raine. Here I did see a Theater for Playes, which was little, but very faire and pleasant. In the market place there is a stately Pallace, and the monastery of Saint Corona belonging to the preaching Friars, is fairely built, and hath a rich Library; and the Friars keepe for a holy relike the Thorne wherewith Christ was crowned: The Citie is subiect to the Venetians, and is seated in a plaine, hauing mountaines somewhat distant on the North and South sides. Here I paid forty soldi for my supper, and eighteene soldi for three measures of oates, called quarterolli, and for the stable (so they call hay straw and the stable roome, and so I will hereafter call it) I paid twenty soldi. Here I hired a horse for fiftie six soldi, for a foote-man that had attended me hither, and was to returne to Paduoa .

From Vicenza I rode thirty miles to [132] Verona , in a most pleasant plaine (tilled after the [Note: [133] Verona .] manner of Lombardy) lying on my left hand to-

[132] Verona
[133] Verona

wards Italy, farther then I could see, and hauing fruitfull nils on my right hand towards the Alpes, abounding with vines, growing low vpon hort stakes, and yeelding rich wines. I entered [134] Verona on the East side, by the Bishops gate called Porta del'vescono. They write that the City was of old called Berona, by the name of the Founder thereof; but the Friar Leander of Bologna writes that the City was built by the Tuseans, and had the name of the Family Vera, and was after rebuilt by the Galli Cenomani. This most faire City is built in the forme of a Lute, the necke whereof lies towards the West, on which side the Riuer Athesis (running towards the East) doth not only compasse the City, but runs almost through the center of the body of this Lute, so as the lesse part of the body lies on the North side of the Riuer. The bankes of Athesis (vulgarly called [...] Adice) are ioined together with three bridges of stone, and one of marble, and are adorned on both sides with many ruines of an old Theater, and old triumphall arches The City is compassed with a wall of bricke, and is seated towards the South vpon the end of a large slony plaine, and towards the other sides vpon pleasant hils, rising towards the distant mountaines. It is not built with the houses cast out towards the streetes, and supported with Arches to auoid raine, as other Cities are in those parts: but the building of the houses is state|ly, and the Cathedrall Church is remarkeable for the antiquity, as likewise the Church of Saint Anastatius for the great beauty thereof; and towards the wals the ground lies void of houses, as the manner is in strong Townes. It hath a pure aire, and is ennobled 176 by the ciuility and auncient Nobility of the Citizens, who are indued with a chearefull countenance, magnificent mindes, and much inclined to all good li|terature.

[135] Verona was a free City vnder the Empire, about the yeere 1155, till the Family of the Scaligeri growing great in the City, about the yeere 1259, did by little and little inuade the freedome of the City, and made themselues Lords ouer it. At last Anthony Scaliger killing his brother Bartholmew (partner with him of that Lordship) about the yeere 1381, was driuen out of the City by Vicount Iohn Galeatius, the first Duke of Milan , and he being dead, William Scaliger, helped by Francis Carrariensis, droue the Garrilon of Milan out of the City, in the yeere 1404. But the said Francis killing the said William by poison, and the Family of the Scaligers being then so wasted, as scarce|ly any one was to be found of that name; the Venetians tooke occasion by this de|testable treason of the said Francis, to make the City subiect to them: but their Army being defeated by the French in the yeere, 1509, by a composition made betweene the French King and the Emperour Maximilian, the City became subiect to the said Emperour, till the Venetians recouered the same out of his hands in the yeere 1517, vnder whose subiection the City to this day flourisheth, in great aboundance of all things.

On the North-side of the City without the wals, is the mountaine Baldo, hang|ing ouer the City, and famous for the great plenty of medicinable herbes, and vpon the side of this mountaine, within the wals, are no buildings, but onely a strong Fort.

On the south side lies the way to Mantua (23 miles distant,) and vpon the same side lies the foresaid stony plaine, fiue miles long, and ennobled with many skirmishes, battels, and victories. In this plaine the Consull Caius Marius defeated the Cimbri, and Odoacer King of the

[134] Verona
[135] Verona

Heruli (who destroied the Westerne Empire) was defeated by Theodoricus King of the Ostrogothes, and the Dutch Emperour Arnolphus Duke of Bauaria, was defeated by Hugh of Burgandy, then possessing Italy. Vpon the same South side within the wals, is a faire market place, and the Pallace of the Venetian Gouernour (which Gouernour in Italy is vulgarly called Il Podesta.) And necre the wals on this side, lies a stately Monument of an old Amphitheater, at this day little ruined, vulgarly called Harena, and built by Luc: Flaminius, (though others say it was built by the Emperour Octauius.) It passeth in bignesse all the old Amphitheaters in Italy, and the outside thereof is of Marble, and the inner side with all the seates, is of bricke. It is of an ouall forme, and the inner yard is sixety three walking paces long, and forty eight broade, where the lowest seates are most narrow, whence the seates arise in forty foure staires or degrees (howsoeuer others write that there be onely forty two degrees), and they so arise, as the vpper is still of greater circuit then the lower. And the shoppes of the Citizens built on the outside, vnder the said increase of the inner circuit, haue about fifty two walking paces in bredth, which is to be ad|ded to make the full breadth of the inside. It hath eighteene gates, and betweene euery Arch are very faire statuaes, and the seates within the same, are said to bee capable of twentie three thousand one hundred eightie and foure beholders, each one hauing a foote and a halfe allowed for his seate. Each one of vs gaue two gagetti to the keeper of this monument. Alboinus King of the Lombards, was killed by his wife at [136] Verona . In the Monastery of Saint Zeno is a Monument erected to Pipin, sonne to Charles the Great, and betweene this Monastery and the next Church, in a Church yard vnder the ground, is the Monument of Queene Amalasaenta.

Barengarius King of Italy, was killed at [137] Verona ; and this City braggeth of two fa|mous Citizens, namely, the old Poet Catullus, and Guarinus, a late writer. The territorie of this Citie is most fruitfull, abounding with all necessaries for life, and more specially with rich Wines, particularly the Retian wine, (much prai|sed by Pliny, and preferred to the Wine of Falernum by Virgill), which the Kings of the Gothes were wont to carrie with them as farre as Rome . It is 177 of a red colour and sweet, and howsoeuer it seemes thicke, more fit to be eaten then drunke, yet it is of a most pleasant taste. The Lake Bennaeus is much commended for the store of good Carpes, and other good fish: besides this territory yeelds very good marble. Here I paid forty soldi for my supper, and sixteene soldi for the stable, (that is for hay and straw) and eighteene soldi for three measures of Oates. Certaine Gentle|men bearing me company from Paduoa to this City, and being to returne thither, did here each of them hire a horse, for three lires and a halfe to Vicenza, where they were to pay for their horse meat.

From hence I rode fifteene miles to the Castle Peschiera, built by the old Lords of [138] Verona , and seated vpon the Lake Bennacus. vulgarly called Il Lago di Gardo, where they demanded of me two quatrines for the passage of a bridge: but when I shewed them my Matricula, that is, a paper, witnessing that I was a scholler of Paduoa , they dismissed me as free of all Tributes. And in like sort by the same writing, I was freed at Paduoa from paying six

[136] Verona
[137] Verona
[138] Verona
[139] Verona

soldi, and at [139] Verona from paying eight soldi. I rode from this Castle seuen miles to a Village, seated vpon the same Lake, famous for the pleasant territory, and the aboundance of good fish: and here I paid twenty soldi for my dinner, and eight soldi for my horse meat. All my iourney this day was in a most sweet plaine, ri|sing still higher with faire distances, so as the ascent could hardly be seene.

After dinner I rode eighteene miles to Brescia, which City flourished vnder th-elold [Note: Brescia'.] Emperours of Italy, then was subiect to the Lombards and tyrant Kings of Italy, and they be-ing ouercome, to Charles the Great, and French Gouernours; then to the We|sterne Emperours of Germany, and to the Italian family of the Berengarij. And it obtai|ned of the Emperour Otho the priuiledge to be a free City of the Empire, till being wasted by the factions of the Guelphi and Gibellini, the Scaligeri, a family of the same City, made themselues Lords thereof, whom the Vicounts of Milan cast out of the Ci|tie: and when Phillip Maria Duke of Milan oppressed the City, and would not be in|duced to ease the same of his great impositions, they yeelded themselues in the yeere 1509, to the French King, who had defeated the Venetian Army. Then by the French Kings agreement with the Emperour Maximiltan, the Citie was giuen into the Empe|rours hands; whose Nephew the Emperour Charles the fifth, restored the same to the French King Fran-cis the first, who likewise in the yeere 1517, gaue the same into the hands of the Venetians. The most fruitfull territorie of Brescia, hath mines of Iron and brasse, and I thinke so many Castles, Villages, and Houses, so little distant the one from the other, can hardly be found else where. The Brooke Garza runs through the City, which is of a round forme, and is seated for the most part in a plaine, and towards the North vpon the side of a mountaine, where a Tower is built, which hath many houses adioining, and in this Tower or Cas-tle the Venctian Gouernour dwels, who takes an oath that he will neuer goe out of the same, till a new Gouernour be sent from [140] Venice. The Cities building is of bricke, the streetes are large, and are paued with flint. Boniface Bembus, was a Citi-zen of Brescia, and the Brescians; as also the Citizens of Bergamo , are in manners and customes more like the French their old Lords, then the other Italians farther distant from France, and the very weomen receiue and giue salutations, and con|uerse with the French liberty, without any of-fence to their husbands, which other Ital-ians would neuer indure. Here I paid forty soldi for my supper, and forty soldi for foure measures of oates and for the stable.

From hence I rode thirty two miles to Bergamo : and as the territories in this part of [Note: Bergamo .] Italy (lying vpon the South sunne, which beats vpon the sides of the hils and moun|taines, with great reflec-tion of heat, and vpon the other side de-fended from the cold windes of the North and East, by the interposition of the Alpes) are singularly fruit|full and pleasant; so for the first twenty miles of this daies iourney, they seemed to me more pleasant then the very plaine of Capua, yeelding plenty of corne, and of vines growing vpon Elmes in the furrowes of the lands, which Elmes are planted in such artificiall rowes, as the prospect thereof much delighteth the eye. And the other twelue miles were yet more pleasant, being tilled in like sort; and to-wards my iournies end, yeelding most large and rich pastures. The City Bergamo after the Roman Empire 178 was extinct, first obeyed the Lombards, then the French; and following the fortune of Brescia, was sometimes subiect to the Vicounts of Mi-

[140] Venice

lan , and other Princes (inua|ding their liberty which they had vnder the Empire) and other times was subdued by diuers of their owne Citizens, and being oppressed by the Dukes of Milan , they yeel|ded themselues in the yeere 1428, to the Venetians, whose Army being deicated the next yeere by the French, this City likewise submitted it selfe to them, and they being cast out of Italy, it was subiected to the Sfortian Family, Dukes of Milan , and they be|ing extinct, and the Emperour and French King making warre for the Dukedeme of Milan , this City in the yeere 1516, returned vnder the power of the Venetians, who at this day enioy the same in peace.

The City is seated vpon a mountaine, vpon the south-side whereof a Fort is built, and vnder the mountaine towards the East, are two large suburbs, full of faire houses and Churches. Neere the market place in the Church of Saint Mary, is a stately sepul|cher of marble, and in the monastery of the preaching Friars, is a rich Library. These Citizens speake the Italian tongue, but more rudely then any other of Italy. Here I paid foure lires for my supper and horse-meat, and twelue soldi for my breakefast.

From hence I tooke not the right way to Geneua, but declined to the way of Chur, as|well because it was more safe from robbery, as to be freed from all dangers, by vente|ring againe to passe through the state of Milan . When I came from Paduoa , I was not curious to find out companions for this my long iourney, aswell because I hoped to find some by the way, as for that I being now vsed to conuerse with any Christian strangers, little cared to be solitary by the way: but deceiued of this my hope to find company, I passed all alone, not so much as accompanied with a foteman, ouer the high Alpes, which I thinke very few haue done besides my selfe.

From Bergamo I rode nine miles to Trescher, where I first entered the mouth of the Alpes, and thence I rode nineteen miles to Louer, passing by many very pleasant lakes, and by the way I paid sixteene gagetti, that is, thirty two soldi for foure horse shooes. Being to passe from hence ouer the steepe and snowy Alpes, I caused my horse to bee shod with eight sharpe and three blunt nailes, for which I paid sixe soldi, and for my supper twenty eight, and for three measures of oates twenty foure, and for the stable eighteene soldi. The second day I rode thirty two miles to the village Edoll, through high mountaines, and there I paid three lires for my supper and horse-meat. The third day in the morning I rode ten miles to a village Auryga, ouer a most high and steepe mountaine of the same name; and now I beganne to freeze, for cold, though before I entered the Alpes, I could hardly indure the heat of the Clime.

Hence I went forward one mile to a little Brooke, which diuideth the territory of the Vene: ians, and the Grysons (which [...] free people confederate with the Can|tons of Sweitzerland), and fiue miles further to Villa, where I paid twenty sixe soldi of [141] Venice for my dinner and horse-meat; and it being now the time of Lent, they gaue vs flesh to eat, whereof I was glad as of a dainty I could not get in Italy, neither would they gratifie the Italians their neighbours, in prouiding any thing else for them; so as they were forced to eat flesh without any scruple of conscience, which this people of the reformed religion would little haue regarded. After dinner I rode ten miles to Pos|chiano, through a most pleasant valley, compassed on all sides with mountaines, where I paid two berlinghotti (or two lyres of [142] Venice)

[141] Venice
[142] Venice

for my supper and breakefast, (for all passengers vse to breake their fast in going ouer the Alpes) and one Berlinghotto for fiue measures of oates, and for the stable. The fourth day in the morning for twelue miles I ascended the mountaine Berlina, and after rode thirteen miles to Lasagna, through a vally couered with snow; where I paid foure batzen for my supper, and as much for my breakefast, and six batzen for two measures of oates, and two batzen for hay, straw, and stable roome.

I formerly said that I bought a horse at Paduoa , and he being a stoned horse, and those of the territory of [143] Venice and all Lombardy vsing to ride vpon Mares, which they put in the same stable with horses, it hapened at [144] Verona , that the Hostler let my horse loose, that the rascall might make himselfe sport with his couering of the mares, which for 179 that time I knew not, but after manifestly found, since euer after hee was (contrary to custome) very troublesome to me, with neighing and coruetting, when soeuer [...] by any mares. And in this daies iourny (as when soeuer I passed the narrow waies of steepe mountaines) he was most troublesome to me: so as this people of the Alpes commonly vsing Mares for their carriages, whensoeuer I met them, I was sorced not without danger to light from my horse, and though I held him by the bridle, yet he was so fierce, as I could hardly keepe him from falling down most steepe mountaines, or from being drowned in the snow, which made me repent the buying of him, though otherwise he was richly worth my money.

The buildings of the Grisons are of free stone, but low; and for three parts of the yeere, the houses are couered with snow, and the windowes thereof are glased and large, and for three parts of the yeere they onely open a little quarry of glasse, and presently shut it againe: and all the windowes for the most part are continually couered with windowes of wood, lest the heat of the stoaue should goe out, or any cold enter into the same.

The fifth day in the morning I rode twenty foure Italian miles, (which the Grisons accompt foure miles) to the Towne Lanzi, and hauing passed three high mountaines, and after entring into a plaine, vpon the next ascent of the mountaines, I might first discerne the opening of them towards the North, and then began to discend the Alpes into Germany. In this passage of the Alpes, I did many times obserue mountaines of snow to fal from the high mountaines into the vallies, with such noise as if it had thun|dered: and this noise many times preserues passengers from being ouer whelmed with the same, falling many times into the very high waies.

Out of the wood neere Lanzi, in the twilight of the euening; I did heare more then a hundred Woolues howling, and because it was towards night, I had hired a Coun|trey Churle to guide me vnto the Towne, who trembled for feare, and desired me to make ready my Carbiner to shoot at them: for hee said nothing terrified them more then the smell of powder; I wished him to be of good cheare, because the Woolues seemed busie about a prey, and the Towne was neere at hand, promising that I would not forsake him, but if need were, let him ride behind me: but feare giuing him wings, so as he went as fast as my horse could trot; within short space we came to Lanzi, where I paid sixteene batzen for my supper, breakefast, and horse-meat.

The sixth day in the morning I rode fifteene Italian miles, (which the Grysons call two miles) to Chur (a City, and the seat of a Bishop) through little mountaines

[143] Venice
[144] Verona

couered with snow. The head of the Riuer Rheine is distant from this City as farre as a footman may goe in halfe an houre; and it lies towards the south. The City lieth in length from the Church on the North-side, towards the South, and hauing spent an houre in viewing the same, I rode further foure miles of Sweitzerland, through mountaines co|uered with snow, to Walstat; where I paid fiue batzen for my supper, and (to gratifie my Dutch consorts) foure batzen for drinke after supper, vulgarly called Schlaffdrunke, that is, the sleeping cup, and three batzen for my horse-meat. The seuenth day in the mor|ning I passed two miles, (I meane alwaies the miles of the Countrey) by boat vpon the Lake Walsea (that is the walled sea, because it is compassed with mountaines) and I rode two most long miles more, ouer hils to the little City Rabesuele, and for the passage of my selfe and my horse ouer the Lake. I paid seuen batzen, and for oates for my horse (while I expected consorts) I paid three creitzers. The foresaid little City, is confede|rate with the Sweitzar Cantons; and here I paid eighteene batzen for my supper, with extraordinary fare, and my breakfast and horse-meat. The eight day in the morning, after I had ridden foure houres space (for the Sweitzers miles are so long, and of so vn|certaine measure, as they vse to measure their iournies by houres riding, not by miles); I wondered to heare that we had ridden but one mile. Our way was through pleasant hils planted with vines, growing vpon short stakes, as the Dutch vse to plant them. Here we dined in a village, and throughout all this territory I paied about seuen batzen a meale. After dinner hauing in three houres ridden three miles, my horse weary of this long iourney without so much as a daies rest, beganne to faint, so as I was forced 180 in a village to giue him some two houres rest, and some prouender; and my way hither|to was through pleasant hils, in like sort planted with vines on my right hand towards the East, and by the side of the Lake Zurechzea, on the left hand towards the West. And the pleasantnesse of this Village seated among hilles planted with Vines on the East side of the said Lake, made me as willing as my horse to rest there. The same eue|ning I rode further one mile to Zurech, which city I formerly described in my former passage through Sweitzerland.

I formerly said, that for the vnpossibilitie to exchange my money from [145] Venice to Pa|ris, I was forced to exchange the same to Geneua. For which cause, and out of my de|sire to view that Citie, famous for reformation of Religion, after some few daies I took my iourney thither, turning out of my high way. The first day in the morning, through a way most pleasant for the variety of Plaines, Hilles, Orchards, Woods, and Gardens, (wherein I passed by an ancient Castle of the Counts of Habspurg), I rode in eight howers space to a Village, where I lodged, and payed a franke and a halfe (French mo|ney) for my supper and horse-meate. The second day in the morning, through a plaine Heath, Woods, and hilly ground for pasture, I rode in foure houres space to a Vil|lage, and there (as in the rest of this iourney), I payed about seuen batzen of Dutch money for a meale.

After dinner through like way, I rode in three houres space to Solothurn an ancient Citie, and one of the Sweitzers Cantons, called in Latin Solidurum, and it hath the [Note: Solothurn.] name in both tongues, as the Tower of the Sunne, or as consisting onely of Towers, whereof there be many. One Tower thereof is of great antiquitie, and vpon it these verses in Latin are written:

Ex this nihil est Sollduro antiqi ius

[145] Venice

vno Exceptis Treueris quarum ego aicta soror. What's older mongst the Celts then Solidure. Nothing but Treir: whose sister Iam sure:

They will haue this Citie built in the time of the Patriarke Abraham.

The third day in the morning I rode in foure houres space to Arberg, by the side of a great Riuer called Ar, passing twice ouer it by two bridges. After dinner I rode in foure houres space to Morton, through pleasant miles of Corne and Woods, and Pastures, and by the side of the Lake Mortonzra. Not farre hence Charle, Duke of Burgunay was defeated by the Sweitzers in the yeere 1476, and there in a field lie the bones of the soul|diers there killed. The Burgundians were thrice beaten in one day, and here in the last battell Duke Charles also was killed. The fourth day in the morning I rode in three houres to Bitterline, through fruitfull Corne fieldes and pastures, and after dinner in foure houres space I rode to Milden, and about the midst of the way did see the ruines of the ancient Citie Auenza, or Auenticum, which Iulius Caesar vtterly raced, and Corne was now sowed within the old circuit of the Citie, whereof no memory remained, but one ruinous tower and a statua: but they say, that the Husbandmen tilling the ground, doe many times dig vp old Roman coines of siluer and gold: Not farre thence towards the West, lie the snowy Mountaines, which diuide the Territories of Burgundy and Sweitzerland.

The fifth day in fiue houres space I rode to Losanna, through Mountaines couered [Note: Losanna.] with Snow and thicke Woods. This Citie is subiect to Berna (being one of the Sweit|zers Cantons), but the Citizens speake French. It is seated on the North side of the Lake of Losanna (of old called Lacus [...]), which is compassed with Mountaines continually couered with snow, which open themselues on the East-side towards Italy. On the Eastside of the Citie is the head of the Riuer Rhodanus, which fulles into this Lake, hauing so cleare a colour, as it seemes not at all to mingle with the standing water of the Lake. From hence I rode by the West side of this Lake, and in two howers space came to Morgen, which Towne is also subiect to Berna.

Then I rode foure miles in foure houres space to Geneua, hauing the sandy banke of the said Lake on my left hand towards the East, and most pleasant Hilles planted with [Note: Geneua.] Vines on my right hand towards the West; and by the way I did see a Village ruined 181 in time of warre, nothing there standing but a pillar erected in honour of the Papists Masse. Geneua is seated on the South side of the Lake, right opposite to Losanna, sea|ted at the North end thereof. The East side of the Lake lies towards Sauoy and Italy; and the West side towards France, on which side also the high way lies into Sweit|zerland. The lower part of which Citie, vulgarly la bas rue, is seated in a plaine, and the rest vpon a Hill. The buildings are faire, and of free-stone. This Citie being conseder-ate with some of the Sweitzer Cantones, and more strictly with Berna, hath defended the freedome of the Citizens, and the profession of Reformed Religion for many yeeres with great courage and pietie, and through many miseries and practises to subduethem, against the pretended rightes of the Bishop, and the Duke of Sauoyes ambition, and hatred he beares to the Reformed Religion. The lower part thereof on the North side, lies close to the South side of the Lake, where is a little hauen for Gal|lies, which they haue built to keepe free the passage of the Lake. And on the same side is a strong Fort, and there the Riuer Rhodanus, comming out of the Lake enters the Ci|tie, and runnes through the lower part thereof, hauing two bridges for

passage. The Duke of Sauoy, who hath long watched to surprize this Citie, possesseth the East side of the Lake: but the Citie is carefull not to suffer him to build any Gallies thereupon; and vpon the least rumour of building them, armeth their Gallies to burne the same. Therefore the way into Sauoy lying vpon the East South East side of the Citie, in a Plaine betweene Hilles and Mountaines, the Citie hath built a Fort of little circuit, but great strength, with fortifications of earth, some Musket shot without the walles vpon that way, and therein continually keepes a Garrison. Not farre thence the Riuer Arba, flowing from the Easterne Mountaines, doth beyond the Citie fall into Rhodanus. At the South Gate is a publike Churchyard for buriall, and an Hospitall or Pest house, which are both without the walles. On the same side within the walles, is a pleasant walke vpon Hilles, where of old a pillar was erected, with this inscription:

To the Emperour Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius, by Foelix Aug. greatest Bishop with Tribunall power, Consull, etc.

On the West side of the Citie without the walles, little Mountaines lying not farre di|stant, might seeme dangerous for the encamping of enemies, saue that on the one side they are compassed with the Territorie of Berne, confederate with the Citie, and on the other side with the Riuer Rhodanus, so as the enemies passage to them is very difficult. This Citie was of old repaired by the Emperour Aurelius, and Iulius Caesar makes men|tion of this Citie in his first booke of the Gaules warre, so as the antiquitie thereof can|not be doubted.

Here I had great contentment to speake and conuerse with the reuerent Father The|odore Beza, who was of stature something tall, and corpulent, or big boned, and had a long thicke beard as white as snow. He had a graue Senatours countenance, and was broad faced, but not fat, and in generall by his comely person, sweete affabilitie and gra|uitie, he would haue extorted reuerence from those that least loued him. I walked with him to the Church, and giuing attention to his speech, it happened that in the Church porch, I touched the poore mans box with my fingers, and this reuerend man soone perceiued my errour, who hauing vsed in Italy to dip my fingers towards the holy water (according to the manner of the Papists, lest the omitting of so small a mat|ter generally vsed, might make me suspected of my Religion, and bring me into dan|gers of greater consequence), did now in like sort touch this poore mans box, mista|king it for the Font of holy water. I say, hee did soone perceiue my errour, and ta|king me by the hand, aduised me hereafter to eschew these ill customes, which were so hardly forgotten.

When I had taken counsell with my friends, if it were safe for mee to goe the right way from Geneua to Paris , they being of great experience, disswaded me from that iour|ney, which could not but be dangerous, the Peace being scarsely concluded, and the Countrey being full of bands of Souldiers returning to their owne home, which coun|cell after I found good by Experience, the mother of fooles. And when they percei|ued that I was obstinately purposed to passe through France into England, they adui|sed 182 mee rather to passe into France by the Dukedome of Loraine, which for the time, was more free from the tumults of warre, whose councell I thought good to fol|low, so as I was now to returne to Strassburg in Germany, almost the same way I came.

Thus after noone I left Geneua, and rode that day foure miles to Morgen. The se|cond day in the morning I rode in two houres space to Losanna, and in fiue houres space to Milden, where I payed eight batzen for my dinner and horse-

meate. After dinner in foure howers space I rode to Bitterline, and payed fourteene batzen for my supper and horse-meate. The third day in the morning I rode one mile (as they call it) in foure houres space to Morton, and in three howers space to Berne, one of the Sweitzers Cantons, through sandy fieldes of Corne, and many Woods. At Geneua many French Gentlemen and Students comming thither for the libertie of their religion, did speake pure French, and from that Citie all the people spake a barbarous French till I came neere Berne, where they first began to speake the Sweitzers language.

Being to describe Berne, giue me leaue first for Trauellers sake to mention what I haue [Note: Berne.] read in some Authors; that in the Territorie of Lucerna (which I neuer viewed, and who are earnest Papists, and so may iustly bee suspected in like reports) there is a won|derfull Lake, vpon the banke whereof they say Pilate doth once in a yeere walke, ani|red in Iudges robes, and that whosoeuer then sees him, doth die the same yeere. The most faire Citie Berne hath the name of Beares in the Dutch tongue, because Berthold Duke of Zeringen, being to build the Citie, and going fourth to hunt, thought good to giue it the name of the first beast he should meete and kill. And there being a Wood of Oakes in the very place where the Citie was to be built, the workemen cutting the same for the building of the Citie, did sing this Rime in Dutch:

Holtz lass dich hawen gern: Die stat muss heissen Bern. Wood let vs willingly cut thee: this Citie must Bern named be.

They write, that the ground whereupon the Citie is built, was of old called the Sacke, and that the Citie thereupon was built in forme of a sacke. This most faire City is not of any great antiquitie; for Berthold the founder thereof died in the yeere 1175. It is built vpon a little Mountaine, yet seemes to be seated in a Valley, because it is compas|sed with greater Mountaines. The little Mountaine whereupon it is seated, is narrow, and the full bredth thereof is within the walles, neither is it much lon|ger then the Citie, lying in length from the West to the East, in which length it hath three faire and broad streetes, and is fortified round about with the Val|leys of this little Mountaine. The houses are vniformely, and very fairely built of free-storie, hauing the first vpper roomes of the houses cast out towards the streetes, and supported with arches, vnder which they walke drie in the greatest raine. Round about this little Mountaine the Citizens haue their gardens from the fall of the same to the lowest Valleyes, and vpon the South-East by South, is a most faire Church, and very pleasant for the light somnesse thereof, and on euery side there is a pleasant place for walking. On the South side without the walles the Riuer Arba runnes from the West to the East, and is passed by a bridge at the East ende of the Ci|tie, whence it turneth towards the North, and so makes the Citie almost an Iland. Here I paied fourteene batzen for my supper and horsemeate. The fourth day in the mor|ning, I rode three miles in sixe houres space (through fruitfull fieldes of Corne and pa|sture) to Solothurn. And by the way I obserued a monument of the English defeated by the Sweitzers, with this in scription in Dutch; Ritterlich erschlagen die English gùckler Anno 1425, arme Iucke: That is; The English Iuglers Knightly beaten in the yeere 1425, poore Knaues.

The English Histories make no mention of any warre with the Sweitzers. Semler a Sweitzer Historian in his first booke fifty fourth leafe writes, that Leopold Duke of Austria, drew the English against the Sweitzers, and that they did much hurt by wa|sting the Territories, aswell of Aus-

tria as of Sweitzerland, but that they being ouer|come in some battels, did after the wasting of these Countries returne home in the yeere 1376, and this he calles the first English warre. Also Semler in his first booke the leafe 273 writes, that the English (as it seemes called from the French warre) did 183 at the instance of Duke Leopold besiege Strassburg in the yeere 1365: but the Emperor Charles the fourth comming with an armie against them, that they retired. But neither doe the words of Semler agree, since he calles the first attempt the first English warre, and after mentions another of former time neither doe the yeeres set downe by Semler agree with the yeeres of this monument, neither seemes it by the French Histories, that the English had any leasure to make warre vpon the Sweitzers in the yeere 1365, and lesse in the yeere 1376. To conclude, it appeares aswell by the English as French Hi|stories, that the English Conquerours in France, had so weightie a warre lying there vp|on them in the yeere 1425, set downe in this monument, as it is not credible they could at that time turne their forces any other way. Only the most approued French Writers witnes, that the English and French hauing made a truce for eighteene mo|neths in the yeere 1443, it seemed good to the leaders on both sides, that the souldiers hating rest and peace, should be drawne out to some foraine warre, and that the Eng|lish seruing vnder Lewis the Dolphin of France, the said Lewis in the yeere 1444 ma|king warre vpon the Sweitzers, killed therein 4000 of them: but the victorie was so bloudy of this battell, fought in the territorie of Bazel, as he that had the victorie, lost some 5000 men of his owne, and that the Emperour Frederick the third comming a|gainst him, he drew his men backe. For my part I leaue the credit of this monument to be tried by the consent of Historians, and returne to my iourney.

The fifth day in the morning, I rode foure miles to the Towne Ottmersea, and in the afternoone, through a stony Plaine of Corne and some Woods, I rode foure miles to Besa. The sixth day in the morning I rode fiue miles, through the like Plaine, to Ger|zen, and in the after-noone, through a woody heath Plaine, and towards my iournies end through fruitfull fields of Corne, I rode foure miles to Strassburg. And in all this iourney I payed about seuen batzen for each meale. From Solothurne to Strassburg some reckon senentene miles, others twenty two miles; for the Dutch reckon the miles diuersly, according to the length of them in their owne Countrey, and in these parts they vse to distinguish their iournies by howers riding, not by miles. Not farre from the foresaid Towne Besa, lies the Citie Bazell, which I haue described in my former iourney through these parts, But to gratifie those who loue to search antiquities, giue me leaue to say, that Augusta Rauracorum (so called for distinction from Augusta Vinde|licorum) a Citie of great antiquitie, and at this day become a poore Village, lies distant from Bazell some mile towards the Mountaine Iura, and that neere this ancient Citie are many old, monuments of the Romans, and many buildings vnder the earth, which my selfe being lesse curious, did not see; and that the Husbandmen there, digged vp lately a coyne of gold, and sold it for copper, which was after valued at nine Crownes of the old Romans.

I say nothing of Strassburg, which I haue in the foresaid place formerly described, onely I will say, that I had the good fortune there, to find a French Gentleman, the Go|uernour of Monwick with his traine, in whose company I rode thither. [...] a fruitfull Plaine of Corne foure miles to Sauerne, in which Citie the Papisticall Chanons of Strassburg haue long fortified themselues vnder the protection of

the Duke of Loraine, against their Lords the Senators of Strassburg, and haue appropriated to themselues great part of the reuenewes of that Bishoppricke, lying vnder their power. After din|ner I rode three miles through Hilles yet couered with snow, to Villa Noua. Concer|ning my expences, I spent each day little lesse then a French Crowne, namely, two franckes for my supper, and commonly three French soulz for my breake-fast, and one franck for my horsemeate.

The second day I rode one mile to the confines of the Empire, and the Dukedome [Note: Monwick.] of Loraine and some three miles further to Monwick, where so much salt is made, as the Duke of Loraine yeerely receiues sixty thousand French Crownes for the same. The third day through a dyrtie way and fruitfull fieldes of Corne, I rode fiue miles to the Citie Nanzi, where the Duke of Loraine keepes his Court, and when I was entring [Note: Nanzi.] the Gate, the Captaine of the Guard drew towards mee, to know my name and 184 Countrie. I not ignorant that the Family of Loraine (vsurping great power in France, vnder the pretence to defend the Roman Religion) bare no good will to the English at that time, answered, that I was a Polonian, hee inquired many things of the King|dome, King and Queene of Poland, and perceiuing that I answered him directly, hee whispered something with some chiefe men of the Guard about my confidence, and so turning againe to me, bad me lift vp my hand, (for so the French vse to take othes.) I was much affraid lest I should bee forced vpon this oath to confesse my Countrey which I had dissembled: but when I demaunded the cause; hee told mee, that many places being infected by the Plague, I was to sweare, that I came not from any of them, which (to be freed from my former feare) I did gladly assure him vpon my oath. The Citie is strongly fortified, saue that the South side, where the circuit of the Citie was inlarged, was not yet compassed with walles, neither were the houses on that side yet built. The houses are fairely built of free stone. The Dukes Pallace was built foure square, with a large inner Court all of free stone, and with a high Gallerie towards the said Court-yard, and there I had the opportunitie to see the Duke, and the Princes and the Princesses his children.

Finding not heere any companie for my iourney into France, which I hoped to finde at Metz, and thinking it not conuenient to stay longer then I must [Note: Metz.] needes, in a place for the time ill affected to the English, I rode the fourth day eight French miles to Metz. In the time of the Emperour Charles the fifth, the French tooke this Citie from the Empire, aud at this day it was held for Henrie the fourth King of France by a Garrison of his men; and euery one now talking of Peace made in France, yet it was not then proclaimed in these parts, nor vpon any of the confines of France. My selfe after few dayes stay, finding no consorts for my iourney into France, was admonished by some honest Gentlemen in this Citie, that this iourney would bee very dangerous to mee, in respect that the ar|mie being broken vp, all France would bee full through all parts of scattering troopes of Souldiers, returning to their owne homes. But when they perceiued that I was obstinate in my purpose to passe through France into England, they per|swaded mee at least to sell my horse, and goe on foote; for they said, the boo|tie of a good horse would surely cause mee to bee robbed by those, who might perhaps let me passe quietly on foot, disguised in poore apparrell; for they seeing mee well mounted, would surely set vpon me, and twenty to one kill me aswel because they that rob in France do commonly kill them they rob, as because they

would imagine mee to bee a souldier, either on the Kings, or on the Leagers side, and in that case, if I were on their owne side, would kill me, for feare of being forced to resti|tution; and if I were on the aduerse part; would thinke mee well killed as an e|nemie. Besides that, the Marshals of the Kingdome at the ende of a Ciuill warre, vsed such seueritie of iustice to suppresse all disorders, as they would surely kill mee, lest I should complaine of them. Whereas if I passed on foote, they were like either to let mee goe in peace, or at least to bee content with my money, without offering further violence to mee, whom they would iudge to bee of some base condition. This their counsell I approued, and (howsoeuer vnwillingly) sold my horse for sixteene French Crownes. In this Citie I payed a franck each meale. It is a faire Citie and well fortified, and it is seated vpon a Hill, in a fat soile fruitfull of Corne, and the Riuer Mosella running from Nancey in a Plaine, passeth close by the West Gate of the Citie, where it is to bee passed by a couered bridge.

Being to take my iourney towards Paris on foote, I hired a poore man to guide me to Chalons, and to carry my cloake, and my little baggage. The first day after dinner wee went two French miles, by the banke of the said Riuer, through a dyrtie way, and a Countrie fruitfull of Corne, but hauing no Woods, not so much as a tree, and came to a poore Village. By the way I passed by Pontmolin, where of old was a faire bridge to passe ouer Mosella, the ruines whereof at this day are called Arches de Ioye. In this my iourney to Paris , I spent each day for my dyet about twentie foure soulz. 185 The second day we went two miles to Pont, and fiue miles to Toul, where I payed two testoones and a halfe for a paire of shooes. Our way was very dyrtie, through fruit|full fields of Corne, and we often heard the cries of the Country people, driuing their cattell to fortified places, vpon the seeing of some scattered troopes of Souldiers, which made vs much affraid, and that not without iust cause: but God deliuered vs from this danger. The third day I being so wearie as I could not goe on foot, hired for one Frank two post horses (returning homeward) for me and my guide to ride 2 miles, and after 2 horses for three frankes for vs to ride three miles to Saint Aubine. The fourth day I hired two horses for vs for a French Crowne, and we rode fiue miles to Bar in a faire way, through Pastures, and Hilles planted with Vines yeelding a rich Wine, and fruitfull fields of Corne. And this day we passed by the Village Longeuille, which the Countrey people had fortified in this ciuill warre, to defend themselues from being spoiled by sudden inuasions, though otherwise they were each night forced to lodge some Troope or other. Hauing dined plentifully at Bar, and being refreshed with excellent wine, in the after noone we went foure miles through the like way to the Vil|lage Ampton Cour, where a French Gentleman dwelt, who the same day had there pro|claimed the Peace. For now wee had passed the confines of Loraine, and this was the first Village of France, in the Prouince of Champaigne. The fifth day being (after the new stile) the first of May, in the yeere 1595, wee went on foote nine long French [Note: Anno. 1595.] miles to Chalons. At the end of the first two miles, wee came to the first house, standing alone, and called la rouge maison, that is, the red house, inhabited onely by an old woman, who would giue vs nothing to eate or drinke, and in all the rest of the way we did neither see Village, nor house, nor so much as a tree. The fields were plaine, and all the Prouince (according to the name) was a Champion Countrey, and seemed apt to beare great store of Corne, but now in the time of Ciuill warre, they lay vn|ploughed, and the Husband-

mens houses were fallen to the ground. Yea, wee could not finde so much as water to quench our thirst, so as my guide was forced to drinke the standing water lying in the cartruts of the high way, and my selfe to quench my thirst, did chew the crust of a browne loafe which he had giuen me, whereby I kept my mouth moist, casting the crust away when I had chewed it.

We had now scarce entred France, when suddenly the mischiefe fell vpon me, which my friends at Metz had foretold me. When I had passed halfe this dayes iourney, I met with some dozen horsemen, whose Captaine demaunded of me my name and Countrey. I answered, that I was a Dutch man, and the seruant of a Dutch Merchant, who staied for me at Chalons, whether I was then going. He (as it seemed to me) think|ing it dishonourable to him, if he should himselfe assault a poore fellow, and a stranger, did let me passe, but before I came to the bottome of the hill, I might see him send two horsemen after me, who wheeling about the mountaines, that I might not know they were of his company, suddenly rushed vpon me, and with fierce countenance threat|ning death, presented their Carbines to my brest. I hauing no abilitie to defend mee, thought good not to make any the least shew of resistance, so they tooke my sword from my guide, and were content onely to rob me of my mony. I formerly said, that I could not finde at [146] Venice any meanes to exchange my money to Paris , the long Ciuill warre hauing barred the Paris ians from any traffique in forraine parts, and that I was forced to exchange my money to Geneus. This money there receiued, I had quilted within my doublet, and when I resolued to goe on foote to Paris , I made me a base co|uer for my apparrel, which when they perceiued, they tooke from me the inward dou|blet wherein I had quilted the gold, and though they perceiued that vnder my base|couer, I had a Ierkin and hose laide with gold lace, yet they were content to take onely the inner dublet, and to leaue me all the rest of my apparrell, wherein I doe acknow|ledge their courtesie, since theeues giue all they doe not take. Besides, they tooke not onely my Crownes but my sword, cloake, and shirtes, and made a very vnequall ex|change with me for my hat, giuing me another deepe greasie French hat for it.

One thing in this miserie made me glad. I formerly said, that I sold my horse for 16. French Crownes at Metz, which Crownes I put in the bottome of a wooden box, and 186 couered them with a stinking ointment for scabs. Sixe other French Crownes, for the worst euent, I lapped in cloth, and thereupon did wind diuers colored threads, wherein I sticked needles, as if I had been so good a husband, as to mend my own clothes. This box and this ball of thread, I had put in my hose, as things of no worth; and when in spovling me they had searched my pockets, they first tooke the boxe, and smelling the stinke of the ointment, they cast it away on the ground; neither were they so frugail to take my bal of thread to mend their hose, but did tread it likewise vnder their feet. Then they rode swiftly to their companions, and I with some sparke of ioy in my greater losse, tooke vp the box and ball of thread, thinking my selfe lesse miserable, that by the Grace of God I had some money left, to keepe me from begging in a strange Coun|trey.

This Tragedie thus acted, I and my guide (very sad because he despared of my abili|tie to pay him his hire) went forward our iourney, hee wondering that I was no more deiected in the danger I had passed, and for my miserable want of mony, thinking that I had neuer a penny left, whom

[146] Venice

he did see so narrowly searched, and yet perceiued that I was in some sort merry. At last we did see the City of Challons not farre distant, and vpon our left hand was a faire spring, which had seuen heads, to which wee went to drinke, being both very thirstie. Here I put into the water the hat which the theeues had giuen me, by vnequall exchange for mine, being greasie to the very top, and deepe according to the French fashion, and filling it with water thrice, drunke it vp greedily. Then I filled it the fourth time, and broke into it the crummes of the browne loafe, the crust whereof had to that time kept my mouth with some moisture, which I deuoured, and thought I had neuer eaten better brewesse; but three daies ficknesse of vomiting and loosenesse made me repent this intemperance.

Thence wee went to Chalons, where my guide brought mee to a poore Alehouse, and when I expostulated the wrong he did me; he replied, That stately Innes were not for men who had neuer a penny in their purses: but I told him, that I looked for com|fort in that case rather from Gentlemen then Clownes. Whereupon hee willingly o|beyed me, and with a deiected and fearefull countenance, brought me to the chiefe Inne, where he ceased not to bewaile my misery, and to recount my Tragedy as if it had been the burning of Troy, till the very Hoste despairing of my abilitie to pay him, began to looke disdainefully vpon me. The next morning when hee being to returne home, and taking his leaue of me, I paied him his hire, which he neither asked nor expe|cted, thinking that I had not one penny, and likewise paied my Hoste for my supper and lodging, he first began to talke like a mad man, and comming to himselfe, professed that he knew not how I should haue one pennie, except I were a Iugler, or an Alchu|mist, or had a familiar spirit. Then confounded betweene wonder and ioy, hee began to triumph with the seruants, and would not depart, till hee had first drunke a quart of Wine.

The building of Chalons was low and base being of Timber and Clay, and this Ci|tie hath no beauty but in the large Market-place and strong Fort. On the West side [Note: Chalons.] without the walles, are pleasant Ilands, whether the Citizens vse to passe by boat, and to walke there for recreation. I formerly said that I spent in this iourney some fortie two soulz by the day for my diet, after which rate I payed here, and if extraordi|narily I called for wine, I payed two soulz and a halfe for a measure little bigger then our English pint.

From hence to Paris I passed in a long wagon of Paris , and paied two French Crownes for my place therein The first day we passed in like way to the former, and in the same Prouince of Champaigne, foureteene miles to Sizan, and did scarse see two poore Villages by the way; but I was told, that some halfe a mile out of the high way, was the castle Chastilton, wherof the Admiral of France killed in the Massacre of Paris , and the Gentlemen of his Family haue their name. The second day we were carried 12 miles to Nangi, being as vet not freed fro the cries of poore people, driuing their cattell from Troopes of Souldiers, but for my part I made the prouerbe true that the passen|ger hauing nothing, sings before the thiefe. Yet was I not without feare of a greater 187 mischiefe then robbing, by the losse of my life, hauing no mony to redeeme it from the cut-throat souldiers.

The third day we were carried ten miles in Champaigne, through a Champion Coun|try lying wast, and 4 miles more to Paris , through a fruitfull plaine of corne, and pleasant hils planted with vines. This Country wherein Paris is seated, is compailed with the ri|uers of Seyne, and Matrona, and Orsa, and is properly called the Iland of France. The Paris ians haue

their name either from Paris of Troy, or of the Parrhasij, a people of Asia, which [Note: Paris .] did accompany Hercules, or of the Temple of Isis neete them (according to the Greeke language), for the statua of Isis was at Saint German, till it was taken away in the yeere 1514, and a Crosse was set vp in the place thereof by the Bishop of Molun. The City hath the name of Lutetia in Latin, either of dirt, for the Fens adioining, or in the Greeke tongue of Morter there digged out, because all the floares are of plaster, and the houses plastered ouer. And some say that it was of old called the City of Iulius Caesar, who built great part thereof. It lies in the eleuation of the Pole forty eight degrees, and the chiefe part thereof, namely, the Iland or greater City, is seated in a fenny ground. For the Riuer Seyne hath often ouerflowed Paris , and broken downe the bridges. In the time of King Phillip Augustus, the waters rose to the statuaes without the Cathedrall Church of Saint Mary, on the North-side thereof, as appeares by an inscription. Also in the yeere 1373, for two moneths space, they so ouerflowed the City, as they passed in boates the streetes of Saint Denis and S. Antoine. To conclude, omitting many ouer|flowings mentioned in Histories, it appeares by an inscription in the vally of Misery, that in the yeere 1496, there was a great inundation. The City of old was all in the Iland, and when it could not receiue the multitude increased, the City was inlarged to both sides of the continent, and first that part of the City called La ville, then the third part called the Vniuersity, were esteemed suburbes, till after they were ioined to the City. For the Kings Court and the City still increased with buildings, so as the Sub|burbes were greater then the City; whereupon King Charles the fifth gaue them the same priuiledges which the City had, and compassed them with wals, whereof the ru|ines yet appeare. And new Suburbes being afterwards built, King Henry the second in the yeere [...], made an Edict, that the houses vnpersected should be pulled down, and that no more should afterwards be built. The Riuer Seyne running from the South, and entering at the South-side, diuides the City into two parts, the greater part whereof towards the East and North, lies low in a plaine, and is vulgarly called La ville. The lesse lying towards the South and West, vpon a higher ground, is seated be|tweene hils, and is called the Vniuersity. Betweene those two parts lies the third, name|ly the Iland, called the City, which is seated in a plaine, and compassed on all sides with the Riuer Seyne, running betweene the Ville and the Vniuersity. And this part was of old ioined to the Vniuersity, with two bridges, and to the Ville with three bridges: but now a sixth called the new bridge, doth moreouer ioine the Iland aswell to the Ville as to the Vniuersity. The part of the City called the Ville, is compassed on the south and west sides with the Riuer Seyne, and vpon the East and North sides with wals, ram|piers, and ditches in the forme of halfe a circle. The second part of the City called the Vniuersity, is compassed on the East and North sides with the Riuer Seyne, and vpon the South and West sides with wals, which they write to haue the forme of a hat, saue that the long suburbes somewhat alter this forme. For my part it seemed to me that ioined with the Iland, it had also the forme of another halfe circle, though somewhat lesse then the former. The third part called the Iland or City, is compassed round a|bout with the Riuer Seyne, and vpon the South-east side is defended from the floods of the Riuer by foure little Ilands, which are marked in the map with blacke ines, and lie like Rampiers diuerting the streame from beating on the City. To this Iland they passe on both sides by bridges, and in respect of the Bishops Pallace, and

he Kings greater Pallace, it may be called the heart of the City. The old wals of the Ville, were first of lesse circuit then now they are; for new wals were built, which also included the Suburbes, and the inner wall is of vnpolished stone, the outer wall is of earth, com|pailed round about with ditches, which neere the Riuer are broad and full of water, 188 but further off towards the North and East, are narrow and altogether drie. But the old wals are either demolished, or conuerted to the supporting of priuate houses. The Vniuersity is compassed with like wals, and because it is seated vpon high ground, the ditches are altogether drie. And the wals of earth aswell of the Ville as the Vniuersity, are so broad as three or foure may walke together vpon them. And round about the City (I meane the Ville and Vniuersity compassing the Iland) are many rampiers vp|pon the wall like so many Forts. The Iland or City was of old compassed with wals, wherewith the greater Pallace lying towards the North, at this day is compassed. Pa|ris in generall is subiect to the King, so as it hath vnder him a peculiar iurisdiction, and in spirituall matters it is subiect to the Bishop. In the time of King Lewis the eleuenth, one hundred and foure thousand Citizens were numbered able to beare armes in the yeere 1466, and King Charles the fifth in the yeere 1371, gaue the Citizens the rights and priuiledges of Gentlemen. King Phillip Augustus in the yeere 1090, made Shiriffes to gouerne the City with consular authority; and he gaue the City for Armes a ship adorned with Lillies, he paued the streetes with flint, and compassed the City with wals. The Paris ians haue raised many seditions: The first in the yeere 1306, against rich men raising the rents of houses. The second with the King of Nauar and the English, against the Dolphin. The third in the yeere 1383, against the Kings Treasurers, which Charles the sixth (returning with his Army out of Flanders) did seuerely punish. The fourth betweene the factions of Orleans and Burgundy. The fifth most pestilent and longest, with the Guisians against the last King of Valois.

The building of the City is for the most part stately, of vnpolished stone, with the outside plastered, and rough cast, and the houses for the most part are foure stories high, and sometimes sixe, besides the roofe which also hath glasse windowes. The streetes are somewhat large, and among them the fairest is that of Saint Dennis, the second Saint Honere, the third Saint Antoine, and the fourth Saint Martine. And in the Iland the waies to these streetes are fairest. The pauement is of little, but thicke and somewhat broade stones. But in the meane time the streetes of the Ville, either for the low situa|tion, or by the negligence of the Citizens, are continually dirty and full of filth. The three parts of the City, namely, the Ville, the Iland, and the Vniuersity, being ioined together, are of a round forme, (which of all others is most capable) saue that the halfe circle of the Ville, is greater then the other halfe circle, which is compassed as it were with the two hornes of the former. And the whole circuit of the City without the wals (excluding the suburbes) is said to be of sixe miles. The market places which are in the streetes, are vulgarly called, Carrefours, as being fouresquare, and hauing passage to them on all sides, and they are eleuen in number, namely, foure of the Butchers, (which vpon a sedition raised by them, were diuided into foure tribes), the fifth the shambles vpon the mount Saint Genouefa, the sixth built for the poore which haue no shops, and for the weomen which sell linnen, which is vulgarly called, La lingeria, well knowne for the cosinages of these linnen sellers; the seuenth of the brokers, vulgarly called, La Fripperie, the eight and chiefe, is in the Iland, called Marshes, be-

cause of the Fenny soyle: the ninth is for fishes of the Riuer, seated neere the tenth, being the little bridge of Saint German of the Vniuersity: the eleuenth is without the gate for hogges. There be foureteene fountaines, besides the fountaine of the Queene, and that of the Inno|cents, built of stone. The Ville hath eight Hospitals, the Vniuersity foure, and the Iland two.

189 [Figure:

The description of Paris .

] (A) the Gate Saint Antoine, (B) the Bastile, (C) the gate of the Temple, (D) gate of Saint Martin, (E) gate of Saint Denys, (F) gate Mont-martre, (G) gate Saint Honore, (H) New gate, (I) Le L'ouure, (K) gate Saint Victoire, (L) gate Marcell, (M) gate of Saint Iames, (N) gate Saint Michaell, (O) gate Saint Germain, (P) gate Bussia, (Q) gate Nella, (R) Cathedrall Church, (S) Church Saint Bartholmew, (T) the greater Pallace, (V) Pont denostredame, (W) Pont Au change, (X) Pont aux musniers, (Y) Petit pont, (Z) Pont Saint Michaell, (XX) Pont neuf.

I will begin the description of the City, with the first part thereof, called La ville, which hath seuen gates from the South east to the North-west. I will not speake of the old or inner gates of the old City, which gates since the building of the new wals are called false gates, as seruing for no vse: Onely I will say that they were of the same number, and so called, as these new gates are; and that King Francis the first for come|linesse sake caused them to be demolished. The first of these seuen gates, lies towards the South-east, and is called (A) Saint Antoine. By this gate I entered the City, when I came from Chalons, and without this gate I did then see the Kings Pallace, not farre distant from Paris , and most sweet for the seat and building, called Bois du' Sainct vin|cent, and then I passed the bridge called Calantoine, being without this gate, where the Riuer Matrona fals into the Seyne, and so entered Paris , by the gate, and the Church and faire streete of Saint Antoin. Neere this gate, Francis the first built a fort. As I came in, on the left hand, was the Tower (B) called the Bastile, well knowne by that name, which was begun to be built in the yeere 1369, by Hugho Ambriet Prouost of Paris ; and he being condemned to perpetuall prison for imputed heresie, it came to the Kings hand. On the same side is the Kings store-house for brasse Ordinance, neere the Monastery of the Celestines, in whose Church there be many marble sepulchers: and among the rest, one erected to Lewis of Orleans, (slaine by the Duke of Burgondy) and to his Dutchesse Valentina, (daughter to the Duke of Milan) by King Lewis the twelfth, with learned Epitaphs. On the same side is the Church of Saint Paul, the House of the Queene, the house of the Prouost of Paris , the publike Senate-house, and the place called the Greue, famous by the capitall punishment of offenders. For 190 in this part of the City called Ville, there be three places for the execution of Iustice, (the other two parts hauing not one place) namely this of the Greue, and that of the Temple, lying on the left hand of the gate, called Temple, next adioining to this, and the third called Luparia, lying on the left hand of the scuenth gate, called the new gate. And from these three places the dead bodies are carried out of the gate of Saint Martin, to be buried vpon Mont-falcon. And giue me leaue out of order to remember you, that Pierre Remy, Treasurer and gouernour of France, vnder King Charles the faire, re|paired this Mont-Falcon, and that his enemies then wrote vpon the Gallowes stan|ding there, this time in French;

Ence gibeticy, ser à pendu Pierre Remy. Vpon this gybet here you see, Peter Remy hanged shall be.

And that according to the same hee

was in the time of Phillip of Valois hanged there, for the ill administration of his office. On the right hand as you come in by the same gate of Saint Anthony, is a place for Tylting, called Tournelles. Not far thence at Saint Catherines Church in the Schollers valley, is an inscription, witnessing that a house was pulled downe to the ground, for an arrow shot into the Church, when the Rector of the Vniuersity was there at Masse, in the yeere 1404, there being at that time a great sedition raised betweene the City and the Vniuersity, about a scholler denled with dirt, and that this house by permission of the Vniuersity was built againe in the yeere 1516. Also as you come into this gate, on the right hand, in the Monastery Saint Anthony, a dried Crocodill is hung vp, which a French Ambassador at [147] Venice, left there for a monument in the yeere 1515. And there is a sepulcher of the daughters of King Charles, being of blacke marble, with their statuaes of white marble. Neere that lies the Church yard of Saint Iohn for publike buriall, made in the yard of the house of Peter [...], which was as pulled downe to the ground in the yeere 1392, because the Constable of France was wounded from thence. The second gate towards the East, is the gate of the (C) Temple, neere which is the fort called Le Rastillon, on your righthand as you come in, and this fort, or some other in this place, was built by Fran|cis the first. On the lefthand as you come in, is the house of the Templary Knights, like a little City for the compasse and from it this gate hath the name. And when this order of Knighthood was extinguished; their goods were giuen to the Order of Saint Iohn. The Church of this house is said to be built like that of Ierusalem, and there be the monuments of Bertrand and Peter, (Priors of France,) and the Table of the Altar is cu|riously painted; and here Phillip Villerius, Master of the Knights of Saint Iohn, was bu|ried in the yeere 1532, to whom a statua of white marble is erected. The third gate is called (D) Saint Martine, and it lieth towards the North-east, without which gate is the Suburb of Saint Laurence, so called of the Church of Saint Laurence. The fourth gate is called (E) Saint Denis, and without the same is the Hospitall of Saint Lazarus, and the foresaid Mount Falcon; and when King Henry the fourth besieged this City, he did much harme to the same, from some high places without this gate. On the left hand as you come into the broad and faire street of Saint Denys, lies a Castle which they say Iulius Casar built, and the same Castle was of old the chiefe gate of Paris , whereupon Marcellinus cals the whole City the Castle of the Paris ians. And vpon the righthand is the Nunnery of the daughters of God, which vse to giue three morsels of bread and a cup of wine to condemned men going to execution. Not farre thence is the large Church yard of the Holy Innocents, which King Phillip Augustus compassed with wals; and there be many faire sepulchers: and they say that bodies buried there are consumed in nine daies. The fifth (F) gate lies toward the North, and is called Mont-Martre, so called of a mountaine of the same name, lying without that gate, and hauing the name of Martyres there executed. And Henry the fourth besieging the City, moun|ted his great Ordinance in this place. The sixth (G) gate Saint Honore, hath a suburbe, in which is the market place for swines flesh, and vpon the right hand as you come in, hard by the gate, is an Hospitall for three hundred blind men.

The seuenth (H) and last gate, lies vpon the Seyne towards the North-west, and is called the new gate: and within the same about a musket shot distance, is the (I) Kings 191 Pallace, which may be

[147] Venice

called the lesse Pallace, in respect of the greater, seated in the Iland, and this little Pallace is vulgarly called, Le' leuure.) This Pallace hath onely one Court yard, and is of a quadrangle forme, saue that the length somewhat passeth the bredth, and the building being of free stone, seemeth partly old, partly new, and to|wards one of the corners, the Kings chambers (vulgarly called Il Pauillon) are more fairely built then the rest. Without the said new gate, some halfe musket shot distance, is the Kings garden with the banquetting house (vulgarly called Les Tuilleries). And now the ciuill warres being ended, the King beganne to build a stately gallery, which should ioine together this garden and the foresaid Pallace of the King, and I heare that this Gallery is since finished. And the hall ioining this gallery with the Pallace, doth passe the stately building of the rest of the Pallace, being beautified with many stones of marble and of porphery. I say that this Gallery leads from the Pallace ouer the wals of the City, and the ditch thereof (being neere the riuer and so full of water), and after being supported with two or three Arches, reacheth to the same garden; and all the way without the wals, from the Pallace to the said Garden, being compassed with wals on both sides this gallery, the Garden seemes to be so much increased.

On the left hand, as you come into the foresaid new Gate, lies the Tower Luparia, and Alencon house, and Burbon house, and the Coyning house, and vpon the right hand the chiefe Coyning house, lying vpon the Riuer Seyne. To conclude, of the streetes of this part of the Citie called Ville, the chiefe is S. Antoine; the second of the Temple; the third S. Martine; the fourth S. Denys; the fifth Mont Martre; the sixth S. Honore; (all so na|med of their Gates) and the seuenth Luparia, vpon the banke of the Riuer Seyne. And amongst all these, the most faire are that of S. Antoine, S. Denis, S. Honorè, and S. Martinè, so called of their Gates. A. E. G. D.

The second part of the Citie, called the Vniuersitie, hath the Riuer Seyne on the East and North-sides, and is compassed with walles on the South and West sides, and hath seuen Gates. The first (K) Gate S. Victoire, lies on the South side vpon the Riuer, and hath his Suburbe, with a stately Monastery. And from the Hill adioyning to this Gate, the Army of King Henrie the fourth besieging the Citie, much pressed the same, hauing their Cannon planted neere the Gallowes. On the right hand as you come in, towards the Riuer, lie the Tower Nella, the vpper, the Colledge of the: Cardinall, the Colledge of the good boyes, the Colledge and the Church of the Bernardines, which Pope Benedict the twelfth built, and the Cardinall of Telouse increased with a Li|braty, and with maintenance for sixteene Scholers to studie Diuinitie. Also there lie the house of Lorayne, the great Schooles of foure Nations, the Market place for Riuer fish, and the Castle, and the little bridge which the Prouost of Paris built, to restraine the Schollers walking by night, in the time of King Charles the fifth. The second gate is called (L) the Porte of Marcellus, or of the Stewes, and it hath a Suburbe, where in the Church of Saint Marcellus, Bishop of Paris , and canonized for a Saint, (which Row|land Count of Blois, nephew to Charles the Great, did build); Peter Lombardiu Bishop of Paris was buried, in the yeere 1164; and behinde the great Altar, in a window, is the Image of Charles the Great. On the right hand as you enter the said Port, by the Mount of S. Genouefa, lie the Colledge Turnonium, the Colledge Bonae Curiae, the Col|ledge of the Dutch, the Colledge of Navarra, and the Colledge Marchieum, and the Col|ledge Laudunense and on the

left hand the Colledge of the Lombards, the Colledge Prellaum, famous for Peter Ramus, who was Master of that Colledge, and was there killed in the massacre. The third Gate of (M) S Iames, lyes on the South-west side, where King Francis the first built a fort; and without this Gate is a suburb, in which is a Church yard of the Monastery of Saint Marie, at the very entrie whereof, is a most ancient Image of the Virgin, painted with gold and siluer, with an inscription vpon it. In the streete of Saint Iames, the Iesuites had their Colledges, till for their wicked acts they were banish|ed the Citie and Kingdome. And since their restitution I thinke they now enioy the same. On the right hand as you enter this Gate, lie the Colledge Lexouiense, the Col|ledge of Saint Michael, or Cenate, the Colledge Montis Acuti, (which built in the yeere 1490, maintaines certaine poore Scholers, called Capeti), the Colledge of S. Barbera, 192 the Colledge of Rheines, the schoole of Decrees, the Colledge Bellouaccuse, the Col|ledge Triqueticum, the Colledge Cameracense, and the Colledge Carnoullense. On the left hand lie the Colledge of the bald men, the Colledge of Sorbona, (which Robert of Sorbona a Diuine, and familiar with King Saint Lewis, did institute, and the same in processe of time became of great authority in determining questions of Diui|nity), the Colledge of Master Geruasius a Christian, the Colledge Plexourense, and the Colledge Marmontense. The fourth (N) Gate of the vniuersity is called Port Michaell, where Francis the first built a Fort, and before the gate is a Monastery of the Carthusi|ans, where a statua of blacke marble is erected to Peter Nauareus, and there be two sta|tuaes of white marble, without any inscription. On the right hand as you enter this gate, lie the Colledge Cluniacense, the Pallace of the Baths, (which they say was built by Iulius Caesar, and is so called either of the bounds of the Tributes, or of the Baths of Iulian the Apostata, the waters whereof are drawne from a Village adioining), and the Colledge of eighteene, and vpon the left hand the Colledge of Hericuria, the Colledge of Iustice, the Colledge of the Treasurers, the Colledge Baionium, the Colledge Scensa, and the Colledge Turonense. The fifth Gate on the West side is called (O) Saint Ger|main, and without the gate is a suburbe, (all suburbes are vulgarly called Faulxbourg), which is large, and was pulled downe to the ground in the ciuill war. And there King Henry the fourth lay encamped, when he besieged the City. In this suburbe is the mo|nastery of Saint Germain, not inferiour to any in wealth, and indowed with great pri|uiledges and iurisdiction, where the old Kings Childebert the second, and Ckilperit the fourth, and Clotharius the second, lie buried; and there is a chest of siluer, the gift of King Eudo. On the right hand as you come into this Gate, in the Minorites Cloyster, are the sepulchers of the Queenes and Princes, whereof one being of blacke marble, with white statuaes, is the fairest: (my memory herein may faile me, that there is ano|ther Cloyster of Minorites without the gate of Saint Marcellus). Also there lie the Colledge Brissiacum, and vpon the left hand the house Rothomagensis, the Colledge of Burgondy, the house of Rhemes, the Colledge Mignonium, the Colledge Praemonstratense, and the Colledge Dinuellium. The sixth Gate is called (P) Bussia, and vpon the right hand as you come in, lies the Colledge Anthunense, and vpon the left hand lies the house Niuernensis. The seuenth and last Gate of the Vniuersity, lies towards the north|west, and is called (Q) Nella, and without the same is the meadow of the Clerkes. On the right hand as you come in this gate, lie the house

Nella. the Colledge of Saint Denis, and the house of the Augustines, wherein is the sepulcher and liuely Image of Phillip Comineus. And vpon the left hand, lie the lower Tower Nella, and the Westerne bank of the Riuer Seyne.

These are the fairest streetes of the Vniuersity, the first of Saint Victoire, the second of Saint Marcellus, the third of Saint Iames, the fourth of Saint Germain, the fifth of the Celestines, vpon the banke of the Riuer, the sixth of the mountaine of Saint Genouefa, the seuenth of Saint Michaell, and the eight of the Augustines, vpon the banke of the ri|uer Seyne.

The third part of the City is the Iland, compassed round about with the Riuer Seyn. It had of old foure Gates, vpon the foure bridges, but seemes to haue had no gate vpon the fifth bridge, called Pont aux musniers, (which in this discription I reckon to be the third gate). In the vpper part of the Iland towards the South-east, is a fenny market place; called the Marsh, that is, the Fen. Neer that lies (R) the Cathedrall Church of the blessed Virgin, which King Phillip Augustus began to build in the yeere 1257, the foun|dations being before laid by an vncertaine founder, and it is reputed the chiefe among the miracles of France. It is supported with one hundred and twenty pillars, whereof one hundred and eight are lesse, and twelue very great, being all of free stone. The Chauncell is in the middest of the Church, which hath [...] walking paces in length, and sixty paces in bredth, and all the Chauncell is compassed with stone, wherein the Histories of the old and new testament are engrauen. It hath forty fiue Chappels in the circuit thereof, which are shut vp with grates of Iron. In the Front it hath two dou|ble doores, with faire statuaes of twenty eight Kings. Vpon the sides are foure Towers 193 or belfreyes, thirtie foure Cubits high. The greatest bell called Marie, requires twen|tie foure men to ring it, and the sound thereof in faire weather may bee heard seuen leagues of. In a Chappell towards the South, are the statuaes of King Lewis the fat, and of his son Phillip, with the Image of a hog, because he died with a fal from his horse stumbling vpon a hog. On the North side is a mark, that the ouerflowing of the Riuer Seyne passed the outward statuaes from that of Phillip Augustus. King Phillip of Va|lois hauing gotten a victory against the Flemings in the yeere 1328, offered his horse and armour to the blessed Virgin, and gaue the Chanons an hundred pounds yeere|ly rent, to whom for that cause a horse-mans statua is there erected. Also there is a Giantlike statua, erected to Saint Christofer, in the yeere 1413, by Antony Dessars Knight.

In the lower part of the Iland towards the North-West, the Church of (S) Saint Bartholmew is seated, which was built by King Phillip the faire, and after was turned from the Kings Chappell to a Monastery by King Lotharius, in the yeere 973, and then became a Paris h Church, whereof the King (in respect of the old Pallace) was the chiefe Paris hioner, and I thinke is so still. It became most famous, in that the bell of that Church was sounded vpon the verie day of Saint Bartholmew, in the yeere 1572, to giue a signe to the Regalists and Guisians, that they should kill those of the reformed Religion, whom they had drawne to the Citie vnder pretence of loue, and could not otherwise haue ouercome, as they found by experience of their va|lour.

Neere that, lyes the Kings greater (T) Pallace, wherein the old Kings kept their Court; but it hath since been vsed for the Courts of iustice, and pleading of Lawyers. In the great Hall hanges vp a dried Crocodil, or a Serpent like a Croco|dil. There bee the painted Images of all the French Kings from Pharamund. There is a statua of a Hart, with the head

and necke of Gold, set there in memory of the Treasurers, who in the time of King Charles the sixth, turned the money in the Exchequer into that forme, lest it should be wasted.

Here was painted vpon the wall neere the Tower, vpon the top of the staires of the great Hall, the Image of Enguer-anus Morignon, Earle of Longauille, and ouerseer of the building of this Pallace, vnder King Phillip the faire, with this inscrip|tion:

Chascun' soit content de ses biens, Qui n'a suffisance iln' a riens.

Be thou content with the goods thee befall, Who hath not enough, hath nothing at all.

This was spoken like a Philosopher: but the same man vnder Lewis Hatinus was hanged for deceiuing the King, and this his Image was broken and kicked downe the staires.

In the Hall of the Pallace is a Marble Table, at which Kings and Emperours were wont to bee feasted. The Chamber of the Pallace where verball appeales are decided, is called, The golden Chamber; and it is adorned with stately and faire arched roofes carued, and pictures, and there the Image of a Lyon, with the Head deiected, and the Tayle drawne in, remembers the Pleaders of their dutie.

Lewis the twelfth did build with Regall expence this Chamber, and another called the Chamber of Accounts (vulgarly la chambre des comptes.) In this Pal|lace the Chappell built by Saint Lewis, lyes vpon an arched Chappell, which hath no pillars in the middest, but onely on the sides; and they say, that the true Images of Christ and the blessed Virgin, are vpon the lower dore. And in this Chappell, the reliques are kept, which Balduinus the Emperour of Constanti|nople ingaged to the Venetians, and the King of France redeemed out of their hands. 194 In the very Hall of the Pallace, round about the pillars, are shops of small wares or trifles.

Right against the Gate of the Pallace, stood the house of Iohn Chastell, which was pulled downe in memorie of a young man his sonne, brought vp among the Iesuites, and a practiser of their wicked doctrine, who attempting the death of King Henrie the fourth, did strike out one of his teeth.

I haue said formerly, that this Iland was ioyned to the Ville by three Bridges, and to the Vniuersitie by two Bridges, and at this time is ioyned to them both, by the sixth Bridge. The first (V) Bridge towards South-East, leades to the street of Saint Martin, and is called pont de nostre Dame, that is the Bridge of our Lady, and it was built of wood in the yeere 1417, hauing threescore walking paces in length, and eighteene in breadth, and threescore houses of bricke on each side built vpon it. But this bridge in the time of Lewis the twelfth falling with his owne weight, was rebuilt vpon sixe Arches of stone, with threescore eight houses all of like bignesse built vpon it, and was paued with stone, so that any that passed it, could hardly discerne it to bee a Bridge. The second Bridge of the Broakers (vulgarly (W) Pont au Change) is supported with pillars of wood. The third Bridge of the Millers (vulgarly called (X) Pont aux Musniers) lies to|wards the North-West, and leades to the streete of Saint Denis, which they say did fall, and was rebuilt within three yeeres then past. By these three Bridges the Iland was of old ioyned to the Ville. The fourth Bridge lying on the other side of the Iland towards the South, leades into the streete of Saint Iames, and is called (Y) le petit pont, that is, The little Bridge, being rebuilt or repaired of stone, by King Charles the sixth. The sifth Bridge is called (Z) Saint Michell, and lying towards the South-West side, leades into the streete of Saint Michell,

and hath a pleasant walke towards the foresaid Bridge of the millers, on the other side of the Iland, and built vpon pillars of wood, was repaired in the yeere 1547, and ador|ned with bricke houses. By these two Bridges the Iland was of old ioyned to the Vniuersitie. Since that time after the ende of the Ciuill warre, a new Bridge hath been lately built on that side of the Iland, which lyes towards the North-West, and it is called (XX) pont neuf, that is, The new Bridge, ioyning the Iland both to the Ville, and to the Vniuersitie. The chiefe streetes of the Iland are the very Bridges, and the [...] waies leading to the Cathedrall Church, and to the greater Pallace.

The Church (or the little Citie compassed with walles in respect of the Church) of Saint Denis (the Protecting Saint of the French) is two little miles distant from Paris . Hither I went passing by the Gate of Saint Denis, lying towards the North East.

Thence I passed vpon a way paued with Flint, in a large Plaine towards the East, hauing Mount Falcon on my right hand, whether I said, that they vse to draw the dead bodies of those that are beheaded in the Ville, and the next way to this mount is to goe out by the Gate of Saint Martin. And vpon my left hand I had the Mountaine of the Martirs vulgarly called Mont Martre, and the next way from the Citie to this Mountaine is to goe out by the Gate Mont Mar|tre.

Vpon this Mountaine they say, that the Martyrs Dennis Areopagita, and Rusti|eus, and Eleutherius, were beheaded in the time of Domitian, because they would not offer sacrifice to Mercurie. And they constantly beleeue this miracle, that all these three Martyrs carried each one his head to the Village Catula, which now is cal|led Saint Dennis. And I obserued by the way many pillars with Altars, set vp in the places where they say the Martyrs rested (forsooth) with their heades in their hand, and at last fell downe at Catula, where this Church was built ouer them, and likewise a a Monastery, by King Dagobertus, who also lyes there buried, and hath a statua in the Cloister of the Monastery.

195 Here are the Sepulchers of the Kings, among which that of King Francis the [...] is somewhat more stately then the other, being of white Marble, with the statuaes of that King and his Queene Claudia there buried with him. That of Lewis the twelfth and his Queene, is of white Marble, but lesse faire; and the third erected to Charles the eight, in a Chappell of the Church, is of blacke Marble, with some statuaes of brasse. To conclude, to euery three or foure of the rest of the Kings, one poore monument is ere|cted. Neither are these sepulchers of the Kings (in my opinion) any thing stately or answerable to the fame. But at the entrance of the Chauncell, the representation of Christ buried, and of the three Kings or Wisemen, and of the shepheards, and others there engrauen, seemed to me (who haue no skill in that Art) to bee of much Art and beautie. I haue read other Itineraries, which relate, that here are bells of most pure Met|tal, that the dores are of Brasse guilded ouer, that the Table of the high Altar is of Gold, that here is a Crosse of Gold, offered by King Dagobert, that the bodies of the Mar|tyrs are laid in a coffin of Gold, that the roofe of the Church is partly of siluer, and that there is a Crucifix of Gold before the Altar. But I should thinke, that these old ornaments are taken away, and not to bee seene at this day.

Hauing viewed Paris , I desired to see the French King Henrie the fourth, and his Court; and because I lately had been robbed aswell of my cloake as of my Crownes, here I bought for some two French Crownes an old cloake, among the

Brokers in the Market place, called the Fripperie. So I tooke my iourney towards the Court, and went by boate vpon the Seyne (which boat daily passeth from Paris towards the South) nine leagues to Corbeuile, and foure leagues to Melune, hauing on both sides pleasant Hilles planted with Vines, and I payed seuen soulz for my passage. Then I went on foote foure miles ouer a Mountaine paued with Flint to the Kings Pallace, called Fon|tain-bleau, [Note: Fontain-bleau.] that is, the Fountaine of faire water. Beyond the same Mountaine this Pallace of the King is seated in a Plaine compassed with Rockes. And it is built (with Kingly Magnificence) of Free-stone, diuided into foure Courtyards, with a large Garden, which was then somewhat wild and vnmanured. At this time the Ci|uill warre being ended, the King began to build a Gallerie, the beginning of which worke was very magnificent.

The next day after I had seene the King, I returned on foote eight leagues to Sone. Heere I found post-horses returning to Paris , and hiring one of them for twentie soulz, I rode eight miles through fruitfull fieldes of Corne, and pleasant Hilles planted with Vines, and so returned to Paris , entring by the Gate of Saint Victoire in the Vniuersitie.

Now my Crownes which I had saued from the foresaid theeues, were by little and little spent, and I, who in my long iourney had neuer wanted money, but had rather furnished others that wanted with no small sums, was forced to treat with vnknowne Merchants, for taking money vpon exchange. But howsoeuer I had in other places dealt with noble Merchants, yet here I found my selfe to bee fallen into the hands of base and costiue Merchants, who perhaps hauing been deceiued by English Gentle|men, driuen by want to serue in the warres of France, had not the least respect of mee for my misfortune among Theeues, nor yet for our common Countrey. It happe|ned, that at this time there were in Paris two English Knighis brethren, namely, Sir Charles and Sir Henry Dauers, who for an ill accident liued then as banished men. And to them I made my misfortune knowne, who like Gentlemen of their qualitie, had a iust feeling thereof, especially for that they were acquainted with Sir Richard Moryson my brother, and they would willingly haue lent mee money.

But I will tell a truth well knowne. These brothers vpon good bonds were to haue receiued some thousands of Crownes a few moneths past in the Temple Hall (which is one of the Innes of Court of London, for those that professe the English Law). This being made knowne by one of the debtors, the Queene confiscated those Crownes, as belonging to banished men. Whereupon these Knightes be|ing to attend the French King to Lyons in his warre vpon Sauoy, were much dri|uen to their shiftes, to get money for that iourney. Yet did they not cast off all care 196 to prouide for me, but with great importunitie perswaded a starueling Merchant, to furnish me with ten French Crownes. When I had receiued them, I spent some few daies in refreshing my selfe at Paris .

They account fortie eight miles from Paris to Roane, whether I went by boat, and payed a French Crowne for my passage. The first day we passed eighteene miles to Poissy, a most faire and famous Nunnerie, and towards the euening wee passed by the Kings Pallace S. Germain. The next day we passed twentie leagues to Andale, and by the way passed by a bridge, diuiding the County of France from the Dutchy of Nor|mandy, and did see the Pallace Galeon, and a most faire Monastery. Then wee passed foure miles by water to Port S. Antoine, and one mile by land. Then wee hired ano|ther boat, in which we passed

fiue leagues to Roane, and I payed for this passage three soulz. This our way was by pleasant Ilands, hauing on both sides pleasant Hilles planted with Vines and fruit-trees.

The Citie of Roane is seated on the North side of the Riuer Seyne, partly in a Plaine, [Note: Roane.] partly vpon sides of Hilles. The building is for the most part of Free-stone, brought from the Citie Cane; and vpon a Hill towards the North without the walles, the Fort S. Cateline was seated, when King Henrie the fourth besieged Roane, and then the Fort much anoyed the quarter of the English auxiliarie forces: but now this Fort was alto|gether demolished.

Concerning expences of diet in these parts, I spent at Paris in the Innes fifteene soulz each meale, and at Roane twelue soulz, and at some Innes by the way fifteene soulz: but whosoeuer payes for his supper hath nothing to pay for his bed. But before the late Ciuill warre, they payed no more at Roane then eight soulz for a meale. Passen|gers, who stay long in the Citie, vse to hire a chamber, which at Paris is giuen for two French Crownes by the moneth, if it be well furnished, and otherwise for lesse. They that at Paris hier a chamber in this sort, vse to buy their meate in Cookes shops, and hauing agreed for it, the Cookes bring it to their chamber warme, and with pleasant sauce. And surely all things for diet were cheaper at Paris , then they vse to be at Lon|don, and since they vse to buy small peeces of meate, a solitarie passenger shall in that re|spect spend the lesse. Other passengers agree with some Citizen for diet and cham|ber, which may bee had at Paris in conuenient sort for one hundred and fiftie French Crownes by the yeere; and at Roane for one hundred and twentie: but before the last Ciuill warre, it might haue been had for one hundred, or eightie, and sometimes for sixtie French Crownes. At Roane I now payed for my supper twelue soulz, and the next day eleuen soulz for my dinner.

The night following wee rode fourteene leagues to Diepe, in a most pleasant way, diuided into inclosed Pastures, yeelding great store of Apletrees, not onely in the hed|ges, but also in the open fieldes. About midnight we tooke some rest and meate in a poore and solitaire Inne of a Village, but with such feare, as wee were ready to flie vpon the least noise. From Roane to Dieppe I hired a horse for thirtie soulz, and in this last Inne I payed twelue soulz for my meate, and fiue soulz for my horse|meate.

Dieppe is a pleasant Citie, and the greater part thereof (especially la Rue grande, that is the great street) is seated in a plaine vpon the Hauen, but it is compassed with Moun|taines, [Note: Dieppe.] and is diuided into two parts by an Arme of the Sea. The greatest part of the building, is of Timber and Clay, like our building of England.

I had spent at Paris most part of the ten Crownes I there receiued, and when I came from Roane, I perceiued that I should presently fall into want of money. Being in these straites, I went to the younger Paynter (one of the English Posts passing betweene Lon|don and Paris , and now returning in my company to London), and to him in few words I made my case knowne, who willingly yeelded to beare my charges to London, hauing me still in his company for a pledge.

At Dieppe I payed fifteene soulz for each meale, and ten soulz for my licence to passe ouer Sea, and fiue soulz of gift to one of the Officers, and tenne soulz for my part of a boat, hired to draw our ship out of the Hauen of Dieppe.

197 After we had failed fourteene houres, vpon Tuesday the thirteenth of May (after the old stile) in the yeere 1595, early in the morning, we landed in Eng-

land at Douer, and I payed a French Crowne for my passage in the ship, and sixe English pence for my pas|sage in a boate from the ship to that Port of blessed England. But we were fearce lan|ded, when we were cited to appeare before the Maior and his Assistants. Where for my part the more poore I was in apparrell, the more frowardly I behaued my felte to|wards them, (as many good mindes are most proud in the lowest fortunes), so as they began to intreate me rudely, as if I were some Popish Priest, till by chance a Gentleman one of the Maiors Assistants asking my name, and being familiarly acquainted with my brother, by priuat discourse with me, vnderstood that I had been robbed in France; whereupon hee gaue his word for mee vnto the Maior, and so walked with mee to our Inne. There he shewed so much respect and loue to me, and after my refusall of mo|ny from him, so frankely gaue his word for me to the English Post, as he was not only willing to furnish me with what money I would, but himselfe and the Dutch Gentle|men my Consorts in that iourney, much more respected me, though poorely apparel|led, then they had formerly done. Assoone as I came to London, I paied the ten French Crownes due by my bill of exchange to the foresaid French Merchant, and not onely payed to the English Post the money hee had disbursed for mee by the way, but gaue him sixe French Crownes of free gift, in thankfulnesse for this courtesie. At London it happened, that (in regard of my robbing in France) when I entered my sisters house in poore habit, a seruant of the house vpon my demaund answered, that my sister was at home: but when he did see me goe vp the staires too boldly (as he thought) without a guide, hee not knowing mee, in respect of my long absence, did furiously and with threatning words call me backe, and surely would haue been rude with me, had I not gone vp faster then he could follow me, and iust as I entred my sisters chamber, he had taken hold on my old cloake, which I willingly flung of, to be rid of him. Then by my sisters imbraces he perceiued who I was, and stole backe as if he had trodden vpon a Snake.

6 The third Booke.

2

6.1 CHAP. I.

Of my iourney to Stoade through the Vnited Prouinces of Netherland, and vpon the Sea-coast of Germany: then to Brunswick and (the right way) to Nurnburg, Augspurg, and Inspruck (in Germany), and from thence to [148] Venice in Italy, and so (by the Mediterranean Seas, and the Ilands thereof) to Ierusalem. In which iourney I slightly passe ouer the places described in my former passage those waies.

FRom my tender youth I had a great desire to see forraine Countries, not to get libertie (which I had in Cambridge in such measure, as I could not well desire more), but to enable my vnderstanding (which I thought could not be done so well by contemplation as by experi|ence; nor by the eare or any sence so well, as by the eies. And ha|uing once begun this course, I could not see any man without emu|lation, and a kind of vertuous enuy, who had seene more Cities, Kingdomes, and Pro|uinces, or more Courts of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, then my selfe. Therefore hauing now wandred through the greatest part of Europe, and seene the chiefe King|domes 198 thereof, I sighed to my selfe in silence, that the Kingdome of Spaine was shut vp from my sight, by the long warre betweene England and Spaine, except I would rashly cast my selfe into danger, which I had already vnaduisedly done, when I viewed the Citie and Fort of Naples , and the Citie of Milan . And howsoeuer now being newly re|turned home, I thought the going into more remote parts would be of little vse to me, yet I had an itching desire to see Ierusalem, the fountaine of Religion, and Constan|tinople, of old the seate of Christian Emperours, and now the seate of the Turkish Ottoman.

Being of this mind when I returned into England, it happened that my brother Hen|rie was then beginning that voyage, hauing to that purpose put out some foure hun|dred pounds, to be repaied twelue hundred pounds vpon his returne from those two Cities, and to lose it if he died in the iourney. I say he had thus put out the most part of his small estate, which in England is no better with Gentlemens younger sonnes, nor so good, as with bastards in other places, aswell for the English Law most vnmeasura|bly fauouring elder brothers, as (let me boldly say it) for the ignorant pride of fathers, who to aduance their eldest sonnes, driue the rest to desperate courses, and make them vnable to liue, or to spend any money in getting vnderstanding and experience, so as they being in wants, and yet more miserable by their Gentrie and plentifull education, must needes rush into all vices; for all wise men confesse, that nothing is more contra|ry to goodnesse, then pouerty. My brother being partner with other Gentlemen in this fortune, thought this putting out of money, to be an honest meanes of gaining, at least the charges of his iourney, and the rather, because it had not then been heard in England, that any man had gone this long iourney by land, nor any like it, excepting on|ly Master Iohn Wrath, whom I name for honour, and more specially hee thought this gaine most honest and iust; if this iourney were compared with other base aduentures for gaine, which long before this time had been, and were then in vse. And I confesse, that this his resolution did not at the first sight dislike me. For I remembred, that this man|ner of gaine, had of old been in vse among the

[148] Venice

inhabitants of the Low-Countries, and the Sea-Coasts of Germany (and so it is yet in vse with them.) I remembred, that no meane Lords, and Lords sonnes, and Gentlemen in our Court had in like sort put out money vpon a horserace, or speedie course of a horse, vnder themselues, yea vpon a iourney on foote. I considered, that those kindes of gaining onely required strength of body, whereas this and the like required also vigor of minde, yea, that they often weakened the body, but this and the like alwaies bettered the mind. I passe ouer infi|nite examples of the former customes, and will onely adde, that Earles, Lords, Gentle|men, and all sorts of men, haue vsed time out of mind to put out money to bee repaied with aduantage vpon the birth of their next childe, which kinde of gaine can no way bee compared with the aduentures of long iournies; yea, I will boldly say, it is a base gaine, where a man is so hired to that daliance with his wife, and to kill a man, so he may get a boy, as if he were to be incouraged to a game of Olympus.

Being led with these reasons, I liked his counsell, and made my selfe his consort in that iourny. And I had now giuen out vpon like condition mony to some few friends, when perceiuing the common opinion in this point to be much differing from mine, and thereupon better considering this matter, and obseruing (as a stranger that had beene long out of my Countrey) that these kind of aduentures were growne very fre|quent, whereof some were vndecent, some ridiculous; and that they were in great part vndertaken by bankerouts, and men ofbase condition. I might easily iudge that in short time they would become disgracefull, whereupon I changed my mind For I re|membred the Italian Prouerbe, La bellezza di putana, la forza del'fachino, etc. nulla va|gliano, that is, the beauty of a Harlot, the strength of the Porter, and (to omit many like) Musicke it selfe, and all vertues, become lesse prized in them, who set them out to sale. Also I remembred the pleasant fable, that Iupiter sent raine vpon a Village, wherewith whosoeuer was wet became a foole, which was the lot of all the Inhaitants, excepting one man, who by chance for dispatching of businesse, kept within doores that day; and that when he came abroad in the euening, all the rest mocked him, as if they had beene 199 wise, and he onely foolish: so as he was forced to pray vnto Iupiter for another like shower, wherein he wetted himselfe also, chusing rather to haue the loue of his foolish neighbours, being a foole, then to be dispised of them, because he was onely wise. And no doubt in many things wee must follow the opinion of the common people, with which it is better (regarding onely men) to be foolish, then alone to be wise. I say that I did for the aforesaid causes change my mind; and because I could not make that vn|done which was done, at least I resolued to desist from that course. Onely I gaue out one hundred pound to receiue three hundred at my returne among my brethren, and some few kinsmen and dearest friends, of whom I would not shame to confesse that I receiued so much of gift. And lest by spending vpon the stocke, my patrimony should be wasted, I moreouer gaue out to fiue friends, one hundred pound, with condition that they should haue it if I died, orafter three yeeres should repay it with one hun|dred and fifty pound gaine if I returned; which I hold a disaduantageous aduenture to the giuer of the money. Neither did I exact this money of any man by sute of Law after my returne, which they willingly and presently paid me, onely some few excep|ted, who retaining the very money I gaue them, deale not therein so gentleman-like with me, as I did with them. And by the great expences of my iourny, much increased by the ill ac-

cidents of my brothers death, and my owne sickenesse, the three hundred fifty pounds I was to receiue of gain after my return; and the one hundred pounds which my brother and I carried in our purses, would not satisfie the fiue hundred pound we had spent, (though my brother died within the compasse of the first yeere); but I was forced to pay the rest out of my owne patrimony.

Gentle Reader I will no longer trouble thee with these trifles: onely in the behalfe of them, who for a reasonable gaine, and vpon long iournies, and not vpon ridiculous aduentures, haue put out their mony in this sort. Giue leaue to me (howsoeuer I desi|sted from that course) to adde this; All manners of attire came first into the City and Countrey from the Court, which being once receiued by the common people, and by very Stage-players themselues, the Courtiers iustly cast off, and take new fashions, (though somewhat too curiously); and whosoeuer weares the old, men looke vpon him as vpon a picture in Arras hangings. For it is prouerbially said, that we may eate according to our owne appetite, but in our apparell must follow the fashion of the mul|titude, with whom we liue But in the meane time it is not reproch to any, who of old did were those garments, when they were in fashion. In like sort, many daunces and measures are vsed in Court, but when they come to be vulgar and to be vsed vpon very stages, Courtiers and Gentlemen think them vncomely to be vsed; yet is it no reproch to any man who formerly had skill therein To conclude, (that I may not trouble you with like examples, which are infinite), I say that this manner of giuing out mony vp|pon these aduentures, was first vsed in Court, and among the very Noble men; and when any of them shewed thereby extraordinary strength, the most censorious appro|ued it, but when any performed a long iourny, with courage and discretion, no man was found who did not more or lesse commend it, according to the condition of the iourney performed. Now in this age, if bankerouts, Stage-players, and men of base condition, haue drawne this custome into contempt: I grant that Courtiers and Gen|tlemen haue reason to forbeare it, yet know not why they should be blamed, who haue thus put out their mony in another age, when this custome was approued. A man may iustly say it is great iniustice, that our actions should be measured by opinion, and not by reason; but when a man leaues any custome that hath beene approued, left hee should oppose himselfe to the common people, a monster of many heads, the most en|uious hath nothing whereat they may iustly carpe. And if any measure may be impo|sed to detracters, surely they must spare them, who vndertake long voyages, ful of great dangers who doe not put out their money in Tauernes, or at feasts to any man with|out distinction, but dispose of their money with their friends vpon reasonable aduen|ture of gaine, (which in absence they cannot otherwise dispose to profit): Finally who being not rich by patrimony, take these iournies onely for experience, and to be ina|bled to that expence, doe condition this reasonable gaine. I say the detracters must 200 spare these, and distinguish them from others, who make cursorie iournies, without any desire to better their vnderstanding thereby, and more from those, who in these courses rather make triall of their bodies strength, then of their mindes abilitie. And most of all from those, who expose themselues to the scorne of men, by base and ridi|culous aduentures, or that little differ from selfemurtherers, in vndertaking desperate actions for gaine.

In the same yere 1595; wherein (some few months past) I returned into England from my former iourney, I now set forth againe towards Ierusalem, and

vpon the twentie [Note: Anno 1595.] nine of Nouember (after the old stile), I and my brother consort of my iourney, went by water twentie miles (which are seuenteene miles by land) from London to Graues|end, in a boat with two Oares, for which we payed two shillings sixe Pence. At last the winde seruing vs, vpon the seuenth of December in the euening, we set saile at an eb|bing water, and vpon the eighth of December in the afternoon, hauing passed the Ri|uer Thames, wee cast anchor, vpon the shoare of England, right before the Village Margets.

Then in the twilight of the euening, wee put to Sea, and the ninth of December en|tring the narrow Sea of Zealand, vpon our call a boat came out of Vlishing to vs, in which we went thither, leauing our ship, which went forward to Midleburg, and each man paying a doller for his passage. The eleuenth of December we walked on foot one mile to Midleburge, where being inuited by our friends (as we were at Vlishing) we sup|ped on free cost. The twelfth day wee passed by Sea in two houres space to Armu|ren, where wee cast anchor not without feare of Spanish Pirats, who comming with small boates out of the Castle Wouda, did then many robberies vpon this Sea. The thirteenth day in the morning, wee sailed nine miles to the Iland Plat, where a Man of warre, sent out by the States against these Pirats, did lie at anchor, vnder the guard whereof we also lay at anchor the night following. The fourteenth day in the mor|ning, hauing alwaies a faire winde, wee sailed eight milcs to Delphs hauen in Holland, where we left our Barke, and each man payed twelue stiuers for his passage, and my selfe gaue three stiuers to a Marriner that had attended me. From hence my selfe and three consorts, hired a Wagon for 18 stiuers to the Hage, where I payed for my sup|per a Flemish guilden and seuenteene stiuers. The fiftenth day of December (which after the new stile was Christmas day, that Feast by the old stile falling on the twentie fiue of December) my selfe and three consorts hired a Wagon for two guldens, for two long miles to Leyden. From Leyden at a set hower euery day, boates passe to all the next Cities, and we entring the boat that went for Amsterdam, payed each of vs 6 stiuers for our passage. First, wee passed fiue miles vpon the Lake called Harlam Meare, which Lake is much subiect to Tempests. Our boate was then drawne by force of hands ouer a Damme into a Channell of water, in which we passed two miles, and so came to Amsterdam. The boates are thus drawne out of the Lake into the Channell, by a pri|uiledge granted to Harlam, because that Citie had spent much money in the workes for conueyance of waters. And this was granted to them, to the ende, that this passage being shut vp to Barkes of greater burthen, the Merchants wares passing by land, should be forced to come by Harlam. We lodged in a English Merchants house at Amsterdam, and payed eight stiuers for each meale.

The seuenteenth of December we entred a little ship, to saile out of Holland into West-Freesland: but being almost frozen in with yce, after wee had sailed two dayes and a night (with great danger) through huge pieces of yce, and were the second night also compassed therewith, and had been forced to lie at anchor a good space, we hardly ar|riued the third day at Horne in North-Holland, which Citie is fiue miles distant from Amsterdam and each man payed ten stiuers for our passage, and two stiuers for the vse of a little cabbin in the ship. The ninteenth day we would needs go on foot two miles (as long as ten English miles), to Enchnsen, because they asked foure guldens and a half for a Wagon. And in the mid way it hapned that we light vpon a sledg, which wee 4 consorts hired

for 20 stiuers, and therin wee were all carried, but for my part I paied 5 stiuers more for the cariage of my necessaries. And we could not sufficiently maruell 201 at our first setting forth, that the Villages should be so frequent, in such an obscure Countrey, as wee could hardly see how they were parted one from the other, for halfe the way at least. From hence we sailed with a very faire wind, in three houres space two miles to Stauern, a Village seated in West-Freezland, and each man paid ten stiuers for his passage, foure for his supper, and foure for beere.

The next day we passed on foot one mile of Freezland, (which miles are exceeding long) to Warcome, and we hired two Clownes for two guldens, to carry our necessaries, which Clownes drinking stoutly all the night, we were forced beyond our bargaine to pay for their intemperance, which wrong we could not auoid, though we much repi|ned at it. Early in the morning we passed by water one mile ouer a Lake to Bolsworth, and each man paid two stiuers and a halfe for his passage, and eight stiuers and a halfe for his dinner. In the afternoone we hired a boat for three miles to Lewerden, and each man paid sixe stiuers for his passage, and thirty foure stiuers for his supper and breake|fast, with wine. The next day in the morning, we might haue passed to Groning, in a common boat, each man paying twelue stiuers: but because the couetous Marriners had ouerloaded it, and the winds were boisterous, we foure consorts hired a priuate boate for seuen guldens and a halfe. The first day we passed by water fiue miles, to Kaltherberg, that is, the cold Inne, with a very faire wind; but so boysterous, as we were in no small feare. Here each man paid twelue stiuers for his supper, and seuen stiuers for his drinke, while in good fellowship we sate at the fier after supper. The next day we passed in the same boat two miles to Groning, in a great tempest of wind; besides that in the midst of the Lake we lost our Rudder, being thereby in great danger, had not the waues of the water (by Gods mercy) driuen it to vs. Here we paid eight stiuers each man for a plentifull dinner, but without wine. In the afternoone we passed by water two miles to Delphs Ile, and each man paid forty stiuers for the hier of the boate, and twenty foure stiuers for supper and breakefast, and fire in our priuate chamber.

From hence we sayled with a most faire wind, in two houres space two miles to Em|den, the first City of the German Empire, seated in East-Friezland, and each man paid sixe stiuers for his passage, and as much for his dinner. In the afternoone we passed in a boat hired for foure guldens (whereof each man paid ten stiuers for his part) three miles to a little City Lyre, and by the way passed by the Fort Nordlire, in which the Earle of Emden held his Court. We rested at Lyre this night and the next day, being Christmas day by the old stile, and each man paid sixteene stiuers for each supper, and eight stiuers for one dinner. The Spanish Garisons daily sent out freebooters into these parts, with the permission of the Earle of Emden, (for his hatred to the Citizens of Emden, who lately had shut him out of their City); and of the Earle of Oldenburge (for his hatred against the Citizens of Breme). Therefore we being here many passen|gers, did at last obtaine of the Earle of Emden, that we might hier his souldiers to con|duct vs safely for some few miles. To these souldiers we gaue twenty one dollers, yet when at the three miles end we came to the Village Stickhausen, and were now in the greatest danger, they (as hired to goe no further) would needes returne, till each of vs gaue them a German gulden, to conduct vs onely to the next village, being the con|fines of the Counties of Emdens and Oldenburg. To

which they were perswaded, not so much by our prayers as by our reward, and once by the way, to make shew of dan|ger (as it seemed to me lest we should repent vs of the money we had giuen them, they rushed into some old houses, with such a noise, as if they would haue killed al they met, but no enemy appeared, and if they had lurked there, I think they would not haue fought with the Earles souldiers who fauoured them, as on the other side, if they had assaulted them, I doubt whether our mercinary souldiers would haue lost one dram of blood for our safety. As long as these souldiers were with vs, we partly went by water, (each man paying 3. stiuers for his passage) and partly on foot. They being now dismissed, we went on foot a Dutch mile, in the Territory of the Earle of Oldenburg, to the Village Aopen, where each man paid foure stiuers for his dinner. In the afternoone, we being many consorts, hired diners waggons, paying for each of them twenty fiue stiuers to Olden|burg, being foure miles, and we came thither by nine of the clock in the night, and there 202 each man paid fifteene groates for his supper and breakefast. The second day in the morning we went foure miles to Dolmenhurst, and each man paid two copstucks for his Waggon. Then sixe of vs hired a Waggon one mile to Breme for three copstucks, where each man paid foureteene lubecke shillings for his supper and breakefast.

From hence eleuen of vs hired two Waggons to Stoade, for which each of vs paid thirty lubecke shillings. The first day we went foure miles to a poore Village, where each of vs paid fiue lubecke shillings for our suppers. And hauing rested here somefew houres vpon straw, we went before the breake of day three miles to Foard, and making no stay there, passed three miles further to Stoade.

Hence fiue of vs hired a coach for fiue dollers, to Luneburg ten miles distant, and the first day in the afternoone we went three miles to Alte-kloster, that is; the old Cloy|ster, which was seated in the Bishoppricke of Breme, and the next day one mile in the same Bishoppricke, and sixe in the Duke of Luneburgs territory, and so we came to Lu|neburg; but the horses being weary, and the iourny long, we came so late in the night, as we were forced to lodge without the gates, where each man paid fiue lubecke shil|lings for his supper, three for his breakefast, and fiue for beere. The next day we en|tered Luneburge, where each man paid foure lubecke shillings and a halfe for his dinner.

From hence foure of vs hired a coach for seuen dollers to Brunswicke, being sixteen miles distant, the coach-man paying for his horses meat, and we for his owne meat. The same day in the afternoone, we passed fiue miles in sixe houres space to Sawerburg, where each of vs paid (for our owne supper, with our part of the coachmans supper) seuen lubecke shillings. The second day in the morning we passed foure miles to Ow|sen, where each man paid in like sort fiue lubecke shillings for our dinner. In the after|noone we passed three miles to Gethurne, where the Duke of Luneburg hath a Castle (which the Dutch call Schlosse); where for ours and the coach-mans supper and break|fast, we foure English consorts paid a doller and twelue stiuers. The third day in the morning, we passed foure miles to Brunswicke, where in like sort we foure paied for our owne and the coach-mans beuer, supper, and dinner, two dollers and a halfe.

From hence sixe consorts of vs hired a coach forthirty dollers to Nurnberg, forty eight miles distant, and the coachman paid for his horse-meat, and we for his owne meat, which hereafter diuided among vs I will reckon in our seureall expences. The first day at ten of the clocke beginning our iourney, we passed through

fruitfull hils of corne one mile, where we left on our left hand Wolfenbeyten, (a City where the Duke of Brunswicke keepes his Court), with a Village belonging to his brother the Bishop of Ossenbruck. And there we met with certaine of the Dukes hors-men, who kept the waies safe from theeues, and at their request we bestowed on them an Ort or fourth part of a doller. Then in the like way we passed two miles and a halfe to Rauchell, where each of vs paid for ours and the coach-mans supper fiue filuer groshen. The second day in the morning we passed three miles and a halfe to Halberstatt, where each man paid in like sort for ours and the coach-mans dinner halfe a doller. Our iourny this day was through fruitfull hils of corne, not inclosed, and groues and woods in a fruitfull and pleasant Country. The Duke of Brunswicke is called the Administrator of the Bishop|pricke of Halberstatt, and hath the rents thereof. After dinner we passed one mile to Ermersteben, subiect to the Duke of Brunswicke, through a plaine more pleasant then the former, hauing no inclosures, but being fruitfull in corne, and full of Villages; where wee foure English consorts paid twenty three siluer groshen for our owne and the coach-mans supper. I haue omitted the quality of the soyle, in places which I haue formerly discribed, which now I mention againe, because this is the first time I passed from Brunswicke to Nurnburg. The third day in the morning we passed in a dir|ty way (but through most pleasant hils, and fruitfull of corne, but hauing no woods, nor so much as a tree,) two miles to Mansfield.

The Counts of Man field well knowne Captaines in the warres of the Low-Coun|tries and Hungary, haue their name from this Castle and Village, and this territory, (hauing besides some twelue Castles) being not sufficient to maintaine the great num|ber 203 of them, they were forced to seeke aduancement by the warres. The Citizens of Mansfield were of old very rich by the Mines of this territory, but at this time they had scarce bread to eat, the Counts hauing ingaged these mines to the Fugari of Augs|burg, and to some Citizens of Nurnburg. Some of these mines yeeld gold, but so spa|ringly, as it scarce quits the cost. Others yeeld siluer, and the very mines of Copper in each hundred yeeld twenty lot (that is halfe ounces) of siluer. Of these mines some are two hundred Clafters (that is fathoms) deepe vnder the earth. And these mines of the mountaine are borne vp with pillars and buildings of wood vnder the earth, lest it should fall vpon the workmen. They say that these mines yeeld yeerly one hundred and forty thousand dutch guldens, besides the expences. At this time three officers liued in the Castle, who receiued the profits of the mines for those to whom they were in|gaged, whereof one receiued fiue parts, the other three, the third onely one part. Moreouer here be wonderfull stones in the quarries, which broken into neuer so ma|ny parts, haue still the liuely figure of diuers things. Our Hoste shewed vs some of them, which had throughout the figures of diuers fishes in a Lake adioining, this stone of one fish, that of another, and so of all the kinds. And he shewed vs one that had throughout the figure of Christ crucified, another that had the figure of the Popes triple Crowne, and another that had the liuely figure of Luther. Surely the Ger|mans are accounted no iuglers, nor liers; and if they would haue deceiued vs, yet I can|not see how our eyes should be deceiued, seeing many of them broken, and stil hauing the same figure. This poore Village (yet pleasant for the seat) was of old a City, and at this time the houses were couered (as they be in many parts of Germany) not with tiles of bricke, but with like peeces of wood. Here each of vs paid a

quarter of a doller for our owne and the coach-mans dinner.

In the afternoone we passed a dirty way; but through fruitfull corne fields, foure miles to Sangerhausen, where each of vs in like sort paid the fourth part of a doller and a grosh for our supper. This being the first Village of the Prouince Thuring, belongs to the Elector of Saxony. The fourth day in the morning wee passed through most pleasant and fruitfull hils of corne, adorned with some pleasant woods, (which in high|er Germany are of firre, that is greene all winter,) foure miles in the territory of the Ele|ctor of Saxony, to a Countrey Inne; where hauing nothing but egges for our dinner, we paid iointly ten siluer grosh. After dinner we passed in the same Electors territory, and through the like soyle (or Countrey) three miles and a halfe to a Countrey Inne, where we had to supper a pudding as big as a mans legge, and grosse meat, and straw for our beds; and iointly paid foureteene grosh. The fifth day early in the morning we passed-through the like way, but more pleasant for the plenty of Vines, two miles to the City of Erfurt, where we foure English consorts with our coach-man paied iointly a doller and twenty one grosh for our dinner, with sower wine of the Coun|trey. This City is seated in a plaine, and is a free City, but not an imperiall City, and paies some tribute to the Bishop of Metz, and to the Saxon Duke of Wineberg. It is large, being a Dutch mile in compasse, but the houses are poorely built of timber and clay, hauing the roofes couered with tiles of wood, and they seeme to be built of old. It hath forty two Churches, but onely sixteene are vsed for diuine seruice: namely, eight for the Papists, (among which are the two Cathedrall Churches, vnder the power of the Archbishop of Metz,) and eight for the Protestants or Lutherans. This is the chiefe City of Thuring, and of old here was an Vniuersity, but time hath dissol|ued it. After dinner at the first going out of the City, wee ascended a very high mountaine, whereupon is a pleasant wood of firre. Then we passed by the beautifull little City of Armstat, I call it beautifull, for the seate in a firtile soyle, hauing drie and pleasant walkes, and for the plenty of fountaines and groaues, and for the magnifi|cence of the Castle, wherein the Count of Schwartzburg keepes his Court, finally for the vniforme building of the City, which some fifteene yeeres past was burnt to the ground, and was since re-builded, and so comming from Erfurt, we passed three long miles to the Village Blaw, subiect to the Count of Schwartzburg; where iointly we paid foureteene grosh for our supper. The sixth day we passed three miles through 204 wooddy mountaines, to the Village Fraw-im-Wald, (that is, our Lady in the wood), which Village is subiect to the said Count; and here we paid iointly thirty seuen grosh and a halfe for our dinner. After dinner wee passed three miles through mountaines couered with snow, and woods of firre to Eysfield, subiect to the Saxon Duke of Co|burg. For this wood of Thuring, (vulgarly called Thuringwald) hath many Lords, namely, the Elector of Saxony, the Saxon Dukes of Wineberg and Coburg, and the Count Schwartzburg The Duke of Coburg hath in this place a faire Castle, and we paid ioint|ly for vs foure and the coach-man sixty foure grosh for our supper and breake-fast. The seuenth day in the morning we passed three miles ouer dirty mountaines, and fruitfull in corne, to Coburg seated in the Prouince of Franconia. They say this City was of old called Cotburg, that is, the City of dirt, and the dirty streetes well deserue the name. Here one of the Dukes of Saxony called of Coburg kept his Court, and our Host told vs that his Dutchesse for adultery was then bricked vp in a wall,

the place being so narrow, as shee could onely stand, and hauing no dore, but onely a hole whereat they gaue her meat. The building of the City was very base of timber and clay. Here we fiue paid sixteene grosh for our dinner. In the afternoone we passed two miles, to the Towne Clawsen, through fruitfull hils of corne, and in a most dirty way, where we fiue paid forty nine grosh for our supper; and the Towne is subiect to the Popish Bi|shop of Bamberg. The eight day we passed foure miles to Bamberg, through a fruitfull plaine of corne, and pleasant hils planted with vines, and in a most dirty way. This City is the seate of the Bishop of Bamberg. By the way we passed by a Ferry the Riuer Manus, running to Franckfort. Here we fiue paid thirty seuen grosh for our dinner. In the afternoone we passed through a wood of firre in a sandy soyle, and then through fruitfull fields of corne and pleasant hils, three mile vnto a Village subiect to the Mar|graue of Anspach, (from which a City subiect to the Bishop of Bamberg, is not farre distant, for the Princes dominions in these parts are mingled one with the other); and here we fiue paid fifty fiue grosh for our supper. The ninth day we passed three miles through a sandy and barren plaine, and woods of firre alwaies greene, to a Village subiect to the said Margraue, where we fiue paid forty grosh for our dinner. In the af|ternoone we passed three miles, through the like way, to Nurnburg, and being now free from paying for our coach-man, each of vs paid here six batzen each meale, and foure creitzers each day for our chamber. This City I haue formerly discribed, and so passe it ouer.

Here we hired a coach, being seuen consorts, for twelue Dutch guldens, to Augs|burg, being nineteene miles distant. The first day after breakefast we passed through Nurnburg wood two miles, and in the said Margraues territory (who is of the Family of the Electors of Brandeburg,) foure miles to Blinfield; and each of vs paid ten batzen for our supper, and foure batzen for a banquet after supper. The second day in the morning we passed foure miles to the City Monheyme, subiect to the Phaltzgraue of the Rheine, and here each of vs paid halfe a gulden for his dinner. By the way, in this mornings iourney, we did see Weyssenburg, a free but not imperiall City, protected by Nurnburg. The Margraue of Anspach, Lord of this territory, hath a Fort built vpon a Mountaine, that hangs ouer this free City, which when he did build, the Citizens complained to the Emperour; and they say that how soeuer they brought the Empe|rours Mandate to desist from the worke, yet he would not obey the same. The rest of our iourny to Monheyme, was in the territory of the Baron of Papenheym, in a dirty way, through many woods. And in a village subiect to that Baron, we had a guide and two fresh horses for our coach, and for them our coach-man paid sixe batzen. After dinner we passed three miles through a wood, and fruitfull hils of corne, to the City Donwerd, being a faire imperiall City, which I haue formerly described, and here each man paid sixe batzen for his supper. Now we were come out of Franconio, and began to enter into Suenia. The third day we passed three miles, through fruitfull fields of corne, and woods of firre, to a Village, where each man paid eight batzen for his dinner. In the afternoone we passed through likeway, three miles to Augsburg, where each man paid seuen batzen for each meale. I passe ouer this City, which I haue discribed before.

205 Heere we agreed with the Carrier of Augsburg, who by course that weeke went to [149] Venice, that each of vs should pay him seuenteene Crownes, (each

[149] Venice

Crowne worth twentie two batzen), and that he not onely should find euery man a horse, and pay for the horses meate, but also should pay for our diet. And heere I gained this by my Dutch Language, that making the bargaine with him for one of my Countrimen, who could not speake Dutch, when wee came to [150] Venice, and hee hauing no mony, could not pay the Carrier, I had no remedie but to pay those Crownes for him, to which the Law would haue compelled me, as the maker of the bargaine, if I had not rather chosen willingly to doe it. See how ignorance may sometimes aduantage, and skill may preiudice a man.

We began this iourney in the afternoone, and the first day through a Heath, and in the Territorie of the Duke of Bauaria from the very Gates of Augsburg, wee rode sixe miles to an Inne neere Landsperg. The second day in the morning, through fruit|full Hilles and Woods of Firre, greene at this time of the yeere, we rode foure miles to Schongaw, and after dinner through Mountaines couered with snow, foure miles to Amberg. The third day in the morning we rode two miles to the Village Warten ker|ken, and after dinner sixe short miles to Seyfeld, and in the midest of the way a Bridge diuides the Dukedome of Bauaria from the County of Tyrall. At Seyfeld there is a Church built in memory of a Gentleman, swallowed vp by the gaping earth (as they say) because being to receiue the Sacrament, hee demaunded in scoffe a great piece of bread. The fourth day in the morning, wee rode three miles to Inspruck, the chiefe Citie of Tyrall, subiect to the Familie of Austria, where being at the top of the Alpes, the Mountaines beganne to open towardes the South, and our mornings iourney was in a pleasant Plaine betweene the highest Mountaines. Passing this plaine, they shewed vs vpon a high Mountaine (so high as we could scarce discerne the things they shewed, though of great bignesse); I say, they shewed vs the statua of the Emperour Maximiltan, proportionable to his body, and a great Crucifix erected by him vpon this occasion. One day when he hunted, and wandring from his compa|ny, lost himselfe, so as he had no hope to get out of those most thick woods, and most high Mountaines, there appeared to him a man, or (as they said) his good Angell, who led him through wilde vast Woods, till he came in safetie, and then vanished away, in memorie whereof, they say the Emperour erected these monuments.

In this Citie of Inspruck, and in the Cathedrall Church thereof, is the Sepulcher of the said Emperour, and there be many Images partly of Brasse, partly of Marble ere|cted [Note: Inspruck.] to the Archdukes of Austria, and eight of Brasse erected to the Arch-Dutchesses. Among them was the sepulcher of Philippina, a Citizens Daughter of Augsburg, whom the Arch-Duke Ferdinand (lately buried, and lying in a Chappell without any sepulcher as then erected to him) tooke for his Wife, but with a coucnant (as they say) that her children should not inherit as Arch-dukes of Austria.

From hence wee rode in the afternoone betweene Mountaines, descending into Italy, and lying towards the South Sunne, foure miles and a halfe of most pleasant way to Lueg. The fifth day we passed the Mountaine Bremer, and rode two miles and a halfe to Sterzen, subiect to the Cardinall of Brixia, one of the Family of the Arch-Dukes of Austria at Inspruck. The Mountaine Bremer is more then a Dutch mile high, yet nothing steepe; this way from Augsburg to [151]

[150] Venice
[151] Venice

Venice, being for the most part through pleasant Vallyes, in the middest of Mountaines, and so winding ouer the Mountaines, as the passage is very easie. Here my brother Henrie falling sicke, I delt with the car|rier, that we paying him three guldins and a halfe for the common charge of his com|panies supper, he would there stay for vs till the next morning, and this likewise I ob|tained of our consorts with more ease, because they were to diet at the Carriers charge. The sixth day we rode three miles to a Village not farre distant from Brixia, where the said Cardinall held his Court, this way being all through woody Mountaines. Af|ter dinner we rode three miles in the said Cardinals Territorie, (through Mountaines, and Hilles planted with Vines, and lying towards the South Sunne) to Clausy. The seuenth day we rode foure miles (in a straight way betweene Rockes with pleasant 206 Orchards of Pomgranats, and other Italian fruites, lying on both sides) to [...], which the Dutch call Pozen. And after dinner we began to leaue the Alpes on our backe, and rode three miles to Newmart, through Woods of Firre, in a Plaine more and more inlarging it selfe, and planted after the Lombard fashion, with Elme trees set in the surrowes of Corne-fieldes, and Vines growing vp high vpon the Elmes. The eighth day wee rode by the banke of the Riuer Athesis to Trent, three miles in the County Tyroll, within the Dutch Empire, and one Dutch mile in Italy.

The Citie Trent is seated in length from a Mountaine on the East side, to another on the West side, and the Riuer Athesis (which the Dutch call Esh) runnes by the City [Note: Trent.] on the North side. The Citie is famous by a late Councell held there, and the Arch-Duke of Austria at Inspruck hath his Officer there, to gather Tributes belonging to him. And the Cardinall Madrucci (lame of an arme and foote, but reputed eloquent) hath some priuiledges in this Citie for the administration of Iustice, and otherwise: for the command of the Citie belongs to the Family of Madrucci, being Gentlemen. Af|ter dinner we entered the Mountaines againe, where wee walked ouer a way paued with Flint (which the Dutch call Plat) and did leade our horses in our hands, the way being very slipperie, and so we rode one most long Dutch mile to Bersena. The ninth day we rode three most long miles to Bergo, I meane Dutch miles, for I had no other companions but Dutch, who reckon the way after their owne miles. This day wee passed infamous places for robberies, especially one, where 5 waies leade to 5 wood|die Mountaines; and here we did see theeues, being our selues in safetie, they hauing no meanes to come to vs, in a Plaine so couered with snow, that our horses were vpto the saddles therein, and could hardly passe the high way. After dinner we rode two most long Dutch miles to Griguo. The tenth day we rode two Dutch miles to Primo|lano, the first Village in the State of [152] Venice: but from the foresaid confines of the Em|pire to this place, all the Territorie belonged to diners Gentlemen, neither subiect to the Empire, nor to the State of [153] Venice, but liuing free, onely acknowledging to hold their land from the Arch-Dukes of Austria. Also beyond Primolane (subiect to the State of [154] Venice), there is a Fort built betweene a narrow passage of two Mountaines, which Fort is very little, but hangeth ouer the high way, being built on the side of a Mountaine, and this Fort is kept by Dutch Souldiers. It hath no Gate, but they that will goe forth,

[152] Venice
[153] Venice
[154] Venice

must be let downe by a rope, and they that will enter it, must in like sort be drawne vp. Moreouer before dinner we rode from Primolano; one Dutch mile to Carpanella, and at our setting forth from Primolan, wee passed ouer a Bridge, vnder which was little water for the present: but when the snow melts from the Mountaines, or any great raine falles, the waters there are high and violent, and some moneth past, when the Carrier of Augspurg and his consorts could no way passe the same, they told vs, that an English Gentleman impatient of delay, and trying to passe the same, was drowned, and that his body was found after somefew daies, when it had been spoiled of a gold chaine and store of Crownes, they being vnknowne who got this bootie, and that he was at first buried in a Chappell, but after taken vp by the Priests, and buried in the high way, when they heard he was an Englishman, and thereupon suspected him to be an heritike. For the building of this bridge each of vs payed two creitzers in the next Village. In our mornings iourney the way was narrow, betweene Mountaines, and we might see and heare Mountaines of dissolued snow, drawing with them huge stones, to fall with great noise into the high way before vs, and into other adioyning Vallyes. After dinner we rode through a plane tilled after the manner of Lombardy, three Dutch miles and a halfe, to the Castle Franco. The twelfth day we rode three Dutch miles to the Citie Treuigi, through a like Plaine. After dinner (for I haue for|merly described Treuigi) we rode two Dutch miles, or ten Italian miles, through a like Plaine to Mestre. From hence we passed by water to [155] Venice being fiue miles, first in a Ditch, each man paying one soldo for his passage, then in other boats ouer the Lakes wherewith [156] Venice is compassed, each man paying three soldi for his passage. I omit to speake any thing of [157] Venice, which I haue formerly described.

We being now to take our purposed iourney into the Turkes Dominions, thought 207 it best, first to goe to Constantinople, where the English Ambassadour giuing vs a Iani|zare [Note: Our iourney from [158] Venice to Ieru|salem.] for our guide, we hoped the rest of our iourney would be pleasant, and void of all trouble. For this Ianizare, aswell for their wonted faithfulnesse to those that giue them wages, as for the account he was to make of our safetie to the said Ambassadour, no doubt would haue been a faithfull guide to vs. But when we inquired of the way from Raguza to Constantinople by land, all the Postes and Messengers passing that way, told vs, that the warre of Hungarie made all those parts full of tragedies and miserie. Then we thought to goe by Sea to Constantinople: but when wee heard that no ship would be had in three moneths at least, that long delay was hatefull to vs. Too late, af|ter my returne, by experience in my iourney, and conference, I found a third way, namely by Sea from [159] Venice to Zant, and from that Iland (taking the Councell of the English Merchants there) to Petrasso, (seated vpon the Corinthian Creeke of the Sea, in Peloponesus, a Prouince of Greece, called by the Turkes Morea), then to take a Iani|zare from the English Consul there residing, and with him to passe by land to Athens, and by Sea in little Barkes from thence to Constantinople. The fourth way was not vnknowne to vs, namely, to goe by Sea to Cyprus (as wee did), and in the

[155] Venice
[156] Venice
[157] Venice
[158] Venice
[159] Venice

same ship to haue passed to Scanderona, and there taking a Ianizare from the English Factor, maintained there by our Merchants of Haleppo, to haue passed vnder his conduct by Sea to Ierusalem. Or else to haue gone from Scanderona to Haleppo, and there taking a Ianizare of the English Consul, and obtaining letters from the Italians, to recom|mend the care of vs and our safetie to the Guardian of the Monastery of the Latin Church in Ierusalem (which our Merchants would easily haue obtained for vs) to haue passed from thence by land to Ierusalem. But when wee imparted at Cyprus this our purpose to the Consorts of our iourney from [160] Venice thither, who were then hiring a Barke to passe from Ciprus to Ioppa, whence they had but fortie miles to Ierusalem, they were very desirous of our company, and with great earnestnesse gaue vs confi|dence, that they would procure the said Guardian and Fryers at Ierusalem to doe vs all courtesie in their power, and so perswaded vs to commit our selues to their company and protection. I will adde for the instruction of others, that the said Ianizare vseth to be hired for eight Aspers a day, and if he take this charge of any mans safetie from an Ambassadour, or any Christian Officer of account, hee will easily saue a man more then his wages, in gouerning his expences, and keeping him from those extortions, which the Turkes vse to doe vpon Christians, as also from all their iniuries. But I re|turne to the purpose; We lying at [161] Venice, and while our health was yet sound, and our Crownes vnspent, desiring with all possible speede to finish our voyage into Turky, did by good hap light vpon French consorts for our iourney, namely, two Franciscan Friers, one Eremitan Frier, and two honest young Frenchmen, both Citizens of Bloys in France, and one of them a Burgers sonne, the other a Notarie of the Citie, and lastly a Flemming or Dutchman, Citizen of Emden in East Freezeland. This Fleming was a fat man, borne to consume victuals, and he had now spent in his iourny to [162] Venice thirty pound sterling, and here for his iourney to Ierusalem had already put into the ship full Hogs-heads of Wine, and store of all victuals, when suddenly he changed his minde, for feare of a great Rhume wherewith he was troubled, or being discouraged with the difficulty of the iourney, and would needs returne to Emden, with purpose (if hee were to be belieued) to returne the next Spring to some place neere Ierusalem, in an English ship, which he thought more commodious. He professed, that he had put much mo|ney out vpon his returne, and since hee was old, and very sickly, and after so long a iourney, and so much money spent, would needes returne home, I cannot thinke that he euer vndertooke this iourney againe.

Many Papists thinke they must haue the Popes Licence to goe this iourney, and Villamont a French Gentlemen writes, that otherwise they incurre the censure of the Church, and affirmes that the Pope writ vnder his licence these words; Fiat quod pe|titar, that is, let that be granted which is craued, and vnder the remission of his sinnes, Fiat Faelix, that is; Let him be made happy: And he addes, that he was forced to take as much paines, and to spend as much, and to vse as much helpe of the Popes Offi|cers, 208 for the obtaining of these two sutes, as if he had beene a suter for a Bishoppricke. But I know many Papists, that haue gone from [163] Venice to Hierusalem, who either cared not for

[160] Venice
[161] Venice
[162] Venice
[163] Venice

this licence, or neuer thought vpon it; and how soeuer it may giue some credu|lous men hope of fuller indulgence or merit, surely it will serue them for no other vse. Among our consorts I neuer heard any mention thereof, neither did the Friars at Ie|rusalem inquire after it. When I first began to thinke of vndertaking this iourney, it was told me that each Ascension day, a Venetian gally was set forth to carry Pilgrimes to Ierusalem. But it seemes that this custome is growne out of vse, since few are found in these daies who vndertake this iourney, in regard of the Turkes imposing great ex|actions, and doing foule iniuries to them. For the very Friars, which euery third yeere are sent into those parts, to doe diuine duties to the Papist Merchants there abiding; (the Friars formerly sent being recalled), vse to passe in no other then common Mer|chants ships.

In the end of March we had the opportunity of a ship passing into Asia, (which at that time of the yeere is not rare). This ship was called the lesse Lyon, and the Ma|ster, (whom the Italians cal Patrono) was Constantine Coluri a Grecian, (as most part of the Marriners are Greekes, the Italians abhorring from being sea men): Concerning diet, some agreed with the Steward of the ship (called Ilscalco) and they paid by the moneth foure siluer crownes, (each crowne at seuen lyres), and I marked their Table was poorely scrued. For our part we agreed with the Master himselfe, who for seuen gold crownes by the month paid by each of vs, did curteously admit vs to his Table, and gaue vs good diet, seruing each man with his knife and spoone, and his forke (to hold the meat whiles he cuts it, for they hold it ill manners that one should touch the meat with his hand), and with a glasse or cup to drinke in peculiar to himselfe. Hee gaue vs wine mingled with water, and fresh bread for two or three daies after we came out of any harbour, and otherwise bisket, which we made soft by soaking it in wine or water. In like sort, at first setting forth he gaue vs fresh meates of flesh, and after salted meates, and vpon fasting dayes he gaue vs egges, fishes of diuers kinds, dried or pick|led, sallets, sod Rice, and pulse of diuers kinds; Oyle in stead of butter, Nuts, fruit, Cheese, and like things. Also we agreed that if our iourney were ended before the moneth expired, a rateable proportion of our money should be abated to vs. Each of vs for his passage agreed to pay fiue siluer crownes of Italy. And howsoeuer, I thinke they would not haue denied vs wine, or meat betweene meales, if we had beene drie or hungry; yet to auoide troubling of them, my selfe and my brother carried some flaggons of rich wine, some very white bisket, some pruines and raisins, and like things. And to comfort our stomackes in case of weakenesse, we carried ginger, nut|megs, and some like things; and for remedies against agues, we carried some cooling sirops, and some pounds of sugar, and some laxatiue medicines. Also we carried with vs two chests, not onely to lay vp these things, but also that we might sleepe and rest vpon them at pleasure, and two woollen little mattresses to lie vpon, and foure quilts to couer vs, and to lay vnder vs, which mattresses and quilts we carried after by land, or else we should haue beene farre worse lodged in the houses of Turkes: besides that many times we lay in the field vnder the starry cannopy. In stead of sheetes we vsed linnen breeches, which we might change at pleasure.

Howsoeuer all Nations may vse their owne apparell in Turky, yet the clothes of Eu|rope, and especially the short clokes, are most offensiue to them, so as the wearer pro|uoketh them thereby to doe him iniuries. Therefore my selfe and my brother bought each of vs a long coat, of as course stuffe as we could find, and a long gowne of a course and rough frize. Our swords,

daggers, and European garments, we left in our chests, with a Flemmish Merchant lying at [164] Venice, to be kept against our returne and howso|euer he falling banckerout, left the City before that time, yet our goods were by the publike Officer laid apart, and readily deliuered to vs at our returne.

Whereas we left our swords at [165] Venice, know that no Turkes, (and much lesse Chri|stians) carry any Armes, except when they goe some iourney, and that we were not ignorant, that howsoeuer Christians may defend themselues from theeues by the high 209 way, yet it was hard to distinguish betweene the Turkes violent extortions, with the iniuries of them, and the Ianizares by the high waies, and flatrobberies by theeues, and that whosoeuer should draw a sword or a knife against these men, or any Turke scoffing and defpising him, should be sure to die an ill death by publike Iustice (which notwithstanding I know not how any man carrying Armes could haue the patience to endure). Therefore since the Turkes iournying in great troopes, were sufficiently armed against theeues, and in all euents are vnfaithfull fellow souldiers to a Christian ioining with them, (excepting the Ianizares, who how soeuer they make a shew of feare of theeues, that they may seeme better to deserue their wages, yet haue seldome or neuer beene assaulted by them). For these and other reasons wee left our swords at Venite, (which reasons it would be tedious to vrge), and chose rather vnarmed then armed to suffer iniuries, which there cannot be auoided.

My selfe and my brother Henry, (who died this yeere in the moneth of Iuly) spent foure hundred and eighty pounds sterling, in this iourney from England to Ierusalem, and thence to Haleppo; and in my particular iourney (after his death) to Constantino|ple, and returne into England. If any say we spent lauishly, let him know that my dea|rest brothers death, and my necessary stay thereupon, and a desperate sickenesse into which I fell vpon griefe, very much increased the said expences. Adde that I being pressed with these miseries, had now spent all the money we brought in our purses, and then suffered great losse, by the money taken vpon exchange to be paid in England, and being weake after my sickenesse, was forced much to increase my charge, by ta|king a seruant to wait vpon me. From which extraordinary mischiefes, God deliuer all that vndertake this iourney, and yet I am deceiued if the ordinary burthens will not seeme more then enough heauy to them.

But I returne to the relation of my iourney. It is the Mariners fashion that being to goe to Sea, they will affirme they set sayle presently, that the Merchants and passen|gers may bring their goods on board, which done, they will not easily take them out againe, though that ship after long delaies should goe last out of the Hauen. There|fore wee kept our goods in our lodging, still inquiring after the Scriuano, who dwelt hard by vs; and when he professed seriously, that hee would take shippe the next day, then we presently shipped our prouisions. So on Friday the 19 of Aprill (after the new stile) in the yeere 1596, we together with the Patron (our Master) went aboard. And the Patron returned that night to [166] Venice, but we lodged in the ship. The Patron [Note: Anno 1596.] had some monethspast promised me and my brother, that we should set our chests (vpon which we were to rest) aboue the hatches, hard by

[164] Venice
[165] Venice
[166] Venice

the sterne, where (the shippe being great) wee had commodity to set them in a place couered ouer the head, but o|pen on the side towards the prowe, and this place was close at the other end, lying at the very doore of the Patrons cabbin, where he slept, and laid his priuate goods. And this place seemed to me very pleasant, and fit to rest in, since we were couered from raine; and the winds blew commonly vpon the sterne, while we were at sea, (for we sayled commonly with a fore wind, the winds being more constant in that sea; at set seasons of the yeere, then in our seas), and for the time of our abiding in Hauens, and otherwise in that calme sea, if the winds were contrary, yet in summer time, and in a clime so neere the AEquinoctial line, we could receiue no hurt, but rather pleasure by their coolenesse. Besides, being thus parted from the Mariners, we were free from lice, and all filthinesse, wherewith the French-men our consorts were much annoied; who slept vnder the hatches, and that the rather, because they wore woollen stockings, wee silke, (drawne ouer with linnen); and they slept in their apparell, we only in our doub|lets, and linnen breeches and stockings; which doublets of ours were lined with taffe|tie, wherein lice cannot breed or harbour: so as howsoeuer I wore one and the same doublet till my returne into England, yet I found not the leaft vncleanlinesse therein. And giue me leaue to ioy in my good fortune, (as the common sort speake). Namely that the taffety lining of my doublet, being of greene colour, which colour none may weare vpon great danger, but onely they who are of the line and stocke of Mahomet, (of whom I could challenge no kindred), yet it hapened that by sleeping in my doub|let 210 aswell by land as by sea, no Turke euer perceiued this my errour. Neither did I vnderstand by any Christian, no not by our English Merchants at Haleppo, in what danger I was for the same, till I came to Constantinople, where our English Ambassa|dour told mee of the strict Law forbidding the vse of this colour; and that a poore Christian some few dayes before had been beaten with cudgels at Constantinople, and was hardly kept from being killed, because ignorantly he wore a paire of greene shoo|strings. Whereupon I was yet in feare when all danger was almost past, yet would I not cast off my doublet, but onely more warily kept the lining from sight, till I en|tred the Greeke ship wherein I passed thence to [167] Venice, and so was free from all dan|ger.

I returne to my purpose. The Patron of our ship (as I said) returned to [168] Venice; but we staied in the ship, to dispose all our prouisions fitly for the iourney. The next day, being the twentieth of Aprill (after the new stile), the Patron, Scriuano, and all the Merchants came aboard, and the following night being cleere, our ship was drawne out of Malamocco the Venetian Hauen, by little boats fastened to the ship by ropes, and making their way with oares, (for great shippes vse no sayles to goe out of this Hauen.)

Vpon Sunday the 21 of Aprill, in the yeere 1596, being thus put to sea, wee set [Note: Aprill, An|no 1596.] saile with a faire winde. Then all falling on our knees, we prayed vnto God for a hap|pie Voyage, kneeling aboue the hatches, but praying euery man priuately and silently to himselfe. Some write, that in the ships of [169] Venice, they vse to pray publikely in Latin euery day after the Roman fashion; and some dayes to celebrate Masses: but in this our ship the Patron and most of the Marriners were Greekes, and onely the

[167] Venice
[168] Venice
[169] Venice

Scri|uano (that is, Scribe) with some Merchants were Italians, and of the Roman Religi|on. Therefore euery day a Bell was rung at prayer time, but each man prayed pri|uately after his owne manner. There were besides in the ship many Easterne Chri|stians, of diuers Sects and Nations, and Turkes, and Persians, yea, very Indians wor|shipping the Sunne, all which, at the ringing of this bell to prayer, went vnder the hatches. My selfe and my brother willingly prayed with them aboue the hatches, after the foresaid manner, whereof we thought no scruple of conscience to bee made, since Greekes prayed with vs, as well as Italians and French, whose difference in Reli|gion was well knowne to themselues, so as this our priuate prayer was voide of all dis|simulation. And we were glad that no profession of our Religion was imposed vpon vs, in regard of our consorts, with whom we were to goe to Ierusalem, and of the Itali|ans, who after our returne might perhaps meete vs in Italy.

Prayers being ended, they vsed a cerimony, which I liked well: for the sub-Patron giuing the signe with his siluer whistle, all the Marriners bareheaded, and turning their faces to the East, cryed with a loud voyce Buon' viaggio, Buon' viaggio, (that is, a good voyage), and the same signe giuen, did cease, and againe cried so three times. Vpon Tuesday, the Patron with the Scriuano standing by him, stood vpon the Castle of the ship, and made a solemne Oration to the sub-Patron and the Marriners, standing vp|on the lower hatches, whom he admonished how they should behaue themselues, and especially to refraine from swearing, blasphemy, and sodomie, vnder great penaltie. Then he wrote the names of the Marriners, and gaue euery man his charge. And last|ly turning himselfe to the passengers, exhorted them to behaue themselues mo|destly.

And I must truly witnesse, that the Patron, the Scriuano, and the sub-patron, vsed all passengers courteously, yet so kept their grauitic, as they had due respect at all times, particularly at the Table, where they did first set downe, others expecting till they came, then the Friers did sit downe, and lastly the Lay-men in due order. Nei|ther doe any sit or walke vpon the highest hatches, saue onely they who did eate at the Table of the Patron, but the rest and all the Easterne people (whom hee neuer ad|mits to his Table) were on the middle Hatch, or at the Prow.

Vpon Wednesday in the morning, we did see vpon the shoare of Italy, the Moun|taines of Ancona, which are two hundred Italian miles distant from [170] Venice. Vpon 211 Thursday, the fiue and twentie of Aprill, wee sailed by the Iland or Mountaine Po|ma (or Pamo), seated in the middest of the Gulfe of [171] Venice, which was a high Rock, ri|sing sharpe at the toppe, and vninhabited, where in the Autum they take Faul|cons: and we sailed by the Iland Saint Andrea, (distant one hundred miles from An|cona) on the North side, and the shoare of Italy on the South side. And the same night wee sayled by the Iland Ischa, and the next morning being Friday, by the Ilands Buso, Aulto, Catsa, and towards the euening, by the Ilands Cazola, Augusta, and Palaofa: for in this Gulfe of [172] Venice bee many Ilands, whereof the most are subiect to [173] Venice, and the rest to Raguza, and other Lords, and some towards the North-shoare to the great Turke.

Heere great store of Dolphines fol-

[170] Venice
[171] Venice
[172] Venice
[173] Venice

lowed our ship; and the voyce of the Marri|ners (as they vse to doe), and they playing about vs, did swimme as fast as if they had flowne. Then wee did see the Iland Liozena, being all of Mountaines, subiect to [174] Venice, and inhabited by Gentlemen, where the Venetians had built a strong Fort vp|on the Hauen for their Gallies. And after fiue miles wee did see the Iland Curzola, subiect to [175] Venice, and hauing a Bishop. And the winde being high, wee cast anchor neere Curzola, but the winde soone falling, we set sayle againe.

From the fixe and twentie of Aprill, to Thurseday the second of May, the South-East winde (which the Italians call Syrocco) did blow very contrary vnto vs. The third of May being Friday, towards the euening, we were driuen vpon the Northerne shoare, and did see the Fort Cataro, built on a Mountaine vpon the continent, against Turkish Pirats, and distant eighteene miles from Raguza, the chiefe Citie of Selauonia, which is free, yet payes tribute to the Venetians and Turks, their powerful neighbors. Not farre thence the Turks also had a Fort, built against the Venetians. Raguza is some [Note: Raguza.] one hundred miles distant from the Iland Andrea, and some foure hundred miles from [176] Venice.

Vpon Saturday we sayled by the Promontorie of Saint Mary on the North side, and Otranto a Citie of Apulia in Italy on the South side, seeing them both plainely: for now we were passing out of the Gulfe of [177] Venice, into the Mediterranean sea, by this Straight, some sixtie miles broad, and some two hundred miles distant from Raguza.

Here we did ouertake a ship of [178] Venice, called Ragazona, and that we might enioy one anothers company, the Sea being calme for the time, our ship being the lesse (yet of some nine hundred Tunnes), was fastned to the Sterne of the other ship by a Ca|ble, and towards the euening vpon the Greeke shore towards the North, wee did see Vallona.

Now we were come forth of the Adriatique Sea, otherwise called the Gulfe of Ve|nice, which hath in length some sixe hundred Italian miles, and the breadth is diuers, sometimes two hundred miles, sometimes lesse, betweene Ancona and the opposite Hauen Valdagosta seuentie miles, and in the Straight we now passed sixtie miles broad. On Sunday the fifth of May we did see the Mountaine Fanon, (and as I remember an Iland) three miles distant from the Iland Corfu, and vpon the Greeke shoare beyond the Iland, we did see the most high Mountaines called Chimerae, inhabited by the Al|banesi, who neither subiect to the Turkes nor Venetians, nor any other, doe vpon oc|casion rob all; and the Venetians, and the Kings of France, and especially of Spaine, vse to hire them in their warres. The sixth of May wee sayled by the Promontory, called the Cape of Corfu (the description of which Iland I will deferre till my returne this way.) On Tuesday the seuenth of May, wee sailed by the Iland Paro verie neere vs, and the Iland Saint Maura ioyned by a bridge to the continent of Epirus, and subiect to the Turkes, and the Iland Ithaca (vulgarly called by the Italians Compare) also subiect to the Turkes, and famous for their King Vlysses, and some foure miles distant from the Iland Cepholania, which towards euening wee did see, being distant some one hundred miles from Corfu.

[174] Venice
[175] Venice
[176] Venice
[177] Venice
[178] Venice

On Wednesday early in the morning, wee entered a narrow Sea, some two [Note: Cephalonia.] miles broad, hauing Cephalonia the lesse on the North side, and the greater Cephalonia on the South side, and wee cast anchor neere a desart Rocke (where of old there was 212 an Vniuersitie), and many of vs, in our boat (sent with Mariners to cut wood, and take fresh water), did go on land in the greater Cepholania, to refresh our selues, and to wash our bodies in the Sea water: but wee durst not goe farre from our Marriners, lest the inhabitants of those woodie Mountaines should offer vs violence. Both the Ilands are subiect to [179] Venice, and abound with wines and small Currends, and in time of warre the Inhabitants retire to a Fort, built there by the Venetians, to be safe from the Turks. The Venetians euery third yeere chuse some of their Gentlemen, to be sent hether for Gouernour and Officers.

The same Wednesday the eight of May, towards the euening, we set saile, and be|fore darke night passed by the Promontary, called the Cape of Cepholania, and did see on the North side the Ilands Corsolari some ten miles distant, where the Nauy of the Pope, King of Spaine, and Venetians confederate, hauing Don Iohn of Austria, base brother to King Phillip of Spaine for their Generall, obtained a noble Victorie in the yeere 1571 against the Nauy of the Turkes, the Christians hiding there many of their Gallies, that the Turkes comming out of the Gulfe of Corinth (now called the Gulfe of Lepanto) might despise their number, and so be more easily drawne to fight. In the mouth of the said Gulfe, vpon the West shoare, is the Castle of Toran (or Torneze) sea|ted in Peloponesus, a Prouince of Greece, which the Turkes call Morea, and in the bottom of the Gulfe, Petrasso is seated in the same Prouince, and Lepanto in the Prouince of Achaia, and of these Cities this Gulfe of Corinth, is in these dayes called sometimes the Gulfe of Lepanto, sometimes the Gulfe of Petrasso. In the Citie of Petrasso the Eng|lish Merchants liue, hauing their Consull, and they trafficke especially for Currands of Corinth. Neere Cepholania great store of Dolphins did againe swimme about our ship (which they say doe foretell, that the winde will blow from that quarter, whether they swimme, and the same daie in the maine Sea, greater Dolphins, and in greater number, did play about our ship.

On Thurseday in the morning we did leaue on the South side the Iland Zante, sub|iect [Note: Zante.] to the Venetians, and seuentie miles distant from Cephalania (the description of which Iland I deferre to my returne this way), and so we sailed close by the shoare of Peloponesus (or Morea) on the North side.

Peloponesus is almost an Iland, ioyned on the North side to Achaia by a narrow neck of land, which many of old haue attempted to cut, and to make that Prouince an Iland, and it containeth large Counties or Territories of Greece: Wee sayling along the South side of this Prouince, did see the Cities, Coron, Modon, and Nauarin, and somewhat lower towards the South, was a little Iland called Striualli, which is barren and inhabited by Grecian Monks called Caloiri, who came out to vs in a boat to begge almes, and the Patron of our ship in honour of our Lady (or Virgin Marie) of Striualli, saluted the Iland with some pieces of Ordinance. Vpon Friday the tenth of May we sailed by the foresaid City Modon, seated in Greece, and one hundred miles distant from the Iland Zante. The eleuenth day in the morning we sailed by the Promontory cal|led the Cape of Modon, and within sixe howers

[179] Venice

sailing, were out of the sight of any part of Morea.

But in the euening we came to the Cape of S. Iohn the first Promontory of the Iland [Note: Candia.] Candia, distant some one hundred and fifty miles, (I alwaies vnderstand Italian miles, being now amongst the Italians) from Modon, the foresaid Citie of Morea, and these high Mountaines of Candia were yet couered on the top with snow. We sayled on the South side of Candia, and towards euening passed by the middle part of the Iland, and the thirteenth day by nine of the clock in the morning, wee sailed by the Cape of Salo|mon, being towards the East the furthest part of Candia, (the description of which Iland I deferre to my comming backe that way.)

At this time our Marriners, aswell Greekes as Italians, were greatly offended with one of our French Consorts, a Lay man, because at dinner time, according to the neg|ligent fashion of the French, he turned the cleane side of his trencher vpward: for of all men the Marriners, and of all Marriners the Greekes and Italians are most supersti|tious; and if any thing in the ship chance to be turned vp-side downe, they take it for 213 an ill signe, as if the ship should be ouerwhelmed. Otherwise I neuer obserued, that either the chiefe or inferiour Mariners euer vsed the least disrespect to any passenger, being rather louing and familiar to them in conuersation. And I remember that my brother Henry vsing to walke vpon the highest hatches, the Patron, and Scriuano, and others, did with smiling obserue his fast walking and melancholy humour, yet how|soeuer it was troublesome to them, did onely once, and that curteously reproue him, or rather desire him that he would haue respect to the Mariners, who watched al night for the publike safety, and were then sleeping vnder the hatches. Alwaies vnderstand that a man may not bee so bold in another mans house as in his owne, and may yet lesse be bold in a ship of strangers; and that an vnknowne passenger must of all other be most respectiue. And whereas Mariners are held by some to be theeuish, surely in the Hauen at the iournies end, (where theeues easily find receiuers), it is good to be wary in keeping that belongs to you: but at sea no place is more safe then a shippe, where the things stolne, are easily found, and the offenders seuerely punished.

On Sunday the nineteenth of May, we came to the first Promontory of the Iland [Note: Cyprus.] Cyprus, towards the West, and after eight houres sayling, we came to the old City Paphos (or Paphia), now called Baffo, and the wind failing vs, and gently breathing vpon this Castle of Venus, we houered here all the next night, gaining little or nothing on our way. This place is most pleasant, with fruitfull hils, and was of old consecrated to the Goddesse Venus, Queene of this Iland; and they say that Adamants are found here, which skilfull Iewellers repute almost as precious as the Orientall. A mile from this place is the Caue, wherein they faigne the seuen sleepers to haue slept, I know not how many hundred yeeres. The twenty one of May towards the euening, we entred the Port of Cyprus, called Le Saline, and the two and twentith day obtaining licence of the Turkish Cady to goe on land, we lodged in the Village Larnica, within a Monastery of European Friars. Here some of vs being to saile to Ioppa, and thence to goe by land to Ierusalem, did leaue the Venetian ship, which sailed forward to Scanderona. The Turkes did conquer the Iland Ciprus from the Venetians, in the yeere 1570, and to this day possesse it, the chiefe Cities whereof are Nicosia, (seated in the middest of the Iland) and Famogosta (seated in the furthest part of the Iland towards the East). The Turk-

ish Basha, or Gouernour, vseth to chuse Famogosta for his seate, (though Nicosia be the fairer City), because it hath a good Hauen, and a most strong Fort, which the Venetians built. The Iland lieth two hundred and forty miles in length from the west to the East, and hath some eighty miles in bredth, and six hundred miles in compasse. This Iland is said to be distant some foure hundred miles from the Iland of Candia, (which is some two hundred and thirty miles long: but I speake of the next Promontories in both of them), and from [180] Venice some two thousand two hundred and twenty miles, from Alexandria in AEgypt, some foure hundred and fifty miles, from Alexandretta (at this day called Scanderona), the Hauen of Caramania, eighty miles, from Tripoli of Syria, ninety miles, and from Ioppa a Hauen in Palestina, about two hundred and fifty miles, speaking of the vttermost Promontories on all sides.

This Iland yeeldeth to no place in fruitfulnesse or pleasure, being inriched with Corne, Oile, Cheese, most sweet Porkes, Sheepe, (hauing tailes that weigh more then twenty pound) Capers (growing vpon pricking bushes) Pomegranats, Oranges, and like fruites; Canes or Reedes of sugar, (which they beat in mils, drawing out a water which they seeth to make sugar), with rich wines, (but gnawing or burning the sto|macke) odoriferous Cipres trees, (whereof they make siers,) store of Cotton, and many other blessings of nature. Neere the Promontory Del'Gatto, so called of Cats that vse to kill Serpents, they take Falcons, which Hawkes the Gouernours are com|manded to send to Constantinople. They sowe corne in the moneth of October, and reape it in Aprill. I know not how it comes to passe, that in this Iland of Venus, all fruites taste of salt, which Venus loued well. And I thought that this was onely proper to the place at which we landed, where they make salt, till many Ilanders affirmed to me, that the very earth, the sweet hearbs, the beasts feeding there, and the fountaines of waters, had a naturall saltnes. The houses are built after the manner of Asia, of a little 214 stone, one roofe high, and plaine in the top, which is plastered, and there they eate and sleepe in the open aire.

By the assistance of a Venetian Merchant, seuen of vs hired a ship of a Greeke dwel|ling in Cyprus, for twenty eight zechines to Ioppa (now called Iaffa, or Giaffa), with con|dition that he should stay at Ioppa fifteene dayes to expect our returne from Ierusalem, and should thence carry vs to Tripoli in Syria. The most part of these zechines wee left in the hand of the Venetian Merchant, to be deliuered to the Master of this ship at his returne, if he brought our testimonie vnder our hands, that hee had performed all couenants with vs: for wee also conditioned with him, that hee should stay longer then fifteene dayes at Ioppa (if neede were) for our returne, we paying him a zechine for euery day aboue fifteene, which he should stay there for vs. We might haue hired a ship or Barke for ten zechines directly to Ioppa, without these conditions of staying there, and carrying vs to Tripoli. And because the Turkish Gouernors of Cities vse to impose great tributes vpon Christians driuen into their Hauens, and somtimes by tricks of fraude to bring them in danger of life, onely to spoile them of their money, some of our Consorts would haue added another condition, that the Master should not carrie vs to any Port, but that of Ioppa, had not the rest iudged it vnreasonable, to tie him for performance of that, which was onely in the power of God, according to the windes, which might force him to take harbor. My selfe did familiarly know an En-

[180] Venice

glish Gen|tleman, who shortly after comming to Scanderona, and there taking ship to passe by this shoare to Ioppa, and so to Ierusalem, if an honest man had not forewarned him, had by the treason of a Ianizare in the way bin sold for a slaue to the inland Turks, whence he was like neuer to be redeemed, being farre remoued from Christians, who onely trade vpon the Coasts. And he was so terrified with this danger, as he returned into England without seeing Ierusalem, to which he had then a short iourney, only carrying with him a counterfet testimonie and seale that he had been there, because he had put out much money vpon his returne.

I formerly said, that we lodged at Cyprus in a Monastery, whence being now to de|part, the Friers of our company, and also the Lay-men, gaue each of vs eight lires of [181] Venice to the Guardian of the Monastery, and one lire to the Frier that attended vs, in the name of gift or almes, but indeede for three dayes lodging and dyet.

Vpon Friday the twentie foure of May, we seuen Consorts (namely, two Francis|can Friers, one Erimitane Frier, and two Lay men, all Frenchmen, and my selfe and my brother) hired a boat in the Hauen for foure lires of [182] Venice, to carrie vs to the Cy|prian Barke we had hired, and we carried with vs for our food, a cheese costing foure Aspers, a Iarre of Oyle costing sixe Aspers, and a vessell of Wine (called Cuso, some|what bigger then an English barrell, and full of rich Wine, but such as fretted our ve|ry intrals) costing one Zechine, and foure soldi of [183] Venice, and two Turkish aspers; and egges costing twenty three aspers, beside Bisket which we brought out of the Greeke ship. In twilight (for the nights vse not here to be darke) we set saile, and were forced to goe backe towards the West, along the shoare of Cyprus, to the Promontory called Capo di Gatti, that is, the Cape of Cats, that we might from thence (according to the Marriners experience) fetch a faire winde. So we sailed that euening thirtie miles (of Italy I meane) and the next day twentie miles to a Village of Cyprus called Lemisso (where Christians ships vse to put in.) Here we cast anchor, and all the six and twentie day of May expected a winde, which we got at midnight following. Ioppa is no more then two hundred fiftie miles from Cyprus, and may easily be run in two nights and a daies saile with a faire winde, yet how soeuer the wind was most fauourable to vs, wee could see no land till Wednesday thetwenty nine of May, at which time we found our selues by the ignorance of the Marriners to be vpon the Coast of Egypt, neere the Citie Da|miata, which we might see seated vpon the banke of Nilus, and they said it was some sixe miles from the Sea. Now our Marriners seeing the shoare, knew better to direct our sayling, and the night following we lay at anchor neere this shoare. Vpon Thurs|day we coasted the land of the Philistines, and first did plainely see the Citie Gaza, and after thirtie miles sayle the Citie Ascolon, neere which we cast anchor for that night.

215 Vpon Friday being the last of May, after two miles saile, we entered the Hauen of Ioppa. From hence we sent a messenger hired for fourteene meidines, to the Subasha [Note: Ioppa.] of Ramma, intreating him that he would giue vs leaue to passe to Ierusalem, and send vs a souldier to protect vs. The foresaid shore of the Philistines, seemed to be a wild nar|row and sandy plaine, neere the sea, with mountaines pleasant and fruitfull, towards the East vpon Palestine. The City of Ioppa,

[181] Venice
[182] Venice
[183] Venice

mentioned in the scriptures, had some ru|ines of wals standing, which shewed the old circuit thereof, but had not so much as any ruines of houses; onely we did see the exactors of tribute come out of two ruinous Towers, and some ragged Arabians and Turkes, lying (with their goods) within cer|taine caues, who also slept there, or in the open aire. These goods are daily carried hi|ther and from hence, vpon the backs of Cammels, whereof we might see many droues laded both come and goe. For this cause we would not land, but thought better to lie in our shippe, especially since the place affoorded no entertainment for strangers, and our Mariners brought vs egges and fruites, and we had with vs wine and bisket, which notwithstanding we did hide, left the Arabians or Turkes should take it from vs, if they came to our Barke. The Hauen is of little compasse, but safe for small Barkes, and was of old compassed with a bricke wall, the ruines whereof still defend it from the waues of the sea. The situation of Ioppa is pleasant, vpon a hill declining towards the sea, and the fields are fertile, but were then vntilled. Here the Prophet Ionas did take ship, as it were to flie from God, and the Machabei (as appeares in the first booke and twelfth chapter) here burnt the ships: and the Apostle Peter lodging in the house of Simon, was taught the conuersion of the Gentiles by a vision; and here he raised vp Tabitha from death, as the Holy Scriptures witnes.

Vpon Munday the third of Iune, at nine of the clocke in the morning, the Subasha of Ramma sent vs a horseman or Lancyer to guide vs, and with him came the Atalla, (that is, interpreter, whom the Italians call Drogomano, who was a Maronite Christi|an, that vsed to guide strangers) They brought vs Asses to ride vpon, (which they vse there in stead of horses, excepting onely the souldiers), and with them came a Muccaro (so they call those that hier out Asses, Mules, or Cammels). We presently landed about noone, and when my brother leaped vpon land, and according to the manner, bended downe to kisse it, by chance he fell, and voided much blood at the nose: and howsoeuer this be a superstitious signe of ill, yet the euent was to vs tragi|call, by his death shortly after happening. Here for our carriage (namely our shirts, for the rest we had left in the Barke;) we iointly paid fiue meydines for cafar, (that is Tri|bute) and the Officers of Ioppa extorted from each of vs for his person, halfe a Spanish Reale; neither would they be pleased, till each of vs gaue them two meydines in gift. Then we iointly gaue fixe meydines to our Muccaro for his dinner, and fiue of free gift. Our Asses had pannels in stead of saddles, ropes for bridles, and ropes laid crosse the pannels, and knotted at the ends in stead of stirrups. The same Monday in the af|ternoone, we rode ten miles to Ramma, through a most pleasant plaine, yeelding time and hysope, and other fragrant herbes, without tillage or planting, growing so high, as they came to the knees of our Asses. By the way on our left hand, not farre out of the high way, lay the ruines of the City Lydda, where Saint Peter cured one sicke of [Note: Lydda.] the palsie; and Saint George is said to haue suffered martyrdome, and that his head is yet kept in a Greeke Church. We also passed by a Village, hauing a moschee or Tur|kish Church; and being full of pleasant Orchards of Figge-trees, Oliue-trees, Pome-granates, (bearing buds of flesh colour, and being like a Barbery tree, by little and lit|tle couered with a greene rinde) and many kinds of fruites; the abundance whereof in these parts, we might easily guesse, when wee bought in the Port of Ioppa more then a thousand Abricots for six Aspers, at which time, left we should surfet on such dain|taies, (the vntemperate eating whereof we had read

to haue often killed many Euro|peans) we durst not eate them raw, but Iod the most part of them. Now vpon the third of Iune they had almost gathered in their Haruest, and all the fields were full of Cotten, growing like Cabbage two foote high, and yeelding a round Apple, out of which they gather the Cotten. This Cotten is sowed in April, and gathered in Sep|tember, 216 and great quantity thereof is carried from hence into Europe.

At Ramma we were brought into a house, where Pilgrimes vse to be lodged, and it [Note: Ramma.] was of old great and strong, but at this time more fit to lodge beasts then men. Some say it was the House of Ioseph of Arimathia, others say it was Nicodemus his house, and there was a fountaine of water, and a Court yard to walke in, but the roomes were full of dust, and we hardly got straw to lie vpon. There were yet some marbles and ru|ines of building, that shewed it to haue beene a faire house. The Maronite Christians brought vs victuals, and they sold vs a pound of bisket for sixe meidines, twelue egs for one meidine, a Cheese for one, Rice for two, some two English quarts of wine for fiue, a salet for one, and twelue Cakes, (they hauing no leauened bread) for foure mei|dines. We that were Lay-men gaue each of vs sixe Zechines, and each of the Friars fiue, into the hands of our Interpreter, to be giuen to the Subasha for tribute, or rather for our safe conduct. I know that fauour is done to Friars, especially by these Mini|sters belonging to Monasteries, and we committed the ordering of our expences to one of the Franciscan Friars, who had best experience, so as it may be the Interpreter restored to the Friars their money, or part of it: but I am sure these my eies did see them pay so much. One in the name of the Subasha, brought vs for a present some flaggons of a medicinall drinke, made of cooling hearbes, and sold in the Tauernes, as we sell wine. We iointly gaue fiue meidines to a watch-man, appointed to keepe our doore, and protect vs from wrong, who being a man of very great stature, was called Goliah, and he walked all night at our gate, where he did sing or rather houle with his hoarce voice continually. Some write that there is onely due, one Zechine to the Suba|sha, another to the Captaine of the Arabians, and twenty fiue meidines for Cafar (or Tribute), and half a Zechine to the Muccaro, who let out their Asses to Pilgrimes, and that the guide deceiues the Christians of all the rest. I am sure that the guide be|ing of experience, deliuers the Christians from many iniuries offered them by the Arabians and others, for which fauour they cannot sufficiently require him; and if any deale sparingly with him, he complaines of them to the Guardian of the Mona|stery at Ierusalem, who neuer suffers him to be sent away discontented, neither wants he power himselfe to deceiue the Christians at his pleasure, if he beare that mind. At Ramma we iointly gaue one Zechine to our Muccaro, of whom we hired our Asses.

And the fourth of Iune, hauing him onely to conduct vs, we tooke our ioutney be|fore day towards Ierusalem, being thirty miles distant, (I meane of Italy). As we rode before day, our Muccaro warned vs to be silent, lest we should waken the Arabians, Turkes, or Thecues, who then slept, and were like if they awaked to offer vs violence, or at least to extort some money from vs. The Arabians are not vnlike the wild Irish, for they are subiect to the great Turke, yet being poore and farre distant from his im|periall seat, they cannot be brought to due obedience, much lesse to abstaine from rob|beries. After we had rode ten miles, we did see vpon a hill not farre distant, on our right hand, the ruines of the House (or Pallace) of the good Thiefe crucified with our Sauiour,

which ruines yet remaine, and shew that the house was of old stately built; as [Note: The house of the good thiefe.] if he had beene a man of some dignity, banished for robbing of passengers: and when he was brought to the Magistrates hand, had beene condemned to death for the same. From hence to the very City of Ierusalem, the Mountaines or Rockes doe continually rise higher and higher, till you come to the City, our way hitherto hauing beene in a pleasant plaine, rich in corne and pasture. These mountaines which we after passed, seemed stony and barren, but yeelded fragrant hearbes, and excellent corne growing betweene the great stones, and some vallies were pleasant, as the vally of hieromia, (as I thinke the Prophet), where of old was built a stately Church, which as then stood little ruined; and neere it is a pleasant fountaine, where the passengers vse to drinke and to water their Asses. They say that the said Prophet was borne there, and that the place was of old called Anatoth. I said that excellent corne growes betweene the great stones of these Mountaines or Rockes, neither are they destitute of Vines, and many fruites. In the said valley of Hieromy, certaine Arabians which seemed to be mowers of corno, flew vpon vs like fierce dogges, yet our Muccaro sent them away 217 content with the gift of a bisket, and in like sort in another narrow passage of the mountaines, he paied some meidines for cafar, which he neuer demanded of vs, being content with the money we had paied him at Ramma. Vpon a high Rocke we did see the ruines of the Castle Modon, where the Machabees were buried. Then wediscended [Note: Modon.] into the Valley of Terebintho, (so called of a Tree bearing a black fruit like an Oliue, and yeelding a kind of oyle), where we passed ouer a Torrent by a bridge of stone, and [Note: David and Goliah.] this is the place famous for the victory of Dauid against Goliah.

We had now some two miles to Ierusalem, yet in the very Hauen, we wanted little of perishing. For it happened that a Spachi (or horse-man vnder the great Turkes pay) riding swiftly, and crossing our way, suddenly turned towards vs, and with his speare in his rest, (for these horse-men carry speares and bucklers like Amadis of Gaule) he rushed vpon vs with all his might, and by the grace of God his speare lighting in the pannell of the Asse, neuer hurt the French-man his Rider, but he did much astonish both him and vs, till our Muccaro enquiring the cause of this violence, he said, why doe not these dogges light on foot to honour mee as I passe; which when we heard, and knew that we must here learne the vertue of the beasts on which we rode, we pre|sently tumbled from our Asses, (for we had no other stirrops then knotted ropes), and bended our bodies to him. Neither did we therein basely, but very wisely: for woe be to that Christian who resists any Turke, especially a Souldier, and who beares not any iniury at their hands. We had but one mile to Ierusalem, when we did sec large ruines (on this West side of the City) of an old City or Village. Somewhat after noone the fourth of Iune, we entered Ierusalem vpon the West side, at the Gate of Ioppa, (written Iaffa, Giaffa, and Zaffa, by diuers Nations). At this gate we staied, till two Friars came out of the Latine Monastery, and likewise the exactors of Tribute came to vs, and to them we paied each man two zechines for tribute due to the great Turke, or at least extorted from vs, which done, the two Friars being Italians, did lead vs to the Monastery of the Latines.

2

6.2 CHAP. II.

The description of the City of Ierusalem, and the territory thereof.

I Am vnskilfull in Geography, and much more in the [Note: Ierusalem.] making of Mappes: but according to the faithfull view of my eyes, I will first draw the situation of Ierusalem, and after explaine it, as well as I can. And first I thinke good to professe that by my iourny to this City, I had no thought to expiate any least sinne of mine; much lesse did I hope to merit any grace from God; but when I had once begun to visite forraigne parts, I was so stirred vp by emulation and curiosity, as I did neuer behold any without a kind of sweete enuy, who in this kind had dared more then my selfe. Thus affected, I thought no place more worthy to be viewed in the whole world, then this City, where howso|euer I gaue all diuine worship to God, and thought none to be giuen to the places, yet I confesse that (through the grace of God) the very places strucke me with a reli|gious horrour, and filled my mind prepared to deuotion, with holy motions. In like fort I professe, that I will faithfully relate the situation of the City, and the descripti|on of the monuments made to me by the Friars, making conscience not to adde or detract, but as neere as I can to vse their owne words. Yet doe I not my selfe beleeue all the particulars I write vpon their report, neither doe I perswade any man to beleeue them. But for many monuments, the scripture giues credit to them, and it is not pro|bable in so great difference and emulation, (whereof I shall after speake) of Sects of Christians there abiding, and being most apt to note errours one in another, that any 218 apparant fictions could be admitted: as on the contrary, it is most certaine, that some superstitious inuentions (wherewith all the sectes are more or lesse infected) haue in time obtained, to be reputed true, and religiously to be beleeued. Howsoeuer he that conferres the situation of the City and of the monuments, with the holy Scriptures, and with the old ruines of Rome , and other Cities, shall easily discerne what things are necessarily true or false, and what are more or lesse probable.

And it will notoriously appeare, that the Citie is now seated in the same place, in which it flourished when our Sauiour liued there in the slesh. Neither let any man ob|iect to me the prophecies of the fatall and irreparable ruine thereof, which all Diuines vnderstand of the Temple to be vtterly demolished; and for my part, I would rather admit (if necessitie require) any figuratiue speech, then I would bee so wicked or so blockish, as not to beleeue the holy Scriptures, or that which I did see with these eyes. Vpon the West side, the Citie could neuer haue been more enlarged then now it is, since Mount Caluerie (without all doubt) was of old without the walles, which now is inclosed within them, so as rather it appeares the Citie hath been so much inlarged on that side. In like sort on the East side, the Citie is so compassed with the Valley of Ie|hosephat, and the famous Mount Oliuet, as it appeares the City could not that way haue been larger then now it is. On the North side I did neuer reade nor heare any, that described this Citie to haue been larger then now it is, yet in respect of huge ruines still remaining there, vpon a large Plaine of the highest part of the Citie, if any should confidently affirme that they belonged to the old Citie, for my part I could not gaine|say it. From the Plaine of this highest part

of the Citie it declines by little and little (if you except some little Hilles within the walles) from the North to the East (where the Temple of Salomon is seated vpon the lowest part of Mount Moriah) and like|wise it declines from the North to the South Gates, whereof the one is called Sterqui|linea, of the filth there carried out, the other Praesentationis, because the Virgin Mary entered there, when she presented Christ to the Priest in the Temple, which gates (as the whole Citie) are seated vpon Mountaines, yet lower then any other part of the Citie. Vpon the higher part of Mount Sion, on the same South side towards the West, lie many ruines of houses, and it is most certaine, that the Tower of Dauid, and other famous houses there, which are now without the walles, were of old inclosed within them, and that the City extended somewhat further towards the South, then now it doth. Yet the Hill of Sion is so compassed with knowne Vallies, and those Val|lies with high Mountaines, as this extent could not be great.

Ierusalem was of old called Moria (where they write that Adam was created of red earth), and is seated vpon Mount Moriah, vpon the top wherof towards the North-west is Mount Caluery (where they say that Abraham was ready to sacrifice his sonne Isaac, and where without doubt our Sauiour Christ suffered), and in the lowest part of this Mountaine, the Temple of Salomon was seated. The Citie was after called Salem, and thirdly, Iebus, and fourthly Ierusalem, and at this day the Turkes haue named it [...]. It is compassed with stately walles (the like whereof I did neuer see) of red and blacke stone more then an Elle long, and about halfe an Elle broad. I call them stately, for the antiquitie, wherein for the most part they much excell the Roman walles. I numbred seuen Gates. The first of Damasco, (of old called the Gate of Ephraim) on the North side. The second of Saint Stephen on the East side (which of old had the name of the beasts for sacrifice brought in that way.) The third the golden Gate, also on the East side (which at this day is shut and bricked vp.) The fourth the Gate of presentation on the South-side, leading into the Temple of Salomon, but at this day shutvp. The fifth Sterquilinea also on the South side, so called of the filth there carried out. The sixth, the Gate of Syon also on the South side, neare that part of Mount Syon, which at this day is without the walles, but this Gate hath been newly built. The seuenth of Ioppa towards the West also newly built. In generall, the Gates are nothing lesse then fortified, only as it were to terrifie the Christians, who enter at the Gate of Ioppa, they haue braggingly fortified the same, and planted great Ordinance vpon it. And how|soeuer the Citie seemes strong enough against sudden tumults, yet it is no way able to 219 hold out against a Christian Army well furnished, neither doe the Turkes trust to their Forts, but to their forces in field.

The houses here, and in all parts of Asia that I haue seene, are built of Flint stone, very low, onely one storie high, the top whereof is plaine, and plastered, and hath bat|tlements almost a yard high, and in the day time they hide themselues within the chamber vnder this plastered floare from the Sunne, and after Sunne-set, walke, eate, and sleepe, vpon the said plastred floare, where as they walke, each one may see their neighbours sleeping in bed, or eating at table. But as in the heate of the day, they can scarce indure to weare linnen hose, so when the Syren or dew falls at night, they keepe themselues within dores till it be dried vp, or else fling some garment ouer their heads. And with this dew of the night all the fields are moistened, the falling of raine being very rare in these parts towards the Equinoctiall line, and

in this place particularly happening onely about the month of October, about which time it falles sometimes with great force by whole pales full. The houses neare the Temple of Salomon, are built with arches into the streete, vnder which they walke drie, and couered from the Sunne, as like wife the houses are built in that sort, in that part of the Citie, where they shew the house of Herod, in both which places the way on both sides the streete is rai|sed for those that walke on foote, lying low in the middest for the passage of laded As|ses. In other parts the Citie lies vninhabited, there being onely Monasteriesof di|uers Christian Sects, with their Gardens. And by reason of these waste places, and heapes of Flint lying at the dores of the houses, and the low building of them, some streetes seeme rather ruines then dwelling houses, to him that lookes on them neere hand. But to them who behold the Citie from eminent places, and especially from the most pleasant Mount Oliuet (abounding with Oliues, and the highest of all the Mountaines), the prospect of the Citie, and more specially of the Churches and Mo|nasteries (which are built with eleuated Glòbes couered with brasse, or such glistering mettall) promiseth much more beauty of the whole Citie to the beholders eyes, then indeed it hath. The circuit of the walles containeth some two or three Italian miles.

All the Citizens are either Tailors, Shoomakers, Cookes, or Smiths (which Smiths make their keyes and lockes not of Iron, but of wood), and in generall poore rascall people, mingled of the scumme of diuers Nations, partly Arabians, partly Moores, partly the basest inhabitants of neighbour Countries, by which kind of people all the adioyning Territorie is likewise inhabited. The Iewes in Turky are distinguished from others by red hats, and being practicall, doe liue for the most part vpon the sea|coasts, and few or none of them come to this Citie, inhabited by Christians that hate them, and which should haue no traffique, if the Christian Monasteries were taken a|way. Finally, the Inhabitants of Ierusalem at this day are as wicked, as they were when they crucified our Lord, gladly taking all occasions to vse Christians despitefully. They esteemed vs Princes, because wee wore gloues, and brought with vs shirts, and like necessaries, though otherwise we were most poorely appareled, yet when we went to see the monuments, they sent out their boyes to scorne vs, who leaped vpon our backes from the higher parts of the streete, we passing in the lower part, and snatched from vs our hats and other things, while their fathers were no lesse ready to doe vs all iniuries, which we were forced to beare silently and with incredible patience. Hence it was that Robert Duke of Normandy, being sicke, and carried into Ierusalem vpon the backs of like rascalls, when he met by the way a friend, who then was returning into Europe, desiring to know what hee would command him to his friends, hee earnestly intreated him to tell them, that he saw Duke Robert caried into heauen vpon the backs of Diuels.

220 [Figure:

The description of the Citie and the Territorie.

] Now followes the explication of the Citie described: and first the small Line drawne within the present walles on the West side of the Citie, shewes the old walles thereof, before Mount Caluery was inclosed within the walles by the Christian Kings, for now there remaine no ruines of the old walles, this line being onely imagina|rie.

(1) Mount Sion without the walles, for part of it is yet inclosed with them.

(2) The faire Castle, which was built by the Pisans of Italy, while yet they were a

free State, and the building is not vnlike to the Italian Castles. It was now kept by a Tur|kish Agha and Garrison, hauing great store of short Iron Ordinance of a huge boare, lying at the Gate for terrour of the people. I remember that when wee walked (after Sunne set) vpon the top of the Latine Monastery (as those of Asia walke vpon their houses), this Agha sent a souldier to vs, commanding vs to goe from beholding the Castle, or else he would shoote at vs, whom we presently obeyed. Thus they suspect Christians, and suffer them not to enter this Citie with Armes, but narrowly search their baggage.

(3) The Gate of Ioppa (Zaffa, or Griaffa) in some sort fortified, where for terrour to the Christians, they haue planted some Ordinance, for the other Gates haue none, neither are fortified at all, and all the Christians enter at this Gate.

(4) The Gate of Mount Sion, no whit fortified, and newly built (as it seemes) by the Turkes, as also that of Ioppa is.)

(5) The ruines of the house or Pallace of the High Priest Caiphas, where they shew a place with a pillar, vpon which the Cock crowed when Peter denied Christ; and a place where the fire was made, at which Peter warmed himselfe; and a tree in the place where he denied Christ; finally, a narrow prison, in which Christ was shut vp till the day brake, and so he was led to Pilate. And the Sect of the Armenian Christians keepes this monument.

(6) The old Monasterie of the Latine Christians, called il Santo Cenacolo, which the Turkes haue taken from the Christians, and turned to a Mahumetan Mosche or Church, and no Christian may enter this place, kept by the Santons or Turkish Priests, except he will giue an vnreasonable reward, which giuen, yet he is not free from 221 danger, if other Turkes see him enter. Here Christ did wash his Apostles feete, did eate his last Supper with them, did appeare to them after his Resurrection, the doores being shut, and againe after eight dayes appeared to Thomas doubting. Here the ho|ly Ghost descended vpon the Apostles, and the Apostle Matthew was chosen by lot. The Italian Monastery (noted with the figure (33) hath all these representations pain|ted, and to these pictures the Pope hath giuen as large indulgences for Papists, as if they had seene the other places, from which the Turkes keepe them as vnwashed dogges. The Sepulcher of Dauid is not sarre from this place, kept by the Turkes, forbidding entrie to the Christians. And here they shew the ruines of the Tower of Dauid, or of his Pallace, on the South side of the Church-yard giuen to Christians of Europe for buriall, in the same place where Dauid of old droue out the Iebuzites. In like sort on the South side of this old Monastery, is the place where they say the Virgin Mary died. (7) Here they shew a place where the Iewes stroue in vaine to take the body of the Virgin Mary from the hands of the Apostles, as they carried it to be buried in the Valley of Iehosophat.

(8) The Caue wherein they say Peter vsed to bewaile the denying of Christ.

(9) Here they say the Apostles hid themselues, whilst Christ suffered on the Crosse.

(10) Here they shew the field Acheldamus, bought by the Iewes for a buriall place, with the thirtie pence Iudas brought back to them. And here looking into a huge caue of the Mountaine, we did see infinite whole bodies imbalmed of dead men, and stan|ding vpright. And this place is giuen for buriall to the Christians of Asia.

(11) the Gate Sterquilinea, at which the filth of the Citie is carried out, and cast into the Brooke Cedron. And Christ betraied by Iudas, was brought into the Citie by this Gate (as they say), which Gate is old, and nothing lesse then fortified.

(12) The Gate by which the Virgin Marie entring into the outer Temple, is said to haue offered Christ then an Infant to the hands of Simion, which Gate they say, in honour of our Redeemer, was shut vp by the Christian Kings, and so remaines to this day. (13) The outer Temple where they say Christ was exhibited to Simion, and the Italians call it the Temple of the Presentation.

(14) In this large circuit compassed all with walles, of old the Temple of Salomon stood. At this day it was ouer-growne with grasse, and in the middest thereof the Turkes had a Mosche for their wicked worship of Mahomet, neither may any Christi|an come within this circuit, much lesse into the Mosche, either being a capitall offence, which they say some curious Christians had tried with losse of life, after they had been drawne to enter into it by some Turkes vaine promises.

(15) The golden Gate at which Christ entered on Palme-Sunday, shut vp by the Christian Kings, and so remaining.

(16) Probatica Piscina without the Gate of the Temple, where the Angell troubling the waters, the first diseased man that entred them was healed. It was at this time dri|ed vp.

(17) The beautifull Gate where Peter and Iohn made the man walke, who was lame from his mothers wombe.

(18) Salomons house, of old hauing a Gate leading into the Temple, and it is now inhabited by the Turkish Cady, who hath an Episcopall office. Here I did see pleasant Fountaines of waters, and did looke into the circuit where the Temple stood, through an Iron grate, when the said Magistrate called vs before him. And I remember we were bidden put off our shooes before we entred in to him, where hee sat vpon a Carpet spread vpon the ground, with his legges crossed like a Tailor, and his shooes of (as the Turkes vse.)

(19) This Gate of old had the name of the Droues of cattell brought in for sacri|fices: but at this day is called the Gate of Saint Stephen, because the Iewes drew out that Protomartyr by this Gate, and so stoned him.

(20) Heere they say was the house of Anna, wherein shee bare the Virgin Marie.

(21) The Gate of Damasco, of old called the Gate of Ephraim.

222 (22) The house of Pontius Pilate, in which the Turkish Sangiaco (who is the mili|tary Gouernour of the City and Prouince) did then dwell, so as no Christian might come into the house without giuing a reward. The Fryars say that in this house are heard noises, whippings, and sighes, nightly to this very time, and each man the more superstitious he is, the more incredible things he tels thereof. They say that the staires vpon which Christ ascended, when he was brought to Pilate, were long since carried to Rome , and these be the staires which I said the Romans call Holy (vulgarly Scale Sante), and doe worship with great superstition. They be of marble, but for my part let euery man beleeue as he list, whither they were brought from thence, and be the same staires that Christ ascended or not. Onely I am sure that here they shew the place void in the very streete, where staires haue beene of old; yet must I needs say, that mar|ble staires ill befit the poore building of this house. Here the Souldiers spoiled our Re|deemer of his garments, and in scorne attired him with purple.

(23) The Arch of Pilate, which is a gallery of bricke, built ouer the street, from one wall to another, whence Pilate shewed Christ to the people, saying; behold the man, doe with him what you will.

(24) Here they say the Virgin Mary fell downe fainting, when Christ was led to Mount Caluary.

(25) Here they say that Christ fainting,

the Iewes tooke his Crosse, and laied it vp|pon Symon of Cyren. (26) The Pallace of King Herod.

(27) Here they say Christ vttered these words; Daughters of Syon weepe not for me, weepe for your selues, etc.

(28) Here they say the rich glutton dwelt, and not farre hence they shew the house where Mary Magdalen washed Christs feete with her teares, and dried them with the haires of her head.

(29) Here they say Veronica dwelt, and that this woman gaue her white hand-ker|cher to Christ when he did sweat blood, who wiping his face therewith, left the liuely print of it therein: about which hand-kercher the Romans and the Spaniards con|tend, both saying that they haue it, and shewing it for an holy relike to the people.

(30) The Gate of old called Iudiciall, now not extant, by which Christ was led to Mount Caluary to be crucified, for this mountaine now inclosed within the wals, was then without the wals. And the way from the house of Pontius Pilate (noted with the figures 22) to this gate, is called the dolorous way by the Italian Christians, because Christ was led by it to his passion. (31) The prison from whence the Angell brought Peter, breaking his chaines, and opening the iron doore, and it is seated vnder the ru|ines of the Pallace, which since that time belonged to the Knights of Ierusalem.

(32) The Church which the Christians built ouer the Sepulcher of Christ, of which I will after write more largely, making a rude Mappe thereof, as I haue done of the City.

(33) The Monastery of the Franciscan Friars, in which we did Iodge, being seated on the highest part of Mount Caluary, which since hath beene called the Mount of our holy Sauiour. And this is called the new Monastery, in respect of the old (noted with the figure 6) and onely hath the monuments of the old painted, to the visiting where|of, the Pope hath giuen large indulgences. The Franciscan Friars conducting vs, shewed vs some other monuments within the wals. And not farre from the gate of Syon, (noted with the figure 4) they shewed vs (34) the house of the High Priest Anna, where Christ was examined by the Pharises, and there they shewed vs an Oliue tree, (which must needs be old), to which they say Christ was bound. (35) The Church of the Apostle Saint Iames, whom the Spaniards call Saint Iames of Gallicia, and wor|ship for their protecting Saint, who was called Iames the greater, and they say was here beheaded. This Church is stately built, for the pouerty of the Armenians, who built it, and maintained there an Archbishoppe, to keepe it, and to performe there the rites of their religion.

(36) The place where they say Christ appeared to the three Maries dwelling toge|ther, vpon the very day of his resurrection, where the Christians built three Churches, 223 which the Turks haue conuerted to 3 Moschees, yet bearing no reuerence to the place, because they beleeue not that Christ died, and much lesse beleeue that he rose againe.

(37) The house of the Euangelist Saint Marke, mentioned in the twelfth Chapter of the Acts. This is the house of Mary the Mother of Iohn, surnamed Marke, whither Peter came when the Angell deliuered him out of prison, into which Herod had cast him, (noted with the figure 31). At this day there was an obscure Church, kept by the Syrian Priests.

(38) Here they shew the Iron gate, which Peter found miraculously opened, and by the same entring into the other City, came to the house of Saint Marke.

We going out at Saint Steuens Gate towards the East, descended into the vally

of Ie|hosaphat, and here they say (39) the bridge stood, by which the Queene of Saba passed ouer the Brooke Cedron, and that the Crosse of Christ was made of the wood of this bridge.

(40) In this place they say the Protomartyre Saint Steuen was stoned. (41) This smal line without the Easterne gates, shewes the bed of the brook Cedron, (or Kidron) which is very narrow, hauing not at this time one drop of water, so as we passed ouer the stony bed with drie feet. But of old when Ierusalem flourished, and had many con|duits of water drawne to it, then it is probable that it was filled with water. And at this day, when any rainefals, the water runnes swiftly from the mountaines on the North side, according to this blacke line, through the most pleasant vally of Iehosaphat. This vally extendeth it selfe on both sides of this brooke, some two Italian miles in length, but is very narrow, and it hath on the West side the wals of the City, where Salomons Temple stood vpon the lower part of the Mount Moriah, and it hath vpon the East side the most high Mount Oliuet, and it hath on the North side mountaines somewhat (but not farre) distant from the City, and vpon the South-side mountaines a little more distant. Many interpret the Prophet Ioell, in his third Chapter and se|cond verse, as if Gods Tribunall at the day of iudgement should stand in this vally, and thereupon the Iewes when they die in remote parts, will be brought to be buried in this vally, for the expedition of their triall. But the best Diuines doe teach, that the word Iehosaphat signifies the Iudgement of the Lord, and that the Prophet may be interpreted figuratiuely, namely, that as the Lord often defeated with great slaughters the enemies of his Church in this valley, so in the day of iudgement he will strike the wicked vvith like confusion.

(42) Beyond the Brooke is a stately Sepulcher for the most part vnder the earth, into which we descended by some fiftie staires, and about the middle descent, on the left hand towards the City, vnder an Altar, lie the bodies of Ioseph, and Ioachimus, and on the right hand the body of Anna (namely, of the Husband, Father, and Mother of the Virgin Marie.) In the bottome is a Church, in the middle whereof, vnder a stone raised some few feete from the ground, they say the Apostles buried the Virgin Mary. This Church (so they call all places where they haue Altars to sing Masses) is very darke, hauing no light but by one window or vent, made through the earth, and vpon this monument lies part of the bed of the Brook Cedron On the right hand the Turks (who greately reuerence the monuments of Christ while he liued), haue made them|selues an Oratory. But for the monument it selfe, the Franciscan Friers of the Latin Church haue alone the priuiledge to keepe the same, and the Altar thereof, for their singing of Masses.

(43) Here is a Caue, at the foote of Mount Oliuet, in which they say Christ vsed to pray, and did sweat bloud.

(44) Here they shew a place where they say (beleeue it who list), that S. Thomas after the Virgines buriall, did see her both in body and soule assumed into heauen, and that she casting her girdle to him, gaue it for testimony thereof, that all others might be|leeue it. In my opinion they did well to make Saint Thomas see it, for otherwise hee would neuer haue beleeued it.

(45) The place where they say the Virgin was wont to rest, when she visited the places frequented by her Sonne in the time hee liued heere, and where she beheld the 224 stoning of Saint Stephen, and prayed for him.

(46) The stone where Christ, leauing Peter, Iames, and Iohn, said, that his soule

was heauy vnto death, and went aside to pray, warning them to watch.

(47) Here is a little circuit inclosed with a low wall, where they report the Garden to be, at the foot of Mount Oliuet, where Christ vsed to pray, and was betrayed by Iu|das with a kisse.

(48) The place where they say, the Village of Getsemany was of old seated. Round about this place the Turks doe bury their dead (as they do also in a field on the North side without the walles); for they neuer burie within Cities, excepting onely the mo|numents of their Emperours.

(49) Here they say Saint Iames the lesse did lye hidden, till hee heard that Christ was risen againe the third day after his Passion.

(50) Here be two old Sepulchers, almost of a round forme, built of Free-stone, or rather cut out of the liuing stone, wherof the one is called the Sepulcher of Absolon, the sonne of Dauid, the other of King Manasses (or as others say, of the King Ezektas.) And considering the antiquitie, they seeme no Plebean Sepulchers, but stately and fit for Princes, being foure Elles from the ground in height.

(51) Here is the top of Mount Oliuet, the highest of all the Mountaines that com|passe Ierusalem, and here, in a Chappell, they shew in stone the print of Christs feete when he ascended into Heauen. And this Chappell is kept by a Turkish Zanton, that is a kinde of their Priests, and the Turkes giue such reuerence to the monuments of Christ liuing on earth, as they are much offended with Christians, if they creepe not on their knees, and with their shooes off to this and like monuments. To the keeper hereof we gaue a few meidines for reward.

(52) Here they say Christ did weepe ouer the Citie and rich Temple of Salomon, and in this place is the fullest prospect to view the Citie and Temple.

(53) Here they shew the ruines of the house, wherein the Apostles assembled did write the Creede.

(54) Here they say Christ taught his Disciples to pray in the forme euer since re|ceiued, and here was a Church built by the Christians of old.

(55) Here they say Christ foretold the signes of the day of Iudgement.

(56) Here they say the Angell foretold the Virgin shee should die at three dayes ende.

Vpon Thursday the sixth of Iune, we being to goe to Bethania, hired each of vs an Asse for foure meidines, that place being scarse two Italian miles from the citie. Of our company we were foure Lay-men, and because the Friers our consorts pleaded them|selues to be free from such expences, we were content to yeeld to them, and gaue ioint|ly into the hands of the Fryer our guide two zechines, wherewith he was to giue small rewards, and to pay the Muccaro, who furnished vs with Asses: for we meant not to eate till our returne, the place being no further distant, and there being no dwellings, but onely the ruines of houses. What our guide spent I know not; for he neuer offe|red to giue vs account, and because he was a Frier, wee would not trouble him in de|maunding it. We went out by the Gate Sterquilinea (noted with the figure (11) on the South side.

(57) First, we came to the Fountaine Siloe, to which Christ sent the blind man to wash his eyes, and there we found Turkish women washing, who beate vs away with stones.

(58) Here they shew a monument of the Prophet Elia, but what it was I remem|ber not.

(59) Here they shew a Fountaine, where they say, the Virgin washed Christs clothes when he was an infant.

(60) The Mount of Offence, opposite

to Mount Sion, which Mount lies beyond the Brooke Cedron, and extendeth Eastward towards Bethania, and vpon the top thereof they shew the ruines of the Pallace which Salomon built for his Concubines and of the Altar, vpon which hee sacrificed to Idols. Betweene this Mount and that of Mount 225 Sion. they shew the Valley of the sonnes of Hinnon towards the West, and there they shew a place, wherein the Iewes offered their children to the Idoll Molech, (that is, Sa|turne); yet we reade, that this Valley lies by the entry of the East-Gate, Ieremtah, chap. 19. vers. 2.

(61) Here they say, the Prophet Isaiah was cut in pieces with a Sawe, at the com|maund of King Manasses.

(62) Here is a bridge ouer the Brook Kedron, or Cedron of one Arch, and built of stone, whereby they passe when the bed of the Brooke is filled with water, which now wee passed drie footed. And here they shew a place, where they say Christ fell vpon the stones of the bed where the brook should runne, when he being betraied by Iudas, was drawne into the Citie in a great presse of the Iewes. And vpon these stones are the prints of hands and feete (as they say, his.)

(63) The way leading to Bethania ouer Mount Oliuet.

(64) The place where they say Iudas hanged himselfe, and burst; after he had be|traied his Lord. Not farre hence they shew a figge tree, which they say Christ cursed, because it had leaues without fruit.

(65) Here descending from Mount Oliuet towards the East, we did see farre off the valley Iordan, to which the Mountaines decline by little and little. And now we were come to Bethania, where we did see the House of Simon the Leaper, not yet ruined, and inhabited by a Moore, to whom we gaue a few meidines.

(66) Here they shew stately ruines of a Pallace, which they say belonged to Laza|rus. And not farre thence is a Chappell, built ouer the stately sepulcher of Lazarus, the key whereof the Friars our guides had with them. For the Turkes putting great re|ligion in reuerencing this place, haue an Oratory neere it, and enter into the Sepul|cher by another way. Here they say Christ raised Lazarus out of his graue. At our go|ing forth, wee were forced to giue some few meidines to certaine Turkes and Arabi|ans, (I know not whether they had the Place in keeping, or no).

(67) The House of Mary. (68) The House of Martha her sister.

(69) The stone vpon which they say Christ did sit, before he did see the sisters of Lazarus bewailing his death, and it is some halfe mile from Bethania.

(70) This small line sheweth the bed of the Riuer Iordan, running through a most pleasant valley, which Riuer we did see some ten Italian miles distant. On the North|side of Ierusalem, (I cannot say whether beyond Iordan or no), we did see many Tow|ers, hauing globes of glistering mettall, and that very distinctly, the day being cleere: also we did see the wals of a City neere the Riuer Iordan, and they said, that it was Ie|riche. Further towards the North they shewed vs from farre off a place, where they say our Sauiour was baptized by Iohn. And they affirme vpon experience had, that the water of Iordan taken in a pitcher, will very long keepe sweet, and that it corrupted not, though they carried it into forraigne parts. This water seemed very cleere, till it fell into a Lake, where they say Sodome with the other Cities stood of old, before they were burnt by fier from Heauen. And the day being cleere, we did plainely see, and much maruell that the cleere and siluer streame of Iordan, flowing from the North to the South, when in the end it fell into the said Lake, became as blacke as pitch.

The Friers our guides seriously protested, that if any liuing thing were cast into this Lake of Sodom, it could not be made to sinke, whereas any heauy dead thing went pre|sently to the bottome. Also that a candle lighted cannot be thrust vnder the water by any force, nor be extinguished by the water, but that a candle vnlighted will pre|sently sinke. I omit for breuities sake, many wondrous things they told vs, of the pu|trifaction of the aire, and other strange things with such confidence, as if they would extort beliefe from vs. We had a great desire to see these places, but were discoura|ged from that attempt, by the feare of the Arabians and Moores: for they inhabite all these Territories. And I said before, that the Arabians, howsoeuer subiect to the Turk, yet exercise continuall robberies with all libertie and impunitie, the Turkes being not able to restraine them, because they are barbarous, and liue farre from their chiefe pow|er, where they can easily flye into desart places. Yet these Barbarians doe strictly ob|serue 226 their faith to those that are vnder their protection. And all the Merchants chuse|one or other of the Arabian Captaines, and for a small pension procure themselues to be receiued into their protection, which done, these Captaines proclaime their names through all their Cities and Tents (in which for the most part they liue), and euer after will seuerely reuenge any wrong done to them, so as they passe most safely with their goods. All other men they spoile, and make excursions with their leaders, and some|time with their King, to the sea side, as farre as Ioppa, and much further within Land, spoyling, and many times killing all they meet.

When we returned from Bethania, we declined to the North side of Mount Oliuet, and came to the ruines of (71) Bethphage, where Christ sent for the Colt of an Asse, and riding thereupon, while the people cried Hosanna to the Highest, and laid bran|ches and leaues vnder his feet, did enter into Ierusalem. Vpon Friday the seuenth of Iune to wards the euening, we tooke our iourney to Bethlehem Iuda, and we foure lay consorts, (the Friars by our consent still hauing the priuiledge to be free from these expences) deliuered iointly foure zechines to the Friars ours guides, for our charges, whereof they gaue vs no other account, then they did formerly, yet they onely dis|bursed some small rewards, since we went on foot, and were otherwise tied to satis|fie the Friars of the Monastery, vnder the name of gift or almes, for our diet there: but since they vsed vs friendly, we would not displease them for so small a matter.

We went out of the City by the gate of Ioppa, on the West side, and so along (72) this line passed by a paued causey beyond Mount Sion, and then ascended another Mountaine to Bethlehem.

(73) Here they shew the Garden of Vvia, and the Fountaine wherein Bersheba wa|shed her selfe, which at that time was drie. And from the place where the Tower of Dauid was seated vpon Mount Sion, (noted with the figure 6), is an easie prospect into this garden.

(74) Here they show the Tower of Saint Simion.

(75) Here is a Tree of Terebinth, which beares a fruit of a blacke colour, like vnto an Oliue, yeelding oyle; and vnder this tree they say the Virgine did rest, when shee carried Christ to be presented in the Temple. For which cause the Papists make their beades of this tree, and esteeming them holy, especially when they haue touched the rest of the monuments, they carry them into Europe, and giue them to their friends, for great presents and holy relikes.

(76) Here they shew a fountaine called of the Wise-men of the East, and they say that the starre did here againe appeare to them, after they came from Herod.

(77) Here they shew the ruines of a house, wherein they say that the Prophet Ha|bakcuk dwelt, and was thence carried by the haires of the head to feede Daniel in the Li|ons Den at Babylon.

(78) Here they shew the Fountaine of the Prophet Elias, and the stone vpon which he vsed to sleepe, vpon which they shew the print of his head, shoulders, and other members, which prints haue some similitude, but no iust proportion of those members. From a rock neere this place we did see at once both Ierusalem and Bethlehem.

(79) Here they shew a Tower and ruines, where the Patriarck Iacob dwelt, and here againe we did see both Cities.

(80) Here is an old stately Sepulcher, in which they say Rachel, Iacobs wife was buried. It is almost of a round forme, built of stone and lime foure foote high, ha|uing the like couer aboue it, borne vp by foure pillars. There be two other Sepul|chers, but nothing so faire, and all three are inclosed within one wall of stone.

(81) Here they shew the Fountaine, for the water whereof Dauid thirsted, yet would not drinke it, when it was brought with the hazard of blood.

(82) Here the City Bethlehem is seated, which then was but a Village; hauing no beauty but the Monastery.

(83) Here the Monastery is seated, large in circuit, and built rather after the man|ner of Europe, then Asia, which the Italian Franciscan Friars, (called Latines, and more commonly Franckes) doe possesse: but other Christian sects haue their Altars in the 227 Church by speciall priuiledge, and the Turkes themselues comming hither in Pil|grimage, doe lie within the Church: for the Turkes haue a peculiar way by a doore of Iron, (made of old, and kept by them) to enter into the Chappell, where they say Christ was borne. This Monastery seemes strong enough against the sudden attempts of the Turkes or Arabians, yet the Friars in that case dare not resist them, liuing onely in safety by the reuerence which that people beares to this place, and by the opinion of their owne pouerty. The greater Church is large, and high, in which I numbred twenty foure pillars, but my consorts being more curious, obserued that the pillars were set in foure rankes, euery ranke hauing eleuen pillars seuen foote distant one from the other, whereof many were of porphery, and had beautifull spots The high|est roofe of the Church on the inside, is painted with Histories of the Scripture, with a rich painting that shineth with gold and glasse as if it were enameled, (called in Ita|lian Alla Mosaica), and the pauement is rich, with stones of marble, porphery, and Iaspar.

From the lesse Church called of Saint Katherine, we entred a Caue vnder the earth, where the Friars gaue euery one of vs a lighted waxe candle in his hand. Let them place what religion they will therein, I am sure the Caue was so darke, as we could not haue passed it without a light. In this Caue wee did first see the bones of the Infants killed by Herod, then the Sepulchers of Eusebius, and of Saint IeRome in his Chappell, for they hold that he long dwelt there. Then they did lead vs into a more darke place, where they say he did liue an austere life fifty yeeres space, and translated the Bible out of Hebrew into Latine, and wrote many volumes. But the place seemed to me more fit to dull the braine, then to yeeld such fruites of wit, by reason it was darke, and dig|ged deepe vnder ground.

From this Caue we ascended by ten marble staires into a Chappell, all couered with marble, and lying in length from the West (at which end we entered) to the East. And from this West end, as well Turkes as Christians of all sects, goe vpon their

knees to [Note: Christs birth.] the Easterne end, and there kisse a marked stone in the pauement, in which verie place they say the Redeemer of the World was borne. By this stone on the South-side li|eth a little Chappell, hauing two doores onely diuided with a pillar. In which Chap|pell at the right hand or West-side, is a manger, raised from the ground, and all of mar|ble, in which they say Christ was laid after his birth: and in the wall they shew a stone hauing (as they say) the liuely picture of Saint HieRome . In the said little Chappell on the left hand or East side, they shew a place, where they say Christ was circumcised, and shed the first drops of his precious blood for the sauing of mankind: And there they fhewed another place, where they say the Wise-men of the East adored Christ, and offered to him their gifts. The wals of both Chappels, the pauements, and all things, are couered with marble. The roofe on the inside, is painted with the foresaid rich pictures, glistering likeenamelled worke. To conclude, all things are stately and rich, and remain so vnder the Turkish tiranny, yet more rich in the Chappell of Chrsts birth, then in the greater Church, where all things then began to fall to ruine, because the Turkes beleeue not that Christ died. The Turkes doe so reuerence this monument of Christs birth, as they creepe groueling vpon hands and knees to kisse the said stone; yet in the meane time they despise the monuments of his death, because they beleeue not that he died.

From hence going Backe the same way we entered, they shew vpon the right hand, a hole in the highest roofe of the Church, by which they say the starre that conducted the Wise-men, fell from aboue into the bowels of the earth. Can he forbeare laughter who considers the bignes of the starres, yea, euen of Comets, as some write that was, specially finding no mention of this falling of the starre to be made in the holy scriptures. The City or Village of Bethlehem, is distant from Ierusalem some fiue miles, (in Turky I alwaies vnderstand Italian miles), and we came hither from the Westerne gate of Ierusalem, through a faire way, and mountaines planted with Vines, Oliues, and fruitfull Trees. Bethlehem is seated vpon Mountaines, and hath pleasant hils on the East and South-sides, a pleasant plaine on the North-side, ending in great moun|taines towards Ierusalem.

228 (84) As wee went out of Bethlehem to visit the Monuments, here they shewed vs the field, in which the Angell made knowne the birth of Christ to the Shepheards, and the Caue wherein they did lie by day, to shun the heate of the Sunne.

(85) Here they say the Patriarch Lot planted the first Vine.

(86) Here beyond pleasant Hilles, wee did distinctly see the Plaine of Iordan, and the dead Sea, with the situation of Sodom and Gomorra.

(87) Here they say Bethalia was seated of old.

(88) Here we did see the ruines of a house, in which, they say, Ioseph the Virgins Husband did dwell.

(89) Here they say the Virgin hid her selfe from the tyranny of Herod.

(90) Here they say that King Salomon had his Garden. The Franciscan Friers sent out of Italy each third yeere into these parts, did courtcously intertaine vs at Beth|lehem, and at our first comming, in imitation of Christ, they washed our feete. It hap|pened that my brother fell sicke here of an Ague, and so when our consorts vpon Sa|terday in the euening returned to Ierusalem, wee were forced to stay here that night. But the next day in the euening we came to them at the Monastery of Ierusalem. And because they made haste to returne homeward, wee went forth the next day, being Munday the tenth of Iune

earely in the morning to see the Mountaines of Iudea. And that day it happened, that I was troubled with loosenesse of body, whereof I made good vse, as I shall hereafter shew, which makes me name it.

We went out of the Citie at the Gate of Ioppa on the West side, and vpon our right hand they shewed vs (91) this place, where they say that Salomon was anointed King.

(92) Thence we went right forward to a Fountaine in the Desart, where they say, Phillip the Apostle did interpret the Scriptures to the Eunuch of Candace, Queene of Ethropii, and baptized him.

(93) Here they say is the Desart, in which Iohn Baptist preached, and they shewed vs his Caue cut out of a Rocke, and a long stone therein, vpon which he vsed to lye, and a pleasant spring issuing out of the Rocke, where hee vsed to drinke, and another stone vpon which he vsed to sit.

(94) He e we came to the Mountaines (or Mountanous places) of Iudea, and here they say the Prophet Zacharias dwelt, where a woman of the Moores kept the Church of old built there.

(95) From hence a Musket shot, or little more, is another house, which, they say, belonged to Zacharias, and in one of these houses, he pronounced the Song, Blessed bee the Lord God of Israel, etc. And when the Virgin visited Elizabeth, the Babe here sprang in her wombe; and the Virgin here pronounced the Song, My soule doth magnifie, etc. And Iohn Raptist was borne here.

(96) From this place, they say, the Tree was taken, vpon which the Crosse of Christ was made, and Greeke Friers keepe the Church that was here built. This place is two miles distant from Ierusalem, whether we returned the same way we came out, and en|tered the Citie by the West Gate of Ioppa.

The Church built vpon Christs Sepulcher of old by the Christians at Ieru|salem, is formerly noted by the figure (32); and wee entered the same vpon Tuesday the eleuenth of Iune towards the euening, at which time the Turkish Cady sent vs his Officer to open the dore of it, to whom we payed for tribute after the dore was ope|ned each of vs nine zechines, and besides gaue the Officer or Ianizare a small reward for himselfe. But it is the custome, that he that hath once payed this tribute, may any time after enter this Church, without paying any thing, if he can watch the opportu|nity of other Christians entering the same.

229 [Figure:

The rude, but true figure in plaine of Christs Sepulcher and the Church built ouer it at Ierusalem.

] (a) By this one and only dore being of brasse, and on the South side of the Church, entrance is giuen into the said Church. They say there was of old another dore not farre from this towards the East, but now it was not extant.

(b) This marke shewes where the Belfrey stands, which is of ancient building, and now in great part was ruined, while the Turkes admit no vse of any Belles.

(A) A Marble stone called the stone of Vnction, where they say the body of Christ was imbalmed, before it was buried. And it is compassed with grates of Iron, hauing aboue it nine Lampes continually burning, maintained by the nine Sects of Christi|ans.

(B) The Sepulcher of Godfrey King of Ierusalem, to which other lesse Sepulchers are adioyning, erected to Kings and Queenes of his Family. And this Sepulcher hath this Epitaph in Latin:

Here lyes worthy Godfrey of Bullon, who conquered all this Land to the worship of Christ, whose saule may it rest in peace. Amen.

(C) The Sepulcher of Baldwine his

brother, and successor in the Kingdome, with this Epitaph in Latin:

King Balduinus another Iudas Machabeus, the Hope of his Countrey, the Life of the Church, the strength of both.

These verses added:

Quem for midabant, cui Dona, Tributa ferebant, AEgipti caesar, Dan, ac homicida Damascus. Whom Egypt, Dan, Damascus homicide, With gifts and Tributes gladly pacifide.

(D) Here is Mount Caluary, and the staires to ascend thereunto, the walles of al the building vpon it, the Altars, and the pauements, all shine with Marble, the roofe on 230 the inside glisters with the foresaid rich painting, which seemes to be enameled. And diuers Altars are proper to diuers Nations or Sects, for their Rites of Religion. To these Altars vpon the Mountaine, we ascended by some twenty staires; and there they shewed vs three holes, wherein the three Crosses of Christ and the two theeues were erected. And at the figure (1) (where they say the Crosse of Christ stood) they shew|ed vs stones rent, or the rending of the Mountaine, when Christ died. Vnder this Mountaine in the corner towards the dore of the Church, they bade vs looke in at a little window, and there they shewed vs a scull, which they say was the scull of Adam, of which they say the Mountaine was called Golgotha. (2) Without the doore of the Church we ascended to a Chappell aboue this Mount, where they shewed vs an Al|tar, vpon which they say Melchisedeck offered sacrifices. (3) Also a Chappell, where they say Abraham would haue offered Isaac. (4) The Altars of Mount Caluary. (5) A place in the way to the Sepulcher, where they say, that Christ laid downe his Crosse, and where the Virgin Marie and Iohn the Enangelist stood while he was cru|cified.

(E) Here they shew a stone, which they call Noli me tangere, that is, Touch me not; be|cause Christ appearing here to Marie Magdalen, vsed those words. (6) And in this place they say Marie Magdalen stood.

(FFF) Here is a retreat of certaine Chambers and Chappels, vnder the keeping of the Latin or European Friers. For they continually send two or three of their Fri|ers to bee locked weekely within this Church for the performance of the Rites of their Religion, whom they recall at the weekes end to their Monasterie in the Citie, sending new in their place to attend that seruice. And this retreat hath onely a doore to passe into the Church, but none into the streete.

(G) The Chappell of Apparition, so called, because they say Christ there appeared to the Virgin Marie after his Resurrection.

(H) The pillar of whipping, so called, because they say, Christ was bound to it, when he was beaten with rods.

(h) This Altar they call the Altar of the holy Crosse.

(I) A most narrow prison, in which they say Christ was shut vp for a little time.

(K) The Chappell where they say, that the Souldiers diuided Christs garments.

(L) Here we descended some fiftie staires into a caue vnder the earth, which they haue made a Chappell, and here they say, the Empresse Helena found the Crosse of Christ, and thereupon built this Chappell, in which they say, foure pillars many times make a sound of groaning and sighing, and they shew the very place where the Crosse of Christ, and where the Crosses of the two theeues were found.

(N) After Christ was beaten, they say he was forced to sit here, till they crowned his head with Thornes.

(P) The Chauncell of the Church.

(p) A hole in the pauement of this Chauncell, which the Greekes (hauing the Chauncell to keepe) hold to be the middest of the World.

(q) This place lies open ouer head, hauing the Sepulcher on the West side, and two little Marble walles raised some two foote on the North and South sides, within which wals the place is paued with Marble. The walles are so high, as a man cannot conueniently sit vpon them. And in this place they vse to pray, before they enter the Sepulcher.

(r) The outward Chappell or Porch of the Sepulcher, (as I may so terme it) where the Angell is said to haue appeared to the women. And therein lies a foure-square stone, fitted to the little dore of the Sepulcher, vpon which stone roled from the dore, they say the Angell did sit, after Christ was risen.

(ss) These be seats on both sides of this outward Chappell, in which seates they vse to pray. (t) In this Chappell (so they call the Sepulcher it selfe), and vnder the stone noted with blacke, they say the body of Christ was laied. And this stone is raised as high as an Altar, and couered with Marble, as all the walles bee. The little dore by which they enter this Chappell or Sepulcher, is scarse 3 foote high, and a broad, so as 231 they enter it with difficulty, bending downe their bodies, as if they crept into a caue. The very stone couering the Sepulcher (or place where Christs body did lie) is some|what raised from the ground, and hath seuen foote in length, and some sixe in bredth. This Sepulcher lyes vnder the first Globe of the Church, as the Chauncell lies vnder the second, and it lyes vnder the middle of that Globe; neither hath the Church any window, but the Globe hanging ouer the Sepulcher, is open in the roofe, and so giueth light to all the Church. And in the very Sepulcher, the burning Lampes giue light, besides that the dores lye open. And because raine must needes fall from the open Globe, the Sepulcher hath a couer borne vp with pillars of Marble, and laid ouer with Lead to receiue the raine. The Sepulcher within and without is beautified with mar|ble, and was cut out of a Rocke before the Church was built. The Franciscan Friers are for the most part Italians, but are vulgarly called Francks, of the French who are in league with the Turkish Ottoman, and they haue the priuiledge of singing their Mas|ses in the Sepulcher (not of free grant, but because they are best able to pay for their, priuiledges); yet it is free for any of the Christian Sects to come into the Sepulcher. They say, that from the situation of this Sepulcher, the custome came among Christi|ans, to be buried with their feet and face towards the East, as expecting the resurrection.

(V) A Chappell kept by the Sect of the Gofti.

(X) The Sepulchers of Ioseph of Arimathea, and of Nicodemus.

(Y) The Chappell of the Iacobites.

(Z) The Chappell of the Abissines.

(X) The Chappell of the Armenians.

(X X) The Chappell of the Georgians.

Some write, that this Church hath the forme of a Crosse, and if the retreat or chambers of the Italian Friers with the Chappell of Aparition on the North side, and the two Towers of the Belfrey on the South side, be ioyntly considered with the Church, (which seeme rather-fastned thereunto then of the same building), a supersti|tious man may faigne to himselfe the figure of a Crosse; but shall reuer plainely de|monstrate it to others. Aboue the roofe of the Church on the outside, are two faire Globes, whereof the greater couered with leade, lies ouer the Sepulcher, and the lesse, all made of stone, is ouer the Chauncell. And this greater Globe, on the inside of the Church is beautified with engrauen. Ceder trees, and borlie vp with pillars of Marble, and the lesse hath faire pictures of the foresaid rich painting; shining like enameled worke. The breadth of the Church vnder both Globes, containes

seuentie paces, and the length 140 paces and in generall as well within as without it retaines only the shaddow of the old magnificence.

We entred the Church on Tuesday in the afternoone, and were locked there in all the night following, and almost all the next day, to fulfill our deuotions. But I former|ly said, that the Italian Friers haue chambers of retreat within the Church, in which we did eate and rest at our pleasure. Yet these chambers and the like retreats (where|in the Priests of other Sects with their wiues, children and family doe lodge, and eate, and performe the rites of their Religion), haue not any one dore into the streete, but all enter the Church, and goe forth by the foresaid onely dore of the Church towards the South, and the key of this dore is kept by the Turkes; who open it at set times, to admit strangers, and once euery weeke, to let the Friers returne to their Monasteries, and to receiue new Friers into the Church, which are sent from thence, to performe the feuerall rites of Religion. And this dore hath a grate or little window, at which the inclosed Friers may talke with their friends without, and receiue meate sent them from their Monasteries.

Nine sundry Sects of Christians haue their Monasteries within this City, by whom [Note: Nine Sects of Christi|ans.] the great Turke and his officers haue great profit, and the Turkes them selues repute all the monuments and places holy, which Christ in his life frequented but this mo|nument of his death, and other like they despise, and keepe them onely for their profit. From the said Monasteries, Friers are weekely sent to performe their seuerall rites, and at the weekes end they are recalled to the Monasteries, and new sent in their place, 232 which custome I thinke they take from the Iewes. For when Dauid diuided the twentie foure Families of the sonnes of Aaron into twentie foure courses, that each of them might one after the other in due order performe the holy offices in the Temple, Iosephus writes, that these courses, or Families in order one after the other liued in the Temple from Sabbath to Sabbath, to performe those duties.

Of these nine Christian Sects, each hath priuiledges to keepe this or that monu|ment within the Citie, and in the field, in which places they performe the rites of their Religion. And according to the number of the Sects, they maintaine nine Lampes continually burning in the foresaid common Church vpon the stone of Vnction, as many vpon the Sepulcher, and as many vpon Mount Caluarie. The nine Sects are thus called; Franks (namely, the Italians), Georgians, Greekes, Sorians, Costi, Abissines, Armenians, Nestorians, and Maronites.

The Religion of the Frankes (namely, Papists) is so well knowne, as I will omit it here, and referre it to his due place. I will onely say, that they haue the keeping of the [Note: 1. The Frankes.] Sepulcher, the Chappell of A parition (and therein of the pillar of whipping) and of one Altar vpon Mount Caluarie, for the performance of their rites.

The Georgians are a warlike Nation, inhabiting Media, and the Caspian Moun|taines, [Note: 2. The Georgi|ans.] and haue their name of Saint George, whom they haue chosen their protecting Saint. They haue a King, and making warre valiantly sometimes vpon the Turkes, sometimes vpon the Persians, could neuer bee conquered by either. Yea, if they bee oppressed by either, they easily finde helpe from the other, out of their mutuall ha|tred. Therfore they pay no tribute to the Turkes, but by singular priuiledge freely en|ter into Ierusalem armed, and with banner displaied. Neither dare the Turkes offer them the least iniurie, lest when they

returne home, they should reuenge it vpon the Turkes lying neare them. Their very women are warlike, like the Amazons, and car|rying bowes, shew valour both in countenance and behauiour. The men weare long haire on their heads and beards, saue that they all are shauen like Clerkes vpon the Crowne of the head, the Lay-men in a foure-square, the Priests in a round forme. They expresly follow the Religion, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Greekes, and in their Diuine seruice vse the Greeke tongue, otherwise speaking their owne language (as I thinke Caldean.) These in the Church of Ierusalem haue the keeping of Mount Caluary, and the Altar there built ouer the place, where they say the Crosse of Christ stood, and in the Citie they keepe the house of the High Priest Annas.

Of the Greekes Religion I must speake at large in his due place. Now I will onely [Note: 3. The Greekes.] say, that in the Church they keepe the Chauncell, and therein shew a hole in the paue|ment compassed with Marble, which they say is the very middle point of the world. Against which opinion I argued with them, and obiected, that the earth is round, and that in a Globe the center is in the middest, all centers in the outside being but imagi|narie, and to be placed wheresoeuer the measurer will. Also that in measuring (after their manner) the outside of the earth, Palestina was farre distant from the Equinocti|all line, which diuideth the World into equall parts. And if Palestina were iust vnder that line, yet that all the countries hauing the same Meridian, should be the middest of the World, as well as Palestina. They answered, that Dauid saith in his Psalmes; In the middest of the World I will worke their saluation. To which I replied, that the middest of the World was there taken for the face, and in the sight of the World, so as none should be able to denie it. Whereupon they grew angry, and said, that the Scripture must be beleeued, in spite of all Cosmographers and Philosophers. It had been vaine to dispute further with them, there being not one learned man among these Greekes at Ierusalem. And to say truth, (if you except the Greeke Ilands vnder the Veneti|ans), they haue few or no learned men. For my part, I neuer found in all the vast Empire of Ottoman any learned Greeke, but onely one, called Milesius, who was after made Patriarke of Constantinople. And these Greekes, as in this point, so in all other, follow the literall sense of the Scriptures. For which cause they also beleeue the corporall presence of Christ in the Sacrament. And 233 whereas Saint Paul saith, Let the Bishop be the husband of one wife, etc. they so interpret it, as if the Priests wife die within few dayes after his mariage, yet he may neuer marry againe.

The Sorians are so called of Syria, in which Prouince they liue, hauing their owne [Note: 4. The Se|rians.] Patriarke, neither could they euer bee brought to consent to the Roman faith: for whatsoeuer the Romanes challenge due to the Seat of S. Peter, that they say rather be|longeth to them, in respect Saint Peter was Bishop of Anttoch. They agreed with the Greekes in many things, they denie Purgatorie, they fast foure Lents in the yeere, they permit their Priests to marrie, they vse the Greeke tongue in their Diuine seruice, and otherwise speake their owne language (which I take to be the Arabian tongue.) In Ie|rusalem Church they keepe the Sepulchers of Ioseph of [...], and of Nico|demus, and in the Citie they keepe the house of Saint Marke, noted with the fi|gure (37.)

The Costi are Egyptians, dwelling about Numidia. They retaine the heresie of [Note: 5. The Costi] Arrius, and follow the Ceremonies of the Abissines. This I write vpon the report of the Italian Friers, who are to be blamed if it be not

true. These in the Church keepe the Chappell, wherein Godfrey and his Regall Family lye buried, and the Caue vnder Mount Caluerie, where they say the scull of Adam lies, and haue also their proper Altar vpon Mount Caluarie.

The Abissines inhabit the South parts of Africk, and they are subiect to their King [Note: 6. The Abi|sines.] Preti-Giani. They receiued the Christian faith of the Eunuch baptized by Phillip, and themselues are baptized not onely with water, but with the signe of the Crosse printed in their flesh with hot Iron, gathering that fire is as necessary to Baptisme as water, out of those words of S. Iohn Baptist; I baptise you with water, but he shall baptise you with the Spirit and fire. Also they vse the Iewes and Mahometans circumcision, like wary Nota|ries, who fearing to faile in their assurance, neuer think they haue vsed words enough; yet doe they greatly hatë the Iewes, and thinke their Altars defiled, if they doe but looke vpon them. They giue the Sacrament of our Lords Supper to very children, and they (as all the rest excepting the Franks, that is, Papists), giue it in both kindes. When they sing Masse or Psalmes, they leape and clap their hands, and like the Iewes vse Stage-Players actions. They vse their owne, that is, the Egyptian tongue, in Di|uine seruice, and obseruing a Lent of fiftie dayes at one time, do greatly maccrate their bodies. In the Church they keepe the Chappell adioyning to the Sepulcher, and the pillar where they say Christ was crowned with Thornes.

The Armenians are so called of the Prouince Armenta, which they inhabite, and [Note: 7. The Ar|menians.] they call their chiefe Bishop Catholicon, whom they reuerence as another Pope. They disagree with the Greekes, and rather apply themselues to the Franks, yet they keepe not the Feast of Christs birth, but fast that day. They keepe the Roman Lent, but more strictly, abstaining from Fish, and very Oyle (which they vse for butter), but vp|on some Holy-dayes in that time, they eate flesh. They mingle no water with the Wine of the Sacrament, as the Papists doe, but with them, they lift vp the bread, (yea and the Cup also) to be worshipped. Of old, with reseruation of customes, they ioy|ned themselues to the Roman Church; but finding the Pope to giue them no helpe against their enemies, they quickly fell from him. The very Lay men are shaued like Clerkes vpon their heads, but in the forme of a Crosse, and their Priests keepe the haire of their heads long, in two tusts, placing therein great Religion. In the Church they keepe the pillar, where they say the garments of Christ were parted, and lots cast vpon his Coate, and in the Citie, the place where they say Saint Iames was beheaded, and the house of the High Priest Caiphas, vpon Mount Sion.

The Nestorians are so called of the Monke Nestorius, who infected the Persians, [Note: The Nesto|rians.] Tartars, and Iewes, with his heresie. They giue the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in both kindes, and that to children as well as men. They vse the Caldean tongue in diuine seruice, and otherwise the Arabian. In the Church they keepe the prison, where|in they say Christ was shut vp.

The Maronites inhabite Phanicia, and the Mount of Libanus, and they vse the Sy|rian 234 [Note: 9. The Maronites] tongue in their diuine seruice, namely, (as I thinke) the Arabian. And they said, that these men for pouerty were lately fled from Ierusalem. Some make mention of a tenth sect, namely, the Iacobites. (named of Iacob, Disciple to the Patriarke of Alexan|dria), who liue mingled among Turkes and Tartares, inhabiting partly Nubia in Afrike, partly the Prouinces of India. I remember not to haue seene any such at my being there, neither yet to haue heard

any mention of them; yet others write that they ad|mit circumcision as well as baptisme, and besides print the signe of the Crosse by an hot Iron, in some conspicuous part of their body, that they confesse their sinnes onely to God, not to their Priests, that they acknowledge but one nature in Christ, that in to|ken of their faith they make the signe of the Crosse with one finger, and giue the Sa|crament of our Lords Supper in both kinds, yea, to Infants, as well as to those who are of full age.

I cannot omit an old Spanish woman, who had for many yeeres liued there, locked vp in the Temple, lodging euery night at the doore of the sepulcher, and hauing her diet by the Friars almes. Shee said that shee came to Ierusalem to expiate her sinnesby that holy pilgrimage, that shee had then beene there seuen yeeres, and in that time had alwaies liued in the Church, and that shee would not refuse any opportunity to goe backe into Spaine, but otherwise would die there, and thereby thought to merit much of God. Neither doe I thinke shee lost the hope of this vaine merit, since it was not easie to find a man who would carry an old woman, and beare her charges so long a iourney.

The stone of vnction in the Church, is common to all the nine Christian sects, neither doe the Keepers of any other monuments refuse any Christian to enter into them, but onely by priuiledge keepe their Altars priuate to themselues. Most of the sects haue their Monasteries in the City, and (as I formerly said) each of them hath the priuiledge to keepe some monuments, as well within as without the wals. But some of the sects only come to Ierusalem at solemne feasts, and dwelling neere the City, easi|ly maintaine a Friar or two, to keepe their monuments, and so are freed from the ne|cessity of building a monastery in the City.

Vpon Wednesday the twelfth of Iune towards euening, the Turkes did open the Church to let vs out, and each of vs Laymen gaue the chiefe Turke thirty meidines, and the Doore-keeper twenty of free gift; and for the waxe candles burnt the night before in the Church, each gaue sixty meidines to one of our Italian Friars. This done, we returned to the Monastery, where we lodged, with great ioy that we were present|ly to goe backe to Ioppa.

I formerly said that the Franciscan Friars with whom we lodged, were of Europe, whether at three yeeres end they were to be recalled, and some fifty new Friars to be sent hither in their place, which still each third yeere vse to be changed. And these Fri|ars are called the Family of Frankes, for the great Turke permits them as French to liue there, and forbids the comming of any Spanish or Roman Friars: yet are they for the most part of Sicily, Naples , or Rome ; but denying their Countrey, affirme that they are Venetians, and if they were knowne to be subiects to Spaine or Rome , they should incurre great danger. Of them some few are indeed Venetians, and at this time some two were Frenchmen. All these liue of the aimes of the Merchants in the East of their Religion, who for the most part are Italians, and especially Venetians: yet hath the Monastery also some rents of Lands giuen to it of old in Sicily and in Spaine; and from thence they bring with them euery third yeere at their first arriuall, a present of great value to the Turkish Ottoman. I said formerly, that of old the Venetians yeer|ly sent a gally to carry Pilgrimes to the Holy Land, till the Christians were so oppres|sed by exactions of the Turkes, as they rarely vndertooke that iourney, and so the Ve|netians also left that custome. From that time this Family of Frankes, (so these Friars are called) vseth to passe in a Venetian ship to Cyprus, and from thence to Ioppa, in the Holy Land, hiring there a Graecian

barke to that purpose; and in like sort the old Family vpon the arriuall of the new, returnes into Italy. And as soone as this family arriueth, they disperce themselues, the greater part abiding at Ierusalem and Bethlehem, 235 and some single men or couples being sent to doe the office of Priests at Cayro (or Ba|bylon) in Egypt, at Haleppo in Asia, (where most part of their Merchants reside) and at Scanderona, (of old by all, and still by Christians called Alexandretta). These Friars thus dispersed, are not onely maintained by the Merchants to whom the are sent, but they also send from them large almes to the rest at Ierusalem, and they often change places, that all may equally beare these burthens.

We being now to take our iourney from Ierusalem, many Christians and Iewes brought vs diuers toies, to buy and carry with vs, being of no worth, saue onely that they were far fetcht, namely, beades for Papists to number their praiers, and also cros|ses, both made of the earth whereof they say Adam was formed, or of the Oliue trees of Mount Oliuet, or of Terebinth, (vnder one of which trees they say the Virgin Mary rested, when shee carried Christ an Infant to be presented in the Temple,) and round stones called Cornioli, of yellow colour, and others of white, called the Seawater of In|dia. Also girdles of the Virgin Mary, and glistering stones of little price (as all the rest are.) Among which they attribute to the stone of Indea, the vertue to prouoke vrine, to the Eagle stone called Aquilina, the vertue to expell poyson, to facilitate the birth of chil|dren, to heale the falling sicknesse, to restore woemens milke, and so to diuers stones, diuers and incredible vertues. Besides, our Franciscan Friars gaue each to his friend and the Guardian to vs all, Agnos Dei, Dust and little stones taken from the foresaid monuments, for a great treasure to be carried to our friends at home. Moreouer they gaue to each of vs freely and vnasked (as it seemes of custome) as well to vs Lay|men as to the Friars, a testimony vnder the seale of the Monastery, that we had beene at Ierusalem, and for better credit, they expressed therein some markable signes of our faces and bodies.

Now there remained nothing but the Epilogue of the Comedy, that we should make some fit present to the Guardian of the Monastery, in satisfaction for our diet, and the curtesie of the Friars towards vs, which my selfe and my brother thought ve|ry fit to be done: but two of the Friars our consorts, either wanting money, or vsed to eate of free cost, did not onely refuse to giue any thing, but perswaded the French Lay-men to ioine with them in deniall thereof. The third Friar our consort, and for his experience vsed by the other as a conductor, hearing this, did vehemently reproue them, vsing these words in French; Que voules vous doncques payer en blanche? (that is, what will you then pay them in white?) which phrase they vse when a man requites a curtesie in words, or faire written promises, not really. They on the other side, no lesse angry, answered that it was vnfit and irreligious for Friars to extort gifts from Chri|stian Pilgrimes. My selfe and my brother laughed to our selues hearing this difference, for we found now, and had often heard, that these Friars were most deate Hosts, and that as they in England, who referre their payment to pleasure, are alwaies ouer-paid, so these Friars asking nothing for diet, yet vnder the title of gift or almes, expect more then any the most greedy Host could demand: yet lest we should prouoke them, ei|ther to hinder our departure, or to doe vs any shrewd turne, as they most easily might doe: yea, left they should surmise my selfe and my brother to be authours or partners of this conspiracy, I perswaded the French Laymen our consorts, that howsoeuer the Fri-

ars still remained obstinate to giue nothing, yet we foure should present the Guardian some sixe zechines. This effected, the Guardian, dismissed vs for good sons, yet in truth we were wel contented with this faire occasion to restraine our gift, which howsoeuer it were farre from bounty, yet was it free from base sparing, since we gaue at Bethlehem for our diet another present to those Friars, and while we visited the mo|numents of Ierusalem, being daily abroad, and commonly dining in Villages, we were onely beholding to these Friars for some ten suppers, besides that we had alwaies pro|fessed pouerty (most safe to strangers). To which may be added, that in this Prouince, (whether for abundance of all things, or want of mony) all things were sold at cheap rates for when we went out to see the mountains or hill Countrey of Indea, and dined in a Village, I remember we bought twentie egges for a meidine, and a pound of mut|ton for fiue meidines, foure cakes for one, and a hen for two meidines and a halfe. In 236 the Monastery they gaue vs enough of mutton: hennes and sallets, and of good wine, but some what sharpe; and the Friars our consorts did eate continually with the Friars, and we Lay-men by our selues, the Friars onely once inuiting vs to eate with them in the publike Refectory.

If this discourse makes any surmise that we did some things against our conscience while wee liued in this Monastery, let him reade the foure and twentie Precept of Dissimulation in the Chapter of Precepts, the third Part, and the first booke, wherein I haue explaned my opinion of the outward reuerence of the body shewed in time of the Papists Diuine seruice. And for the rest, let him know, that I now con|fesse (as I did formerly) that we therein erred, that we did not first goe to Constantino|ple or Haleppo, from whence hauing a Ianizare to guide vs, chosen by our Ambassador or Merchants, we might haue escaped many of those troubles, which now we endured being alone, and that with no greater charge then now we were at, since these troubles increased our charge; and might also easily haue obtained any courtesie at these Fri|ers hands, or at least haue seene Ierusalem safely, though they were ill affected to vs. But since many things diuerted vs from this course, and now we were fallen into these Italian Friars hands, we thought best to bring our selues out of this danger by discre|tion and moderation in our deeds and words. Also I confesse, that in those dayes my conscience was not so tender, as since (by the grace of God) I haue found it, yet was it neuer so insensible, as it could haue passed ouer the worshipping of an Idoll, or the denying of my faith. If I had heere gone to Masse, it would seeme no wonder to our English Gentlemen, who haue liued any time in Italy; and I am confidently of opini|on, that no man returnes home with more detestation of the Papists Religion, then he who well instructed in the truth, hath taken the libertie to behold with his eyes their strange superstitions, which one of experience may well see, without any great partici|pation of their folly. For my part, as I had alwayes beene vnwilling to be present at their Masse, so I abhorred: from the receiuing of the Lords Supper with them. And this was the highest mischiefe, which we could be forced to incurre at Ierusalem. Now for the Communion of our Lords Supper, except it be in great sicknesse and danger of death, they neuer impose it so earnestly on any man, as hee may not with discreete an|sweres put it off till another time, without all suspition of contrarietie in Religion. For their Masses, they neuer sing or mumble them, but in the mornings, and that fasting. Now wee came the fourth of Iune in the afternoone to Ierusalem, and the fifth

and sixth dayes we went abroad before full day, to see the Monuments, and returned not to the Monasterie till night, at which time the greatest offence to our conscience that could happen, was to heare them sing Psalmes in their Chappell. Vpon Friday the seuenth of Iune we tooke our iourney to Bethlehem, where my brother falling sicke, we had scarse leasure to satisfie our curiositie, much lesse to be present at any vnpleasing rites of their Religion. Vpon Saturday, the eight of Iune, our consorts returning to Ierusalem, wee tooke, occasion by my brothers sicknesse to stay at Bethlehem, and came not to Ierusalem till Sunday at night. On Munday the ninth of Iune we visi|ted the Mountaines or Hill Countrey of Iudea, at which time my brother was so ill disposed, as our Consorts themselues doubted his death, and for my part, I was all the day troubled with a weaknesse of bodie. And because the greatest danger of our participating with them in their Rites, was like to bee, when we should be locked with them in the Church of the Sepulcher, which onely remained to bee seene by vs, I made such vse of this my brothers and my owne weakenesse, as increasing their opi|nion of his danger, and my selfe taking many occasions to make them thinke my sicknesse the greater: it happened that in the euening, our Consorts burning with desire of returning homeward, appointed the next day for the visiting of the Sepul|cher: but I in respect of my owne and my brothers weakenesse, desired to haue it deferred some few dayes, till the very Friers our consorts, impatient of delay, and yet vnwilling to incurre the blame of leauing vs behind them, made free offer to vs of that which wee most desired, saying, that in their chambers within the Church, they had beds for vs to rest vpon, and that they would prouide vs meate, and all necessaries, 237 which we could haue staying in the Monastery. We gladly took this condition, and so being locked vp in the Church of the Sepulcher vpo Tuesday the eleuenth of Iune in the afternoone, after we had satisfied our curiositie, we laid vs downe vpon the beds, and onely forbearing meate for auoiding of suspition, we rested there till Wednesday the twelfth of Iune in the afternoone, when we came forth, and returned to the Mona|stery. The thirteenth day we had no thought but of making vs ready for our returne, and the next day early in the morning, wee departed from Ierusalem. So as in all this time, the Friers themselues our consorts, had no leasure to bee at a Masse, but onely the Sunday when we were at Bethlehem, and in the Church of the Sepulcher, when vpon pretence of sicknesse we rested on our beds. Otherwise we professed our selues Catholiques, as the Papists will be called, yet enemies to the King of Spaine, as the ene|mie of our Queene and Country. And when our superstitious consorts, being now to leaue Ierusalem, had gathered great heapes of stones from the monuments, to carrie into their Country, and had receiued of the Guardians gift, for great treasure, holy beades, Agnus Dei, and like trash, wee so refused to take any such burthen, as still we bewailed our mistortune, that we being not to returne the right way home, as they did, but to passe to Constantinople, could not carrie such reliques with vs, left they should fall into some Turks hands, who might abuse them. And when our consorts at Bethlehem printed the signe of the Crosse with inke and a pen-knife vpon their armes, so as the print was neuer to bee taken out, wee would not follow them in this small matter, but excused our selues, that being to passe home through many King|domes, we durst not beare any such marke vpon our bodies, whereby wee might bee knowne. Besides, it was some aduantage to vs, that the Frenchmen our consorts were of their Kings partie, and

professed no lesse hate against Spaine then our selues.

To conclude, the Friers of our consorts told me and my brother, that the Guardian would make vs Knights of the Sepulcher, so we would craue that honour, which was neuer granted to any but them that craued it, in which case they offered to be interces|sors for vs. I well knew that they had offered this honour (as they termed it) to a Plebean Frenchman our consort, and had heard, that the Friers vsed this art to get mo|ney from Pilgrimes, making no difference to whom they gaue this title. And for my part, I neuer affected titles, thinking better to be of an interiour condition with plenty, then of high degree with want. Therefore I so answered them, as giuing due thanks for their courtesie, yet I professed, that if I were worthy of that title, I might not craue it, nor receiue it offered, in respect of the oath imposing militarie duties vpon me, and the profession of seruice to the King of Spaine, the publique enemy of our Country; besides that, I should be tied thereby, to hate and prosecute all of the refor|med Religion, which many of my friends and kinsmen professed. It is true that if wee had had a Ianizare to guide and protect vs, wee might haue lodged in Terusalem with some Christian, who would haue shewed vs the monuments, without troubling the Italian Friers, And it is well knowne, that the great Turke giues libertie to all Religi|ons. But the other Sects of Christians being poore, and these Friers being full of mo|ney, as well the Christians as Turkes depend greatly vpon them, so as if they would, they might easily haue brought vs into danger, neither could wee haue had such con|uenient diet and lodging with any other as with them. And howsoeuer by our Mer|chants helpe we might haue obtained letters from the Italian Merchants at Haleppo, for our entertainement and good vsage in this Monastery, yet since for the foresaid reasons we had at Cyprus committed our selues to the protection of the Friers our con|sorts, we had now no meanes but honest dissembling to free our selues from danger. For it had been easie for these Friers secretly to haue drawne vs into danger of life, and we knew that Papists make no conscience, or rather thinke it meritorious to vse like practises against those of our Religion. And if they would not practise against our liues, yet we knew that they might haue cast vs into many dangers, both here and in our returne through Italy, if wee should haue prouoked them to wish vs ill. Therefore this our foresaid dissembling may well bee excused, especially since thereby wee did not in any sort wound our consciences to my best remembrance.

238 Now that this dissembling might proue more profitable and honest, it behooued vs thorowly to know our consorts, and so to apply our selues to them. Of which the two French Lay-men were yong, and of no experience in the World; and one of the Friars was more simple then simplicity it selfe, so as small art was required to deceiue these. The second Friar had beene a Souldier in the warre of France, and had made himselfe Friar after the peace, onely to escape the priuat reuenge of some, whose friends he had killed, for they neuer seeke reuenge of those that put on a religious ha|bite, and to gaine this mans loue, it was sufficient to vse good fellowship towards him. The third Friar had a sharpe wit, ioined with the wisdome of experience, so as all the rest chose him for their guide, and to gouerne their expences. And because he might easily incense our consorts, and the Friars at Ierusalem against vs, we thought good to gaine his good will, by all good respects to him; so as howsoeuer we were not igno|rant to manage our owne affaires, yet ioining our selues to the rest, we

made him also gouernour of our expences, to witnesse our confidence in his loue, and cared not to beare some losse, so we might bind him to vs vnder the title of friendship, which we easily effected with him, being of a curteous disposition. To conclude, I did often ex|perience his good will, and howsoeuer I found him louingly and courteously to make vs respected, as well of our consorts as the Friars at Ierusalem, yet I perceiued by many and cleere arguments, that he thought vs to differ from him in religion. For in par|ticular when I refused (for the foresaid reasons, and with due modesty) the Friars of|fer to make me Knight of the Sepulcher, he smiling, said to me, (alluding to my name) in the French tongue; Enverité vous estes fin, etc. That is, in truth you are crafry as your name imports, but I will endeauour to make the Guardian interpret your excuse to the best. Besides his friendship, it was no small aduantage to vs, that our stay at Ie|rusalem was so short, as the time permitted them not to inquire after our religion. By the aforesaid art we freed our selues from all danger, yet would I not aduise any by imitating vs to incurre the like, who can haue the foresaid better commodities of per|forming this iourney, since it would bee hard for any so to disguise their condition, who haue not first had good practice and acquaintance with Friars in Italy, as my selfe had. Besides that, all our skill was sharpened to greater warinesse, by a late Tragicall example of others, the memory whereof was daily and hourely before our eies.

For we beheld vpon the wall in the chamber where we lodged, the names written of Henry Bacon, and Andrew Verseline, (two English Gentlemen), of Abraham Serwen|terb Frederichson, and Henry Vonwildt, Peterson Van Narden, (two Flemmings), whose names were written there vpon the foureteenth of August, 1595, and lay before vs, both sleeping and waking, warning vs like so many prodigies or visions to take wary beed to our steps. These foure comming in company to Ierusalem, had beene receiued into this Monastery, and when they had seene the monuments within and neere Ieru|salem, they went to Bethlehem, where it happened that vpon a health drunke by the Flemmings to the King of Spaine, which the English refused to pledge, they fell from words to blowes, so as two of them returned wounded to the Monastery of Ierusalem. Then these Italian Friars, (according to the Papists manner, who first make the sicke confesse their sinnes, and receiue the Lords Supper, before they suffer Physitian or Apothecary to come to them, or any kitchin physicke to begluen them): I say the Friars pressed them to confesse their sinnes, and so to receiue the Lords Supper, which when they refused to doe, it was apparant to the Friars, that they were of the reformed Religion, (whom they terme heretikes): Whereupon the Friars beganne to neglect them (I will not say to hate them): and while the two which were wounded staied for recouery of their health, and so detained the other two with them; it happened that the third fell sicke. So as none had their health now, but Master Verseline, who louingly and like a seruant more then a friend, prouided all necessaries for his companion Ma|ster Bacon, till at last himselfe also fell sicke, and was the first of them that died. Then within eight daies space, all the rest died, either for that they were neglected by the Fri|ers, (which I thinke sufficient in that Countrey to cast away any in their case), or by their too much care, namely by poison (as some suspect): for the Friars haue one of 241 their order, who is skilfull in physicke, and hath a chamber furnished with cooling waters, sirops, and other medicines most fit for that Countrey. When they were dead,

the Friars gaue into the Turkes hands, the bodies of the two Flemmings and Master Verseline, (who had little store of crownes, which belonged to the great Turke, as heire to all strangers), and the Turkes permitted them to be buried vpon Mount Syon with|out the wals, in the Church yard proper to the Christians of Europe: But Master Bacon, ouerliuing the rest, and now seeing his life to depend vpon the Friars care of him, shewed a Nouice Friar long bracelets of peeces of gold twined about his arme, and promising to giue them all to him, and greater rewards if he would goe with him into England, so as he would take care of him in his sickenesse, he had perswaded the young Friar to goe with him into England, and to promise him faithfull seruice there: yet when this Nouice at his confession made this knowne, and after verified as much to the Guardian and chiefe Friars, I know not whether the hope of this booty made him die sooner, but I am sure he liued very few daies after. And giue me leaue to tell the truth, these Friars either to gaine his money, (which was due to the Great Turke), or for feare that inquisition should be made by the Turkes after the cause of his death, appearing by manifest signes vpon his body (as others suspected and reported), I say these Friers buried this Gentleman in a yard of their Monastery secretly, which if the Great Turke or any of his Magistrates had knowne, no doubt they would gladly haue taken this occasion to extort much money from the Frires, since by the like forged accusations, they vse sometimes to oppresse them; the very Turkes hauing at other times themselues buried dead bodies within the circuit of the Monastery, and after caused them to be digged vp, as if they had beene casually found; and then cry|ing that their Ottoman was deceiued, put the Friars to pay large ransomes for redee|ming of their liues. And let no man wonder that these hungry Gouernours of Ci|ties and Prouinces in Turkey, should vse like frauds to intrap Christians, (as they doe very frequently,) since they buy their Offices, and many times are recalled, before they be warme in their seats, if any man at Constantinople offer larger summes for their imployment.

So as this one Prouince of Palestine, and one City of Ierusalem, (though hauing small or no trafficke), hath had in one yeeres space foure Zaniacci, the old being re|called to Constantinople, assoone as his successour had outbribed him there. And this is one of the greatest mischiefes in this Empire, since starueling flies sucke much more, then those that are fully gorged. The foresaid Zaniacco is chiefe Gouernour for mili|tary and ciuill affaires of all Pallestine, and lies at Ierusalem in the house of Pontius Pi|late. His Substitute or Liefetenant is called Catake, who cast one of our consorts for a time into prison, because he complained of the Turkish exactions, and his owne po|uerty. The third Magistrate is called Cady, who gouernes Ecclesiastiall matters, and dwelt in Salomons house (as they call it) at Ierusalem, neere the yard of the old Temple of the Iewes, (in which now a Turkish Mosche was built); and of this man we had our leaue to enter the City, and to see the sepulcher, and being called before him, we were commanded to put off our shooes, he sitting crosse leg'd (like a Tailor) on the ground vpon a Turkey Carpet. The fourth Magistrate was called Agha, who kept the Castle of Ierusalem, and when we walked one euening on that part of the roofe of our Mona|stery, whence we had the fairest prospect into the City, he sent a messenger to com|mand vs to retire from beholding the Castle, or otherwise he would discharge a peece of Ordinance at vs.

240

2

6.3 CHAP. III.

Of our iourney from Ierusalem, by land to Ha|leppo, by Sea to Tripoli in Syria, by land to Ha|leppo and Scanderona, and of our passage by Sea to the Iland Candia.

VPon Friday the fourteenth of Iune, in the yeere 1596 we went out of Ierusalem, and by the same way, and in the same [Note: Iune 14. Ann. 1596.] manner as wee came, rode backe to Ramma, deliuering to our guide as many zechines as before, to pay for the Tur|kish exactions, and to our Muccari for their Asses which we had hired. Neither did any memorable thing happen to vs by the way, saue that when we came neere to Ramma, and by chance rode ouer the place of buriall for the Turks, where some women were then mourning for their dead friends, they thinking it a reproch that we should ride ouer their graues, did with inraged countenances fling stones at vs, till wee appeased them by dismounting from our Asses. The fifteenth of Iune we came backe to Ioppa, where our guide gaue three meidines to a Ianizare, that hee would beate with a cudgell cer|taine Arabians, who had offered vs wrong by the way, which hee did readily and roundly. Then without delay we went aboard our little Greeke Barke, which (accor|ding to our bargaine at Cyprus) staied here for our returne. For the Master thereof was further tied to transport vs from hence to Tripoli in Syria, neither had he yet recei|ued full paiment for transporting vs hither, the money being left in Cyprus with an Ita|lian Merchant, who was to pay it him at his returne, if hee brought a testimony vnder our hands, that he had performed his bargaine to vs. This condition we made proui|dently, and by aduice of experienced men, for otherwise the Master of our Barke, vp|on any profitable occasion, would haue left this port before our returne from Ierusa|lem, and wee should hardly haue found another Barke here, in a place not much fre|quented with ships. Besides that the restraint of the money, not to be payed but vp|on a testimony brought vnder our hands, was a good caution, that he should not vse vs ill, nor any way betray vs. The sixteenth of Iune vpon Sunday by twilight of the morning, we set sayle from Ioppa, and coasting the shoare of Asia, had the land so neere vs euery day, as wee might easily distinguish the situation of the Cities and Territo|ries. And first we passed by the Citie called Caesaria Philippi, seated in a Plaine, and [Note: Casaria.] twentie fiue miles distant from Ioppa, which of old was a famous Citie, but now for the most part ruined, and become an infamous nest of Turkes, Moores and Arabians. Here Christ raised to life the daughter of Iairus, and healed the woman, which for twelue yeetes had a flux of bloud. And here Saint Peter did baptize the Centurion Cornelius, and Saint Paul in the presence of Foelix disputed with Tertullus. Here Titus the sonne of Vespasian landing, when hee came to destroy Ierusalem, cast great multi|tudes [Note: Antipatris.] of Iewes to wilde beasts to be deuoured. In the right way to Tripoli, Antipatris was not farre distant, which Herod did rebuild, and thither the souldiers did leade Saiint Paul, by the command of the Tribune Lysias, but we could not see this Village. Next, we did see the Pilgrims Castle, now called Tortora. Then we sailed by the Pro|montory (hanging farre ouer the Sea) of the Mountaine Carmelus, made famous by [Note: Carmel.] the aboade of the Prophet Elias. Then we passed within sight of the old Citie Ptole|mais, after called Achon and Acri,

seated in a faire playne within a Creeke of the sea of [Note: Achon.] the same name, and compassing the Citie. And such afaire plaine lyes all along the Coast from Ioppa to Tripoli. This Citie was famous by the armies of Europe, passing to conquer these parts, and at this day it hath a large circuit, compassed with walls, and a commodious Hauen, and is thirtie fiue miles distant from Caesaria. From hence sal|ling twentie miles, we passed by the Citie Tyrus, then called Sur, the ruines whereof [Note: Tyrc.] witnesse the old magnificence. The seate thereof seemed most pleasant, being built vpon a low Rocke, in the forme of a Peninsule, which Rocke was part of a high Pro|montory 241 hanging ouer the sea. And it may appeare how strongly it was fortified of old by Quintus Curtius, relating the difficulties with which Alexander the Great took and subdued the same. When we had sailed some ten miles further, we did see the ru|ines of Sarepta, where the Prophet Eleas lodged with a widdow, in the time of a great [Note: Sarepta.] famine. After we had sayled some twenty miles further, we did see and passed by the City Sydon, now called Saetta, seated on the North side of a Promontory, and lying [Note: Sydon.] towards the West and South, to the very sea side. These most pleasant Territories are inhabited by wicked people, but God sent vs a faire wind, by which we escaped from them, into whose Ports if we had beene driuen, they would haue taken all lust and vniust occasions to extort money from vs, if they did vs no worse harme. Menti|on is often made in the Holy Scriptures of Sydon, Tire, and these Territories, as well in the old as new Testament, the particulars whereof I omit. Here first we did gladly see the hils and high tops of Mount Lybanus, being a very pleasant and fruitful moun|taine, [Note: Lybanus.] the wines whereof are carried as farre is Haleppo. The Castle Barutti is some two miles distant from the Promontory of Saetta, and it is seated vpon the North-side of [Note: Barutti.] a hil, hanging ouer the sea. Here they say that Saint George deliuered the Kings daugh|ter, by killing a Dragon: And to this place, as also to Tyre and Sydon, there is great con|course of Merchants, who haue their chiefe trafficke at Damaseus, and especially at Ha|leppo. From hence we passed ten miles to Biblis; then after ten miles saile, we passed by [Note: Biblis.] [...], and againe after ten miles saile by a Promontory, which the Italians call Capo Peso.

Lastly we passed ten miles sailing by a most pleasant plaine, and so vpon Thursday the seuenteenth: of Iune landed at Tripoli of Syria, (so called for difference from [Note: Tripoli.] Tripoli in Africke), The Hauen is compassed with a wall; and lies vpon the west-side of the City, whereif were many little Barkes, and some shippes of Marsiles in France. The Hauen is fortified with seuen Towers, whereof the fourth is called the Tower of Loue, because it was built by an Italian Merchant, who was found in bed with a Tur|kish woman; which offence is capitall as well to the Turke as Christian, if he had not thus redeemed his life. Vpon the Hauen are built many store-houses for Merchants goods, and shops wherein they are fet to sayle. The City of Tripoli is some halfe mile distant from the Hauen, to which the way is sandy, hauing many gardens on both sides. In this way they shew a pillar fastned vpon a hill of sand, by which they say the sand is inchanted, lest it should grow to ouerwhelme the City. Likewise they shew other pillars, vnder which they say great multitudes of Scorpions were in like sort in|chanted, which of old wasted all that Territory; and they thinke that if these pillars were taken away, the City would be destroied by the sand and Scorpions. The

length of the City somewhat passeth the bredth, and lieth from the South to the North, sea|ted vpon the side of an hill, so cut by nature as it conueyes a brooke into the streetes. Vpon the West side of the City, towards the South corner, is a Castle vpon a high hill, which the French men built of old to keepe the Citizens in subiection, and therein the Great Turke to the same end keepes a garrison of Souldiers, vnder his Agha or Gouernour of the City. Vpon the East side are two bridges ouer the foresaid brooke, whence many pleasant fountains spring, which running from the South to the North, passe through the streetes of the City, and then water the gardens. Beyond this brooke are fruitfull hils, and beyond the hils Mount Lybanus lies; so high as it hinders all fur|ther prospect, which mountaine is very pleasant, abounding with fruitfull trees, and with grapes yeelding a rich wine. Vpon the North side without the gates, are many most pleasant gardens, in which they keepe great store of silke-wormes: for the Turks sell their raw silke to the Italians, and buy of them the stuffes wouen thereof. The buil|ding of Tripoli and of these parts; is like to that of Cyprus and Ierusalem. The streete that leades to the way of Haleppo; is broad, the rest narrow, and the aire and waters are vnhealthfull Mount Lybanus (as I formerly said) is incredibly fruitfull, and the plaine of Tripoli reaching ten miles, is more fruitfull then can easily be expressed, bearing great store of pleasant fruites, whereof one among the rest is called Amazza-Franchi, that is kill Frankes (or French), because the men of Europe died in great numbers by 242 eating immoderately thereof. The plaine of Tripoli did of old yeeld two hundred thousand crownes yeerely to the Count thereof, as Historians write. And how soe|uer the old trafficke of Tripoli, is for the most part remoued to Damascus and Haleppo, yet the City of Tripoli still yeelds foure hundred thousand crownes yeerely to the Great Turke.

It may seeme incredible, but it is most certaine, that here and throughout Syria, they haue sheepe of such bignes, as the very tailes of them, hanging in many wreathes to the ground, doe weigh twenty fiue pounds, and many times thirty three pounds.

A Christian who vseth to entertaine the French, did very well intreat vs here: and when I did see a bed made for me and my brother, with cleane sheetes, I could scarce|ly containe my selfe from going to bed before supper, because I had neuer lien in na|ked bed since I came from [184] Venice to this day, hauing alwaies slept by sea and land in my doublet, with linnen breeches and stockings, vpon a mattresse, and betweene co|uerlets or quilts, with my breeches vnder my head. But after supper all this ioy va|nished by an euent least expected: For in this part of Asia great store of cotten growes (as it were) vpon stalkes like Cabbage, (as I formerly said in my iourney from Ioppa to Ierusalem); and these sheetes being made thereof, did so increase the perpetuall heat of this Countrey, now most vnsupportable in the summer time, as I was forced to leape out of my bed, and sleepe as I had formerly done.

My Host told me a strange thing, namely that in Alexandria of AEgypt, seated vpon one of the mouthes of the Riuer Nilus, there was a Doue-cote, and that also at Cairo (or Babylon,) farre within the Land of AEgypt, there was another Doue-cote; and because it much concernes the Merchants, to haue speedy newes of any commodity arriuing, he assured mee that they vsed to tie letters about the neckes of the Doues at Alexan|dria, and so to let them loose, which Doues hauing formerly bred in the Doue-cote at

[184] Venice

Cayro, did flie thither most swiftly, and the Keeper of them there taking the Letters they brought, vsed to deliuer them to the Merchants. This I beleeued not, till I came to Haeleppo, and telling it for a fable to the English Merchants there, they seriously af|firmed the same to be true: Moreouer the Host of Tripoli told me newes from Con|stantinople, namely, that the Greekes had burnt great part of the City, (which he thought to be false, and onely inuented to oppresse them in other parts); and that the Ianizaries had raised a great tumult against the Subasha of the City, who vsed great seuerity towards them, by restraining them from drinking wine, and from keeping harlots; and that some one hundred of these seditious Ianizaries were drowned in the Heuen, and the rest were daily sought out to be punished. Moreouer that Halil Basha the Admirall of Turkey, was parted from Constantinople with sixty Gallies, hauing ta|ken many Greeke and Armenian Christians by force, to row in his Gallies; besides that, for want of Marriners, he had left there twenty Gallies, which were prepared to keepe that narrow sea. Finally, that the Great Turke was presently to goe with his Army into Hungary, but was not yet departed from the City.

Now the French-men our consorts went aboard a ship of Marsiles to returne into France. But my selfe and my brother being to goe by Land to Haleppo, agreed to giue our Muccaro nine piastri, for two Asses to ride vpon, and their meate; and for three tributes (called cafarri) which he was to pay for vs by the way, (comming to some twenty meidines). They call him Muccaro, who lets out Mules, Asses, or horses; and they call him Malem, who conducts the Merchants goods. Moreouer we were forced to giue a suger-loafe to the value of a Zechine, to the Gouernour of the City, and a Pi|astro to the Scribe or Clerke of the City, for the priuiledge to goe without a Ianizare to conduct vs, (so they pretended, omitting no occasions to extort from Christians). But we couenanted not to pay the nine piastri to our Muccaro, till our iourney was ended, onely giuing one piastro into his hands for earnest, and pretending that we would pay the rest at Haleppo, where we were to receiue money; left they thinking that we had store of crowns with vs, should practise any treason or oppression against vs. This Piastro we gaue him in hand, to buy meat for his beasts, and the other eight we paid after at Haleppo, and besides gaue him of free gift a zechine for his faithfull 243 seruice to vs by the way. We were to take our iourney with the Carauan going from Tripoli to Haleppo. The Turkes call a Carauan the company of Merchants, passen|gers, and driuers of loaded Camels, keeping together, for safety against Theeues, and vsing to lodge in the open field. For in Turkey they make iourneies in great troopes, neither did I euer see any ride alone, but onely a horseman of the Armie, and that very rarely.

Vpon Saturday the two and twentie of Iune, we went out of Tripoli at the North Gate, and passed ouer a Bridge of the foresaid Brooke, and from eight of the clocke till Noone, we passed along the Seashoare, and ouer high Mountaines, then ouer an vn|tilled Plaine, seeing not one Village, nor so much as the least house by the way. Then at last comming to a little shade of Fig-trees, we rested there the heate of the day, and fed vpon such victuals as we had, while our Muccaro and the rest gaue meate to their beasts. At three of the clock in the after-noone we went forward in the like way, and late in the euening we came to a Village, neere which we lodged in the open field, in a pleasant plot of grasse, neere the banke of a Riuer, planted with some trees. Vpon Sun|day

wee rose early, and for two howers space passed a Promontory of the Sea; then turning towards the Land, wee passed through wilde and vntilled Hilles and plaine fields, and at Noone we rested vnder the shaddow of some Brambles, refreshing our selues with meate and sleepe, and giuing meate to our Asses. At three in the afternoone wee went forward, and passed by the Castle Huss, in which some say Iob dwelt, and which they say was possessed by the French, while they had the Kingdome of Ierusa|lem. [Note: Huss.] Also we passed by a Monastery of Saint George, then possessed by Christian Fri|ers, and seated in a pleasant Valley, yeelding trees of Figs and Oliues. And towards euening, we incamped (as I may terme it) in the open field at the foot of a high Moun|taine. They say Iob did of old possesse this Territorie, and that not farre hence in the way leading to Damascus, there is a Citie now called Hemps, and of old called Huss, which the Christian Inhabitants to this day call the Citie of Iob, and the Valley not far distant the Valley of Huss, and the Turkes haue built a Mosche or Church in this Ci|tie, which they thinke to be built vpon the very ruines of the house wherein Iob dwelt, and that his body was carried from hence to Constantinople. Others obiect, that accor|ding to the Scriptures, Iob could not dwell here, because they write, that hee dwelt a|mong the Idumeans, and was robbed by the Sabeans. I dare not affirme that he dwelt here, but I dare boldly say, that I know more then Socretes did, euen two things, whereas he knew but one: first, that the Arabians to this day make excursions into these parts, robbing the Carauans that goe from Haleppo to Tripoli, so as if Iob were a|liue, and had an hundred thousand head of cattell, they were as like to rob him here, as in any other place. Secondly, I know that we passed a sad night in this place, and neuer had more need of Iob his patience then here.

For it happened that one of the women (which the leaders of the Carauan vse to haue for their attendance) lighting a fire to make ready their supper, by chance some sparke or flame brake out of the stones wherewith it was compas|sed, and set the drie hearbs of the field on fire, which being neglected at the first, did spread it selfe for a great compasse Whereupon the Gouernour of the Prouince dwel|ling vpon the Mountaine, and beholding the fields on fier, sent to vs one Ianizary, ar|med onely with a cudgell, who fell vpon the men of our Carauan, being some hundred in number, beating them with his cudgell, till they fell vpon the fier with the vpper long garments they vse to weare, and so extinguished it. In the meane time my selfe and my brother went aside, lying out of his sight, by the aduantage of a high ground betweene him and vs, where wee were astonished to see one man armed onely with a cudgell to beate a hundred men (and the very Zantons or Priests) armed with swords and many Calliuers. The fire being put out, we thinking all safe, ioyned our selues to the company againe, but soone espied our errour: for the Ianizare droue vs all be|fore him like so many Calues, to appeare before the Gouernour, and satisfie him for this damage. And if at any time we went slowly, hee wheeled his cudgell about his head, and crying Wohowe Rooe, presently struck them that were next him. My brother 244 and my selfe treated with him by the way, to giue him a reward that he would dismisse vs: but when he gaue this warning, we were the first to run from him, with laughter to see our men thus driuen like beasts, and commending to our selues the honesty of the man, who first gaue warning before he struck. Then presently assoone as wee did see the Gentleman pacified, we returned againe to him,

with our Muccaro to interpret our words, and told him, that we were the seruants of a Christian Merchant, and had no goods in the Carauan, nor any thing to doe with them, and offering him a reward, so he would let vs returne. For we knew that the Turks would take any occasion to oppresse vs as Christians, and that the Gouernor would haue dealt worse with the Ca|rauan, if he perceiued that Christians were with them. Thus we often sled from him when he gaue the said signe of anger, (for howsoeuer wee offered him a gift, yet wee could not otherwise escape his blowes), and often we returned to him being pacified offering him a gift to dismisse vs, which at last wee obtained, giuing him a zechine. When we were dismissed, wee were in no lesse feare of some violence, while wee retur|ned alone and vnarmed, to the place where our baggage lay: but going forward be|tweene hope and feare, at last we came safe thither, and there hid our selues til our con|sorts should returne, who after an howers space returning, told vs, that the chiefe of the Carauan, being the cause of the fire making, had paid ten piastri for the damage: and the Gouernour swore, that if the fire had gone ouer the Mountaine into the plaine field of Corne, hee would haue hanged vs all vpon the highest trees, on the top of the Mountaine. This Tragedy ended, wee refreshed our selues with meate and sleepe.

Vpon Monday early in the morning, we set forward, and spent eight howers in as|cending the Mountaine, which was very high, but the way easie, with many turnings about the Mountaine, which of it selfe without manuring yeelded many wilde, but pleasant fruits, seeming to passe in pleasantnesse the best manured Orchards. Vpon the top of the Mountaine we met some horsemen of the Army, not without feare of some violence to be offered vs, till we vnderstood that they were sent out to purge the high waies of theeues. They were armed with Launces, Shields, and short broad Swords, so as a man would haue said, they had been the Knights of Amades de Gaule. Neither is it vnprobable, that those fictions came from the horsemen of Asia, since wee did see some mile from Tripoli, a Bridge called the Bridge of Rodomont, and a Fountaine neere Scandarona, called the Amazons Fountaine, and many like monuments in these parts. When wee had passed the foresaid high Mountaine, wee came into a very large and fruitfull Plaine of Corne, which was yet vncut-downe. Here we refreshed our selues and our beasts with meate, resting neere a Fountaine (for the Turkes require no better Inne for their beasts and themselues, then a Fountaine of cleere water.) After dinner we went forward in this Plaine, and did see some Villages, which in this vast Empire are very rare, and neere one of these Villages wee did sit downe at night, supping and resting in the open field. Vpon Tuesday earely in the morning, we tooke our iourny, and for sixe howers passed in the same Plaine, hauing not so much as the shaddow of one tree, and came to the City Aman (which in the Scripture the second of the Kings, the seuenteenth Chapter, is called Hamath) being some three dayes iourney from Da|masco. [Note: Hamath.] This Citie is of large circuit, and pleasantly seated vpon two Hilles, (for the third Hill of the Castle hath nothing but ruines), hauing a Riuer running by it, and a|bounding with Orchards of Palmes and fruitfull trees, and neere the same were sixe Villages in sight. Here we rested part of this day, and the next night, the Master of our Carauan hauing businesse in the City, neither imported it where we lodged; for they haue no publike Innes, nor beds in any house, nor Cookes, but euery man buyes his meate, and can dresse it. But to the end wee might be ready to goe early with the Ca|rauan in the morning, most of vs

lodged in poore houses of the Suburbs. My selfe and my brother being to sleepe in the yard vpon our owne quilts, and the yard declining from the house to the bottome, where our beasts were tied, wee laid our selues downe vpon the top of the Hill, but in the morning found our selues tumbled downe be|tween the feet of the Asses and Camels, when I could not remember the English Innes 245 without sighing. This Citie hath great traffique, and aboundeth with necessaries to sustaine life, and here our Muccaro bought for vs, sower Curds (vulgarly caled Mish Mash) for two meidines, a cheese for sixe, three hennes for three meidines, twenty eggs for foure meidines, Cucumers for three, milke for fiue, Aqua vitae (which they call Harach, and drinke as largely as Wine) for ten meidines, foure pounds of wine for one zechine, Bisket (for the Turkes haue no other bread but cakes baked on the harth) for thirty meidines, which things we prouided for our Supper, and to carry with vs by the way, yet might we haue bought, and did buy most things by the way, excepting Wine and Bread, which are hardly found, and must be carried by those that will haue them. The guide of our Carauan was detained here by his businesse most part of the next day, being Wednesday, and in the meane time it fortunately happened, that a Turkish Basha, returning with his traine from his Gouernement, and being to goe our way, rested here, so as his company freed vs the rest of our iourney from feare of theeues.

Vpon Wednesday in the afternoone we setforward, in the company of this Basha, and iournied all night in this Plaine, wherein there was not the shadow of one tree, and at eight of the clock the next morning, we did sit downe in the open field, resting vn|der the ruines of old walles. Here the Ianizaries of the Basha inquired curiously after the condition of me and my brother, so as our Muccaro aduised vs to giue them halfe a piastro, which they receiuing, promised to defend vs from all iniury, but in the meane time they did so swallow our wine, as when it was spent, we were forced to drinke wa|ter, to which we were not vsed. Vpon Thursday at three of the clock in the afternoone, we set forward, and about midnight we came to the Citie Marrha, where our Muccaro and diuers others payed each of them ten meidines for cafar or tribute, and at the Ci|tie Gate a man was hanged in chaines (also the next day we did see another impalled, that is sitting and rotting vpon a stake fastned in the ground, and thrust into his fun|dament and bowels.) Vpon Friday before day wee set forward, and passing a stony barren way, but full of Walnut trees, vpon which many birds did sit and sing, wee came in foure houers space to an Hospitall, which they call Caon, and it was stately built of stone, in a round forme, with arches round about the Court-yard, vn|der which arches each seuerall company chose their place to eate and rest, both which they must doe vpon the ground, except they bring Tables and beds with them. Nei|ther were any victuals there to be sold or dressed, but euery man bought his victuals in the Village adioyning, and dressed it after his manner. The same Friday at foure in the afternoone, wee went forward, and riding all night, did vpon Saturday early in the morning sleepe an hower in the open field, while meate was giuen to our beasts.

Then going forward, we came by Noone, the same day being the nine and twentie [Note: Iune 29. Haleppo.] of Iune, (after the Popes new stile, which I haue followed hitherto, being in company of Italians and Friers), to the famous Citie of Haleppo, where the English Merchants liuing in three houses, as it were in Colledges, entertained my brother and mee very [...]. And George Dorington the

Consul of the English there, led vs to the house, wherein he liued with other Merchants, and there most courteously entertained vs, with plentifull diet, good lodging, and most friendly conuersation, refusing to take any money for this our entertainement. And howsoeuer wee brought him onely a bill of exchange for one hundred Crownes, yet when we complained to him, that we now perceiued the same would not serue our turnes, hee freely lent vs as much more vpon our owne credit. Yea, when after my brothers death my selfe fell dangerously sicke, and was forced to goe from those parts before I could recouer my health, so as all men doubted of my returne into England, yet he lent me a farre greater summe vp|on my bare word, which howsoeuer I duly repayed after my comming into England, yet I confesse, that I cannot sufficiently acknowledge his loue to mee, and his noble consideration of poore and afflicted strangers.

The Citie Haleppo is said to haue the name of Halep, which signifies milke, because the Prouince is most fruitfull, or of the word Aleph, as the chiefe Citie of Syria, and to haue been called of old Aram Sohab (mentioned the second of Samuel, the eight Chap|ter 246 and third verse), or at least to be built not farre from the ruines thereof. The Traf|ficke in this place is exceeding great, so as the goods of all Asia and the Easterne Ilands are brought hither, or to Cayro in Egypt. And before the Portugals found the way in|to East India, these commodities were all brought from these two Cities. And the Venetians and some free Cities of Italy solly enioyed all this trafficke of old. But after that time, the Portugals trading in East India, serued all Europe with these commodi|ties, selling them, yea and many adulterate Druggs; at what price they listed, cutting off most part of this trafficke from the Italians. At last the French King making league with the great Turke, the Merchants of Marsiles were made partners of this trafficke, and in our age the English, vnder the Raigne of Queene Elizabeth, obtained like pri|uiledge, though great opposition was made against them by the Venetians and French Merchants. And the Turkey company in London was at this time the richest of all o|ther, silently enioying the safety and profit of this trafficke, (vnderstand that when I wrote this, the trafficke into the East Indies was nothing at all or very little knowne to the English or Flemmings.

This City lies within Land, the Port whereof (called Alexandretta by the Christians, and Scanderona by the Turkes) I shall hereafter describe. The building of this City (as of all houses in Syria) is like to that of Ierusalem, but one roofe high, with a plaine top plaistered to walke vpon, and with Arches before the houses, vnder which they walke dry, and keepe shops of wares. The City is nothing lesse then well fortified, but most pleasantly seated, hauing many sweet gardens. The aire was so hot, as me thought I supped hot broth, when I drew it in; but it is very subtile, so as the Christians com|ming hither from Scanderona, (a most vnhealthfull place, hauing the aire choaked with Fens), continually fall sicke, and often die. And this is the cause, that the Eng|lish Factors imployed here, seldome returne into England, the twentieth man scarcely liuing till his prentiship being out, he may trade here for himselfe. The Christians here, and the Turkes at the Christians cost, drinke excellent wines, where of the white wines grow in that territory, but the red wines are brought from Mount Libanus. Moreouer all things for diet are sold at cheape rates, and indeed the Turkes want not good meat, but only good Cookes to dresse it. The English Merchants can beare me witnes, that these parts yeeld sheepe,

whereof the taile of one wreathed to the ground, doth weigh some thirty or more pounds, in fat and wooll. In one of the City gates, they shew the Sepulcher of Saint George, where the Turkes maintaine Lampes continually bur|ning: for among all the Christian Saints, they onely reuerence Saint George. In a gar|den of the suburbes I did see a Serpent of wonderfull bignes, and they report, that the male Serpent and young ones, being killed by certaine boyes, this shee Serpent ob|seruing the water where the boyes vsed to drinke, did poyson the same, so as many of the boyes died thereof; and that the Citizens thereupon came out to kill her, but see|ing her lie with her face vpward, as complaining to the Heauens that her reuenge was iust, that they touched with a superstitious conceit, let her alone: finally that this Ser|pent had liued here many ages, and was of incredible yeeres. Moreouer they shew a well neere to the City, in which they report, that a chest of treasure was of old cast, so as it might be seene by passengers, and that some attempting to take it out, were assaul|ted and affrighted with Diuels.

In this City my selfe and my brother Henry lay sicke some few daies, but by the helpe of a Iew Physician, we soone recouered our health, and for feare of wanting mo|ney, and especially out of our desire to returne home, wee made too great haste to be|ginne our iourney for Constantinople. If we would haue expected eight daies, the Cas|senda, (so they call a troope of horsemen, guarding the great Turkes treasure), was in that time to goe for Constantinople, in whose company wee might safely and swiftly haue performed this iourney, namely in sixeteene daies, whereas those who followed the slow pace of Cammels, scarcely arriue there in thirty daies. But this Prouince be|ing extreamely hot in this time of summer, and wee being scanted of money for our long iourney, all mention of longer staying was most vnpleasing to vs. Moreouer Master George Dorington, (neuer to be named by me without mention of loue and re|spect), 247 did at this time send a Carauan, (that is, Camels loaded with goods) of his own to Constantinople, and being to make a present to a Cady, returning from his gouerne|ment to Constantinople, that he would take his Carauan into his protection, and to passe in his company, and louingly making offer to vs, to recommend vs in like sort with his goods to the same Cady, we were easily perswaded to take this iourney presently, in the company of his seruants, and of a curteous English Merchant, called Master Ias|per Tyant, being then to goe for Constantinople. This our conclusion proued greatly to the losse of Sir Iohn Spencer, Merchant of London, whose goods these were which Master Dortngton sent with vs. For my brother dying by the way, and the great Turke being heire to all Christians and strangers, dying in his Empire, the Turkes ei|ther thought, or fraudulently pretended that these goods belonged to my brother, and so tooke them into the great Turkes storehouses, and kept them there, till they had vniustly extorted good summes of money from Master Dorington, besides the great losse which was sustained by the seruants and Camels hired in vaine.

Being now to enter this iourney, we hired for seuenty one piastri, a Camell to carry our victuals, an ambling Mule for my brother, and a horse for my selfe, and so much we presently gaue into the hands of our Muccaro, with couenant that he should pay for the meat of the beasts. Moreouer we presently laid out one hundred and twenty piastri for diuers necessaries, namely, two long chaires, like cradles couered with red cloth, to hang on the two sides of our Camell, (which chaires the Turkes vse to ride in, and to sleepe

vpon Camels backes, but we bought them to carry victuals), for bis|ket, and a tent wherein we might sleepe, and for like prouisions. But behold, when all this mony was laid out, and the very euening before the day in which we were to be|gin our iourney, my brother Henry fell sicke of a flux. Being amased with this sud|den chance, we stood doubtfull for a time what to do, til the consideration of the great summes of money we had laied out, and of the difficulty to get more, made vs resolue to take this fatall iourney, yet with this purpose, when we came to Scanderona, some foure daies iourny distant, to goe no further, except in that time he recouered his health, propounding this comfort to our miserable estate, that there we might haue commodity of conuenient lodging with an Englishman, there abiding factor for our Merchants.

Vpon Thursday the last of Iune, (that I may now follow the old stile, taken here [Note: The last of Iune.] from the English, and generally vsed in Turkey, among the very Christians, howsoeuer hitherto I haue followed the new stile, taking it from the Venetian shippe in which I came, and from the Friers at my abode in Ierusalem); I say the last of Iune we went out of Haleppo, passing ouer stony hils, and by the Village [...], where the Iewes say the Prophet Ieremy was buried. Then riding forward all that night, at last we sate downe at eight of the clocke in the morning, and pitched our Tents neere a Village, where I did see a pillar erected to Pompey, and here we rested and refreshed our selues the heat of the day. This kind of iournying was strange to vs, and contrary to our health: for we beganne our iourney at foure in the afternoone, to shun the heat of the day past, and rode all night, so as we not vsed to this watching, were so sleepy towards the Sunnerise, as we could not abstaine from nodding, and were many times like to fall from out horses. To which mischiefe we could find no other remedy, then to ride swiftly to the head of the Carauan, and there dismounting, to lie downe and slumber, with our horses bridle tied to our legges, one of vs by course walking by vs, to keepe vs from iniuries, and to awaken vs when the last Camel passed by, lest we should there be left a pray to theeues. And we hauing some two hundred Camels in our Carauan, did in this sort passe the sleepy houres in the morning, till seuen or eight of the clocke, at which time we vsed to pitch ourtents, and rest. Moreouer this greatly afflicted vs, that spending the morning till ten or eleuen of the clocke in pitching our Tent, prepa|ring meat, and eating, we had no time to rest, but the extreme heat of the noone day, which so pierced our tents, that we could no more sleepe, then if in England vpon a Summers day we had lien neere a hot sea-cole fire. And how soeuer wee lessened this heate, by flinging our gownes ouer our Tent, betweene the sunne and vs, yet for my 248 part I was so afflicted with want of sleepe, and with this immoderate heate, as I feared to fall into a Lunacy, what then should a man think would become of my sickly bro|ther in this case?

Vpon Friday the first of Iuly, towards euening, wee tooke vp our Tents, supping while our Muccaro loaded our beasts, then we rode ouer Mountaines all night, and the next morning againe pitched our Tents neere a poore Village. And our Mucca|ro bought vs some fresh victuals in the Village, according to the manner of Turky, where the very Cities yeeld no Innes. Vpon Saturday towards euening, wee set for|ward, and rode that night ouer a large Plaine, and next day after Sunnerise wee came to Antioch, a citie of Asia, famous for the Patriarchate, and by Histories sacred and [Note: Antioch.] prophane. Vpon the east-side, and vpon the top of a high Mountaine, lye great ruines

of the old walles and houses, whence the seat of the citie declineth to the Plaine on the West side. In which Plaine our Carauan rested the heat of this day, neere the pleasant and large Fountaine of water, wherin the Scriptures record so many to haue been baptized together, as first in this place the faithfull had the name of Christians. This Fountaine hath faire building, and seemes of old to haue been very stately, and here wee pitched our Tents in the middest of the Gardens of this Plaine within the walles. For howsoeuer the ruines of the walles shew, that of old the circuit of the ci|tie was very large, yet scarce the hundreth part thereof was now filled with houses. Vpon the West side without the walles, the citie is all compassed with a Riuer, and a great Fen, and vpon the East-side with Mountaines, which situation makes it natural|ly strong. Here first wretched I perceiued the imminent danger of my most deare bro|thers death, which I neuer suspected til this day, much lesse had any iust cause to feare it. A Turke in this Carauan troubled with the same disease of a Flux, went to the ground more then twentie times each nights iourney, and yet liued; whereas my bro|ther only three or foure times descended from his Mule to that purpose, which filled vs with good hope. But here first I learned by miserable experience, that nothing is worse for one troubled with the Flux, then to stop or much restraine the course ther|of. For my brother stopping this naturall purge, by taking Red wine and Marmelat, experienced men did attribute (all too late) his death to no other thing. I could not hire a horse-litter by any endeuour of our Muccaro, nor for any price, though I offe|red an incredible summe for that, or like commoditie to carrie him, and we thought it very dangerous to stay here among the Turkes, after our Carauan departed, especial|ly since Scanderona was but fiue and twenty miles distant, where wee should haue the commoditie to lodge with an Englishman, and so to get all necessaries for his recoue|rie. Therefore vpon Sunday in the euening, wee put all our prouisions in one of the foresaid couered chaires or cradles, caried by the Camell, and made my brother a bed in the other cradle, where (as we thought) he might commodiously rest. And I promi|sed the Muccaro halfe a piastro for euery time my brother should descend from the Camell to ease himselfe, for wee were to ride before with the horsemen, and hee was now to come behind with the Camels. So we set forward, and my selfe twice in the night, and once towards morning, left the horsemen, and rode back to my brother, to know how he fared, and when hee gaue mee no answere, I returned to the horsemen, thinking that he slept. Then towards morning I was so afflicted with my wonted desire of sleepe, as I thought an howers rest worth a Kings ransome. Therefore my selfe and Master Iasper Tyrant our louing consort, rode a good pace to the Village By|land, [Note: Byland.] where we were to pitch our Tents, that we might make all things ready to receiue him.

But within short space our Muccaro running to our Tent, and telling me, that hee had left my brother ready to giue vp his last breth in the first house of the Village, see|med to say to me. Goe quickly and hang thy selfe. With all possible speede I ran to this house, imbraced my dying brother, and confounded with sorrow, vnderstood from his mouth, how farre the euents of our nights iourney had been contrary to our hope. For whereas my selfe aduised him to leaue his Mule, and lie in the chaire vpon the Camels backe, he told me that he was shaken in pieces with the hard pace of the 249 Camell. And whereas I had offered the Muccaro halfe a piastro, for each time hee should light to ease himselfe; he told mee that he had of-

ten asked this fauour of the Muccaro, but could neuer obtaine it, he excusing himselfe by feare to be left behind the Carauan, for a prey to theeues. And whereas the Camels hinder parts being high|er then the fore parts, I had laied my brothers head towards the hinder parts, and rai|sed it as high as I could with pillowes and clothes, for his better ease, it happened (which I being ignorant of the way could not foresee) that we all the night ascending mountaines, his feet were farre higher then his head; whereupon he told me, that most part of the night he had lien in a trance, which was the cause that he could not answer me, at such times as I came to inquire of his health. Thus mischiefe lighted vpon mis|chiefe, to make my wretched state most miserable: Why should I vse many words in a case, from the remembrance whereof my mind abhorreth. Therefore I will say in a word; My most deere brother Henry vpon Munday the fourth of Iuly, (after the old stile), the yeere of our Lord 1596, and of his age the seuen and twentieth, died in my [Note: Iuly 4. Anno 1596.] armes, after many louing speeches, and the expressing of great comfort in his Diuine meditations.

The Turkes presently snatched all things that were his, as belonging to the Great Turke; yea, my selfe cast his shirts, with many other things of good value, and what|soeuer I could see that was his, out of the Tent into the Turkes hands, and as a man halfe out of my wits, could indure to see nothing that might renew the bitter remem|brance of him. The Turkish Officers in the Great Turkes name seazed vpon all the goods of Sir Iohn Spencer, which Master Dorington sent with vs, as if they had belon|ged to my brother, neither could they be released, without great bribes, after the con|trary was proued. Presently I sent for the English Factor lying at Scanderona, who scarcely obtained with the paying of fiue zechines, to haue my brothers body buried in the open fields: besides, the Ianizares, Turkes, and Moores, came in seuerall swarmes to me in this miserable case, threatning to hinder his buriall, or to dig him vp after hee was buried, except I would satisfie their insatiable extortions. And had not the fore|said English Factor taken vpon him to satisfie these people, and taken vp my purse full of zechines, which I cast among them in a rage, surely for my part I had willingly giuen my selfe and all that I had with me, to them for a prey. One thing aboue mea|sure afflicted me, (which I thinke Iob himselfe could not haue suffered), namely, that while my selfe and my brother were in our last imbraces, and mournefull speeches, the rascall multitude of Turkes and Moores, ceased not to girne and laugh at our sighes and teares; neither know I why my heart-strings brake not in these desperate afflicti|ons: but I am sure from that day to this I neuer enioied my former health, and that this houre was the first of my old age.

Towards the euening the same fourth day of Iuly, we descended with the said English Factor, (taking care to haue our baggage carried) from the mountaines towards Scan|derona, [Note: Scande|rona.] little distant fro this place, in the furthest Northerne part of the vally vpon the seashore. From hence Iasper Tyant our louing consort in this misery, returned back to Haleppo; but my selfe not knowing what to resolue, nor hauing power to thinke of dis|posing my selfe, remained at Scanderona in the English Factors house. The next night while I lay waking. I heard multitudes of Woolues, (as I thought) howling vpon the mountaines of Byland, and in the morning I vnderstood by the English Merchant, that a kind of beast little bigger then a Foxe, and ingendered betweene Foxes and Wolues, vulgarly called Iagale, vsed to range vpon

these mountaines in troopes, and many times to scratch the bodies of the dead out of their graues; whereupon I hired an Asse to carry me, and a Ianizare to accompany me, and went to see the place of my brothers buriall, from which part I thought to heare those howlings: And there beyond my expectation, I found that they had scratched vp the earth almost to his body, and the Turkes made no doubt, but that these beasts hiding themselues from day light, would according to their manner, returne the next night to deuoure his body. Therefore I hired many poore people to bring stones, whereof I made such a pile round about his body, as I preserued that prey from their cursed iawes, which done, I returned to 250 Scanderona (so called by the Turkes, which the Christians call Alexandretta.

This is a poore Village, built all of straw and durt, excepting the houses of some Christian Factors, built of timber and clay in some conuenient sort, and it lies along the sea-shoare. For the famous Citie of Haleppo hauing no other Hauen, the Mer|chants doc here vnloade their goods, but themselues make haste to Haleppo, staying as little here as possibly they can, and committing the care of carrying their goods thi|ther vpon Camels to the Factors of their Nation, continually abiding here. The pe|stilent aire of this place is the cause that they dare not make any stay here: for this Vil|lage seated in Cilicia (now called Caramania), is compassed on three sides with a Fenny Plaine, and the fourth side lies vpon the Sea. In the way to Haleppo (as I remember) towards the East, there is in this Plaine a Fountaine of cleare water, some mile distant from this Village; and howsoeuer all other waters falling out of the Fen are most vnwholsome, yet the goodnes of this Fountaine is so much prized, as the Merchants vse to carrie their meate thither, and eate there vnder a pleasant shade. Not farre from this Fountaine, there stands an old Castle at the foote of the mountaines, which they call the Castle of Penthesilea, Queene of the Amazons. On the same side, beyond the Fen, is a most high mountaine, which keepes the sight of the Sunne from Scandarona, and being full of bogges, infects the Fenny Plaine with ill vapours, and beyond this mountaine, my dearest brother lies buried. On the other side towards the North (as I remember) in the way leading to Constantinople, the like Fenny Plaine lies, and the mountaines, though more remote, doe barre the sight of the Sunne, and the boggy earth yeelding ill vapours, makes Scanderona infamous for the death of Christi|ans.

On the same side, Asia the lesse stretcheth it selfe into the sea towards the West, and in the next shoare thereof, is a pleasant Village, now called Bias, which of old was cal|led [Note: Tarsus.] Tarsus; where Saint Paul was borne, being sixe miles from Scanderona, and seated in the same Prouince of Cilicia, and abounding with fruits, silke-wormes, and al things necessarie to sustaine life.

Scanderona on the South side towards Palestina is also compassed with the like fen|ny [Note: Scanderona] Plaine, but farre more large then on the other sides. Finally, on the West side, to|wards the Sea and Italy, is a safe Hauen in the furthest part of the Mediteranean Sea, towards the East. And into this Sea the Prophet Ionas was cast, and preserued miracu|lously by a Whale, was in this part cast vpon the shoare, they say, that the Owes of the Sea doe here much increase the malignitie of the aire, yet the Sea men vse to sleep in their ships, and seldome to come on land, till the Sunne be risen aboue the mountains hiding it, and hath drawne vp the ill vapours. The foresaid mountaines of Cilicia are held for part of Mount Taurus,

which in Scythia is called Caucasus, and in these parts Amanus. I haue formerly said, that these parts neere the Equinoctiall Line haue seldome any raine, but the earth is commonly moistned with the dew falling after Sunne-set. But while I staied here, a great tempest fell of thunder, haile, and raine vp|on the seuenth of August, and the raine did not fall by drops, but by pailefuls, as wee reade it falles, but much more violently, towards West India, and neere the Equino|ctiall Line, and as no violent thing is perpetuall, so this tempest soone passed.

Shortly after I came to this vnhappy Village Scanderona, the griefe of my mind cast me into a great sicknesse, so as I, who in perfect health had passed so many Kingdomes of Europe, at this time in the very flower of my age, first began to wax old. This sick|nesse brought the first weakenesse to my body, and the second, proceeding of another griefe after my returne into England, tooke from mee all thought of youthfull plea|sures, and demonstratiuely taught me, that the Poet most truly said, Cura facit canos, that is, Care maketh grayheaded.

While I languished here in a lasting sicknes, it hapned that vpon occasion, I looked vpon the two testimonies, giuen to my brother and my self at Ierusalem, of our hauing been there, and I was not a little astonished, to see that they being both at the same time cut out of the same skin of parchment, and written with the same hand and inck, yet that of my brother was in all parts eaten with wormes, when mine was altogether 251 vntouched. And after I did more wonder, that to this day the same Testimonie gi|uen to my brother is no more eaten with wormes, then at that time it was, and mine still remaines vnperished.

My foresaid sicknesse was so vehement and so long, that all men doubted I would neuer recouer so as my friends in England, after they had heard of my brothers death, were aduertised within few weekes that my selfe also was dead. But for my part, though my nightly dreames, that I was walking in the caues and sepulchers of Italy, might haue somewhat discouraged me, and though I had no other Phisitian, then the Barber-Surgean of a ship, yet could I neuer doubt of recouering my health, but my minde still presaged that I should returne home. Yet when diuers times I began to [...], and presently by the heate of the clime, and ill aire of the place, had been cast downe againe, I resolued to follow their counsell, who perswaded me to trie if the aire of the sea would strengthen me. Therefore my deare friend Master George Dorington hauing sent me one hundred zechines for my expences, the great summes of money which I had being all spent, by the accidents of my brothers death, and my sicknesse (the particulars of which expence I omit, because in this griefe and weakenesse I had no minde to note them, onely for a taste remembring, that I paid a piastro each day to a poore man, who continually cooled my heate with a fan.

Master Dorington, I say, hauing sent me money, and I hauing prouided all necessa|ries [Note: Octo. 19. An. 1596.] for my iourney, at last vpon Thursday, the tenth of October (after the new stile) and in the yeere 1596, I was carried aboard a French ship of Marsiles, partly by the helpe of Porters, partly in a boate, being so weake as I could not stand. This ship was called Iohn Baptist, and the Christian name of the Master was Simon, with whom I had couenanted, that I paying him thirtie piastri (or duckets) for my selfe and my seruant, he should set vs on land in some good Hauen of the Iland Candia, and if it were possi|ble, in the chiefe Citie thereof, called Candia, and lying on the North side of the Iland, whence I was now resolued to take

my iourney to Constantinople, leauing all thought of going by land. Vpon Friday the eleuenth of October, we sayled prosperously: but after, the windes grew so contrary, as we were driuen to the South of Candia. Therefore the French Marriners murmuring against vs, as hereticks causing their ill passage, and there being no hope left with those windes to set vs on land at Candia the chiefe Citie, the Master of our ship sent vs in his boat with some few Marriners which hee least e|steemed, that we might sayle to land, being fiftie miles distant.

Thus vpon Thursday the three and twentieth of October, hauing sayled eight [Note: The I|land of Candia.] howers in great danger, towards the euening we landed vnder a Promontory of Can|dia, where there was neither citie, village, house, nor cottage, so as plenty of raine fal|ling that night, yet we were forced to lie in an open boat, where my companion (or ser|uant) not knowing our danger slept soundly, but my selfe durst neuer close mine eyes, fearing lest these Marriners (being Marsilians, who at that time little loued the Eng|lish), should offer vs violence to gaine our goods. This consort (or seruant of mine was an English man, and by profession a Cooke, and was come into these parts to serue Master Sandy, who being sent from London to be the English Consull at Haleppo, as he passed from Constantinople thither, died in Asia Minor, of the same disease where|of my brother died, and in the same moneth. This seruant being (after his Masters death) to returne into England, I tooke to attend mee, that I might by his company a|uoide solitude, and mittigate some part of my sorrow. He was no sooner entered in|to the French ship, but he presently fell sicke, and not able to serue himselfe, could not giue me the expected comforts, much lesse doe me any seruice, but greatly increased my charge, spending all vpon my purse, and much troubled me, hauing not himselfe the least skil in any forraine language, so as he recouering not till we came to [185] Venice (where being among Christians, I had small vse of his helpe), hee was rather a burthen then a comfort to me. When I was to enter the French ship, I laid in prouisions of Hennes, Egges, Damaske Prunes, and other things: but my languishing stomack not desiring not being able to digest any other then salt meate, these prouisions fell to the share of my sicke seruant, and my self being nothing but skin and bone, as one that languished 252 in a Consumption, my bloud and humours renued with these salt meates, could not but weaken my future health, so as I hauing been alwaies very leane, after (by decay of naturall heate) became very fat, and hauing lost the retentiue faculty of my stomack, so as I continually cast all that lay vpon it, so soone as in the morning I came into the aire, I had no remedie against this weakenesse, but the taking of Tobacco.

The French Marriners, who brought vs to the shoare of Candia, parted from vs on Friday the twenty fiue of Iuly (after the new stile) early in the morning, and when I [Note: The Iland of Candia.] had well rewarded them for their paines; then first they shewed me aboue the wilde Rockes, called Calisminiones, a Monastery of the Greeks, some three miles distant, and called Santa Maria Ogidietra. We being left alone, and staying there fasting till noone, at last espied, and called to vs two men passing by vpon the Mountaines, but they thinking vs to bee Pirats, fled away as fast as they could. Presently behold, my man comming out of the Wood, and bringing with him an Asse, which hee had found there, who perswaded me to lay my baggage on that

[185] Venice

beast, and so to walke softly to|wards the Monastery. I willingly tried my strength, and leaning vpon our two swords for want of a staffe, and yet often falling, went forward like a snaile, till despairing of going further, I fell vpon the ground. After an howers space, a Shepheard passing by, and I shewing him gold, and naming Monastery, which word he vnderstood, he swift|ly ran to the Monastery, and telling the Monkes (called by the Greekes Caloiri) our state and condition, they presently sent a seruant to vs, who in the Italian tongue tel|ling vs the great danger wherein we should be, if we staied vpon those Mountaines till night, aduised vs to make haste to the Monastery. Thus driuen with feare, and incoura|ged by his company, I tried againe to goe forward, and with great trouble passed one mile ouer the Mountaines. For leaning, as I said on two swords, and vpon the pas|sage of any steepe Mountaine, by reason of the lightnesse of my head, creeping vpon hands and feete, with great difficulty I went so farre. And now being not able to goe any further, no not to saue my life, behold a boy, who came to water his Assears Fountaine adioyning, to whom the seruant of the Monkes gaue a piastro, and so whe|ther he would or no tooke his Asse, and set me vpon it, and so at last wee passed the o|ther two miles (longer then three English miles) and came to the Monastery. The Caloiri or Monkes receiued vs curteously, and gaue vs such victuals as they had, namely, Pomegranates, Oliues, Bread, and sharpe Wine, which were no good meates for sicke men, hauing fasted almost two dayes. Also they conferred louingly with vs, but still desiring vs to keepe aloofe from them. At bed time they gaue vs a straw mat, to lay vpon a plastred floare for our bed; but we were better prouided of Matterasses and quilts of our owne, and though lying vpon the ground, yet slept soundly, because we were in safety.

The Italians in regard of their clime, are very curious to receiue strangers in a time of plague, and appoint chiefe men to the office of prouiding for the publike health, cal|ling the place where they meete, the Office of Health. Also without their Cities (espe|cially in the State of [186] Venice) they haue publike houses, called Lazaretti, and for the most part pleasantly seated, whether passengers and Merchants with their goods, must at their first ariuall retire, till the Prouiders for Health haue curiously inquired, if they come from any suspected place, or haue any infectious sicknesse. And here they haue all things necessary in abundance, but may not conuerse or talke with any man, till they obtaine the grant of free conuersation (called la prattica), or if any man speake with them, he must be inclosed in the same house, and because they stay fortie dayes there, for the triall of their health, this triall is called far'la Quarantana. Moreouer, they that goe by land in Italy, must bring a Testimonie of Health called Boletino, be|fore they can passe or conuerse. The Venetians are more curious in this, then any o|ther vsing this triall when there is no Plague, I know not for what reason, except it bee that the Citie of Constantinople is seldome or neuer free of the Plague, whence many of their ships come, or for that some mysterie, for the good of traffick, or of the Com|mon-wealth, lyes hidden vnder the pretence of this custome. For no man dares enter the Citie, and conuerse there, till he haue gotten license of these Prouisors, neither dare 253 any Merchant dispose of his goods, till they are brought to this house, and there sear|ched by the Officers, if they see cause. This Preface I make, because the Iland of Can|dia is subiect to the Venetians, and the Prior

[186] Venice

of this Monastery would in no sort giue vs free conuersation, till by Letters wee had signified our state to the Prouisors of health, residing at the chiefe City Candia, and til they should send some answere backe vnto vs. In the meane time they shut vs vp in a garden house, where we had plesant walkes, and store of Oranges and like fruites, and the Country people bringing vs Partridges and many good things to eate, and my man hauing skill to dresse them, and the Monkes furnishing vs with such necessaries as wee could not otherwise buy, we wanted here no conuentence, to make the time of our abode seeme shorter, but onely good beds. Thus I was forced to write this following Letter in the Italian tongue, and to send a messenger with it to Candia the Chiefe City.

All'Illustrmo and Excellmo Sigr il Sigr Nicolao Donati, Proue|ditore and Inquisitore Generale nel regno di Candia.

mio offerumo: SA Sigria Illustrma se degna intendere, ch'io Fynes Morysoni Inghlese, con vn'mio luo|me, si siamo partiti a li tre di questo mese, d'Alessandretta, per venir'a la volta di Candia: Et che in quel'paese tutti i contorni sono sani, come porta la mia Patente netta, sigillata col'soli|to sigillo di San' Marco. Il Patron'della Naue Francese, in chi di la è imbarcato [...] non man|tenendoci la suoa parola di metterci in terra in qualche buona villa di questa Isola, ci mando con la suoa fregata a Calisminiones, doueti lascio'soletti. Di là' con gran'disagio (domandando la strada da i villani) arriuammo a i vinti cinque del presente, a San' Maria Ogidietra: doue i. Frati, fin'che conoscano la volontà di vostra Eccellenza, non ci vogliono dar'prattica in moda nessuno; Et in quel' mentre c'hanno rinchiso in vna casa a parte. Il viaggio mio è di passar'piu inanzi fin'a Constantinopoli, per i fatti dell' Illust mo Ambasciatore d'Inghilterra. Il perche humilmente suplico che suoa Eccellza se degna d' hauer rispetto d' vn'pouero forestiero, anche natiuo d'vna Natione molto affectionata a la suoa: et che (per suoa gratia) mi manda libera prattica, accio che io possa seguitar'il mio viaggio, che di qua, oltre il rincrescimento della solitudine, anche ogni cosu mi da noia. Con questo assicur andomi che vostra Eccellza haurà compas|sione d'vn suo seruitore, con disagi grandissimi per mar' and per terra battuto, priegho Iddio per l' accrescimento del suo honore. Et le bascio humilmente le mani.

Da San' Maria Ogidie|tre, ai vinti cinque d'Ottobre (all' vso nuouo) l' An. 1596 . Divos. Sigria Illustma Humilmo seruire Fynes Morysoni.

Of these Letters I receiued the following answere.

Al molto magco Sigr il Sigre Fy Morysoni, suo come fratello.

Molto magco Sigr come fratello. Per le vostre lettre scritte alli 2[...], del presente (al vso nu|ouo) all illmo Sigr Generali, et da ss. ss. Eccellza ma date qui all'officio nostro, habbiamo veduto il suo bisogno, and desiderando fauorir'et agiutarla in questaoccasione, con il riguardo anco della salute pubca, Mandiamo duoi stradiotti per accompagnarla con il suo huomo, et condurla di qua, doue sarà ben'trattata, and li si darà commodità, di poter, con l'occasione di qualche vas|sello, seguitar' il suo viazzo, vsate prima le debite ca[...]tele, per assicuration' delle cose di questo off. Però, S. S. senza pratticar' altrte, seguitarà questa guida che le mandiamo, and vegnerà di qua con animo consolato di trouar' Christiani and amici, obedendo per adesso, and esseguendo l' ordine da noi dato a detti stradiotti, come cirendiamo certi che farà. Et. a. V. S. c' offeriamo.

Di Candia. Alli 20. a'Ottobre (all' vso vecchio) 1596 . Perierà con essa, la suoa fede, sine patente.

Div. S come fratlli li proueditori alla Sanita'.

254 These Letters follow translated into English.

To the most Illustrious and most excellent Lord, the Lord Nicholas Donati Generall, Preuisar and Inquisitor in the Kingdome of Candia,

my most respected MOst Illustrious, etc. Your Excellency may please to vnderstand, that I Fynes Mo|rison an Englishman, with my seruant, the third of this moneth set saile from A|lexandretta, to sayle into Candia, and that those parts are free from all infectious sicke|nesse, as appeares by my testimoniali sealed with the wonted seale of Saint Marke. The Master of the French shippe in which I passed, broke his couenant with me, in that he did not land vs in the Hauen of Candia, the chiefe City of this Kingdome; but sent vs in his boate to the wild Promontory Calisminiones, landing and leauing vs there, in a place altogether disinhabited. From thence we asking the way of the Countrey peo|ple, did with much trouble at last come to the Monastery Saint Maria Ogidietra, vpon the fiue and twenty of this present (after the new stile), where the Friers, till they may know the pleasure of your Excellency, wil in no sort giue vs liberty to conuerse; but in the meane time haue shut vs vp in a solitary garden house. My iourney lies further to Constantinople, for the affaires of the Lord Ambassadour of England there abiding: Wherefore I humbly pray that your excellency will vouchsafe to haue fauourable respect of a poore stranger, borne of a Nation well affected to that of your Excellency, and that by your fauour licence may bee sent me freely to conuerse, and to take my iourney to the City of Candia, since my solitary liuing here, all delay, and many other things in this place, are irksome vnto me. Thus assuring my selfe that your Excellency will haue compassion of his seruant, tired with many misfortunes by Sea and Land, I beseech God for the increase of your honor, and so humbly kisse your hands.

From San' Maria Ogidietra this fiue and twenty of October (after the new stile) in the yeere 1596 . Your Excellencies humble Seruant. Fynes Moryson

The Letters sent me in answere thus follow;

To the noble Gentlemen Master Fynes Moryson, deare to vs as a brother.

NOble Sir, deare to vs in place of a Brother. By your Letters dated the fiue and twenty of this moneth (after the new stile) and directed to the Illustrious Lord Generall, and by his Excellency sent to our Office; we haue vnderstood your request, and desirous to fauour you in this occasion, with due respect to the publike health, we haue sent you two horsemen, who shall guide you and your seruant hither, where you shall be curteously receiued, and shall not want the opportunity of a Barke, to fi|nish your iourney, after we haue taken due order according to our Office) for the pre|seruing of the publike health. Therefore without conuersing with any man, follow these guides wee haue sent you and come hither with a cheerefull heart, as to Christi|ans and friends. But faile not to follow the order which we haue giuen to these guides, whereof we doubt not, and so tender our selues to you.

From Candia the twenty of October (after the old stile) in the yeere 1596 . Bring with you the testimony of your health.

Yours in place of brethren the Prouisors for health.

This testimoniall aboue mentioned, I tooke from the Venetian Consull (who knew my disease free from all infection) when I parted from Alexandretta, fore knowing the necessity thereof. The foresaid two horsemen being arriued, which with great curtesie were sent to conduct me,

I parted from the Monastery to goe in their company to the City of Candia, eight and thirty miles distant, being to passe almost the whole bredth of this Kingdome in the very middle part thereof. The bredth of the Iland containes 255 fiue and forty miles, the length two hundred and thirty miles, and the circuit. (as Or|telius writes) fiue hundred and twenty, (others say six hundred or seuen hundred miles) the ancient and moderne writers reckoning diuersly. This Iland is distant from the Cape of Otranto in Italy, fiue hundred miles; (others write fiue hundred and thirty): From Alexandria in AEgypt foure hundred and fifty miles (others write fiue hundred), from the next shoare of Affricke two hundred and fifty miles, from Ioppa in Palestine six hundred and sixty miles, (others write six hundred and forty): from Tripoli in Syria seuen hundred miles, from the Iland Cyprus foure hundred miles, from [187] Venice 1500 miles, and from Constantinople seuen hundred and twenty miles.

We beganne our iourney in the afternoone, and as we rode, our guide shewed vs not farre out of the high way, the Monument famous for the loue of the Kings daugh|ter Ariadne to Thesius, called the Laberinth of Crete, (for so Candia was called of old, [Note: The Labo|rinth.] and Saturne the first King thereof, begat Radamanthus, Minos, and Sarpedon, of Europa the daughter of Agenor, as they write). Also our guides told vs that not far out of the way to the city Candia, there was a monument of the caue of Minos, which the Candi|ans call the sepulcher of Iupiter: but my former aduersities had taken from me my wo |ted desire to see antiquities, so as we kept the high way, and passing that day by a City of the Iewes, lodged that night at a Village, not in any Inne, but in the very Church, vpon straw and our owne bedding, being content with such victuals as our guides brought vs, namely, cheese, fruites, and good wine. It is probable, that if we had had free conuersation, we might perhaps haue found good lodging in the Village, yet did we iustly doubt thereof, because we could buy no better meate, nor get any prouen|der for our beasts. The next day in the morning we set forward, and came to a pleasant village, where we dined in a faire Church, but could get no meat for our horses, except they would haue eaten pomegranates or like fruits.

The same day in the afternoone, we came to the City of Candia, where we staied at [Note: The City Candia.] the gate, till we knew the pleasure of the Prouisors for health. They could not be ig|norant that our sickenesse was free from all infection, yet imagining (as after I percei|ued) that we should be Merchants, and haue some rich lewels, they sent vs to the Laza|retto, where in a weekes space, when their spies (according to their manner) had inqui|red after our state, and found that there was no hope of gaine by our imaginary lew|els, and it then falling out, that other Merchants being landed with goods, were to be lodged in our chamber; at last the Generall Sigr Nicolao Donato (called Generall for his commanding in the warre, and Prouisor of health by the said Office, and chiefe inqui|sitor for Religion, which Office is sparingly executed in the State of [188] Venice, yet being not the chiefe Commander of the Iland; for Il Sigr Marc' Antonio Venerio, was then Liefetenant to the Duke of [189] Venice in this Iland, with limited authority as the Duke himselfe hath). I say this generall Prouisour for the health, sent vnto vs a Gentleman of that office, Il Sigr Vicenzo Cornaero (who vsed vs nobly

[187] Venice
[188] Venice
[189] Venice

and curteously) and the Scri|uano, (that is, Clerke or Secretary) of that office, called Il Sigr Giouanni Papadapolo with authority to giue vs free conuersation. These Gentlemen (according to the custome, such as the state of no passenger can be hidden from them) caused ropes to be hanged acrosse our chamber, and all things we had, yea, our very shirts, to be seuerally taken out, and hanged thereupon, and so perfumed them with brimstone, to our great anoy|ance, though they well knew we had no infectious sicknesse, which done, they gaue vs freedome to goe into the City, and wheresoeuer we would. To the Scriuano I gaue a zechine, desiring him to take it in good part, as the guift of a poore gentleman, and nothing lesse then an Indian Merchant, as they suspected. This house called Lazaretto, was built of free stone, with Cellers for the laying vp of goods, and had pleasant walks both in the yard and garden, and the Keeper of this house had furnished me with a bed and all necessaries, and for the seuen daies past, had bought vs our meat in the City, which he would likewise haue dressed, but that my seruant was a Cooke, and for this seruice he had done, I gaue him also a zechine.

Then we went into the Citie, and lodged with an Italian, who had ofte brought vs meat and necessaries to the Lazaretto, and with him my selfe and my seruant had conueni|ent 256 beds, and plentifull diet, for which I paid sixe lyres each day. But the horsemen who conducted vs to Candia came often to me, and for that seruice I gaue to each of them a zechine, and by them I vnderstood the prices of the Market for diet. So as all the Candians speaking Italian, aswell as their naturall Greeke tongae, and I finding the rate of our expences to bee excessiue, I determined to hier a chamber, and to buy my owne meate in the Market. But it happened, that at the same time an English Merchant landed, who was a Factor to buy Muskedines of Candia (whereof, and espe|cially of red Muskedint, there is great plenty in this Iland), and this Merchant called Richard Darson, being wel acquainted with the best courses of liuing in Candia, had hi|red a little house, and a woman to dresse his meate, and at my intreaty he was content to giue vs a chamber in his house, and to hier vs two beds, that so we might dyet toge|ther, where he vsed vs very curteously, and our dyet was as plentifull as before, at a far lower rate, diuiding our expences into three parts, whereof he paied one, and myselfe two, for my owne and my seruante diet. There was at that time great dearth of Corne, so as white bread was hardly to be got, though the Italians, making their meales for the most part of bread, vse to haue it very white and good. Here we bought a Bocale of rich Wine, containing two English quarts and a halfe for a lire of [190] Venice; a Pigion for 7 soldi; a Partridge for a lire, or 16 soldi; a pound of veale for 7 soldi, of mutton for some 5 soldi, and we had plentie of fruits for a small price. The Beefe in Italy vseth to be leane, and is seldome eaten, and such beefe they had here; for by the Law, called Foscherini, it is commaunded, that no man shall kill a beefe, till it be vnfit to draw in the Plough, and to doe like seruice. Here I paid foure lires for a paire of shooes, the rest of my ex|pences I omit for brenitie sake, those sufficing, to giue a passenger some guesse at what rate he may liue. Onely I will adde, that the worke of Porters and labouring men, as well in Italy as here, is had for small wages, because there is great number of poore people, and they abhorre from begging, so as one soldo contents a Porter for brin|ging your victuals from the Market.

When I went to Ierusalem and sailed

[190] Venice

by the Iland of Candia, I made some mention thereof, and I haue now formerly set downe the length, breadth, and circuit, and the distance thereof from other Prouinces, and haue shewed that Candia is subiect to the Venetians, and haue also named the chiefe Gouernours thereof for that time. I will now briefely adde, that this Iland is defended by a Venetian Garrison against the Great Turke, to whom all the adiacent Countries are subiect. That it hath great plen|tie of red Muskedines, where with England for the most part is serued. That it hath great plentie of all kinds of Corne, of all manner of Pulse, of Oyle, of all kinds of flesh, of Canes of sugar, of Hony, of Cedar trees, of all coloured Dyings of Cypres trees, (where of many sweete smelling Chests are made, and carried into forraine parts), and of all necessaries for human life. Neither is any venemous beast found in this Iland, but it hath store of medicinable hearbs, especially vpon the famous Mountaine Ida.

The Cities of this Iland were of old one hundred, and in the time of Pliny fortie; but at this day there bee onely three, namely, Canea at the West ende of the Iland, neere which lies the Fort Sonda, with a Hauen capable of a thousand Gallies. The second called Retbino by the Italians, seated on the South-side of the Iland, (vpon which side the Italians adde a fourth Citie called Settia), and the third called Candia, the Metro|politan [Note: The City Candia.] Citie of the Iland, which is faire and large, built of stone, with a low roofe, af|ter the manner of Italy, and the streets thereof are faire and large. It is strongly forti|fied (as need requires) by the Venetians against the Turkes, and to that purpose hath a strong Castle. From this Citie a large and pleasant Plaine leades to the foresaid caue of Mines, (which the Candians call the Sepulcher of Iupiter), neere which is the most famous Mountaine Ida, which they hold to bee seated in the middest of the Iland, being higher then any of the other Mountaines thereof, and it aboundeth with Cypres trees. Finally, I remember, that when I lodged in the Monastery San' Maria Ogidietra, the Caloiri (or Monkes, who for the most part are vnlearned, and till the ground, and labour like laimen), assured me that each measure of corne sowed in their fields the yeere past, had yeelded ninetie fiue measures.

Early English Books Online

2

6.4 CHAP. IV.

. Of my iourney from Candia (partly by land, partly by Sea) by the sea shoares, and by the Ilands of the AEgean Sea, Pontus, and Propontis, to the Citie of Constantinople. And of my iourney thence by Sea to [191] Venice; and by Land to Augsburg, Nurnberg and Stode (in Germany.) And of my passage ouer Sea into England. And of my iourney through ma|ny seuerall Shares, of England, Scotland and Ireland.

VPon Monday the twentie of December (after the old stile) [Note: December 20.] at three of the clock in the afternoone, we went aboard a little Greeke Barke loaded with Muskedines, and with tunnes of Lemons Iuyce (which the Turks drinke like Nectar), and with Onions, and ready to saile for Constanti|nople, where I payed for my passage fiue zechines, and as much for my seruant. The night following was very bright with Moone-shine, yet we staied all the night in the Hauen (compassed with walles), either because the Gouer|nour of the Castle would not let the Barke go forth, till the Master had satisfied him, or because the Master pretending that cause of stay, had some businesse to dispatch. The next morning early, being the one and twentie of December, we set saile, and the same day we sailed close by the Iland Zantorini, more then one hundred miles distant [Note: Zantorini.] from Candia. They report, that this Iland; and another of the same name (both of lit|tle circuit) were in our age cast vp in the middest of the Sea, with an eruption of flames and of Brimstone, and that they are not inhabited, but are commonly called the Di|uels Ilands, because many ships casting anchor there, and fastning their Cables vpon land, haue had their Cables loosed by spirits in the night, and so suffered shipwrack, or hardly escaped the same. The night following we sailed in the middest of many Ilands which made that Channell very dangerous, and for my part I was more affraid of the danger, because our Candian Merchant growing acquainted with an harlot in the ship, was not ashamed to haue the vse of her body in the sight of the Marriners that watched, and much blamed him for the same. Vpon Wednesday the two and twen|tie of December, we sailed by the Iland Paros; celebrated by Poets for the fine Marble [Note: Paros. Naxos.] growing there, and so we came to the Iland Naxos; two hundred miles distant from Candia. Naxos and the adiacent Ilands had their owne Duke of old, but now are sub|iect to the Turke, as the other Ilands bee for the most part. And our Marriners dwel|ling in this Iland, and landing to see their wiues, we also landed with them, where I did see vpon a Hill like a Peninsul neere this chiefe Village, two Marble images erected to Thesius and Ariadne. Here I obserued, that when any stranger or Inhabitant lands, the beggers flock to the dores of the houses or Innes where they eate, and hauing former|ly obserued in the Greeke Church at [192] Venice, that when they gaue their Almes to beg|gers, they not onely suffered them to touch their garments with their lousie rags, but also tooke them familiarly by the hands, I knew not whether I should attribute this fa|shion to their charitable affection in time of their bondage, or to their seldom feasting, and the multitude of beggars.

[191] Venice
[192] Venice

In the euening we loosed from Naxos, and sailing ouer a channell no lesse dange|rous then the former, for the multitude of Ilands, vpon the three and twentie of De|cember we passed close by the shoare of the Iland Zio, called Chios of old. It is inha|bited [Note: Zio.] by Greekes (as the other Ilands are) and is famous for the pleasantnesse and fer|tiltie of the situation and soyle. It yeeldeth great store of Mastick, and the country peo|ple keepe flocks of raine Partridges; as of Hens other where. They brag, that Homer lyes buried vpon the Mountaine Helias, and this Iland hath Saint George for their pro|tecting Saint, and beares his Crosse in their Flags, as England doth. Here we might di|stinctly see the shoare of Asia, in that part, where of old the seuen Churches stood not [Note: Seuen Chur|ches.] farre distant, to which Saint Iohn writes his Reuelation. And the Iland Pathmos is not farre distant, where Saint Iohn liued in exile. Towards the euening we cast anchor [Note: Pathmos.] 258 neere the Iland Metelene, which is seated (as Zio) in the Egean Sea, and is no lesse plea|sant [Note: Mete|lene.] and fertile. Of old it was called Lesbos, then Issa, and after Pelasgia, and therein were borne, Pythagoras, the Poet Alceus, Antimenides, Theophrastus, Phanius, Arion, and Tersandrus, and the famous woman Poet Sapho, Zio is distant one hundred and forty miles from Naxos and Meteline, ninety miles from Zio.

The foure and twenty of December, (being Christmas euen, after the old stile vsed among the Greekes, and in all Turkey), early in the morning we weighed anchor, and with a faire but gentle wind, sayled close by the shoare where the City of Troy stood [Note: Troy.] of old, seated in a plaine, and vpon pleasant hils neere the Sea, and at this day the ru|ines of Illium the Castle of Priamus are seene vpon a hill, and the ruines of the wals in the plaine, yet shew the circuit of the City. The Poets said truly;

Hic seges est vbi Troia fuit, Corne growes now where Troy once stood.

Yet the plowed fields haue very many ruines of buildings. On the North side of these Troian ruines, a necke of Land lies towards the Sea, where they say the Greekes encamped, and left their fatall Troian horse. Right ouer against this Land lies the I|land Tenedos, scarce ten miles distant, in the Hauen whereof we cast anchor for an [Note: Tenedos.] hower, vnder a little Castle, and this Tenedos is sixty miles distant from Metelene. From hence sailing some eighteene miles, we passed by two necks of Land, one of Greece on the West-side, the other of Asia the lesse, (now called Natolia) on the East-side, and af|ter twelue miles saile, we entered the streight of Hellespont, now called the two Castles, [Note: Sestes and Abydes.] the description whereof I will defer till my returne this way.

The Greek Marriners haue a custome here to demand a gift of all Merchants and pas|sengers in their ship, for ioy of their happy voyage, and they say, (which I beleeue not) that if any refuse, they tie a rope to his feete, and draw him vp to the top of the maste, till he yeeld to this custome: but howsoeuer, we all obeyed this ridiculous custome, not to offend them who had vsed vs well.

This channell running from the blacke sea, called Euxinus, into Propontis, and so by Constantinople to these said two Castles, and from hence into the AEgean sea, from the North towards the South, is alwaies contrary to those that sayle from the meditera|nian sea to Constantinople, especially after they enter this streight of the two Castles, and neere Constantinople it runnes with such force towards the South, as they that saile to the City, (whereof

we had experience) with the best winds, yet sayle very slowly. This violence of the Channell is attributed to great Riuers violently falling into the blacke Sea.

The foresaid Christmas euen we landed at Gallipolis a Greeke City, seated in Thrace, [Note: Gallipo|lis.] hauing the name (as it seemes) from the French, and eight and twenty miles distant from the two Castles. On Saturday the fiue and twenty of December, being Christ|mas day, after the old stile, we set saile; but the winds droue vs backe to the Hauen of Gallipolis, where being detained some few daies, though I staied in the ship for feare of some fraud from the Turkes, yet once I went on Land with our Marriners. The City lieth in length vpon the shoare of Propontis, from the South to the North, and it hath without the wals towards the West, great number of Wind-mils, the buildings are of slint or little vnpolished stones, one or two stories high, and the roofe is low and tiled, (not plaine and plastered to walke vpon, as they be in Syrea and Cyprus); and this roofe is so low as it hath no windowes, so as the buildings of these parts are very like those of Italy. The Hauen is on the East side, and vpon the opposite shoare of Asia towards the East, are the ruines not farre distant of Nice, a City of Bithinia, famous for the holy Councell held there of old. Vpon Saterday the first of Ianuary, we sailed sixty miles in this straight of Propontis, to the Iland Marmora, not without feare of Turkish Pirats, [Note: Marmo|ra.] the Hauen of Camera being neere vs, where the great Turkes Gallies lie. By the way they shewed me a Castle towards the East, vpon the shore of Asia the lesse, which they say stands vpon the confines of the Troian Dominion, and thereof hath the name to this day. The Iland Marmora is so called (as I think) of themarble wherewith it aboun|deth. The second of Ianuary we set sayle from Marmora, and being by contrary winds driuen backe (as I think, or little aduanced) we came to the Iland Aloni some ten miles [Note: Aloni.] 259 distant from Marmora (and so called of the forme of a yard, in which Oxen vsed to grinde Corne, or beate it small.) After the beginning of the new yeere (which the Greekes, as most of Europe, begin the first of Ianuarie) the first Wednesday (being the [Note: Ianua. 1. Anno 1597.] fourth of that month), the Grecian Marriners haue a custom retained from old times, to baptize the Sea, (as they terme it), which done, they thinke the Flouds and Windes to grow more calme then formerly. The Iland Aloni hath a Port on all sides compas|sed with Ilands, and that very large and safe, where while we passed some stormy daies, wee heard of many Barkes and Gallies cast away. While I walked here vpon the shoare, a wild-headed Turke tooke my hat from my head (being of the fashion of Eu|rope not vsed there), and hauing turned it, and long beheld it, he said (to vse his rude words) Lend me this vessell to ease my belly therein; and so girning flung it'on the dyrtie ground, which I with patience tooke vp. These and like wrongs of speech, euen threatnings of blowes I sometimes indured in Turkey, but neuer had the disaster to haue any blow giuen me by any of them, which many good Christians notwithstan|ding haue suffered and daily suffer, and my selfe if they had fallen to my share, must haue suffered with patience, except I would by resistance haue incurred shamefull and cruell death. On Thursday the thirteenth of Ianuary, at last wee set sayle with a faire winde, and after twentie miles sayling we passed by the Citie Palormo seated vpon the shoare of Asia the lesse, and famous for the white Wine it yeeldeth (the best that euer [Note: Palormo.] I tasted), and hauing sayled ten miles further, we sailed by the Citie

Heraclea, seated on [Note: Hera|clea.] the shore of Greece (whereof in my returne this way I shall haue cause to speake more at large.)

Towards euening we thought we were come to one of the corners of Constantino|ple, called the seuen Towers, yet by reason of the foresaid swift channell running from the black Sea full against vs, with a most faire wind we could not land in the Hauen of Constantinople till midnight, hauing that day sayled one hundred and twentie miles in all from the said Ile Aloni. This voyage was more tedious to vs, in that howsoeuer landing we had somtimes good dyet, yet while we were at Sea, we had no good victu|als in the ship. For the Greeke Marriners feede of Onions, Garlike, and dried fishes, (one kinde whereof they call Palamides, and the Italians call Palamite) and in stead of a banket, they will giue you a head of Garlick rosted in the ashes, and pleasantly call it a pigeon. With this and Bisket they content themselues, and these we were forced to eate, hauing omitted to prouide any dried or salt meates at Candia, because wee hoped to find those in our Barke, and knowing that it was in vaine to prouide any fresh meates, because they would not suffer a fier to be made in so small a Barke, wherewith we might dresse them. But after we had eaten Bisket and dried fishes, we had an vn|knowne comfort or helpe to disgest them. For in our priuat cabbin, we had the head of a tun of Muskedine lying vnder our heads when we slept, in stead of a bolster, and our ship being bound on the vpper part of the sides with bundles of Reedes, to beate off the force of the waues, we taking one of the long Reedes, found meanes to pierce the vessell, and get good Wine to our ill fare, and drunke so merrily, that before wee came to our iournies end, our former Reede became too short, so as we were faine to piece it with another.

Hauing cast anchor (as I said) in the Port of Constantinople, behold, as soone as day [Note: Constan|tinople.] began to breake, many companies of Turkes rushing into our Barke, who like so ma|ny starued flies fell to sucke the sweete Wines, each rascall among them beating with cudgels and ropes the best of our Marriners, if he durst but repine against it, till within short space the Candian Merchant hauing aduertised the Venetian Ambassadour of their arriuall, he sent a lanizare to protect the Barke, and the goods; and assoone as he came, it seemed to me no lesse strange, that this one man should beate all those Turkes, and driue them out of the Barke like so many dogs, the common Turkes daring no more resist a souldier, or especially a Ianizare, then Christians dare resist them. And the Seriant of the Magistrate hauing taken some of our Greeke Marriners (though subiect to the State of [193] Venice) to worke for their Ottoman in gathering stones, and like base im|ployments, this Ianizary caused them presently to be released, and to be sent againe in|to their Barke, such is the tyranny of the Turkes against all Christians aswel their sub|iects 260 as others, so as no man sayleth into these parts, but vnder the Banner of England, France, or [194] Venice, who being in league with the great Turke, haue their Ambassadours in this Citie, and their Consuls in other Hauens, to protect those that come vnder their Banner, in this sort sending them a Ianizare to keepe them from wrongs, so soone as they are aduertised of their arriuall.

My selfe lodged in the house of Master Edward Barton, the English Ambassadour, who gaue me a Ianizare to guide and protect me, while I went to view

[193] Venice
[194] Venice

the City, round about the whole circuit whereof I went on foot and by boat in foure houres space, the forme of the Citie being triangular, and containing nine miles by Sea towards the North and East, and fiue miles by land towards the West. I professe my selfe to haue small skill in the art of Geography, yet will I aduenture (though rudely) to set downe the forme and situation of this City, so plainely, as I doubt not but the Reader may easily vnderstand it, howsoeuer in the same (as in other cities formerly described) I ac|knowledge that I vse not the rule of the scale, in the distance of places, nor other exqui|site rules of that Art, hauing no other end, but to make the Reader more easily vnder|stand my description.

[Figure:

The description of the City of Constantinople, and the adiacent Territories and Seas.

] The great lines or walles shew the forme of the City, and the single small lines de|scribe the Teritory adioyning. (A) In this Tower they hang out a light of pitch and like burning matter, to direct the Saylers by night, comming to the City, or sayling along the coast out of the Sea Euxinus (which they say is called the Black Sea of many 261 shipwracks therein happening.) And this Tower is sixteene miles distant from the Citie.

(B) Here is a marble pillar erected vpon a Rocke compassed with the sea, which they call the pillar of Pompey, and therein many passengers (for their memory) vse to ingraue their names. And here are innumerable flocks of Sea foule and of many kindes, wherewith hee that is skilfull to shoote in his Peece, may abundantly furnish himselfe.

(C) Here is the Euxine or black Sea.

(D E) Here lie two strong Castles, one in Europe, the other in Asia, some eight miles distant from the Citie, built to defend the Hauen from the assault of the enemies by Sea on that side, and the Garrison there kept, searcheth the ships comming from the Citie, that no slaues or prohibited goods be carried therein, neither can any ship passe vnsearched, except they will hazard to be sunck. Finally, the great Turke sends his chiefe prisoners to be kept in these strong Castles.

(F) Here great ships vse to cast anchor at their first arriuall, till they bee vnloaded, and here againe they ride at anchor to expect windes, when they are loaded and ready to depart.

(G) All along this banke and the opposite side for a large circuit, the greatest ships vse to lie when they are vnloaded, and they lie most safely and close by the shore, fasta|ned by cables on land.

(H) Here lyes the old Citie built by the Genoesi of Italy, called Gallata by the Turks, and Perah by the Greekes (of the situation beyond the Channell) It is now accoun|ted a Suburbe of Constantinople, and is seated vpon a most pleasant hill, wherein for the most part liue Christians, aswell subiects as others, and the Ambassadours of England, France, and [195] Venice, only the Emperours Ambassadour must lye within the Citie, more like a pledge of peace, then a free Ambassadour, and very few Turkes liue here min|gled with the Christians. The situation of Gallata (as I said) is most pleasant. For|merly the Ambassadours of England were wont to dwell vpon the Sea-shore in the Plaine, and their Pallace is not farre distant from this note (K): but Master Edward Barton the English Ambassadour at this time dwelt vpon the top of the hill, in a faire house within a large field, and pleasant gardens compassed with a wall. And all Galla|ta is full of very pleasant gardens, and compassed with pleasant fields, whereof some towards

[195] Venice

the land furthest from the Sea, are vsed for the buriall of Turkes.

(I) Here a little Creeke of the Sea is compassed with walles and buildings, within which the Gallies of the great Turke lie in safety, and there be fit places to build Gal|lies, and store-houses for all things thereunto belonging.

(K) Here is the chiefe passage ouer the water called Tapano, where a man may passe for two aspers. All along this Sea banke lye very many great Gunnes (as vpon the Tower Wharfe at London), and here the fishers land, and sell their fish.

(L) Here the Megarenses of old built Chalcedon, a Citie of Bethinia, famous for a Councell held there, by the ruine of which Citie, Constantinople increased. At this day there is onely a Village, or rather some scattered houses, and it is commonly called Scuteri, or Scudretta.

(M) Here the Great Turks mother then liuing, had her priuate Garden.

(N) Hither the Heyre of the Empire is sent, as it were into banishment, vnder pre|tence to gouerne the Prouince Bursia, assoone as he is circumcised, and so being made a Musulman (that is, a circumcised Turke) first begins to draw the eyes of the Army and Ianizares towards him.

(O) Here is the Pallace or Court of the great Turke, called by the Italians Seraglio, and vulgarly Saray, and it was of old the Monastery of Saint Sophia. Mahomet the se|cond first compassed it with walls, and the buildings together with the large and plea|sant gardens are some three or foure miles in circuit. I entered the outward Court thereof by a stately Gate kept by many Ianizares called Capigi of that office. The court yard was large, all compassed with building of free stone two stories high, with a low and almost plaine roofe tyled, and without windowes, after the maner of the building 264 of Italy, and round about the inside, it was cast out with arches like the building of Cloisters, vnder which they walked drie in the greatest raine. And in this Court is a large pulpit or open roome, where the great Turke vieth to shew himselfe to the Iani|zares to satisfie them when they make any mutiny.

(P) Here is a banqueting house, vulgarly called Chuske, the prospect whereof is more pleasant then can be expressed, beholding foure Seaes at once, and the land on all sides beyond them.

(Q) Here is the Church of Saint Sophia, opposite to the Court Gate, of old built by the Christians after the forme of Salomons Temple, and indowed with the an|nuall rent of three hundred thousand Zechines, now made a Mosche or Mahometan Church. And howsoeuer the Turks cannot indure that vnwashed Christians (so cal|led by them, because they vse not Baths so continually as they doe) should enter their Mosches, or passe ouer their Sepulchers, yet my self entered this Church with the Ia|nizare my guid, trusting to his power to defend me, yet he willed me first to put of my shooes, and according to the Turkes custome to leaue them in the porch, where they were late till we returned. The Church is of a round forme, and built of bricke, and supported with faire pillars, and paued with Marble (ouer which the Turks layed Mats to kneele, and prostrate themselues more commodiously vpon them.) The roofe is beautified with pictures of that rich painting, which the Italians call alla Mosaica, shining like enameled work, which now by antiquity were much decaied, and in some parts defaced. Round about the Church hung many Lampes, which they vse to burrie in the time of their Lent (called Beyram), and euery weeke vpon Thursday in the eue|ning, and Friday all day, which they keepe holy after their fashion for their Sabbath day. Round about the vpper part of the Church are large and most faire Gal-

leries. And here I did see two Nuts of Marble of huge bignesse and great beauty. Moreouer I did see the great Turke when he entered this Church, and howsoeuer it lie close to the Gate of his Pallace, yet he came riding vpon a horse richly trapped, with many troopes of his chiefe horsemen, standing in ranke within the Courts of his Pallace, and from the Court Gate to the Church dore, betweene which troopes on both sides, he passed as betweene walles of brasse, with great pompe. And when a Chaus (or Pen|sioner) being on horseback did see mee close by the Emperours side, hee rushed vpon me to strike me with his mace, saying, What doth this Christian dog so neere the per|son of our great Lord? But the Ianizare, whom our Ambassadour had giuen me for a Guide and Protector, repelled him from doing mee any wrong, and many Ianizares (according to their manner) comming to helpe him, the Chaus was glad to let mee alone, and they bade me be bold to stand still, though I were the second or third per|son from the Emperour. Neere this Church is the stately Sepulcher of Selymus the second, and another Sepulcher no lesse stately, and newly built for Amurath lately de|ceased, where he lay with those male children round about him, who according to the manner were strangled by his Successour after hee was dead. Not farre thence is the Market place hauing some one hundred marble pillars about it, and adorned with a Pyramis or pinacle, erected vpon foure Globes, and with a pleasant Fountaine of wa|ter, together with other ornaments left (as it seemes) by Christian Emperours.

(R) The wonderfull Mosche and Sepulcher of Solyman, numbred among the mi|racles of the World.

(S) Two houses for the same vse, as the Exchange of London, where the Merchants meete, namely, for the selling of fine wares, but no way to be compared to the same for the building. They are called the great and the lesse Bezestan, and vse to bee ope|ned onely certaine daies of the weeke, and for some sixe howers, at which times small and more pretious wares are there to be sold, as Iewels, Semiters (or Swords), set with Iewels, but commonly counterfet, pieces of Veluet, Satten, and Damaske, and the like. And the Market place is not farre distant, where Captiues of both sexes are weekely sold, and the buyers if they will, may take them into a house, and there see them naked, and handle them (as wee handle beasts to know their fatnesse and strength.)

263 (T) Here is a Fort that is fortified with seuen Towers, called by the Turkes Iadi|cule, and by Christians the seuen Towers, where a garrison of Souldiers is kept, be|cause the Emperors treasure is there laied vp, and cheefe Prisoners vse to be kept there. The treasure is vulgarly said to bee laied vp there, but the great Turke seldome goes thither; and since it is true, that where the treasure is, there is the mind, I thinke it pro|bable (which I haue heard of experienced men) that most of the treasure lies in the Se|raglio, where the great Turke holds his Courr.

(V) Here be the ruines of a Pallace vpon the very wals of the City, called the Pal|lace of Constantine, wherein I did see an Elephant, called Philo by the Turkes, and ano|ther beast newly brought out of Affricke, (the Mother of Monsters) which beast is al|together vnknowne in our parts, and is called Surnapa by the people of Asia, Astanapa by others, and Giraffa by the Italians, the picture whereof I remember to haue seene in the Mappes of Mercator; and because the beast is very rare, I will describe his forme as well as I can. His haire is red coloured, with many blacke and white spots; I could scarce reach with the points of my fingers to the hinder part of his backe, which grew higher and higher

towards his foreshoulder, and his necke was thinne and some three els long, so as hee easily turned his head in a moment to any part or corner of the roome wherein he stood, putting it ouer the beames thereof, being built like a Barne, and high (for the Turkish building, not vnlike the building of Italy, both which I haue formerly described) by reason whereof he many times put his nose in my necke, when I thought my selfe furthest distant from him, which familiarity of his I liked not; and howsoeuer the Keepers assured me he would not hurt me, yet I auoided these his fa|miliar kisses as much as I could. His body was slender, not greater, but much higher then the body of a stagge or Hart, and his head and face was like to that of a stagge, but the head was lesse and the face more beautifull: He had two hornes, but short and scarce halfe a foote long; and in the forehead he had two bunches of flesh, his eares and feete like an Oxe, and his legges like a stagge. The Ianizare my guide did in my names and for me giue twenty Aspers to the Keeper of this Beast.

(W X) Here be two Castles or Forts, diuided by the Hollespont, one seated in [...], the other in Asia, whereof I made mention in my sayling to Constantinople, and of which I shall speake more largely at my going from this City.

Constantinople built (sixe hundred sixty three yeeres before Christ was borne), by [...] a Lacedemonian, was first called Bizantiam, till Constantine the Great in the yeere of the Lord 315, did rebuild it, after it had beene destroied by the Emperour [...], and called it by his name. The Turkes vnder Mahimet the second, first tooke this City, in the yeere 1453, from the Christians, with destruction of great multitudes of them, and at this day it is called (of the great circuit) Stimbals by the Graecians, and Stambalda by the Turkes. It is seated in Thrace (also called Romania) and is built in forme of a Triangle, whereof two sides towards the North and East, lie vpon two seas, and the third side towards the West, lies vpon the continent of Greece. For many cau|ses this City is famous, and in two respects may be iustly preferred to any other in the World knowne to vs, namely for the pleasantnesse of the situation, and the largenesse and safety of the Hauen. The forme thereof formerly set downe, doth in part shew the pleasantnes of the situation, but the fruitfulnesse of the fields, the sweetnes and beauty of the flowers, and the variety and goodnesse of the fruits cannot sufficiently be praised. The fishes in the winter season flying from the cold of the Euxine or black Sea, falldowne in great numbers into the Sea Propontis, passing close by the wals of the City, and againe in Summer time, not induring the heat of the Mediterianean sea, returne backe in like numbers the same way. This City hath a thousand pleasant creekes of the Sea within sight. To conclude, the Countrey is no lesse pleasant then the Inhabitants are wicked.

The Hauen will receiue an huge number of shippes, and vpon both the bankes of the City and Gallata, shippes of 300, [...] or greater once vnloaded, may so lie with their cables fastened on the Land, as they [...] from the shippes to Land without [...] and for the excellency of the Port, the City itselfe is called the Port by the 264 Turkes, and Ouid cals it the Port of two Seas, for the two channels of Propontis, and the Euxine Sea. Of old the City had eleuen gates called, Aurea, Pargea, Romana, Cartha|sez, Regia, Caligaria, Kilma, Harmagona, Phara, Theodosia, and Spilica. At this day the slender wall of bricke towards the Sea, hath thirteene gates not worth the naming. The wall towards the Land is of bricke, and is said to haue beene much ruined in the yeere 1509, by an Earth-quake; yet still on

that side are three wals which are broad enough for a cart to passe, of which the outmost towards land is little higher then the foundation of the second, nor that much higher then the foundation of the third, the fields on that side being plaine, yet in like sort rising higher and higher as they be nee|rer to the wals of the City, saue that neere the foresaid Pallace of Constantine, some hils lie without the wals.

This City (as Rome) is said to containe seuen Hils or mounts within the wals, wher|of some to me seemed imaginary, but I will reckon them as they doe, and first beginne with the hill, vpon which stand the ruines of Constantines Pallace. The second hath the stately Mosche (or Turkish Church) built vpon the Pallace, which of old belon|ged to the Graecian Patriarke. Vpon the third stands the stately Mosche and most rich|ly built Sepulcher of Mahomet the second; with an Hospitall built by the same Empe|rour, where all Turkish Pilgrimes haue their lodging and diet freely for three daies, and it hath one hundred and fifty chambers built for the poore of the City, and the yeerely rents thereof are valued at two hundred thousand zechines, yea the Court or Seraglio of the Great Turke paies each day an hundred Aspers to this Hospitall. The Sepulcher of Selimus takes vp the fourth hill, and the sepulcher of Baiazet, the fifth hill. Betweene the fifth and the sixth hill, is the old Pallace of the Great Turke, (which the Italiatis call Seraglio vecehio), where the Concubines of the deceased Emperour, and the present Emperours sisters and a great number of his concubinet, (for the fai|rest and dearest to him are taken to liue in his Court), are kept by Ennuches within this old Seraglio, which is of great circuit, containing many houses and gardens com|passed within one wall. Vpon the sixth hill stands the foresaid wonderfull Mosche and Sepulcher of Solyman, noted with the letter (R). Lastly, the seuenth hill containes the chiefe Pallace of the Great Turke, and the Church Saint Sophia, now made a Mos|che noted with the Letters O. Q.

The tops of the Sepulchers and Mosches, being of a round forme and couered with brasse, and the spacious gardens of Cypresse and Firre trees, make shew of more beau|ty and magnificence to the beholder from any high place, or without the wals, then in deed the City hath. The Sepulchers are no doubt very stately built, hauing vpon the top one two or more round globes couered with leade or brasse. On the inside they seeme like lightsome Chappels with many windowes, and they being built in a round forme, the dead Emperour is laied in the middest or center of the Sepulcher, in a chest or coffin raised some three foot from the ground, hauing the Tulbent which hee wore vpon his head in his life time laied vpon his Tombe, being see forth with the Iewels he most esteemed, (which Tulbent is made of some twenty or more yards of pure and fine white linnen, foulded in many foulds, in the forme of a halfe globe). Next the Emperour lies the Sultana or Empresse, in her Coffin, (so they call his Con|cubine, Mother of his Heire and Successour), prouided alwaies that shee haue had a letter of dowry by which shee is made his wife; for otherwise shee is not buried with him. And round about the Emperour and Empresse in Coffins lower then theirs, lie the bodies of his male children, which (according to their manner) are strangled by his Successour assoone as he was dead, and vpon their Coffins likewise their Tulbents are laied seuerally. These children are laied in little Coffins of Cypresle: and this mid|dle part wherein the dead bodies lie, is compassed with a grace, so as betweene the bo|dies and the windowes there is a gallery round about, which is spred with Turkey carpets, and vpon them the Priests that keepe the

Sepulcher, doe lie by night, and sit crosse legged by day, neither is the roome at any time without some of these Keepers, so as the Emperours are attended euen after death.

The buildings of the City haue no magnificence, being partly of a matter like 265 bricke, but white, and (as it seemes) vnhardned by fire, partly of timber and clay, ex|cepting some few pallaces which are of free stone, but nothing so stately built as might be expected from the pride and riches of the great Turkes chiefe seruants. And these houses (as those of the adiacent territories of Europe) are built only 2 stories high, with a low roofe without any windowes, after the manner of Italy, whereas the houses of Asia haue a plaine and plaistered roofe to walke vpon, especially in Asia the greater. The streetes of this Citie ar narrow, and shadowed with pentises of wood, and vpon both sides the way is raised some foot high, but of little breadth, and paued for men and women to passe, the middest of the street being left low and vnpaued, and no broader, then for the passage of Asses or beasts loaded. In many places of the streetes lye carcases, yea sometimes the bodies of dead men, euen till they be putrified, and I thinke this vncleanlinesse of the Turks (who otherwise place Religion in washing their bodies, and keeping their apparrell, especially their Tulbent pure and cleane) is the chiefe cause that this Citie, though most pleasantly seated, yet aboue all the Cities of the world is continually more or lesse infected with the plague. They say, that Iob, famous for his pietie and patience, is buried in this Citie: but I did not see his mo|nument, and thinke it probable, that the same and all like Christian monuments, were defaced by the Turkes when they tooke the Citie.

The worthie English Ambassadour, Master Edward Barton most curteously enter|tained me with lodging and dyet so long as I staied in this Citie, so as for them I spent not one Asper: but I passe ouer the due praises which I owe to the memory of this worthy Gentleman, being hereafter to speake more of him, I will onely adde, that I attended him once to the great Turkes Court, and when I had nothing satisfied my curiositie in viewing the Citie by occasions casually happening, that hee commaun|ded a Ianizare to guide mee round about the same, till I had taken full view thereof. And with this guide the first day I viewed the foresaid monuments within the walles, and the second day compassed the Citie without the walles, beginning at the passage ouer the water called Tapano, and noted with the letter (K), and so passing by water (in a boat, vulgarly called Pyrame, and hired for fortie aspers) to the Castle of the seuen Towers, noted with the letter (T), then passing by land to the Pallace of Constantine, noted with the letter (V.)

And by the way as we passed by land, an old woman meeting vs, and taking me for a Captine to be sold, demaunded my price of the Ianizare; who for mirth entertained her offer to buy me and another Gentleman, seruant to the Ambassadour, whom hee had sent to beare me company: but because I was very slender and leane after my long sicknes, he could not induce her to giue more then one hundred aspers for me, though she offered foure hundred aspers for the other Gentleman in my company, as the Ia|nizare told me in the Italian tongue, when he had intertained this discourse with her to passe away the time in our long walke. From the foresaid Pallace of Constantine we hired a boat for eight aspers, and so by water returned to the passage Tapano, from whence we set forth, hauing gone by land and water the full circuit of the Citie, being nine miles by water, and fiue by land. Thence wee returned to the Ambassadours house, where I gaue

the Ianizare my guide fifty aspers for his paines.

A Venetian ship called the great Lion was now ready to set sayle from Constantino|ple to [196] Venice, which commoditie of my speedy returne I thought good to take, and ha|uing agreed with the Patron or Master of the ship, and being promised by the chiefe of the Marriners (whom I had bound vnto me with some curtisies) that they would without faile call me before they were to set sayle, I passed the time in the sweete con|uersation of this worthy Ambassadour, more securely then I should haue done, til one euening I heard a great piece of Ordinance discharged, and thereupon suspected (as indeede it fell out) that this ship ready to set sayle, gaue this warning piece to call aboard the Marriners and passengers. And so I made all the haste I could to the water side; but when I came thither, saw that my labour was in vaine, the ship being vnder sayle, and gone out of the Hauen. My selfe, my seruant, and a Gen|tleman, the Ambassadours seruant, and sent by him into England with letters to the 266 Queene from the great Turke, being thus left behind, presently tooke one of the Am|bassadours Ianizares for our Guide, and vpon the last day of Februarie (in the end of the yeere 1596 according to the English computation, or in the beginning of the yeere 1597, according to the computation of most Kingdomes, beginning the yeere [Note: Ann. 1597.] the first of Ianuary) hired a boat (called Pyrame) for one thousand Aspers to Gallipoli, in hope to ouertake the great ship sayling slowly, before it could passe the straight of Hellespont. And the same euening in which the great ship set sayle, wee in our little boat sayled by the shoare of Thrace fortie miles to Selebris, a towne of Thrace, not without great feare and farre greater danger of being cast away. For when we found [Note: Selebris.] the little boate vnfit to passe the great waues of the Sea (though much calmer then o|ther Seas), and therefore willed our Marriner to sayle close by the shoare, he told vs, that there was greater danger from theeues vpon the shoare, then from the waues of the sea, and so easily perswaded vs to imitate the Prophet Dauid, committing our selues rather to the hands of God by sayling in the deepe, then into the hands of men by coasting the shoare. When we had passed the darke night without sleepe in this obscure harbor, the next morning early being Tuesday, and the first of March, we say|led twenty miles to Erylis, seated vpon the same shore of Thracia, not without extreme [Note: Erylis.] danger of being cast away, which we often and iustly feared, and our Ianizare no lesse, who either for feare, or repentance of his sins, shed abundance of teares. Erylis was of old called Heraclea, famously knowne by hauing been the seat of the Greeke Patriark and many Christian Emperours. Here we left the boat which we had hired at Con|stantinople, hauing found it vnfit for this passage: but howsoeuer wee had hired it to Gallipoli, yet the Marriner would remit nothing of the couenanted price. From hence to Gallipoli we hired for eight hundred aspers a greater Barke called Cayke. The second of March, notwithstanding the rage of the windes and the waues, we set saile, and lan|ded at the Iland Marmora after fiftie miles sayle, in which Iland I had formerly been, [Note: Marmora] and to the mention thereof formerly made, let me now adde, that it is inhabited only with Greeks, and these Greek; fearing lest our Ianizare (after their maner) would pay them nothing for our necessaries, and he being a yong vnexperienced man, and so not carrying himself with such authoritie as other Ianizares doe, we could not get

[196] Venice

lodging nor diet in any house, til at last our selues promising to pay honestly for al we took, we were receiued into a house (where as we were wont) we slept vpon our owne bedding, they hauing no conuenient beds, and we paied for two Egges one asper; for a Capo|net fiue and twentie aspers; for our fier fiue and twentie aspers; and for the vse of the house fiue and twentie aspers; as likewise in other places where we landed, wee paied commonly sixteene aspers or thereabouts, each night for our lodging, and the vse of the house. The third of March wee set sayle after midnight, and hauing sayled sixtie [Note: Gallipolis.] miles, came before breake of day to Gallipolis, and the same day hiring a boat with two Oares for two hundred aspers, we passed eight and twentie miles, and found the great ship of [197] Venice at anchor, but not daring to goe aboard in the night, wee slept in our little boat fastened to the shoare, with no little inconuenience, because it rained all night. The fourth of March we gaue the Ianizare our guide three hundred twentie eight aspers for his paines, and to beare his charges back, which was a small sum for so great a iourney: Yet after some repining he was satisfied therewith, because he serued the English Ambassadour. Then we went aboard the Venetian ship, called the great Lion, and when I remembred, that the ship wherein I sailed from [198] Venice to Ierusalem was called the little Lion, I was stirred vp to giue praise and humble thankes to the great Lion of the Tribe of Iuda, who through so many dangers preserued mee in this voyage. This Venetian ship was forced heere to expect the pleasure of the Turkish Searchers and Customers, namely, at the two Castles vpon the entrie of the Straight [Note: Two Castles] of Hellespont, wherof I made mention in my sayling from Candia to Constantinople, and in the description of that Citie haue noted them with the letters (W) and (X). For the ships that come from Constantinople, vse to bee detained here some three daies, to the end that in case they carry away priuate mens slaues, the Masters may haue time to follow after them; and in like case if they carrie away any prisoners or offenders, 267 the publike Magistrates may haue meanes to bring them backe. Besides, these search|ers and Customers looke, that they carry no prohibited wares, neither can the ship, nor any passenger be suffered to passe these Castles, except they bring the Pasport of the great Turke, which the chiefe Visere or Basha vseth to grant vnto them. Thus when no ship without the knowledge of the chiefe Visere can either passe these Castles leading to the Mediteranean Sea, or the two Castles aboue leading into the Euxine Sea, noted with (D E), surely these foure Castles are the greatest strength of Constantino|ple by Sea.

I said, that these Castles, where we found the Venetian ship, are in the description of Constantinople noted with the letters (W) and (X), and they are now commonly cal|led the Castles of Gallipolis: but of old that noted with the letter (W) was called Sestos, being a Citie in Thrace, in which the most faire Hero was borne and dwelt; and the other noted with the letter (X) was called Abydos, being a Citie of Asia the lesse, in which Leander dwelt, famous for his loue to Hero, and these Castles are diuided by the Hellespont some two miles broad, at least so narrow, as Leander is said often to haue swomme ouer it to his beloued Hero. The Castle of Sestos more specially is seated in a most fertile soyle; for Nairo, the next adioyning towne, yeeldes excellent Wines and all necessaries to sustaine life plentifully. Howsoeuer the ships ought, and vse to bee staied here for

[197] Venice
[198] Venice

three daies, yet a very faire winde blowing, and all duties being perfor|med, the Patrons of the ships by a large gift to the Officers, sometimes obtaine leaue to depart sooner. They say, that each passenger by Pole payeth here one zechine for tribute: but perhaps this belongs onely to Merchants, for my selfe, my seruant, and the English Gentleman in my company, hauing giuen betweene vs one zechine to the substitutes of the Venetian Bailiffe (so their Ambassador is called), we were dismissed vpon their motion, yet we moreouer gaue fortie aspers to a Ianizare, and fiftie aspers to a Chiauslar for the fees of their offices.

It being vnwholsome to sleep aboue the hatches of the ship at this time of the yeere (though in summer time I made choice to sleepe so, when I sailed from [199] Venice to Ieru|salem), we three, namely, my selfe, the English Gentleman and my seruant, gaue for each of vs three zechines to the Pilot to be partners with him in his cabin, which by his Office hee had proper to himselfe in the Castle of the ship; and to the Patron or Ma|ster of the ship for our diet, we paid each of vs after the rate of fiue zechines and a halfe by the moneth, as well at Sea, as in Harbors; and for our passage we ioyntly paid ten ducats of [200] Venice, (so as I still paid two parts of three in all expences); besides that, wee brought with vs some hundreds of Egges, and a vessell of excellent Wine of Palormo, which our Ambassadour at Constantinople gaue vs.

Vpon Monday the seuenth of March (after the old stile vsed in Turky by all Chri|stians and others) in the afternoone we set sayle, and passed the straight of Hellespont, and the same night sayled by the foresaid Iland of Tenedos. This Sea is called Pontus of the adiacent Prouince of Asia the lesse, named Pontus, which Prouince containes [Note: Tenedos.] Colchis (famous by the old Argonauticall expedition), Capidocia, and Armenia. The eight of March, early in the morning, we did see tha Iland Lemnos (famous for a kind [Note: Lemnos.] of earth there digged, and in Latin called Terra Sigillata) vpon our right hand, and the [Note: Metelene. Zio. Smirna.] Ilands Metelene, and Chios (now called Zio), and the Citie Smyrna (vpon the continent of Asia the lesse) vpon our left hand, (to omit Ephesus, not farre distant vpon the same continent.) And being now entred into the AEgean Sea (now called Archipelagus of fiftie Ilands standing like Arches, and not farre distant one from the other, which are called Cyclades, or Sporades), the ninth of March, hauing now sailed eightie miles, and being to sayle by the Iland Saint George of Skyra, the windes were so contrary, as wee were forced to strike sayles, and lie at hull (that is, tossed to an fro by the waues.) The [Note: Andros.] same day we set sayle, and left the Iland Andros (one of the Cyclades) and the Iland Tyno (subiect to the Venetians) on our left hand, or towards the East, and the Iland Ne|gropont (lying close to the continent of Attica, and right ouer against the ruines of fa|mous [Note: Athens.] Athens) on our right hand, or towards the West. The tenth and eleuenth of March, wee sayled 100 miles in the same Sea full of Ilands, and sailed by the Ilands 268 Gia and Makarone. But towards night contrary windes rising high, and we fearing to bee cast vpon some shoare of many adiacent Ilands, againe we struck sayle and lay at hull, tossing to and fro, but making small or no progresse. The twelfth of March, ear|ly in the morning, we set sayle, and sayled by the Iland Milo (of old called Miletum), where Saint Paul landed, Acts 20. 15), and a neere Iland Sdiles (of old called Delos,

[199] Venice
[200] Venice

and most famous for the Oracle of Apollo), and the Promontory of Morea (of old [Note: Delos.] called Peloponesus, containing many Prouinces of Greece), which promontory is cal|led Capo Malleo. The thirteenth of March, hauing sayled one hundred and ninety miles, we passed by the Iland Cerigo, not subiect to the Turkes (as most of the Ilands are), but to the Venetians, who in a Castle on the South side keepe a Garrison of souldiers. It is one of the Cyclades, seated at the entrance of the Ar|chipelagus towards the South, scarce fiue miles distant from Morea (the foresaid continent of Greece) and some one hundred and fiftie miles from Candia, the chiefe Citie of the Iland Candia, and was of old called Scotera, also Porphoris, of that precious kind of Marble there digged, and also Citherea, of which as her chiefe [Note: Citherea] seate Venus is often so called. And to this day there are seene the ruines of a Temple dedicated to Venus, and of a Pallace belonging to Menelaus the husband of Helena. From the thirteenth to the seuenteenth of March, the windes were so contrary or scant, as wee onely sayled one hundred and twenty miles, and tooke harbour in the Iland Zante, subiect to the Venetians (whereof I made mention in my voyage from [201] Venice to Ierusalem.) Here some English Merchants continually reside, and the Ha|uen [Note: Zante.] being commodious, and most ships that trade in these Seaes vsing to put into this Harbor, the goods that are diuersly transported thence, are vulgarly, but falsely, estee|med the natiue commodities of the Iland. It hath scarce sixtie miles in circuit, and the Mountaines round about vpon the Sea-side, inclose a pleasant and fruitfull Plaine. The Hauen is like an halfe Moone increasing, and the chiefe Towne called Zante, lies in a little Plaine vpon the innermost part thereof in length. The buildings of the houses are two stories high, with a tyled, but low roofe without any windowes (accor|ding to the building of Italy) but are poore and base for the matter, so as the onely beautie of the Towne lies in the Castle built at the East end vpon a high Hill, being of a large circuit, and containing many houses and Churches within the walles there|of. In which Castle the Gouernour (called il Podestà) and the other Venetian inferi|our Magistrates dwell, and giue Law to the people of that Iland.

The Turkish Pirats of Saint Mauro in Morea, hauing lately set vpon and taken a huge Venetian ship, did lade seuenteene of their little barques with the most pretious goods thereof, namely, clothes of Gold, Damasks and Grogerans, to the value of a thousand thousand zechines (as the report went), and setting the ship on fire, tooke away the marriners for slaues. And the very time of my being in this Iland, seuen Turkish Gallies lay vpon this coast, and robbed all the Venetian ships falling into their hands, so as howsoeuer they had peace then with the Turkish Ottoman, yet their ships durst not stirre out of this hauen. Whereupon they hauing now occasion to send out ships for Corne, the Magistrate forced the Master of an English ship then harbouring there, to wast these ships, though much against his will, when there were some 20 Venetian ships in the same Hauen, whereof diuers were of 400 or 500 tuns. Also at this time it hapned, that a Spanish ship of Catolonia was driuen into this Har|bor, and the Magistrate calling our Merchants before him, would haue forced them to giue caution, that the English ships then lying there, should not assaile the same, though betweene England and Spaine war had now long time bin proclaimed: but they contesting against this course as iniurious to them,

[201] Venice

yet could not be dismissed, till they gaue their words, that our ships should not assayle the same by day or night, so long as it lay in this Hauen. And this Spanish ship for long time not daring to goe forth, at last vpon occasion of Venetian Gallies landing there, was wafted by them, and so escaped. Vpon the robbing and burning of the foresaid Venetian ship by Turkish Pyrates, the Venetian Baliffe, (so they call their Ambassadour) lying then at Constanti|nople, had obtained the great Turkes Mandate, that these Pyrates gallies being burnt, 269 they should presently be sent in bonds to his Court, and this Mandate was brought by a Chiauss, (or Pencioner) who came in the same ship with vs, whereupon the Py|rates being more inraged against the Venetians, did at this time take and spoyle ano|ther Venetian ship of some foure hundred and fifty Tunnes, called the Syluester, and not content with the most rich booty, did cast into the Sea many Marriners yeelding to mercy, and could hardly be perswaded by the intercession of Turkes passengers in the same ship, to spare the liues of some twenty chiefe Marriners yet aliue, and to for|beare the burning of the ship. The Italians of best iudgement, did not expect that the great Turke would duly punish these outrages, but rather were of opinion that him|selfe and his chiefe Visere would draw the greatest part of the prey to their own hands, and that the Turkish Gouernours inticed by like participation, would endeuour to free these Pyrates, and doe their best to nourish them, yea, that this very Chiauss now sent with a Mandate to suppresse them, would be induced by bribes, to returne to Constantinople, with relation that the Pyrates could not be found, so they did (as no doubt they would) for a time hide themselues, and in conclusion, that the Venetians after hauing spent much money in obtaining new Mandates for their apprehension, should find no other remedy, but to repell force by force.

Vpon Wednesday the thirtieth of March, (after the old stile) in the beginning of [Note: March 30. Ann. 1597.] the yeere 1597, we set sayle, but by contrarietie of winds, were againe driuen backe in|to the Hauen of Zante. Vpon Friday the first of Aprill after dinner, againe we set saile, and the second of Aprill sayling by the Iland Cefalonia, (whereof I spake in our voy|age [Note: Cefalonia. Corfu.] from [202] Venice to Ierusalem), we cast anchor in the outward Hauen of the Iland Cor|fu, because the Master of our ship was sicke, and this his sickenesse increasing, we set saile to returne backe to the chiefe City of that Iland, the Hauen whereof we entered the sixth of Aprill. From Zante to Cefaloniae are seuenty miles, and from thence to Corfu are 120 miles.

This Iland Corfu inhabited by Greekes is very fertile, yeelding plenty of fruites, corne, wines, and Currands, and this Hauen is fortified with two Forts cut out off a Rocke, namely, the old and the new Fort, (which is more then a mile in circuit), both being very strong and held vnexpugnable, so as this Iland is worthily reputed one of the chiefe Keyes of Christendome. The Master of our ship hauing recouered his health, wee set saile vpon Tuesday the twelfth of Aprill, and returned againe to the foresaid outward Hauen of Corfu Iland, where an old woman a passenger died, and her kinsemen carried her body to be buried on Land. Here againe we were forced to stay; the winds being contrary.

Atlast vpon the nineteenth of Aprill towards euening, with a faire wind we ioy|fully set saile, and the twentieth day we sailed ouer the streight Sea, betweene Greece and the Prouince of Apulia in Italy. Vpon Friday the two and twentieth of

[202] Venice

Aprill to|wards the euening, hauing sayled some two hundred miles from the said streight, we were carried by the shoare of the City Raguza, with a faire gale of wind, and had the [Note: Raguza.] wind beene neuer so contrary, yet our Master knowing some late difference risen be|tweene the Raguzeans and Venetians, would not willingly haue landed in that Ha|uen. The blame of which difference some imputed to the Raguzeans, in that they fa|uoured the Scocchi, a Neighbour people vpon the shoare of Sclauonia, who being sub|iect to the Emperour and Christians, yet robbed all kinds of ships passing these Seas, and had lately spoiled and burnt a Venetian Gally in the Port of Rouinge. But other alleaged a more probable cause thereof, namely, that some Venetian Gentlemen for some venerious in solencies there committed, had Iately beene slaine in a tumult. Ragu|ze of old called Epidaurus, and the chiefe City of Selauonia, is foure hundred miles di|stant from [203] Venice, built at the foot of an high mountaine, vpon the Sea shoare, and hath great trafficke by those Seas, and huge ships, which the Kings of Spatne haue of|ten hired, and ioined to their Nauy. The gouernement is popular, and this City to the wonder of many, doth to this day maintaine the liberty, though it be seated be|tweene the very iawes of the two powerfull States of the great Turke and Venetians, to one of which all other neere Townes Ilands and Countries are subiect. For the Ve|netians 270 are loath to driue them being Christians to such despaire, as they might be for|ced to yeeld themselues to the great Turke, and the City is very strongly fortified to|wards the sea, whence the Venetians can onely assaile them: besides, that they pay great customes of their trafficke to the State of [204] Venice, for which reason that State at|tempts nothing against the freedome of the City. Againe, the Turkes knowing that if they should besiege the City by Land, the Citizens would with all their best mouea|bles flie into Italy by Sea, and receiuing also a great yeerely tribute from the trafficke of this City, (where the great Turke hath his owne Officer called Chiaussagha to gather the same,) are also content not to molest them by warre, especially since they know that the Pope, the King of Spaine, and the State of [205] Venice, would assist the Raguzeant against them, and no way indure that the Turkish Ottoman should make himselfe Lord of that Hauen.

Vpon the three and twenty of Aprill towards euening, we sayled by the little Iland Augusta, (being yet of a good large circuit, and populous, and subiect to the Ragu|zeans, but the Coast is dangerous for ships arriuall, by reason of the Rockes called the Augustines,) and by the little Iland Corsolavi. Some Ilands in this Sea are subiect to the Raguzeans, and some neere to the Northerne continent, haue the Great Turke for their Lord, but the rest are subiect to the Venetians, and are very many in number, but lit|tle, and good part of them little or not at all inhabited. The Italians our consorts, told vs of an Iland not farre distant, called Pelaguza, and lying neere the continent of Italy, vpon the Coast whereof the famous Turkish Pyrate of Algier, (a Hauen in Africa) was lately wont to houer and lie hidden, and made rich booties of the Venetian and Italian Merchants. Vpon Sunday the foure and twenty of Aprill, we had in sight, and little distant, the little Ilands, Catza and Lissa, and in the afternoone on our left hand towards Italy the Iland Pomo, and in the euening towards Dalmatia, two Ilands, and

[203] Venice
[204] Venice
[205] Venice

vpon the continent the City Zaga, being some two hundred miles distant from [206] Venice. And the night following we sailed ouer an arme of the Sea some thirty miles broade, lying betweene Dalmatia and Istria, called Il Cornaro, which we passed without any [Note: Il Cornaro.] appearance of danger, though otherwise it be generally reputed so dangerous, as the Venetians offended with any Marriner, vse this imprecation; Maledetto sia il Cornaro che t'ha lasciato passare; that is: Cursed be the Cornaro for letting thee passe. Vpon Mon|day the fiue and twenty of Aprill, as we sailed by the Coast of Istria, one of the Marri|ners aged, and (as we thought) honest, and of some authority among the rest, priuately admonished me, that I should safely locke vp our goods in our chests, left the inferior Marriners should steale our shirts, or any other thing they found negligently left, which they vsed to doe, especially at the end of any voyage. Vpon Tuesday the sixe and twenty of April, we cast anchor beyond Pola, in the continent of Istria, a City now ruined, and vpon the seuen and twenty day we entred the Hauen of Rouinge in Istria, subiect to the Venetians, where the ships vse to take a Pilot for their owne safety, or els are tied so to doe by some old priuiledge of that City. Here the Prouisors for health gaue vs liberty of free conuersation, (as they had formerly done at Zante), seeing no man in our ship to be sicke or sickely. And I did not a little wonder, when I obserued each second or third person of this City to halt and be lame of one foot, which made me remember the Citizens of Islebe in Germany, and in the Prouince of Saxony, where almost all the men haue wry neckes; whereof I knew the cause, namely because they vsed daily to dig in mines, with their neckes leaning on one side: but of this common lamenes of the Inhabitants in Rouinge, I could not learne any probable cause, except it were the foule disease of lust, raigning in those parts, which I rather thought likely, be|cause the lamenesse was common to weomen as men.

Now the sayling in our great ship was like to be more trouble some, dangerous, and slow, whereupon fiue of vs ioyning together, did vpon the thirtieth of Aprill (after the old stile) hier a boate of sixe Oares, for seuen Venetian Duckets to [207] Venice, where we [Note: [208] Venice.] arriued the next day towards euening, and staied in our boat vpon the wharfe of the Market place of Saint Marke, till the Prouisors of health sitting in their Office neere that place, came vnto vs, and after some conference, vnderstanding that we and our 271 ship were free of all infection or sicknesse, gaue vs free liberty of conuersation. Wee staied three dayes at [209] Venice to refresh our selues, and paied each man three lyres for each meale in a Dutch Inne.

Then hauing receiued money of a Merchant, I went to the Village Mestre, and there bought of Dutchmen newly arriued in Italy, two horses for my selfe and my man, the one for thirtie, the other for twentie ducates. These horses I sold at Stode in Germany after my iourney ended, at, or about the same rate. He that hath the Dutch tongue, and either knowes the waies of Germany himselfe, or hath consorts skilfull therein, being to trauell from Stode, or those parts into Italy, shall finde more profit in buying a horse in those parts of Germany, for so hee shall saue great summes vsually paid for coches, and at the iournies end, or rather by the way towards

[206] Venice
[207] Venice
[208] Venice
[209] Venice

the ende of his iourney, may in Italy sell his horses with good profit. In the Village Mestre, each of vs paid each meale fiftie soldi, that is, two lires and a halfe.

From hence we took the right way to Augsburg in Germany, to Nurnberg, Brunswick, and to Stode, an old Citie lying on the Northern Sea of Germany. The particulars of which iourney I here omit, hauing in my iourney to Ierusalem passed the very same way from Stode to [210] Venice.

So as it shall suffice to adde some few things in generall. Within the confines of Italy, each man of vs paid for each meale fortie, and sometimes fiftie Venetian soldi, and for hay and stable for his horse commonly at noone foure soldi, at night twelue soldi, and for ten measures of oates giuen each day to each horse fiftie soldi.

After we entred Germany, each man paid each meale commonly twentie creitzers, at Inspruch twentie foure, and somtimes twentie six creitzers, for hay six creitzers a day, or there-abouts, and for ten measures of oates, seruing one horse for a day wee paid fiftie creitzers. In the middle Prouinces of Germany, each of vs paid for each meale com|monly sixteene creitzers, that is, foure batzen, and in the parts vpon the Northerne sea some foure Lubeck shillings. And from the Citie Armstat (seated betweene Augs|burg and Nurnberg) to the said Northern sea side, we had a new measure of oates called Hembd, one of which measures was sold for some tenne Lubeck shillings, and serued three horses for our baite at noone, and another was almost sufficient for them at night.

From Stode seated vpon the German Sea, we passed in a boat to the outmost Hauen, where wee went abroad an English ship vpon the fourth of Iuly (after the old stile) be|ing Tuesday. The sixt of Iuly early in the morning we set sayle, and the eight of Iuly we came vpon the most wished land of England, and cast anchor neere Orford, a Castle in Suffolke. Vpon Saturday the ninth of Iuly (after the old stile) we landed at Graues|end and without delay with the night-tide passed in a boat to London, where we ariued on Sunday at foure of the clock in the morning, the tenth of Iuly, in the yeere 1597, [Note: Iuly 10, an. 1597.] our hearts beingfull of ioy, that our mercifull God had safely brought vs thither. This early hower of the morning being vnfit to trouble my friends, I went to the Cocke (an Inne of Aldersgate streete) and there apparrelled as I was, laid me downe vpon a bed, where it happened, that the Constable and watchmen (either being more busie in their office then need was, or hauing extraordinary charge to search vpon some foraine intelligence, and seeing me apparrelled like an Italian) tooke me for a Ie|suit or Priest (according to their ignorance; for the crafty Priests would neuer haue worne such clothes as I then did. But after some few howers when I awaked, and while I washed my hands, did inquire after my friends health, dwelling in the same streete, the Host of the house knowing me, dismissed the watchmen that say to appre|hend me, and told me how I had been thus mistaken.

272 CHAP. V: Of the iourney through England, Scotland and Ireland.

HE that desires to see the Cities and Antiquities of England, Scotland and Ireland, let him reade the Chapter of the vsu|all manner of all kingdomes to iourney, and to hire Coches and horses, and also the Chapter, wherein these Kingdomes are Geographically described out of Camden, or if he list, rather let him reade Camden himselfe of this point: and lastly let him in the same last named Chapter peruse the diet of these Kingdomes, and the entertainement in Innes; Touching the distances of places by miles: first,

[210] Venice

for Eng|land he shall easily find a little printed booke particularly setting downe the same. For Scotland I will briefely set downe my iourney therein. And for Ireland, the Cities being rare and farre distant, hee must haue a guide, who may without great trouble inquire them out. Onely giue me leaue for the helpe of strangers to adde this one thing, namely, how they being curious to search antiquities, and loth to omit the light of things worthy of obseruation, may to this purpose best dispose of their iournies, which all other men may fit to their endes and purposes. First, let them passe out of Normandy to Rhye, an English Hauen in Sussex, then let them visit such of the fiue Kentish Ports as they please, let them see Cânterbury, famous for the Seate of the Metropolitan Archbishop; then the Castle of Qüinborrough, in the Iland of Shoppey, and the Regall Nauy; then let them passe by Rochester (a Bishops Seate), the Regall Pallace at Greenewich, and Depford the Nauall storehouse, and not farre thence see the broken ribbes of the ship, wherein famous Sir Francis Drake com|passed the World, and so let them come to London. When they haue viewed the Monuments of London and Westminster, and seene the Kings Court, they may take a cursory iourney to view such antiquities in Middlesex, Surry, and Barkshire, as vpon the reading of Camden they shall most desire to see, and especially all, or the chiefe Pallaces of the King. Againe, from London they may take a cursory iourney to see the Vniuer|sity of Oxford, and so by Worcester returne to London. In their iourney to the confines of England and Scotland, they may see the Vniuersitie of Cambridge, and view the most choise antiquities mentioned by Master Camden in Harfordshire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnsheire, Yorkeshire, Durham and Northumberland.

My selfe vpon occasion of businesse in the month of Aprill, and the yeere 1598, tooke a iourney to these said confines, namely, to Barwick, a Towne then very strongly [Note: Aprill. Ann. 1598.] fortified by the English, to restraine the sudden incursions of the Scots, and aboun|ding with all things necessary for food, yea with many dainties, as Salmons and all kindes of shell-fish, so plentifully, as they were sold for very small prices. And here I found that for the lending of sixtie pound, there wanted not good Citizens, who would giue the lender a faire chamber and good dyet, as long as he would lend them the mony. Being to returne from Barwicke, I had an earnest desire, first, to see the King of Scots Court. So from hence I rode in one day fortie miles to Edenborrow the chiefe Citie of that Kingdome. And in this said daies iourney after foure miles ri|ding I came to Aton, a Village where the Lord of Hames dwelles, whose Family was powerfull in those parts. After sixteene miles more I came to Dunbar, which they said to haue been of old a Towne of some importance, but then it lay ruined, and see|med of little moment, as well for the pouertie, as the small number of inhabitants. Af|ter the riding of eight miles more, on the left hand towards the West, and something out of the high way, the pleasant Village Hadrington lay, which the English, in the raigne of Queene Elizabeth, tooke, and kept against the French, who drawne ouer in 273 the time of faction, kept the Towne of Dunbar, and fortified the same. When I had ridden fiue miles further, I came to the ancient and (according to the building of that Kingdome) stately Pallace of the L. Seton, beautified with faire Orchards and Gar|dens, and for that clime pleasant. Not farre thence lyes the Village Prestongraung, belonging to the Family of the Cars, powerfull from these parts to the very borders of England within land. After I

had ridden three miles more, I came to the Village Fisherawe, neere which beyond a Brooke lyes the Village Musselborow in a stony soyle, famous for a great Victorie of the English against the Scots. On the left hand to|wards the West, and something out of the high way, the Queene of Scots then kept her Court (in the absence of the King) at the Village Dawkeith, in a Pallace belonging to the Earle of Murray.

From the said Village Fishrawe, I rode the rest of the way, being foure miles, and so [Note: Edenbo|row.] in one dayes iourney (as I said) came to Edenborow, seated in Lodouey, (of old called Fictland) the most ciuill Region of Scotland, being hilly and fruitfull of corne, but ha|uing little or no wood. This City is the seat of the King of Scotland, and the Courts of Iustice are held in the same. Of old according to the changeable fortune of warre, it was sometimes in the possession of the Scots, sometimes of the English inhabiting this Easterne part of Scotland, till the English Kingdome being shaken with the inuasi|ons of the Danes, at last about the yeere 960. it became wholly in the power of the Scots. This City is high seated, in a fruitfull soyle and wholsome aire, and is adorned with many Noblemens Towers lying about it, and aboundeth with many springs of sweet waters. At the end towards the East, is the Kings Pallace ioyning to the Mona|stery of the Holy Crosse, which King Dauid the first built, ouer which, in a Parke of Hares, Conies, and Deare, an high mountaine hangs, called the chaire of Arthur, (of Arthur the Prince of the Britanes, whose monuments famous among all Ballad-ma|kers, are for the most part to be found on these borders of England and Scotland). From the Kings Pallace at the East, the City still riseth higher and higher towards the West, and consists especially of one broad and very faire street, (which is the greatest part and sole ornament thereof), the rest of the side streetes and allies being of poore building and inhabited with very poore people, and this length from the East to the West is about a mile, whereas the bredth of the City from the North to the South is narrow, and cannot be halfe a mile. At the furthest end towards the West, is a very strong Castle, which the Scots hold vnexpugnable. Camden saith this Castle was of old called by the Britaines, Castle meyned agnea, by the Scots; The Castle of the Maids or Virgines, (of certaine Virgines kept there for the Kings of the Picts), and by Ptolomy the winged Castle. And from this Castle towards the West, is a most steepe Rocke pointed on the highest top, out of which this Castle is cut: But on the North and South sides without the wals, lie plaine and fruitfull fields of Corne. In the midst of the fore|said faire streete, the Cathedrall Church is built, which is large and lightsome, but lit|tle stately for the building, and nothing at all for the beauty and ornament. In this Church the Kings seate is built some few staires high of wood, and leaning vpon the pillar next to the Pulpit: And opposite to the same is another seat very like it, in which the incontinent vse to stand and doe pennance; and some few weekes past, a Gentle|man, being a stranger, and taking it for a place wherein Men of better quality vsed to sit, boldly entred the same in Sermon time, till he was driuen away with the profuse laughter of the common sort, to the disturbance of the whole Congregation. The houses are built of vnpolished stone, and in the faire streete good part of them is of free stone, which in that broade streete would make a faire shew, but that the outsides of them are faced with wooden galleries, built vpon the second story of the houses; yet these galleries giue the owners a faire and pleasant prospect, into the said faire and broad street, when they sit or stand in

the same. The wals of the City are built of little and vnpolished stones, and seeme ancient, but are very narrow, and in some places ex|ceeding low, in other, ruiued.

From Edenborow there is a ditch of water, (yet not running from the Inland, but ri|sing [Note: Lethe.] ofsprings) which is carried to Lethe, and so to the Sea. Lethe is seated vpon a creek 274 of the Sea, called the Frith, some mile from Edenborow, and hath a most commodious and large Hauen. When Monsieur Dessy a Frenchman, did fortifie Lethe, for the strength of Edenborow, it began of a base Village to grow to a Towne. And when the French King Francis the second had married Mary Queene of the Scots: againe the French, (who now had in hope deuoured the possession of that Kingdome, and in the yeere 1560. began to aime at the conquest of England) more strongly fortified this Towne of Lethe: but Elizabeth Queene of England, called to the succour of the Lords of Scotland against these Frenchmen, called in by the Queene, soone effected that the French returned into their Countrey, and these fortifications were demo|lished.

Erom Leth I crossed ouer the Frith, (which ebs and flowes as high as Striuelin) to the Village King-korn, being eight miles distant, and seated in the Region or Country called Fife, which is a Peninsule, that is, almost an Iland, lying betweene two creekes of the Sea, called Frith and Taye, and the Land yeelds corne and pasture and seacoales, as the Seas no lesse plentifully yeeld (among other fish,) store of oysters and shel fishes, and this Countrey is populous, and full of Noblemens and Gentlemens dwellings commonly compassed with little groues, though trees are so rare in those parts, as I re|member not to haue seene one wood.

From the said Village King-korn, I rode ten very long miles to Falkeland, then the Kings House for hunting, but of old belonging to the Earles of Fife, where I did glad|ly see I ames the sixth King of the Scots, at that time lying there to follow the pastimes of hunting and hawking, for which this ground is much commended; but the Pallace was of old building and almost ready to fall, hauing nothing in it remarkeable. I thought to haue ridden from hence to Saint Andrewes a City, seated in Fife, and well known as an Vniuersity, and the seate of the Archbishop: But this iourney being hin|dred, I wil onely say, that the Bishop of Saint Andrewes, at the intercession of the King of Scotland Iames the third, was by the Pope first made Primate of all Scotland, the same Bishop and all other Bishops of that Kingdome hauing formerly to that day beene consecrated and confirmed by the Archbishop of Yorke in England. Likewise I purpo|sed to take my iourney as farre as Striuelin, where the King of the Scots hath a strong Castle, built vpon the front of a steepe Rocke, which King Iames the sixth since ador|ned with many buildings, and the same hath for long time beene committed to the keeping of the Lords of Eriskin, who likewise vse to haue the keeping of the Prince of Scotland, being vnder yeeres. And from thence I purposed to returne to Edenborow, but some occasions of vnexpected businesse recalled me speedily into England, so as I returned presently to Edenborow, and thence to Barwicke, the same way I came.

I adde for passengers instruction, that they who desire to visit the other Counties of England and Ireland, may passe from Edenborow to Carlile, chiefe City of Comberland in England, and so betweene the East parts of Lancashire and the West parts of Yorke, and then through Darbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Warwickeshire, Staffordshire, and Ches|shire, may take their iourney to the City Westchester, whence they shall haue commo|dity to

passe the Sea to Dablin in Ireland, and while they expect this passage, they may make a cursory iourney into Flintshire, and Caernaruenshire in Northwales, to see the antiquities thereof, or otherwise may goe directly to Holy Head, and thence make a shorter cut to Dublyn in Ireland. From Dublyn they may passe to see the Cities of the Prouince Mounster, whence they may commodiously passe to the South parts of Wales, and there especially see the antiquities of Merlyn, and so taking their iourney to the West parts of England, may search the antiquities of these seuerall Counties, and easily find commoditie to passeinto the West parts of France: And all this circuit beginning at London, may (with ordinary fauourable winds according to the season of the yeere) be easily made, from the beginning of March, to the end of September. Al|waies I professe onely to prescribe this course, to such as are curious to search all the famous monuments and antiquities of England, mentioned in Camdens compleat de|scription thereof.

275 CHAP. VI. Of the manner to exchange Moneys into forraine parts, and the diuers moneys of diuers parts, together with the diuers measures of miles in sundry Nations, most necessary for the vnder|standing of the former iournall.

THE Trauellers most commodious course, is to deliuer into the hands of some Merchant those kinds of gold or siluer coynes, which are of greatest value in those parts to which he takes his iourney, with couenant to deliuer him by his Factor the same, both in the Species or kind, and in the number, or to send them in that sort to him by a tru|sty messenger. But the first course is not in vse, besides that, it is a difficult taske, to find such diuers kinds in any particular place, except it be from the Exchangers and V|surers, who vse not to serue another mans turne for profit or otherwise, without their owne gaine; and being most expert in such affaires, are like to draw all the hoped pro|fit to themselues. And the second course threatens many dangers, by robberies, by confiscations of the transmitted Coynes, and by the doubtfull credit of the messen|gers. Particularly in England and France, he that is knowne to carry great summes of money about him, shall runne great danger to be robbed, and in England the Law for|bids any Traueller vpon paine of confiscation, to carry more money about him out of the Kingdome, then will serue for the expences of his iourney, (namely, aboue twenty pounds sterling). As likewise in France, the like Law restraines the exporting of money, allowing an horseman from Lyons to Rome , eighty crownes, from Turine to Rome fifty, and no more, for his expences; all greater summes found about him, be|ing subiect to confiscation: yet I confesse that many wary Trauellers haue exported greater summes out of England into France, and out of France into England; and there|by with these hazards, haue made great gaine: But vpon the confines of Italy, and the seuerall principalities thereof, yea, at the gates of each City in Italy, most crafty Offi|cers so curiously search into the breach of these Paenall Statutes, and so narrowly prie into all mens carriage, neuer wincking at any delinquent, as there is no hope vpon breach of the Law to escape the penalty: for these searchers are tied to more strict at|tention in this businesse, that (according to their Office) they may beware least their Princes be defrauded of their Tributes. And since very Iewels, and the least toyes car|ried about passengers, are subiect to frequent Tributes (according to the frequent Principalities) these good fellowes leaue nothing vnassaied, in the wished discouery of these fraudes, yea, where they haue no iust suspition of fraud; yet cease they not to trouble passengers in this kind, till they

haue extorted some bribe or gift from them. Behold here a two horned danger, (as I may tearme it of the captious argument, called Dilemma) which trauellers cannot possibly escape in Italy, who carry about them Iew|els or great summes of money, where they are in danger of confiscation, if they hide them warily, and of theeues, if they shew them, and pay due tributes for them. For theeues (namely, men banished for notorious crimes) lie continually vpon the confines of Princes (very frequent in Italy), and more specially of the Kingdome of Naples and of the Popes territory. In Germany, Bomerland, Sweitzerland, the Low-Countreys, Denmarke, Poland, and Turkey, passengers may carry summes of money about them with more security, neither haue I there obserued any great danger therein, so that the passenger affect not solitarinesse, and be so wary as not to boast of his plenty.

Touching the diuers kinds of Coynes to be transported, I forewarne the Reader, that the gold Coynes of England and of France, and aswell the siluer as gold Coynes of Spaine, are in generall spent abroad with greatest gaine: but euen the gold and siluer Coynes of other Princes, are rarely currant out of their owne Dominions, and can 276 hardly be exchanged among Merchants without some losse. Againe, that hee who exports any gold coynes, must take care to haue them of iust weight, for such hee may disburse with gaine, but shall beare losse in others that are lighter, because they want the helpe of their Princes Prerogatiue, where no man can be forced to receiue them. Now I wil briefly shew, which kinds of foraine coines are most valued in diuers states. In England the gold and siluer coynes of Spaine and French Crownes are highly valu|ed. In Scotland the same coynes, and as well in Scotland as Ireland; moreouer, the gold and siluer coynes of England are valued. For Germany: at Stode the English an|gels, and all the gold coynes of England, France and Spaine are most esteemed: but if you passe into the vpper parts of Germany, you must for your expences there change these coynes at Stode into the Rhenish gold guldens, and siluer dollers of Germany. But at Vienna and the confines of Hungary, the Hungarian ducats are most currant. In Boh|merland the Rheinish gold guldens, the siluer dollers of Germany, and the Hungarian ducats. In Sweitzerland, first, the French Crownes of gold, then the gold guldens and siluer dollers of Germany. In Denmarke the siluer and gold coynes of England. At Dantzk in Prussen, and throughout all Poland, the gold coynes of England, and the gold guldens and siluer dollers of Germany, and especially Hungarian ducats. In France vpon the Sea coasts, the Angels and gold coynes of England are currant: but for your iourney further into the land, you must change them into French Crownes, and the siluer coynes of that Kingdome, and the gold coynes of Spaine are very cur|rant in all the Cities euen within the land. In the Low Countries, all coynes are cur|rant, they being most cunning exchangers, and wanting many things, yet drawing to them abundance of all forraine commodities, so as they haue skill to draw gold out of the dung (as he said of Ennius.) Yet they most esteeme the coynes of England, Spaine, and France. In Turkey the gold zechines of [211] Venice are most currant, and preferred euen before their owne Sultanones of gold. The coynes after them most esteemed and to be spent with most gaine, are the siluer ryals of Spaine (which the Italians call Pezzi d'otto, and Pezzi di quattro, pieces of eight, and pieces of foure, and the Turks call piastri, and halfe piastri.) In Italy generally the gold coynes of

[211] Venice

Spaine are spent with most aduantage. In the next place, and more particularly at [212] Venice and Naples the French Crownes are esteemed, but in Italy more then any other place; you must haue care they be of iust weight. In generall, all gold coynes may be put away with gayne at [213] Venice, but they being in other parts of Italy lesse valued, or not currant, hee that trauels higher, must change them there into siluer Crownes of Italy, and least the weight of them should be burthensome, and he should chance to fall into the hands of theeues (called Banditi, banished men), he shall do well to carry no more about him then will suffice for the expences of his iourney, and to deliuer the rest to some Veneti|an Merchant of credit, taking his bils of exchange, or letters, by which he may receiue them in any other Citie or Cities, as his occasions require.

But in respect of the foresaid difficulties to export coynes In specie, that is, in the kinde, the Traueller shall doe better who takes the second and most vsuall course, ta|king care to haue his moneys deliuered to the exchangers (or Merchants) by the hands of some trustie friend, to be exchanged ouer (according to the exchange variable in re|spect of the time, and the place to which it is to bee made) and sent to him in forraine parts for his expence (by seuerall sums, and at set times of the yeere.) This exchange is so variable vpon many vsuall accidents, as a constant manner of so vnconstant a thing cannot be prescribed. But the rate and course therof may be inquired in the Burse (or publike meeting place for the Merchants.) For the alteration thereof is weekely made knowne particularly to the Merchants, that by letters they presently may certifie the same to their seuerall Facters beyond the Seas. Now this daily alteration of the exchange commeth, partly of the quantitie of moneys for the present to be exchan|ged to the Princes or Merchants vses, and of the greater or lesser number of those that desire moneys in exchange. For when small summes are to be exchanged, either by the Prince for payment of his Army, or by the Merchants for their traffick, and when many desire moneys vpon exchange, then the rate thereof is raised, and the Traueller 277 made a Motion that some of this House might be sent to their Lordships with request that the said Mr Popham being a Member of this House might forthwith be remanded and restored to this House again, which some thought not needful to be done before the Election, and others again deny|ing that he or any other could be Chosen Speaker except he were present himself. The Clerk was Commanded to read the said Precedent again of chusing Mr Onslow in the said eighth year of her Majesties Reign (which said Precedent see on Monday the 16th day of this instant foregoing) and thereupon that course being agreed upon to be followed, the said Mr Treasurer and others were sent up to the Lords to demand the restitution of the said Mr Popham, and brought Answer again that their Lordships had resolved he should be sent down, the rather because he was a Mem|ber of this House, and this House possessed of him before he was Sollicitor, or had any place of Attendance in the Upper House. Upon relation whereof a Motion was presently made, that it was not meet or convenient to chuse a Speaker by persons that were not of the House, and withal it was thought of some that divers per|sons being newly returned in the places of others yet living, were not, or ought not to be ac|counted Members of this House. Whereupon to avoid length of Argument and the impedi|ment of the Election, the said Mr Treasurer by the Assent of the

[212] Venice
[213] Venice

House pronounced an Admo|nition, that all such as were newly returned in the places of others yet living should forbear to repair to the House till their case were further considered. Then immediately Mr Anderson the Queens Serjeant at Law, and Sir Gilbert Gerard Knight her Highness Attorney General, brought from the Lords the said Mr Popham her Majesties Sollicitor General, one of the Citizens for the City of Bristol, and restored him to this House as a Member of the same, and so departed. And then was a Motion made by Mr Lewkenor for Prayer to be used before the Election, that it might please God both in that and in the residue of the Proceedings of this House, to direct them with his Holy Spirit; and a form of Prayer was then read to the House by the Clerk. And then afterwards the House proceeding to the Election of a Speaker, the said Mr Treasurer first speak|ing did for his own part name and commend the said Mr Popham, alledging many good reasons and causes moving him thereunto, but still lea|ving nevertheless liberty without prejudice to the residue of the House to name whom they would or thought good. And thereupon the whole House with full consent of Voices agreed upon the chusing of the said Mr Popham; who standing up and much disabling himself in dutiful and reverend wise, and alledging for himself many reasonable causes and excuses, besought them humbly to proceed to a new Election, whereof the House did not allow; and so then was he forthwith by the said Mr Treasurer and Mr Comptroller brought up and placed in the Chair, and order thereupon given that the House should the next day Assemble together, both to understand her Majesties Pleasure for presenting of the Speaker, and also to determine of the case of the said persons newly returned into this House in the places of others yet living.

On Thursday the 19th day of January the House again Assembled, the Speaker Elect sitting in the Chair.

The matter began to be debated touching the said Burgesses, of whom question was made the day before; and the Case was opened by Mr Norton a Citizen of London to the effect follow|ing, viz.

That there be Members of this House absent in her Majesties Service, as in Embassage, or in her affairs in Ireland, in whose place new be returned.

Item, some persons be sick of durable Di|seases, as Agues, etc. and new be returned in their places.

Item, one Mr Flowerden was the last Session Burgess for Castle-Rising in Norfolk, and in the Vacation was sick: Upon suggestion of which sickness a Writ went to chuse a new. Where|upon Sir William Drewry is Chosen and returned for Castle-Rising, who now appeareth, and Mr Flowerden also. In the same Vacation one Bea|mond a Citizen for Norwich is sick of the Gout, upon suggestion whereof a Writ went out to chuse a new for Norwich; Mr Flowerden is cho|sen, returned and newly sworn for Norwich. Vide March 18th Saturday postea.

The Questions are whether such as be returned in places of persons sick, or of persons absent in the Queens Service, be Burgesses, and the old discharged. Mr Norton thought the old Burgesses remained, and that the said causes of sickness and service are good excuses for their absence, but no causes to remove them and to chuse new. And for this he alledged divers Precedents, as of Do|ctor Dale Embassador in France, and of Sir Henry Sidney Deputy of Wales, who having been formerly both of them Members of the House of Commons, and absent by reason of both their said Imployments, yet when their case was once made known unto the House and there question|ed, they were still retained as Members of the said House, and

no new chosen, or admitted. But however although such absent Members by reason of sickness or Foreign Imployment might be removed, yet that ought not to be done up|on a suggestion in the Chancery, but by the Judgment of the House of Commons upon in|formation thereof.

Mr Serjeant Flowerden, Mr Robert Snagg, Mr Seintpoole, and Mr Serjeant Fleetwood Comp|troller argued to the contrary, and said, that in all these cases new are to be chosen, and the old discharged. And that it needeth not to have dis|charge by the Judgment of the House, but it sufficeth to make suggestion in the Chancery, and to procure a Writ thereupon for a new Election. And to question this was to discredit the Lord 278 ly, to bee paid, at sight, at vsance, at halfe vsance, and at double vsance; which word vsance being not English, I take to be borrowed of the Italian word vsanza, signifying a manner or custome. The word (at sight) imports present payment; at halfe vsance a fortnight after the date; at vsance; a moneth; at double vsance, two moneths. And thus to him that goes from London to Hamburg in Germany, it is all one, whether his bill of exchange be paid at sight; or at halfe vsance, since hce can hardly arriue there in lesse space then a fortnight. But touching the exchange from London to [214] Venice far|ther distant, by the word vsance three moneths are signified, and by double vsance six moneths. The Turks Empier is so farre distant, and the iourney sare so vncertaine, as our Merchants vse no certaine rate of exchange thither, neither indeed vse they to giue any billes of exchange, but onely letters of credit, to receiue set summes of mo|ney, or at large, as much as the traueller shall want, (of which third kinde of receiuing money in forraine parts, I shall hereafter speake.) By the foresaid billes of exchange, according to the foresaid opportunities, the traueller commonly loseth, and some|times gaineth. For my self am familiarly acquainted with a Merchant, who tooke vp one hundred pounds at London, to be paid by his Factor at Stode in Germany, which Factor againe tooke vp the same hundred pounds at Stode, to be paid by his Master at London, and at foure moneths end, he paied the same, hauing by these bils of exchange made vse thereof all this time, without one penny losse. But in generall, when great quantitie of money is to bee made ouer to any place from London, the traueller shall lose after fiue in the hundred by the yeere; and when small quantitie is to bee made ouer, he shall lose after the rate of fifteene in the hundred by the yeere, and ordinari|ly he shall lose about the rate of ten in the hundred by the yeere.

By reason of the aforesaid vncertaintie in receiuing money by billes of exchange, as well by the slow sending of them, as by the delay which Factors vse to make in paying them, as also by the vsuall negligence of the trauellers friend, who is to make ouer his mony, or by his want of ready mony at the time. I say for this vncertaintie, lest the tra|ueller should lose the season of the yeere fit to take iourneys, by the expecting of his mony, a third course of receiuing mony in forraine parts hath growne in vse; namely, that the traueller should take with him letters of credit, from some Merchant of great trade to his Factor, to furnish him from place to place of money, either according to his want, or for a certaine yeerely summe. I confesse it is a more frugall course, that he should first pay his money at home, and after receiue it beyond the Seas, then that he should first receiue it there, and after repay it at home: but I would aduise him to make ouer his money after the foresaid manner by billes of Exchange, and withall to carry these let-

[214] Venice

ters of credit for abundant caution of all euents, so as vpon any crosse accident, he may rather incurre a small losse of money, then the vnrecouerable losse of time. Yet euen in money taken by letters of credit, reckoning the time of the repai|ment, Merchants vse not to exact greater gaine, then ten in the hundreth by the yeere, especially if they be honest men, or haue any bond of friendship with the traueller, or his friends at home, and be confident of repaiment, without any doubt, arising either by the trauellers sicknesse or by his friends ill keeping of their credit.

It remaines that I adde somewhat in generall out of my experience, of the rate at which my selfe receiued money by the foresaid bils of exchange, or letters of credit. And first I will confesse my negligent omission, in noting the rates of my exchanges, whereof (as a matter of moment) I much repent me; but for this reason the Reader must beare with me, if I set the same downe more briefly then were fit for his instru|ction. Our of England into Scotland, and Ireland, a Traueller shall haue many oppor|tunities to carry monies Inspecie, (that is, in kind), or to exchange them without any losse. The exchange out of England, to Stoade or Hamburge in Germany, vseth to beare this rate, for a pound, (or twenty shillings sterling) to receiue there fiue and twenty Hamburge shillings and sixe pence. My selfe deliuered forty pounds in England, and after the rate of twenty foure Hamburg shillings and eight pence, for each English pound, or at the rate of an imperiall doller, vallued at foure shillings six pence English, I receiued at Stoade forty nine Hamburg pounds six shillings and eight pence. Hereof 279 I kept in my purse ten dollers, (that is, two Hamburg pounds and fifteene shillings), the rest I left in a Merchants hands, who sent me at diuers times to Leipzig, first nine and thirty dollers, (that is, ten Hamburg pounds foureteene shillings and six pence), and at another time threescore dollers, (that is, sixteene Hamburg pounds ten shillings) and the third time seuenty dollers, (that is, nineteene Hamburg pounds fiue shillings) These ioined together with two shillings, paied to the Carrier for my letters, make the foresaid summe of forty nine Hamburg pounds sixe shillings eight pence, receiued v|pon bill of exchange for my forty pound first paid in London. Againe, I tooke vp an Stode from an English Merchant, seuenty dollers vpon my letters of credit, and rating each doller at foure shillings eight pence English, I gaue him a bill of sixteene pound sterling, to be paid him by my friend in London. From these parts in Germany, a Tra|ueller must carry with him the foresaid kinds of moneyes most currant in Germany, when he takes his iourney to the vpper parts of Germany, to Bohemia, and to Sweitzer|land, or the confines of Hungary. The exchange out of England into the Low-Coun|tries, vsually rateth an English pound sterling, first paid in England, at foure and thirty Flemmish shillings, wanting two stiuers, to be paid after in the Low-Countries. In Denmarke Trauellers seldome make any long aboad, and the trade of our Merchants is more rare in that Kingdome, wanting natiue commodities; so as there is no vsuall exchange from London thither. From London to Dantzk in Prussen, the exchange of an English pound sterling, first paid in London, vseth to be rated at foure and twenty Hamburg shillings and six pence, to be paid there. My selfe by letters of credit recei|ved fifty dollers at Dantzk, and after the rate of foure shillings six pence English for each doller, I gaue my bill for the payment of eleuen pound fiue shillings English, to be repaied by my friend at London. And at Dantzk the same Merchant for the same fifty dollers gaue me

one and thirty Hungarian duckets of gold, and foureteen grosh in siluer, being the fittest money for my iourney to Crakaw in Poland, and to Vienna in Oestreich (or Austria). Out of England to [215] Venice in Italy, the exchange of foure shillings and sixe or eight pence English, vseth to bee rated at a Venetian Ducket. My selfe tooke no bils of exchange from England to [216] Venice, but had letters of credit, to receiue money of a Venetian Merchant, to be repaid in London vpon my bill, after the rate of foure shillings three pence for each Venetian ducket. And at first being to take my iourney for Rome and Naples , I tooke vp two hundred siluer crownes, most fit for that iourney, which at [217] Venice were rated at two hundred fiue and twenty duckets, and nine|teene grosh, and I gaue my bill for three and fifty pound sterling, twelue shillings and sixe pence English, to be repaied by my friend in London. Then I retained with my selfe as many of those crownes, as were necessary for my iourney, leauing the rest in the hands of a Venetian Merchant, who gaue me a bill to receiue so many crownes In specie, (that is, in kind) at Florence [218] , where I purposed to make my aboad for some few moneths. Out of England into Turkey, I formerly said that for the vncertainty of the iourney, vpon the great distances of places, there is no certaine value of exchange, neither vse our Merchants to send bils of exchange thither, but to giue letters of credit, first to receiue money there, either at large according to the passengers wants, or for a certaine yeerely summe, to be after repaied in England, vpon the passengers bill. And the Merchants there, for each zechine of gold of [219] Venice, deliuered at Haleppo, vse to ex|act nine or ten shiliings English, to be repaied in London, to the passengers great losse, which he that will auoid, may exchange his money to [220] Venice, and there receiue ze|chines of gold, or siluer moneys of Spaine, to carry with him In specie, (that is, in kind). From London into France, the exchange of sixe shillings English, vseth to be rated at threescore French soulz, or three French pounds, which make a common French crowne (but a French crowne In specie, and of iust waight, is valued there at threescore and foure soulz, (as in England an Angell of gold is worth more then ten shillings sil|uer among the Exchangers, though in expences it is giueri out for no more then ten shillings) and not onely bils of exchange into France are giuen at the foresaid rate for moneys first receiued in England: but he that hath a merchant to his friend or acquain|tance, may easily compound to receiue money, first, in France vpon his letters of cre|dit, 280 and to repay it in London after the rate of sixe shillings English, for sixtie French soulz.

To this I will adde two generall cautions, most necessarie for trauellers; first, whereas in Germany and Italy, the Territories of absolute Princes are frequent, and of small extent, and each of these Princes doth coyne small pieces of brasse money, it be|hooueth the passenger to take heede, that he spend each Princes brasse moneys with|in his Territory, or else that vpon the confines hee change them into brasse moneys currant in the next Territory; which if hee neglect, the subiects of the new Prince, howsoeuer they bee neighbours to the former Prince, and may daily change these coynes for their owne, yet they will not re-

[215] Venice
[216] Venice
[217] Venice
[218] Florence
[219] Venice
[220] Venice

ceiue them without great gaine, they being of themselues little worth, and onely by the prerogatiue of each Prince, currant a|mong their owne subiects. Secondly, the passenger must take speciall care, to leauea faithfull friend at home, to pay the bils readily, which he sends ouer to his Merchant, for so doing, hee shall neuer want in forraine parts (at least among Christians, and knowne places of trafficke), yea, out of his good report hee shall bee furnished with more money, then is warranted by his letters of credit: but on the contrary, if his friend deny or delay paiments, hee shall not haue credit to borrow a penny vpon his occasions, more then that for which the Factors shall haue warrant by billes of ex|change, or letters of credit; and if he fall into any misfortune, he shall not find a friend to deliuer him from penurie and shame.

These things being sayed in generall, nothing remaines now, but to set downe the particular moneys of seuerall Kingdomes, and the value of them, at the time when I liued beyond Seas, which value is subiect to change, at the pleasure of each absolute Prince. And in this discourse I thinke most fit to begin with the moneys of England, being more familiarly knowne vnto me.

Being to write of the Standard, weight, and value of English moneys, I thinke fit [Note: Of the di|uers Mo|nies of Eng|land.] first to giue some few admonitions to the Reader.

First, that the purest gold containes foure and twentie caracts in the ounce, and foure graines make a caract.

Secondly, that the purest siluer containes twelue ounces in each pound Troy weight: And that Edward the first, King of England, keeping the Feast of Christs Natiuitie at Barwich, in the yeere 1300, did vpon Saint Steuens day decrie the value of base siluer moneys, and after did altogether forbid the vse of them, and shortly after comman|ded sterling money to be coyned, so called of the Easterlings, who first coyned siluer money of that Standard, which is of eleuen ounces two penny weight.

Thirdly, that the English pound, as well of gold as siluer (meaning the pound of the Ballence, not the pound of twentie shillings commonly spent) containes twelue oun|ces Troy weight. And that each ounce of siluer is worth fiue shillings of the currant money, and each ounce of Angel gold is worth three pound fiue shillings (or sixtie fiue shillings) of Queene Elizabeths siluer money, and each ounce of Crowne gold is worth three pound (or sixtie shillings) of the same coyne.

Fourthly, that the Mint-Master gaue account before the Queenes Examiners for the money they coyned, as well by the tale (or number of the pieces) as by the sheere: for it being not possible to coyne moneys of the iust prescribed weight, yet the Mint-master was held to haue performed his contract with the Queen for the standard pre|scribed by her, so the siluer were not more then 2 penny weight in the ounce heauier or lighter, then her standard prescribed: and in like sort for the coyning of gold, a cer|taine proportion of some eight graines in the ounce, was allowed to the Mint-Master in this account by the sheere.

Fiftly, that 20 penny weight makes an ounce, and 24 graines make a penny weight.

Now I returne to the discourse in hand. Queene Elizabeth in the yeere 1600, con|tracted with the Mint-Master, that of gold of the standard of twenty three caracts three graines and a halfe, he should coyne pieces of Angels, halfe Angels, fourth parts of Angels, pieces of an Angel and a half, and of 3 Angels. Now this Angel was of three penny weight and 8 graines, and this gold was commonly

called Angel gold Also she 281 contracted with him, that of gold of the Standard of twentie two caracts, he should coyne pieces of twentie shillings, and pieces of tenne shillings, and pieces of fiue shil|lings; and the piece of tenne shillings was three penny weight fifteene graines. And this gold called Crowne gold, was almost two caracts baser then the former, and two caracts after the rate of this standard, are worth fiue shillings of Queene Elizabeths sil|uer. Lastly, she contracted with him, that of siluer of the standard of eleuen ounces two penny weight, he should coyne shillings, halfe shillings, fourth parts of shillings, and pieces of two pence, and of one penny, and of halfe pence. And the shilling was foure penny (or ninety sixe graines) waight. The same Queene not long be|fore her death, reduced her siluer to the Standerd of eleuen ounces, which was two-penny weight baser then the former in each ounce, and the Mint Office was said to haue gained thereby one halfepenny in each ounce, or about fiue in the hundreth.

King Iames in the yeere 1604 published a Proclamation, whereby new pieces of gold were to be coyned, of a standard vniforme to the standards of other Nations: for it appeares by the Proclamation, that the gold coynes of England, were not of a iust proportion betweene gold and siluer, according to the proportion vsed by all Nati|ons, so as the English coynes of gold, being giuen in England for lesse, then indeed they were worth, it came to passe, that they were transported into forraine parts, where they were esteemed at higher rate; which mischiefe his Maiestie desired to take away by this vniforme standard, published in the same Proclamation; for the better vnderstan|ding whereof, this following Table was ioyned to the same.

282 It is to be remembred, that the pound weight English, being twelue ounces Troy, doth ouer-poix the pound weight of Scotland foure penny weight, and mine graines ENglish: Whereupon this Table is made to distin|guish euery seuerall pieces of Gold and Siluer Coyne, according to the true weight of both Nations.

English Weight.

B.

Pennyweight 20. Graines 24. Mites 20. Droits 24. Periots 20. Blancks 24. Pieces of Gold. of xx.s. 06 10 16 18 10 Of these 37.li.4.w. make a pound weight Troy. x.s. 03 05 08 09 05 v.s. 01 14 14 04 12 12 iiij.s. 01 06 09 08 10 ij.s. vj d. 00 19 07 02 06 06 Pieces of Siluer of v.s. 19 08 10 08 Of these 3. li. 2.s. make a pound weight Troy. ij.s. vj.d. 09 16 05 04 xij.d. 03 20 18 01 10 vj.d. 01 22 09 00 15 ij.d. 00 15 09 16 05 j.d. 00 07 14 20 02 12 ob. 00 03 17 10 01 06

Scottish Weights,

C.

Deniers 24. Graines 24. Primes 24. Seconds 24. Thirds 24. Fourths 24 Pieces of Gold of xx.s. 07 21 07 01 09 19 A Of these 36.li. 10.3.d.q. make 12. oz. Scot|tish. Or 48 li. 3.s. 8.d. x.s. 03 22 15 12 16 21 ½ v.s. 01 23 07 18 08 10 ¼ iiij.s. 01 13 20 14 16 08 ¾ ij.s.vj.d. 00 23 15 27 04 05 Pieces of Siluer of v.s. 23 15 22 05 00 13 B Of these 3.li. 10.d.q. or 4.li. 1.s. 1.d.ob.di.q.di di.q. ij s vj.d. 11 19 22 14 12 06 [...]/[...] xii.d 04 17 13 20 0[...] vi.d. 02 08 18 22 00 12 ii d. 00 18 22 07 08 04 i d. 00 09 11 03 16 02 ob. 00 04 17 13 20 01

283 King Iames in the yeere 1609, contracted with the Mint-Master, that of gold of the Standard [...] three and twentie caracts, three graines and a halfe, he should coyne pie|ces of thirty shillings, called Rose Ryals; pieces of fifteene shillings, called Spur Ry|als. And the foresaid Rose Ryall was nine penny weight and fiue graines. Also he contracted with him, that of gold of the Standard of two and twentie caracts, hee should coyne pieces of twen-

tie shillings called Vnites; pieces of ten shillings, called double Crownes, pieces of fiue shillings, called Brittan Crownes, pieces of 4 shillings, called Thistle crownes, and pieces of 2 shillings 6 pence, called halfe Brittan crownes; and lastly, that all these pieces should bee proportioned to the foresaid Table. But the first Standard of this yeere 1609 was lighter then the Standard of the yeere 1600 by ten pence in each Angell, and the second standard of the yeere 1609, was lighter in like proportion, then the second standard of the yeere 1600. Moreouer, the Goldsmiths of this time said that of old a wedge of gold (or any gold vncoined) being brought into the Mint, was coyned there for six siluer shillings in each pound of gold, whereas at this time the Mint exacted thirtie siluer shillings for the same, whereupon the Merchants carried their wedges for the most part into Flaunders to be coyned, and few of them being brought into England, the Goldsmiths could not procure any of them for the exercise of their trade, but were forced to melt coined gold and siluer for that purpose. In the same yeere 1609, the King contracted with the Mint-master, that of siluer of the standard of 11 ounces, he should coyne diuers pieces aboue mentioned in the former Table, according to the rule therein prescribed. To conclude, Caesar in his Commentaries, mentions brasse coynes of the Brittans, but the Kings of England haue now for many ages, cast out of England all vse of brasse or copper moneys, vsing none but coynes of gold and siluer, and that of a pure allay. [Note: Of the di|uers moneys of Scotland.]

King Iames in like sort as he did for the English coyne, did also ioyne to his fore|said Proclamation the foresaid Table of the Scottish weights, whereby the correspon|dencie of the Scottish money to the English, and the iust value, weight and purenesse thereof may be distinguished; to which end I haue also formerly ioyned those tables.

The Scots also coyne a siluer money of 13 pence halfe penny, and another piece of halfe the same value, and both these pieces of money are of the same purenes and value with the English siluer. And the Scots of old called 20 English pence, a pound, as wee in England call 20 siluer shillings a pound. And in like sort thirteene pence halfe pen|ny English, was by the Scots called a Marke, as in England thirteene shillings foure pence is so called. Also the Scots haue of long time had small brasse coynes, which they say of late are taken away, namely, Bahees, esteemed by them of old for 6 pence, wherof 2 make an English peny; also Placks, which they esteemed for 4 pence, but 3 of them make an English penny; also Hard-heads, esteemed by them at one penny halfe|penny, whereof eight make an English penny.

The Irish Histories report, that a Bishop, Iustice of Ireland vnder Iohn King of Eng|land, [Note: Of the di|uers moneys of Ireland.] did coyne moneys in Ireland, of the same purenes and weight with the English. And the Irish had a Mint-house at the beginning of Queene Elizabeths raigne. But in our memory the Irish haue not enioyed any priuiledge of coyning moneys, but haue continually receiued them from the Mint of England. And for the most part of Queene Elizabeths Raigne, they had the same coyne with the English, saue that the Irish shil|lings were stamped with a Harpe, the Armes of the Kingdome, and being called Har|pers, were only worth 9 pence English. But ciuill warre hauing set all Ireland in a com|bustion, the same Queene more easily to subdue the rebels, did take siluer coyne from the Irish, some few yeers before her death, and paid her Army with a mixed base coyne, which by Proclamation was commanded to bee spent and receiued

for sterling siluer mony (for no pieces of gold were at any time expressely coyned for the Irish. And this base mixed money had 3 parts of copper and the fourth part of siluer, which propor|tion of siluer was in some part consumed by the mixture, so as the English Goldsmiths valued a shilling thereof at no more then 2 siluer pence, though they acknowledged the same to be worth 2 pence halfe penny. At last the ciuill warre being appeased im|mediately before the Queenes death, King Iames her successor in the yeere 1605 took away this mixed coine, and restored their old siluer harpers to the Irish. Moreouer in the 284 happy beginning of King Iames his Raigne, the Irish had the vnder written old coynes, which Sir George Carey Knight, at that time Lord Deputie, and yet continuing Treasurer at wars for that Kingdome, did so gather vp, as at this day none of them are to be found. These coynes were thus called; First, they had siluer groats, called broad faced groates, which of old were coyned for foure pence, though some of them were now worth eight pence. Also they had siluer groats, called crosse-keele groats, stamped with the Popes tripple Crowne, likewise coined for foure pence, but being of more va|lue. And these groats were either sent hither of old by the Popes, or for the honour of them had this stampe set vpon them. Lastly, they had siluer groats of like value, cal|led Dominus groats, of the Kings of England, then called Domini (that is, Lords) of Ire|land. Also they had Rex groats, so called of the Kings of England, after they had the stile of Kings of Ireland, which were coyned for foure pence, but by the mixture of copper were onely worth two pence. Also they had white groats, which were coy|ned for foure pence, but of such base allay, as nine of them were giuen for an English shilling. They had little brasse pence, and pence of a second kinde, called Harpers, being as big as an English shilling. They had also brasse farthings, called smulkins, whereof foure made a penny. Lastly, there were lately found brasse coynes by plow|ing vp the earth, whose stampe shewed, that the Bishops of Ireland had of old the pri|uiledge of coyning. And of all these moneys aforesaid, some were coyned at London, some at the Mint at Yorke, and some at the Mint at Bristow in England.

Being to write of the diuers moneys of Germany, I thinke fit first to set downe some [Note: Of the di|uers moneys of Germany.] Lawes of the Empire about coyning of moneys. In the Diet (or Parliament) at Augs|burg in the yeere 1551. it was decreed by the Emperour, together with the Electors, Princes, States, the Counsellors of those that were absent, the Ambassadours, and Sub|stitutes; that in the greater pieces of coynes to that piece included, which is worth six creitzers, the Mint-masters, of a marke of Colen pure siluer, should make eight gold guldens and a halfe, with halfe a creitzer (the gold gulden being esteemed at seuentie creitzers) making in siluer ten guldens, twelue creitzers and a halfe, (the siluer gulden being esteemed at sixtie creitzers.) And that hereafter in the sacred Empire, the vnder written pieces of moneys should be coyned; namely, the great siluer piece, and two halfes of the same, answering in value to a gold gulden. Also pieces of twenty creitzers, twelue, ten, sixe, three, and one. Also that the States, according to the conditions of their Countreys, should coyne for common vse certaine pieces of small moneys, with pence and halfe pence. That the Rhenish guldens of the Electors, and the guldens answerable to them, should be worth seuentie two creitzers. And that all dollers be|ing worth sixty six creitzers (and so half dollers) should be admitted by the Counsel|lers, but for the rest, that they should certifie the Emperor the true value

of each, to the end he might prescribe how each coyne, according to the value made by them, should be receiued and spent or prohibited. And left the Empire should by fraudes suffer losse, in the carrying out of vncoyned siluer, and bringing in of foraine moneys, it was in the means time decreed, that no man should carry out of the Empire any vn|coyned siluer, and that those who had the Regall priuiledge of coyning, should not fell the same to any other, but vseit themselues, with this condition, that hereafter, of a siluer marke of Colen weight, they should make ten siluer guldens, with twelue creit|zers and a halfe (the gulden being esteemed at sixtie creitzers), so as in that summe there should be found a siluer Marke of the said weight, excepting alwaies the charges of coyning for the smaller pieces of moneys. And this to bee done vpon penaltie of losing that priuiledge. Moreouer, it was decreed, that vpon paine of burning, all men should abstaine from clipping, and washing of coynes, or any abasing of them with like fraudes. Lastly, it was decreed, that the States hauing the priuiledge of coy|ning, should not hereafter, vpon penaltie, bring any dollers, guldens, groshes, or halfe, or fourth parts of groshes to the mint, excepting those who had mines of their owne, who were not sorbidden to coyne as much gold and siluer as they had in their owne mines, so they coyned according to the foresaid decree; and that no other should coine any other gold, then according to the value and weight vsed by the Emperor, and the 285 Princes of the Empire vpon the Rheine. In the Dieta at Spyre, in the yeere 1557, it was decreed, that hereafter the stipends should be increased to the Assessors of the Impe|riall Chamber, so as a Gulden hauing beene giuen hitherto for 16. Batzen, or sixty foure Creitzers, should hereafter be paied from the Callends of Aprill, in the yeere 1558, for seuenty seuen Creitzers.

Likewise in the Dieta at Augsburg, in the yeer 1558, it was decreed, that the following stipends should be paid to the Iudge and Assessors of that chamber. Namely, that the Iudge, being an Earle, or Baron, should haue 2000. guldens, and if he were a Prince, his stipend should be increased. That an Assessor being an Earle or Lord, should haue seuen hundred guldens, a Doctor licentiate, or a gentleman, should haue fiue hundred Guldens, an Aduocate in Exchequer causes, should haue three hundred guldens, each Gulden being esteemed at sixteene batzen, till agreement were made for equall mony in the Empire. The Princes and diuers States, and free Cities, haue from old times by the gifts of Emperours, the priuiledges of coyning. The Electors and Princes of Au|stria, doe stampe their Coynes vpon one side with their owne Image, hauing the im|periall apple ouer their heads, and vpon the other side with their owne armes: but the Coynes of other Princes and free Cities, are stamped with the Imperiall Eagle. The Coynes that are not of iust value, are prohibited by Imperiall Edicts, but the greatest gaine which the Princes and Cities make by their Priuiledge, is by the coyning of smal brasse peeces, which peeces are not of any value out of the Territory where they are coyned, and cannot be spent vpon the confines without losse. As these priuiledges of Coyning are deriued from the Emperours, so were they subiect to the Emperours ceusure, while their power was yet vnbroken. For I find these words, vnder the Em|perours name, in the abstract of the Imperiall lawes, (vulgarly called Keichs Abscheydt.) Let euery one which hath the priuiledge of coyning, send their Counsellers to me at Nurnberg, etc. In the meane time let coyning cease in all places, vpon penalty of lo|sing that priuiledge. In

the same Booke by an imperiall Edict, with the consent of the Princes and States, in the yeere 1559, the weights and stampes of all Coynes are prescribed, and it is decreed, that none should coyne more small moneys then for the necessity of their Subiects, and that these moneys increasing, they should presently be forbidden to coyne any more. By like Edicts diuers Coynes are either decried for the value, or altogether taken away, and the bringing in of forraine moneys, and tran|sporting the Coynes of Germany, are for the time forbidden. Otherwise each Prince may conuert forraine moneys into the Coynes of Germany for the vse of his subiects. The transporting of vncoyned Gold or Siluer into the Low-Countreys is there forbid|den for the time. Great punishments are decreed therein, to be inflicted on those, that vse frauds to abase the Coynes. Likewise it is decreed, that Gold-smiths should not vse any coyned moneys in the exercise of their Art, except vncoyned wedges were not to be had, in which case they are restrained to melt no more covne then necessity requires. Lastly, therein decrees are made, that for the time none should sell or lay to gage their priuiledge of coyning, and that hereafter like priuiledge should not be gran|ted to any, without being subiect to the prescribed lawes, and that a siluer marke should be worth foureteene halfe ounces, (which weight the Germans call Loth, being halfe an ounce); and that Gold-smyths offending herein, should be punished, accor|ding to the quality of the fraud.

Now I will set downe the diuers moneys of Germany, with the seuerall values of them. And first I will forewarne the Reader, that most reckonings of Germany are made by common siluer guldens, yet is there no such coyne in the Empire; and these Guldens are esteemed at fifteene batzen in Germany, neere the value of three shillings foure pence English. Also that in reckoning of payments, the Germans vse to make them by markes of Colen and Lubecke, yet is there no such money at all coyned. Now I returne to the purpose. The Gold Rhenish Guldens of Germany, are almost of the same standard with the Crowne Gold of England: but the difference of the value shall [Note: Generally.] hereafter appeare. The Gold Ducket of Hungary, is of the purest gold of twenty foure Caracts, and it is two penny weight and sixe graines, (for I will apply all values to the 286 English Coynes); and in England they are worth seuen shillings and two pence. The siluer Doller of the Empire (called Reichs Doller) is of the standard of ten ounces or thereabouts, and is eighteene penny weight sixteene graines. And at this time in Eng|land a Doller is worth foure shillings and fiue pence, which of late, before the reducing of our money, was giuen for foure shillings foure pence. The Phillips Doller, is of the standard of nine ounces ten penny weight, and it is an ounce halfe quarter weight, and at this time in England it was worth foure shillings ten pence.

At Stoade, Hamburg, and Lubecke, the Gold Rhenish Gulden was worth eight and [Note: At Stoade and those parts.] twenty siluer Misen Grosh, and a halfe, and a fourth part of a Grosh. And the Imperiall Doller was worth foure and twenty Grosh. The same Rhenish gold Gulden, was worth sixe and thirty Lubecke shillings and a halfe, and the Imperiall Doller was worth three and thirty Lubecke shillings, though in all reckonings it were accounted but two and thirty shillings. A common siluer Gulden was worth eight and twenty Lubecke shillings. A French Crowne of Gold was worth foure and forty. An Eng|lish Angell of Gold was worth two Dollers, with the fourth part of a Doller and two Lubecke

shillings, (or otherwise it was worth twelue Flemmish Shillings, and foure Lubecke shillings). Seuen Lubecke shillings and a halfe, made an English Shilling sterling, and sixe Lubecke shillings made a Flemmish Shilling, and likewise a shilling of Hamburg. The Hamburgers coyned a peece of Gold called a Portegue, which was worth foure-pounds and eight shillings of Hamburg, or three and thirty Markes of Lubecke, (a Marke being esteemed for two shillings eight pence of Hamburg). At Stoade the siluer shilling of England was worth seuen stiuers, and the Groates of Eng|land, being of the same standard, yet were currant for two stiuers and a halfe, because seuen stiuers in that money could not be diuided into three equal parts. Whereupon it fell out, that he who bought any thing for an Hamburg penny, if he paied three English groats, had an English shilling giuen him backe, and so had the thing bought for nothing. At Emden vpon the confines of the Empire and the Low-Countreys, a [Note: At Emden.] siluer Gulden of Emden was worth twenty stiuers, an Imperiall Doller fiue and forty (which since that time is worth seuen and forty) a Doller of Emden was worth thirty stiuers, (for Princes and Cities coyne gold and siluer Guldens, which often in their value differ from the Imperiall, as likewise Dollers In specie, (that is, kind) differ in va|lue from Dollers, as they are esteemed in contracts), a French crowne was worth three Flemmish Guldens and sixe stiuers. Now sixe stiuers (as also sixe Lubecke shillings) make one Flemmish shilling. At Breme and Oldenburg, they haue these small moneys [Note: At Breme, Oldenburg, and those parts.] currant, namely, Groates, and peeces (of the stampe) called Copstucks, and a Doller was there worth foure copstucks and a halfe, ot fiue and fifty Groats. A French crown was worth six Copstucks, and one Copstucke was worth ten stiuers, or twelue groats or there abouts. A Groat was worth little more then an English penny. A Sesling was worth halfe a Lubecke shilling, and they haue also halfe Seslings in these parts. At Brunswicke a Doller was worth six and thirty Maria Grosh, which are of equall value with foure and twenty siluer Misen Grosh, and also nine Maria Grosh; make eight [Note: At Bruns|wicke.] Lubecke shillings. The same Doller was worth eighteene spitz-groshen, whereof each was worth two Maria Groshen. Here also I changed sixe Dollers into fiue Rhenish Gold Guldens and nine Grosh. At Magdeburg, Leipzag, Misen, and in all the Electorate of Saxony, and in the Neighbour Territories, to the confines of Bohemia, a Doller was [Note: At Misen and those parts.] worth soure and twenty siluer Groshen, which are as much worth as eighteene spitz|groshen, or as sixe and thirty Maria Groshen. A Rhenish Gold Gulden was worth seuen and twenty siluer Groshen, and the siluer Phillips Doller, was of the same value. A common siluer Gulden was esteemed at one and twenty siluer Groshen, a French Crowne at three and thirty, a Spanish pistolet at two and thirty, an halfe Milreise at sixe and thirty, the short and long Crusado, at fiue and thirty, the Hungarian Ducket at thirty siluer Groshen. The Rose Noble was esteemed at three Dollers and a halfe, the English Angell at two Dollers, and little more then an Ort, or fourth part of a Doller. And the siluer Grosh is worth more then two pence, lesse then 2. halfe|penny English. And for the small Coynes, a Grosh was worth foure drier, and one drier 287 was worth two Dreyhellers, and one Dreyheller was worth a pfenning and a halfe, and twelue pfenning made a Grosh, and two schwerd-groshen made one schneberger. In generall, through all the vpper parts of Germany, a doller was esteemed at eighteene

[Note: In vpper Germany] batzen, a siluer Gulden at fifteene, a Phillips doller at twenty, a Rhenish Gold Gulden at twenty, a French Crowne at foure and twenty and a halfe, a Gold Crowne of Italy was esteemed at Heidelberg and at Strassburg at foure and twenty batzen, at Augsburg a siluer Italian Crowne at two and twenty batzen and a halfe. And the siluer Grosh of Misen being carried out, and currant in all Germany, a Rhenish gold Gulden through higher Germany was worth seuen and twenty siluer Misen Grosh, a siluer Gulden there (as in Saxony) was esteemed at one and twenty Grosh. The Batz is worth three Eng|lish pence, and foure Creitzers make a Batz, foure pfenning make a Creitzer, and three Creitzers make a Zweluer, and twenty zweluers make fifteen batzen, which is a com|mon siluer Gulden.

More particularly know, that in all Princes Territories, new and diuers small mo|neys are found. At Nurnberg eight pfund (that is, Pounds) with twelue pfenning, make a siluer Gulden, thirty pfenning make one pfund, two haller make one pfenning, fiue pfening make one finfer, seuen pfening make a Maria Grosh, thirty six Maria Grosh make a siluer gulden. In Austria two haller make one pfening, foure pfening one creit|zer, seuen Creitzers and a halfe make a shilling, eight shillings make a siluer Gulden. At Augsburg seuen haller make one creitzer, eight pfening make one Bemish, three creitzers make one plappart, twenty plappart (as also sixe and twenty Bemish with 2 pfening) make a siluer Gulden. In Franconia, six pfening (whereof twelue make nine pfening of Misen) make one gnack. In Sueuia and Bauaria towards the Rheine, three Creitzers make one shilling, or one plappart, and twenty plappart make a siluer gul|den. At Lindaw, and from thence to Costnetz, three pfening of Costnetz make one creitzer, twelue pfening make a batzen, and there be also halfe batzen. From thence to Basil, these moneys are spent before named. At Strasburg and Spira, foure pfening of the Phaltz, (that is, Palatinate) make one Creitzer, and at Heydelberg, and so to Francfort, two Strasburg pfening, make one Creitzer. At Francfort seuen and twenty weispfening make a siluer Gulden, and eight haller make a weispfening. At Wien (that is, Vienna) and vpon the confines of Hungary, foure pfening make a creitzer, thirty pfe|ning (or seuen creitzers and a halfe,) make a shilling, and one shilling makes a pfund (or pound).

Alwaies let the Reader vnderstand, that the value of these moneyes is subiect to change in diuers Prouinces, and more at diuers times. And let him know, that an Im|periall [Note: In gene|rall.] Doller is now in Germany worth nineteene batzen, which at my being there was giuen for eighteene batzen; and that a Phillips doller is now worth twenty two batzen, which then was giuen for twenty, and that a Rhenish Gold Gulden is now worth three and twenty batzen, which then was giuen for twenty. Likewise that in the Territory of the Elector of Saxony, a doller is now worth sixe and twenty Misen Grosh and a halfe, which then was giuen for foure and twenty. Also that the great Coynes of Germany, are now worth more in England, then they were at that time, in respect of our siluer somewhat debased. And if any obiect, that our English coynes of siluer are now worth more in the Low-Countreys, then they were at that time when they were more pure, let him know, that all great Coynes, as well of siluer as Gold, as well forraine as domesticall, haue since that time beene increased in value in the Low Countreys; yet he that will change an English Angell into dollers, or great siluer Coynes in the Low-Countreys, shall gaine no more at this time then formerly, since now they esteeme a doller at

seuen shillings sixe pence, which formerly was giuen for fiue shillings foure pence, and all the gayne which this raising of the Coynes seemes to promise a passenger, is by changing his great Coynes into stiuers and small brasse moneys, which being of none or small value in themselues, are despi|sed by Merchants, who are to receiue great summes. But I will referre the change of the value of Coynes in the Low-Countries, to the proper place, and returne to the va|lue of Coynes, increased in Germany: Wherein no man is to wonder, that the great 288 Coynes still remaining of the old standard, yet are giuen for more of their owne small moneys, then formerly they were, since diuers reasons therof may be readily brought. Either for that the Merchants, being to receiue great summes, desire rather with losse to receiue great Coynes, then with gaine to receiue the base, and brasse Coynes. Or perhaps for that the small Coynes are now either more abased, or altogether made of brasse: And most of all, for that forraine Merchants doe more carry out the moneys of Germany for their wares, then any natiue commodities thereof, so as the increased value of Coynes in Germany, turnes onely to the losse of strangers, and to the gaine of the Empire.

Bohemia now long subiect to the Family of Austria, hauing long held the dignity of [Note: Diuers mo|neys of Bo|hemta.] Emperours, doth admit all the great Coynes of Germany, in the same value as the Ger|mans held them. And as well the Bohemians, as the Hungarians, in the yeere 1551 gaue consent, that thenceforward their moneys should be made agreeable to those of the Empire, in weight, matter, and value. Touching the small moneys in Bohemia, and vpon the confines of Hungary and Poland, I remember that three potschandels or po|chanels made one creitzer, and nine creitzers with a pochanell made foure weissgrosh, and that thirty Grosh of Morauia (or weissgrosh) made a doller. And that in Bohemia they had a kind of Grosh, which answered in value to the Grosh of Polonia. Lastly, that Merchants reckoned two hallers for a pfenning, and six pfenning for a grosh, and sixty grosh for a shocke, and forty grosh for a marke.

The Common-wealth of the Sweitzers consisting of diuers Cities and Villages, [Note: Diuers mo|neyes of Sweitzer|land.] and Territories, doth also admit diuers moneys. The priuiledge of Coyning is gran|ted in common to Zurech, Basil, and Schaphusen, and each of these Cities hath his pecu|liar mynt, with Officers to ouersee that the moneys stamped with the markes of the Cities, be of iust weight, and due mixture: but each of these Cities hath their peculiar moneys. They of Basil, with the Neighbour townes of Alsetz, doe coyne a peece of money, which of a Crow stamped vpon it, is called Reppen Múntz, whereof fiue and twenty pound Troy weight, (called in Latin, Assis) make a common gold gulden, estee|med at sixty creitzers. They of Schaphusen, doe coyne money of the same mixture and value, together with the vsuall money of the Empire. They of Zurech coyne dollers and halfe dollers, after the value of those in the Empire; but they haue a lesse money of their owne, whereof forty pounds Troy weight, (called in Latin Assis) make a com|mon gold Gulden. They also coyne Batzen, whereof sixteene make a gold Gulden. More particularly to explane the value of these moneys: Six Rappen of Basil, make a plappart or three creitzers, and twenty piappart or sixty creitzers, make a common Gulden. And as I formerly said in the discourse of German moneys, from Lindaw to Costnetz, three pfenning of Costnetz make a Creitzer. Now I adde that the money of Schaphusen and Costnetz is spent to the

confines of Schaphusen, and the money of Basil is spent from thence to Basil. At Zurech sixe pfenning make a shilling, (worth a penny English), and three pfenning make a Sicherling. Two great finfers of Basil, and one lit|tle finferlin, make a batz of Basil, and in like sort fiue finferlin make a batz, and fiue fin|fers make two batzen, and these moneys are spent to Strassburg, and so to Spire in Ger|many. Bern, Frtburg, and Solothurn, haue a peculiar money, whereof two and forty pounds Troy weight (in Latin Assis) and twice foure ounces (in Latin Trientes) make a gold Gulden. Besides they (and especially those of Solethurn in great quantity) coyne a peece of mony, which the Sweitzers call Dickenpfenning, and the French call Testoome, but it is lesse worth by the tenth part then the Testoone of France. Those of Bern did first coyne Batzen, so called of a Beare, the Armes of the City, (for the words Baren, and also batzen, signifie Beares in the Sweitzers tongue), and the Cities of Sueuia, imi|tating them, drew the same money and word into Germany. At Bern sixteene batzen are esteemed for a rhenish gold Gulden. The money of Lucerna, is like to that of Basil, but onely sixe ounces Troy weight more base, and fifty of these moneys make a Rhenish gold Gulden. As the French gold is spent with gaine in Sweitzerland, so in all places vpon these confines of France, the French siluer Coynes called Francks are common|ly spent. In the Cantons dwelling scattered in Villages, (namely, the Sweitz, those of 289 Vnderuald, the Tugians, those of Glarona, and Abbatiscella), a pound is a doller. In Rhaetia (or the Grisons) the Bishop and the Citizens of Chur coyne money, and the Abbot of Disent hath an old priuiledge of coyning. And here sixty creitzers make a common gulden, foure Angster make a Creitzer, and twelue Angster make a Behmisch. But in this Prouince confining vpon the State of [221] Venice, the Lires or Berlingots, and the gagets of [222] Venice, are vulgarly spent, and I remember that when I came out of the state of [223] Venice into this Prouince, I spent Crownes of Italy; and I find in my notes, that at Lasagna I changed a siluer crowne for eight and twenty batzen: but since seuen bat|zen of Germany make two lires of [224] Venice, and a gold crowne of Italy, is there giuen for eightlires; I thinke that either it was a gold crowne that I changed, or that the batzen of this Prouince are of lesse value then those of Germany. For a gold crowne of Italy, and the French crowne are both of a value, and I said before, that at Strassburg I chan|ged each of these Crownes for foure and twenty batzen: yet to the contrary I find, that passing forward in this Territory of the Grisons, I exchanged at Lanzi a siluer crowne of Italy for seuen and twenty batzen, and that three batzen were there estee|med at foureteene creitzers, which in Germany are onely worth twelue creitzers. So as I am doubtfull, and cannot determine the value of the Italian coynes, in the small mo|neys of the Grisons.

In the foresaid Imperiall Dieta (or Parliament) held at Augsburg, in the yeere 1551. [Note: Of the di|uers Coynes of the Low-Countreys.] these words are added to the Imperiall Edict. We wil that this our Edict shall be pro|pounded to our Hereditary States of the Low-Countreys, and we will take care that they apply themselues thereunto, as much as they possibly can. The States of the Low-Countreys,

[221] Venice
[222] Venice
[223] Venice
[224] Venice

coyne diuers peeces of gold, as Archiducall Angels and Crownes. And the Angell is of the standard of twenty two Caracts, and of three penny weight seuen graines. Also they coyne gold Lyons, called Riders, whereof each is worth foure Flemmish Guldens and a halfe. The Noble of Gant, is of the same standard with the French Crowne, and in England it is worth thirteene shillings foure pence. They spend commonly Phillips dollers, the value whereof I haue set downe with the mo|neys of Germany. To conclude, they coyne any peece, of which they can make gayne, yea, the Merchants report, that they coyne the great moneys of Spaine, England, and all Dominions, stamped with the same Image and Armes, and for such vtter the same in their trafficke with the Indians. But they coyne little gold or siluer of their owne, hauing a singular Art to draw all forraine coynes when they want them, by rai|sing the value, and in like sort to put them away, when they haue got abundance ther|of, by decrying the value. And when their Exchequer aboundeth with any money, and they are to pay their Army, then they increase the value thereof; but hauing aboun|dance of the same coyne, and being to receiue their reuenues, then they decry the va|lue thereof. And while they thus raise the value of forraine great coynes, in their small moneys, it fals out, that they haue plenty of gold and siluer, with the onely losse of base stiuers and brasse moneys. And indeed, as well the art, as industry of this Nation, hath in our age become wonderfull to all other Nations. For they haue no woods, yet by the commodity of their riuers and ditches, they are become terrible to their ene|mies in the strength of their Nauy. They haue not corne to suffice their owne wants, yet by fetching it from other parts, they relieue therewith all Nations that want corne. Of late, when they had no skill in trafficke, the Italians trading at Antwerp, did rashly take their children to write their letters, and be their cashiers, and they too late com|plaine, that when these children grew to age, they did not onely take all forraine traf|ficke from them, and send them backe into Italy, but also followed them thither, and liuing dispersed through all the Cities of Italy, and spending at a low rate, did also draw all that trafficke to themselues. In like sort they haue no mines of gold and siluer, yet by their singular wit, and rare industry, doe abound both with gold and slluer. To conclude, as they are most practicall in all kinds of businesse, so are they most subtile in the art of the mynt, and money matters. But I will returne to the moneys of the Low-Countreys. At this day the English Angell being esteemed at fiue Flemmish guldens and two blancks, two English Angels (or twenty shillings) are there worth soure and 290 thirtie Flemish shillings, wanting 2 stiuers, and a hundreth pounds Flemish make sixty English pounds sterling. Two English shillings are three shillings foure pence. Fle|mish, and make a Flemish siluer gulden, twentie Flemish shillings make a Flemish pound, twentie stiuers make a Flemish gulden, sixe stiuers make a Flemish shilling, two blancks make one Flemish stiuer and a halfe, foure orkees (or doights) of brasse make a Flemish stiuer. A French crowne was giuen for three Flemish guldens, and foure stiuers. (but in Holland onely three stiuers, and in some places but two stiuers more then three guldens.) An Imperiall doller was giuen for fortie fiue stiuers, a Spanish pistolet for three flemish guldens, and two or three stiuers, a gold Rhenish gulden for two Flemish guldens and nine stiuers, and a Phillips doller of siluer for two Flemish guldens and eight stiuers, or very little more.

The marke of Denmarke was esteemed at 16 Lubock shillings, and two shillings

[Note: Of the di|uers moneys of Denmark] of Denmark made one Lubeck shilling, and thirtie three Lubeck shillings were giuen for an Imperiall Doller, yer two and thirtie of Lubect, or sixtie foure shillings of Den|mark made a common Doller in contracts. The gold of England was commonly spent in Denmark, and they esteemed an English Angell at two Dollers, and little more then the fourth part of a Doller; and they esteemed the English Rose Noble of that time at three Dollers and a halfe (which coyne they had almost drawne altogether into Denmark, by the exacting the same for the tributes of ship-masts, and other Merchan|dizes, passing the narrow straight of their Sea.

The Polonians coyne gold Duckets of the same value with the Hungarian Duckets [Note: Of the di|uers moneys of Poland.] (whereof I haue spoken among the moneys of Germany), and these Duckets at this day are giuen for seuenty Polish grosh, which of late were worth no more then sixtie fiue. Venceslaus King of Bohemia was crowned King of Poland about the yeere 1300, who first brought siluer money into Poland, namely, Bohemian groshen (I meane those of siluer, not the white grosh), which to this day are currant in Crakaw, and those parts. For before that time the Polonians did traffick with little pieces of vn|coined siluer, and with exchange of skins and other commodities. At this day the Po|lonians, aswell as the Germans, make all contracts by siluer guldens, but haue no such coyne stamped. Thirty Polish grosh make a siluer gulden, and a doller at this day is worth fortie Polish grosh, at the least, which not long since was worth no more then thirtie fiue grosh, but to this day in contracts thirtie sixe Polish grosh make a doller, howsoeuer a doller in specie (that is, in kinde) be worth fortie grosh at the least. Three Pochanels make a Creitzer, and seuen pochanels make a Polish and Bohemian gro|shen of siluer. At Danske in Prussia (of old a Prouince of Germany, but lately annexed to the Crowne of Poland) they coyne Hungarian dukets of gold (as they doe in Po|land), and they haue two coynes of gold, called Milreis, and halfe Milreis. And I re|ceiued of a Merchant there, each Hungarian ducket, and each halfe milreis, for a dol|ler and a halfe with one sesling, and each milreis for three dollers and two seslings. And thirtie sixe Polish grosh did there make a doller. But I remember, that I did there change an Hungarian ducket for fiftie sixe Polonian grosh, which value passeth the former about a grosh and a halfe. For a sesling [...] Hamburg makes a Danish shilling, and that is little more worth then a halfe Polish grosh. The Muscouites Empire lyes vpon this Prouince, and therefore I will adde a word of their coynes. They make all contracts by a money called Rubble, which is altogether imaginarie, for they haue no such coyne, and it is esteemed in England at thirteene shillings foure pence sterling, and in the Muscouites money, it is rated at thirtie three altines and two Diagoes. And sixe single or three double diagoes make one altine.

The Italian Crowne of gold, and the Spanish pistolet, and double pistolet (being [Note: Of the di|uers moneys of Italy. In generall.] there current), are of the same standard, allay, and value, with the after mentioned French Crowne, saue that the double pistolet containes two French Crownes. The Venetian zecchine is of the same standard, finenesse, and value as the Hungarian duc|ket, aboue mentioned in the moneys of Germany. The Popes giulij of siluer, and so likewise the poali, are of the same standard finenesse and value with the English sixe pence, but the lire of [225] Venice being worth about nine pence En-

[225] Venice

glish, is of a little baser 291 standard. The Spanish coynes of siluer are currant in Italy, and they are called Pezzi d'otto, pieces or rials of eight, and they be of the standard of 11 ounces and two penny weight, and are three quarters of an ounce and a halfe weight, and in England each of them is worth foure shillings foure pence half peny, this Spanish mony being two and twentie pence in each twentie shillings English, more worth then the English siluer. All Crownes of gold are currant in Italy, and all at one rate, excepting the French Crownes, which at [226] Venice and Naples are esteemed somewhat higher then other, though in all the other Cities of Italy, it is more commodious to spend Spanish pi|stolets or crownes, then French crownes. In generall, the Italian siluer crowne, giuen for seuen lires of [227] Venice, is worth almost fiue shillings English, and the Italian gold crowne vulgarly called d'oro, giuen for seuen lires, and about fifteene sols of [228] Venice, is worth almost fiue shillings sixe pence English, and the gold crowne, vulgarly called d'oro in oro del sole, giuen for eight lires, and some odde sols of [229] Venice, is currant in Eng|land for sixe shillings. To conclude, greater summes paid in little brasse moneys, are in Italy deliuered by weight, not by tale or number. And more particularly to ex|plaine the values of moneys. At [230] Venice a zechine of [231] Venice is giuen for ten lires, and [Note: At [232] Venice.] ten or twelue sometimes more sols. A double pistolet of Spaine, called Dublon', is there giuen for seuenteene lires. A French crowne is giuen for eight lires, and eight, or sometimes ten sols. An Italian crowne of gold is there giuen for eight lires, and some for seuen lires sixteene sols (for the weight of [233] Venice being heauier then in other parts of Italy, the light crownes are lesse esteemed.) The Spanish piastro of siluer is giuen for sixe lires, the siluer ducket for sixe lires and foure sols, the siluer crowne for seuen lires, the iustino for two lires, the mutsenigo for a lire, and foure sols. Besides, the Vene|tians haue siluer pieces of 4 lires, of eight soldi (or sols), and of sixe soldi, and a piece of two soldi called Gagetta, which are of a baser standard. Touching the brasse moneys, twentie soldi make a lire, two soldi or three susines make a gagetta, two betsi or three quatrines, make a soldo or marketta, and foure bagatines make a quatrine. In the Dukedome of Ferrara, the siluer crowne is spent for seuen lires of [234] Venice, and in the [Note: At Ferrara.] money of the Dukedome twelue bolignei make a Venetian lire, three susines make a boligneo, and two bolignei make one amoray, seuen make one Saint Georgio, foure make one caualot, foure and a halfe make one berlingasso, nineteene make one carli, and ten bolignei make one bianco, and two brasse quatrines make a sufine, sixe make a boligneo, seuen make a gagetta of [235] Venice. At Bologna, a siluer crowne is giuen for ten. [Note: At Bologna.] poali, and a French crowne of iust weight for thirteene poali. The poalo, and the giu|lio in other parts of Italy are both of one value, but here the giulio is giuen for sixe bo|lignei and foure brasse

[226] Venice
[227] Venice
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[234] Venice
[235] Venice

quatrines, or for fortie brasse quatrines, and the poalo is giuen foreight bolignei, or for fortie eight brasse quatrines. Also hee that changeth any crowne, shal haue more gaine, if he change it into bolignei (which are good for expen|ces there), then if he change it into poali (because the poali are currant in other parts, but the bolignei onely in the territory of Bologna.) At Pesaro, and in the Dukedome of Vrbino, a gold crowne is spent for twelue poali, and fifty two brasse quatrines make a [Note: At Pesara.] poalo: but if you will change your gold crowne into brasse quatrines, which are not [...] out of the Territory, you may haue 182 quatrines for the crowne, which make fifteene poali, which is a fifth part more then it is worth in siluer. At An|cona, [Note: At Ancona.] and in the Marci of Ancona, a gold crowne is giuen for eleuen poali and a half, or in the value of twelue poali, if you receiue it in brasse quatrines, and there sortie qua|trines of brasse make a giulio, fortie three make a poalo. A siluer crowne is giuen for ten poali, and if you receiue brasse quatrines for poali, they will giue seuen baocci more, and ten baocci make a poalo. At Rome a gold crowne is sometimes giuen for eleuen poali and a halfe, somtimes for twelue, sometimes for twelue and a halfe, accor|ding [Note: At Rome .] to the abundance and want of gold, and all gold crownes are of one value. And a siluer crowne is giuen for ten poali or giulij, and ten baocci make one giulio or poalo, and foure brasse quatrines make a baocco. Lastly, at Rome more then any other where, he that changeth crownes into quatrines, which cannot be spent out of that State, shal in appearance make great gaine: but in the Market those which sell, vse to looke into 292 the buyers hands, and if he haue quatrines therein, they hold the thing to be sold at a higher rate, if he bring siluer, they sell cheaper. And I remember, that the Gentlemen of Rome refusing to take quatrines for their rents, the people, when the Pope came a|broad, falling on their knees before him, in stead of asking his blessing, did with hum|ble cries craue a remedie for that oppression. At Naples a gold Spanish crowne, or a [Note: At Naples .] French crowne of iust weight, was giuen for thirteene carlini, an Italian gold crowne for twelue carlini and a halfe, a siluer crowne for tenne carlini, and nine carlini make eight reali, or giuli, or poali, and fiue carlini make one paraque, and fortie brasse qua|trines make one carlino, ten quatrines make one sequin, three quatrnies one turnas, and two cauali make one quatrine. In the Dukedome of Florence [236] , a gold crowne is giuen [Note: At Fioren|za.] for twelue giulij (or reali, or poali, for they bee all of one value) and for halfe a giulio more. And a siluer crowne called Piastro (which is most commodious to bee carried for expences in all Italy, and especially here) was giuen for ten giulij and a halfe. Tou|ching smaller monys, ten brasse deners make a quatrine, three brasse quatrines make a soldo, fiue quatrines make a baello (or creitzer, which is a little coyne of siluer), and eight baelli make a giulio or carlino, and fortie giulij make twentie shillings sterling English. At Genua and in Liguria, a gold crowne of iust weight (aswell Spanish, as [Note: In Liguria.] French, Venetian, Florentine, Neapolitan, and that of Genoa) is giuen for foure lires and a halfe of Genoa . A siluer crowne there called ducaton, is giuen for three lires of Genoa , fifteene soldi or bolinei, and somewhat more. And a chanfron of Naples for one and thirtie soldi. Fifteene lires of Genoa make twenty shillings sterling English, twentie soldi or bolinei of Genoa make a lire of Genoa , and

[236] Florence
[237] Venice

twelue soldi of Genoa make a lire of [237] Venice, seuen soldi and a halfe of Genoa make a reale, foure soldi make a caua|lotto, sixe quatrines make a soldo, or bolineo, and two deners make a quatrine. Also at Genoa they coyne a siluer piece of eight reali, which is giuen for three lires and one or two soldi. Likewise they coyne a piece of foure reali, and another of two reali. Al|so they coyne siluer pieces, of one, two, and foure lires, and a siluer piece of ten soldi or bolinei. Lastly, they coyne brasse pieces of foure soldi, called caualotto, of one soldo or bolineo, of eight deners, of foure deners, and of one denere. In the Dukedome of Milan , a gold crowne of Italy being of iust weight, is giuen for one hundred twentie [Note: At Milan e] one soldi. A Spanish dublon of iust weight, is giuen for two hundred and sixty soldi, and more sometimes. A dublon of Milan for two hundred and fiftie soldi, a light gold crowne for one hundred and seuenteene soldi, a siluer crowne called ducaton for one hundred and fourteene soldi. And twentie soldi make a lire, two lires of Genoa make about three lires of Milan , foure brasse quatrines make a soldo, nine soldi make a bianco, ten quatrines make one parpoyolle, forty quatrines make a terso. My selfe at Milan changed a gold crowne for sixe lires and sixe soldi, and at Marignano, hiring a horse for sixe lires, and giuing a gold crowne, I receiued backe eight soldi. In Piemont, a French crowne is giuen for ten florines somewhat more, a siluer crowne for eight florines. And twelue grossi make a florine, foure quatrini make a grosso, foure soldi [Note: In Piemont.] make a bianco, seuen quatrines make a soldo, sixe soldi and sixe quatrines make a flori|no, twelue quatrini make a caualotto, and foure caualotti make a florino. Lastly, in the Dukedonie of Mantua , a zecchine of [238] Venice is giuen for eight lires and twelue sol|di, a gold crowne of Mantua for seuen lires, a siluer crowne for sixe lires and foure sol|di. [Note: At Mantua] Foure trantis make a soldo, two soldi make a parpayollo, sixe soldi make a Barba|rino, ten soldi and a halfe make a giulio, twelue soldi and a halfe make a Spanish riall, 20 soldi make a lire, 2 trantis make a susine, and 3 deners of Mantua make a trantis.

The great Turke coynes a piece of gold called Sultanon', and it is of the same stan|dard, [Note: The diuers moneys of Turkey.] finenesse, and value with the Hungarian ducket, aboue mentioned among the moneys of Germany. In Affrick, those of Barbary haue a gold Ducat, commonly cur|rent among Christians, which is so rare in Turkey, as I do not remember to haue seene any piece there of spent there. Neither haue the Affricans any mines of gold, but they carry salt to Ganger, and thence bring this gold. And this Barbary duckat of gold is of the standard of three and twentie caracts, and the fourth part of a graine, and three penny weight wanting two graines, and at this day in England it is giuen for 293 nine shillings two pence sterling, which of late was worth no more then eight shillings foure pence sterling. To conclude, the gold zechine of [239] Venice, and the Spanish peeces of siluer, of foure and eight Reali, and the very siluer of [240] Venice, are so commonly spent in Turkey, as the gold and siluer of Turkey seemes despised, or at least is seldome spent. But because this vast Dominion hath large circuit, it will not be amisse to name the moneys currant in diuers places. And first I forewarne the passenger, that in all places, he is in danger, who shewes his money, but most of all

[238] Venice
[239] Venice
[240] Venice

among the Turkes, where to be rich, is more dangerous then the greatest crime can be obiected, either in respect of the couetous Iudge in publike, or the rauinous nature of each man in priuate, neither doth any thing more prouoke the Turkes to lay snares for the vn wary passenger. So as howsoeuer it be not improuidently done, to carry summes of gold or siluer by sea, and in Barks of Christians; yet I would aduise a passenger to be wary how he shew them among Christians, and much more among Turkes, and aduise him rather to make shew, to draw his money from a little purse, hiding his greater store, then in payments to pull it out by heapes. The Greeke Iland Zante, subiect to the Venetians, hath [241] Venice. [Note: At Zante.] money, and a gold zechine was giuen there for eleuen Lires, and two gagets.

Likewise the Greeke Iland Candia, subiect to the Venetians, hath the moneys of Ve|nice, [Note: At Candia.] where a gold zechine was giuen for eleuen lires, and to the Turkes (landing there) at a higher rate. The siluer crowne called piastro, was there giuen for six lires, and a|bout foure soldi. And here I found a siluer peece, which I neuer found to be spent in the State of [242] Venice, namely, a perper, worth eight soldi, and eight baggatini of [243] Venice.

The Greeke Iland Cyprus, subiect to the Turkes, spends the Venetian gold and sil|uer [Note: At Cyprus.] lires, but receiues not the peeces of eight soldi, nor the lesser moneys of [244] Venice, nei|ther are the Venetian lires currant any further then this Iland, though perhaps they may be spent with some losse vpon the Coast adioyning. At Cyprus the gold zechine was giuen for eleuen lires of [245] Venice, and for 120, aspers of Turkey; and the siluer crown called piastro, or a piece of eight Reali Spanish, was giuen for seuenty Aspers, and the gold Sultanon of Turkey, was of the same value with the zechine of Uenice: yet the ve|ry Subiects more willingly receiued the zechines. The Turkish Asper is a little peece of siluer, which at Haleppo in Syria was worth some three farthings English: and eight aspers at Cyprus made one scahy (a Turkish money which the Italians call Seya) be|ing esteemed at little more then sixe pence English, and fifteene scahy made a zechine, twelue scahy made a French or Spanish Crowne, ten scahy made a piastro or Spanish peece of eight Reali. And sixteene brasse Mangouri made one siluer Asper, neither can any money of Cyprus be spent in Palestine without losse.

At Ierusalem and through all Palestine, and those parts, the gold zechines of [246] Venice [Note: At Ierusa|lem.] are more esteemed (as in all Turkey,) then any other peeces of gold, and the very Turkes more willingly receiue them then the Turkish Sultanons. At Ierusalem a ze|chine was giuen for fiue and forty meidines of Cairo in AEgypt, the Spanish peece of eight Reali called plastro, was giuen for eight and twenty meidines; and halfe a piastro at the same rate, neither haue they any Aspers there, but these meidines onely, where of each is worth three Aspers, so as the fiue and forty meidines giuen for the zechine, are worth 135, Aspers, and the eight and twenty meidines giuen for the piastro, are worth eighty foure aspers. The gold crownes of France and Spaine, are not spent here without losse, but the

[241] Venice
[242] Venice
[243] Venice
[244] Venice
[245] Venice
[246] Venice

siluer duckets of Italy are commodious to be spent here. At Tripoli in Syria, and at Haleppo, and in the territories adioyning, the foresaid siluer as|pers [Note: At Tripoli.] are commonly spent. The gold zechine of [247] Venice is there worth ninety meidines, and the Spanish piastro worth sixty; but these meidines of Tripoli, differ from the other of Cayro in AEgypt, for those of Tripoli are each worth one asper and a halfe, but those of Cayro are each worth three Aspers. At Constantinople all contracts are made by aspers, howsoeuer the foresaid peeces of gold and siluer be there also currant. And in small [Note: At Constan|tinople.] contracts they pay aspers by the weight, because they cannot easily number them, but in great contracts they reckon by Asses loades of aspers, as the English doe by hundred and thousand pounds. Lastly, at Constantinople, I exchanged gold zechines each at 125, aspers, a French Crowne at one hundred aspers, and a doller of Germany at 75, aspers.

294 The gold French Crowne is of the standard of two and twenty caracts, and is two [Note: Of the di|uers moneys of France.] penny weight, foure graines and a quarter. The siluer peece called Quart d'escu, that is, the fourth part of a crowne, is of the standard of eleuen ounces, and is six penny weight foure graines, and is worth two [248] Venice Lires, or eighteene pence sterling English. The peece of Siluer called Francke, is of the standard of nine ounces ten penny weight, and eighteene penny weight sixeteene graines, and is worth two shillings English. The French Crowne is exchanged for three Franckes, or for foure Quarts d'escn, or for little more then foure testoones. For foureteen soulz and a halfe make a testoon, fifteene soulz make a Quart d'esca, and twenty soulz make a francke, and sixty soulz make a French crowne, and twelue deniers make a soulz. Yet a gold French crowne In specie, (that is, in kind) is changed for sixty fiue soulz. As in like sort in England, a French crowne is worth no more then six shillings, and the English Angell is worth no more then 11. shillings in common estimation, yet he that brings a weighty a French crowne In specie to the Gold-smyths, they will giue him sixe shil|ling six pence for it, and he that brings to them an old Angell of gold, they will gine him 11. shillings and six pence, or more for it. And in the last ciuill warre, the value of the French crowne was raised to 120, soulz, till the King reduced the same to the old value after the warre composed. The same King Henry the fourth since that time raised the value of gold crownes, to the end he might draw backe his gold which was carried into forraine parts. My selfe passing through Lorayne, before the French ciuil warre was fully appeased, did at Monwicke, vpon the confines of Lorayne and German, exchange a French crowne for foure franckes and nine grosh, and shortly after com|ming to Shallons, exchanged a French crowne for no more then sixty soulz, so as I guesse that either the Franckes of Lor aine differ from the Franckes of France, or that the tumult of the warre, and the making of peace shortly after, made this difference.

Of the diuers measures of miles, through diuers parts of the world.

FVrther being to write of the diuers measures of miles, through the diuers parts of [Note: The diffe|rence of miles.] the World, it seemed good to me to adde the measure of miles, vulgarly receiued, namely that fiue. Italian miles, or three French, or two and a halfe English, make one Dutch mile, and that one Dutch mile and a halfe makes a mile of Sweitzerland.

[247] Venice
[248] Venice

It remaines now that according to my owne experience, I should speake something of the diuers kindes of miles. And in generall, this my opinion hath respect to the dif|ficult or easie passages of the way, since euen in England, the miles seeme, and indeed are more short, neere London, where the waies are faire and plaine, and frequently in|habited, as they seeme, and indeed are more long and tedious, through the desart pla|ces of the North, ouer mountaines, and through vninhabited and difficult passages.

The Romans of old held a thousand paces for a mile, and such are the miles of I|talie. [Note: Italian.]

A common English mile makes one and a halfe Italian, but towards the North, and in some particular places of England, the miles are longer, among which the Kentish [Note: English.] mile (being a Southerne County) is prouerbially held to be extraordinarily long.

The Irish miles among the English, and the Irish-English are answerable to the Eng|lish; [Note: Irish.] howsoeuer for the solitary and disinhabited wayes, and many foards often ouer|flowed they are more troublesome to passe.

In like sort the miles of Scotland, answere to the Northerne miles of England, saue that the frequent climing of mountaines, and the vnbeaten waies, make them seeme [Note: Scottish.] longer, and indeed require more time for the passage.

Villamont a French gentleman in the book of his trauels witnesseth, that one French [Note: French.] mile containes two Italian miles.

The common Germain mile, being for the most part in plaines, makes more then three English, or fiue Italian miles; but in some places the solitude of Woods, and the [Note: German.] ascent of Mountaines, make the miles of Germany seeme much longer, and Sueuia ex|traordinarily hath long miles, though it be a plaine Countrey. The miles of Sweit|zerland, 295 being ouer continuall Mountaines, are so long, as passengers distinguish their iourney more by the spaces of howers, then by the distances or numbers of miles. And I remember, that finding no horse to be hired, I went on foote from Scaphusen to Zureth, which iourney I was going ten howers, being accounted but foure miles. And in Rhaetia among the Grisons, vpon the confines of Italy, one mile is held for sixe Itali|an miles. And vpon the foote of the Alpes towards the North, one mile is accounted for seuen miles and a halfe of Italy, where hauing a good horse, I could ride with an or|dinarie pace no more then one Dutch mile in foure howers space. By which appeares, that the measure of miles is very vncertaine among the Sweitzers, who for the most part reckon their iourneys by howers riding, or going with an ordinary pace, and not by miles.

The miles of Bohemia and Morauia are no lesse tedious, and I remember, that my [Note: Bohemia,] selfe passing there on horseback, did commonly ride no more then foure miles in a dayes iourney. And howsoeuer the length of the Sweitzers and Bohemian miles may in part be attributed to the climbing of Mountaines, and bad waies, yet no such reason can be giuen for the miles of Morauia, which Country is either a plaine, or little pleasant Hilles, and the waies faire, and the Countrey well inhabited.

The Low-Countrey miles are of a middle length betweene the German and French miles. But in the very Country of Holland they differ much one from ano|ther, [Note: Flemish.] since foure miles of great Holland make sixe miles of little Holland. And I remem|ber, that about the Citie Horne, I esteemed each mile longer then three English. Also next

to the Holland miles, those of Freesland are longer then the rest.

A mile of Denmark is somewhat longer then three English miles, and answereth to [Note: Danish.] the common mile of Germany.

The miles of Poland generally are like the miles of Denmarke, but they differ [Note: Polonian] in length one from the other. For I remember, that in Prussia each dayes iourny I passed by coach some seuen miles, and in middle Poland nine or ten miles, but in vp|per Poland towards Germany I commonly rode on horse-back no more then fiue miles or there-abouts each day, in my passage from Crakaw to Morauia. In Russia among [Note: [...]] the Moscouites confining vpon Poland, a mile is called a ferse, and answeres to fiue Ita|lian miles, or one common mile of Germany.

In Turkey those that guide Christians, hauing the Italian tongue, doe in my opinion [Note: Turkish.] number the miles to them, much after the Italian manner.

1 THE REBELLION OF HVGH EARLE OF TYRONE, AND THE APPEASING THEREOF; WRITEN IN FORME OF A IOVRNALL. PART II.

BOOKE I.

2

6.5 CHAP. I.

Of the Induction or Preface to my Irish Iournall, and a compendious narration, how CHARLES BLOVNT, Lord Mountioy (my Lord and Master of happy memorie) was chosen Lord Deputy of Ireland; and of this worthy Lords qualitie, as also of the Councels in generali, by which he broke the Kebels hearts, and gane peace to that tren|bled State. Together with his particular actions in the end of the yeere 1599.

AT my returne from Scotland about the month of September in the yeere 1598, I retyred my selfe to Healing (my deare Sister Faith Mussendines house, being situate neere the South banke of Humber, in the Countie of Lincolne.) In which place (and my deare sister Iane Alingtons house neere adioyning) whilest I passed an idle yeere, I had a pleasing opportunitie to gather into some order out of confused and torne writings, the particular obseruations of my for|mer Trauels, to bee after more delibrately digested at lea|sure. After this yeere spent in Countrey solace, the hopes of preferment drew me into Ireland. Of which iourney being to write in another manner, then I haue formerly done of other Countries, namely, rather as a Souldier, then as a Traueler, as one abiding in Campes, more then in Cities, as one lodging in Tents, more then in Innes; to my former briefe discourse of the iourneys through England and Scotland. I haue of purpose added there, out of my ordinary course, the like of Ireland, onely for trauellers instruction.

I am now to treate of the famous and most dangerous Rebellion of Hugh, Earle of Tyrone, calling himselfe, The Oneale, (a fatall name to the chiefe of the sept or Family of the Oneales), and this I will doe, according to the course of the former Part namely, in this place not writing Historically, but making only a Iournall, or bare nar|ration of daily accidents, and for the rest referring the discourse of Ireland for all parti|culars to the seuerall heads, wherein each point is ioyntly handled, through all the Do|minions of which I haue written. Onely in this place for the better vnderstanding of 2 that which I principally purpose to write, I must craue leaue to fetch some short re membrances (by the way of preface) higher then the time of my owne being in Ire|land, in the Lord Mountioy his Gouernement.

About the yeere 1169 (not to speake of the kind of subiection which the Irish are [Note: Ann. 1169.] written to haue acknowledged, to Gurguntius, and some Brittan Kings), Henry the 2 being himself distracted with French affaires, gaue the Earle of Strangbow leaue by let|ters Patents, to aide Dermot Morrogh King of Lemster, against the King of Meath. And this Earle marrying Eua, the daughter of Dermot, was at his death made by him heire of his Kingdome. Shortly after King Henrie himselfe landed at Waterford, and whilst he abode in Ireland, first Dermott Mac Carthy, King of Corcke, and the South part of Moun|ster, and Dunewald Obzian King of Limrick, and the North part of Mounster, then Orwark King of Meath; and Roderick King of Connaght, (by singular priuiledge ouer the rest, called the King of Ireland), and the aboue named King of Lemster yet li|uing, did yeeld themselues vassals vnto King Henrie, who for the time was saluted Lord of Ireland (the title of King being first assumed by acte of Parliament to King Henrie the eight many yeeres after.) In the said Henrie the seconds raigne, Sir Iohn

de Courcy with foure hundred voluntary English souldiers sent ouer, did in fiue battailes subdue Vlster, and stretcht the bounds of the English pale as farre as Dunluce in the most Northerne parts of Vlster.

About 1204, Iohn Courcy of English bloud, Earle of Vlster and Connaght, did rebel, and was subdued by Hugh Lacy. About 1210 the Lacies of English bloud rebelling, were subdued by King Iohn, who after some three moneths stay returned backe into England, where the Lacies found friends to be restored to their Earledome of Vlster. A|bout 1291 O-Hanlon and some Vlster Lords troubling the peace, were suppressed by the English Colonies. From 1315 to 1318 the Scots made great combustions in Ireland to whom many Irish families ioyned themselues, and both were subdued by the Eng|lish Colonies. In the yeere 1339 generall warre was betweene the English Colonies [Note: Anno 1339] and the Irish, in which infinite number of the Irish perished. Hitherto Ireland was gouerned by a Lord Iustice, who held the place sometimes for few yeeres, sometimes for many. In the yeere 1340, Iohn Darcy, an Englishman, was made Iustice for life, and the next yeere did exercise the place by his owne Deputy (which neither before nor after I find to haue been granted to any, but some few of the Royall bloud.)

About the yeere 1341, the English-Irish (or English Colonies), being degenerated, first began to be enemies to the English, and themselues calling a Parliament, wrote to the King, that they would not indure the insolencies of his Ministers, yet most of the Iustices hitherto were of the English-Irish (or English, borne in Ireland.)

About the yeere 1361, Leonel, Duke of Clarence, was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and sometimes left his Deputy to gouerne it. This Duke being Earle of Vlster and Lord of Connaglit by the right of his wife, came ouer with an Army of some 1500 by pole, and quieted the borders of the English Pale in low Lemster. Herefor|med the English-Irish, growne barberous (by imbracing the tyrannicall Lawes of the Irish, most profitable to them, which caused them likewise to take Irish names, and to vie their language and apparrell.) To which purpose good Lawes were made in Par|liament, and great reformation followed, aswell therein, as in the power of the Eng|lish, for the leuen yeeres of his Lieutenancy, and after, till the fatall warres of Turke and Lancaster Houses. And hitherto most of the Iustices were English-Irish.

About the yeere 1400, Richard the second, in the eighteenth yeere of his Raigne, [Note: Ann. 1400.] came with an Army of foure thousand men at Armes, and thirtie thousand Archen, fully to subdue the Irish: but pacified by their submissions, and no act of moment otherwise done, he returned with his Army into England. After, to reuenge the death of the Earle of March his Lieutenant, he came againe with a like Army: but was sod|denly recalled by the arriuall of Henry the 4 in England. During the said Kings Raigne, Ireland was gouerned by his Lord Lieutenunts, sent from England, and in the Raignes of Hen. the 4, and Hen. the 5, by Iustices for the most part chosen of the English-Irish, only the Lord Scroope for 8 yeres was Deputy to Thomas the second son to Hen. the 4, who was L. Lieutenant of Ireland.

3 This I write out of the Annals of Ireland printed by Camden. In which, from the first Conquest of Ireland, to the following warres betweene the Houses of Yorke and Lancaster in England, I find small or no mention of the Oneals greatnesse among the Irish Lords. And I find very rare mention of any seditions in Vlster, especially a|mong the Northerne Irish, so as

that Prouince, from the first Conquest to these ciuill English warres, doth thereby seeme to haue beene one of the most peaceable and most subiect to the English. Neither reade I therein, of great forces or summes of mony lent out of England into Ireland, (except voluntaries, and the cursary iourneys of King Iohn and King Richard the second); but rather that for the most part all seditions as well be|tweene the English-Irish, and the meere Irish, as between the English-Irish themselues, were pacified by the forces and expences of the same Kingdome.

During the said ciuill warre betweene Yorke and Lancaster, for England, most of the Noble Families were wasted, and some destroied; whereupon the English Irish, which hitherto had valiantly maintained their, Conquest, now began to repaire into England, partly to beare out the factions, partly to inherit the Lands of their Kinsmen, of whom they were discended: And the meere Irish boldly rushed into the possessi|ons, which the other had left void in Ireland. And from that time, vnder the gouerne|ment of English Liefetenants and Deputies, seditions and murthers grew more fre|quent, the authority of the English Kings became lesse esteemed of the Irish, then in formertimes, and the English Pale had sometimes larger, sometimes straighter limits, according to the diuers successes of the Irish affaires at diuers times.

After the appeasing of the said bloody warre, I finde some 1000 men sent ouer by Henry the seuenth to suppresse Perkin Warbeck, an English Rebell, and 500 men sent by Henry the eight to suppresse the Geraldines of English race, rebelling against him. O|therwise the said Annals mention no great or generall rebellion in Ireland, especially such, by which either much blood of the English was spilt, or much of our treasure ex|hausted, till the happy raigne of Queene Elizabeth. For in this onely age, Religion ra|ther then Liberty first began to be made the cloake of ambition, and the Roman Lo|custs, to maintaine the Popes vsurped power, breathed euery where fier and sword, and not onely made strong combinations against those of the reformed religion in all Kingdomes, but were not ashamed to proclaime and promise Heauen for a reward, to such cut throates as should lay violent hands on the sacred persons of such Princes, as opposed their tyranny. Amongst which, this famous Queene being of greatest power, and most happy in successe against them; they not only lest nothing vnattemp|ted against her sacred person, and her Crowne of England, but whither incouraged by the blind zeale of the ignorant Irish to Popery, or animated by an old Prophesie.

He that will England winne, Must with Ireland first beginne.

Did also raise two strong and dangerous rebellions in Ireland, the one of the Earle of Desmond, and the other of the Earle of Tyrone, (not to speake of the troubles made by Shane Oneale, the easie setling whereof shall be onely mentioned in the treating of Ty|rones Ancestors.) How beit the wonted generall peace seemes to haue continued till after the 19. yeere of the Queenes raigne, being 1577: at which time the Lords of Con|uaght, and Ororke, for their particular, made a composition for their lands with Sir Ni|cholas [Note: Anno 1577] Malby, Gouernour of that Prouince, wherein they were content to yeeld vnto the Queen so large a rent, and such seruices, (both of labourers to worke vpon occasi|on of fortifying, and of horse and foote to serue vpon occasion of war), as it seems the Popish combinations had not yet wrought in them any alienation of mind from their wonted awe and reuerence of the Crowne of England.

Touching the rebellion of Gerald Earle of Desmond: Iohn Gerald the sonne of Thomas [Note: The rebelli|on of the Earle of Desmond.] (whose Progenitors of English race, had long behaued themselues valiantly in subdu|ing the Irish) had Kildare giuen him by King Edward the second, with title of an Earle. And this Family of the Fitz Geralds, or Geraldens, (as they are now called) long flouri|shed, (not onely keeping Ireland in obedience to the King; but infesting the sea coasts of the Welsh, not yet vnited to the Crowne of England,) and neuer raised armes against England, till Thomas Fitz Gerald, the sonne of Gerald Fitz Gerald, Earle of Kildare, and 4 Lord Deputy of Ireland, vnder King Henry the eight, (whom the King had called into England, and there brought in question for his ill Gouernement), hearing by light and falle rumour that his father was executed, rashly tooke Armes against the King, inuiting the Emperor Charles the fifth to inuade Ireland, which he in the meane time wasted with fire and sword. This Thomas and fiue of his Vncles were shortly af|ter hanged, the father being before dead of griefe. But Queene Marie restored this Family to honour and lands, though they neuer after recouered their former dignity. Of these Geralds most of the greatest Lords in Mounster are descended, (though for diuers causes, many of them haue taken other Sirnames) and particularly the Earles of Desmond.

Maurice Fitz-thomas a Geraldine was first created Earle of Desmond by Edward the third. Of whose posteritie many excelled in wealth, vertue, and honourable reputati|on, farre extending their power. But Iames inuaded his Nephewes inheritance by force, and imposed heauy exactions on all depending vpon him, whose sonne Thomas following his fathers steps, was by the Lord Deputie beheaded in the yeere 1467: his sonnes were restored, and the Earledome remained in his posterity, till Gerald Earle of Desmond in the yeere 1578 rebelled against Queene Elizabeth. To whose aide cer|taine [Note: Ann. 1578] bands of Italians and Spaniards, sent by Pope Gregory the twelfth, and Philip King of Spaine, landed at Smerwic, who besieged by the Lord Arthur Grey, then Lord Deputy, in a Fort they had built, and called the Fort del ore, shortly after yeelded themselues, in the yeere 1583, and were put to the sword, as the necessitie of that State, and their manner of inuading the land, was then said to require. And the Earle of Desmond flying into the Woods, was there in a cottage killed, and his head cut off, (being, as they say, betrayed by his owne followers, wherein the Vlster men challenge an honour of faithfulnesse to their Lords, aboue those of Mounster; for in the follow|ing warres none of them could be induced by feare or reward, to lay hands on their reuerenced Oneale.) Thus with an Army of sixe thousand men, whereof some foure|thousand were newly sent ouer at diuers times, this Rebellion of Desmond in Mounster was soone appeased. The Earledome of Desmond was by authoritie of Parliament adiudged to the Crowne, and made a County, with Sheriffes appointed yeerely to be chosen by the Lord Deputie.

Vpon the attainter of the said Earle of Desmond and his confederats, all the lands falling to the Crowne, were in Acres of English measure about 574628 Acres:

Hereof great part was restored to the offenders, as to Patrick Condon his Countrey, to the White Knight his Countrey, to some of the Geraldines, and to other their con|federats no small portions. The rest was diuided into Seigniories, granted by letters patents to certaine English Knights and Esquires, which vpon this gift, and the con|ditions whereunto they were tied, had the common name of Vndertakers.

In Kerry and Desmond, by patent, to Sir William Harbert, to Charol Harbert, to Sir Valentine Browne, to Sir Edward Denny, besides an vncertaine portion to George Stone and Iohn Chapman and their heites, were granted 30560 Acres with yeerely rents fiue hundred foure and twentie pound sixe shillings eight pence sterling. In Limerick by Patent to Sir Henrie Billinsley, to William Carter, to Edmund Mannering, to William Trenchard, to Sr. George Bourcher, to Sr. George Thorn|ton, to Richard Fitten, to Robert Annesley, to Edward Barkley, to Sir Henry Vthered, to Sir William Courtney, to Robert Strowde, and to their heires, were granted 96165 Acres, with rents nine hundred three and thirty pound foure shillings halfe penny, ster|ling. In Corke, by patent to Vane Beacher, to Henrie North, to Arthur Rawlins, to Arthur Hide, to Hugh Cuffe, to Sir Thomas Noris, to Warham Sent-leger, to St Thomas Stoyes, to Master Spencer, to Thomas Fleet|wood, and Marmaduke Edmunds, and to their heires were granted 88037 Acres, with rents fiue hundred twelue pound seuen shillings sixe pence halfe penny sterling. 5 In Waterford and Tripperary by Patent to the Earle of Ormond, to Sir Christopher Hatton, to Sir Edward Fitton, to Sir Walter Rawleigh, and to their heires were granted— 22910 Acres with rent three hundred and three pound, three pence sterling. These Vndertakers did not people these Seigniories granted them and their heires by Patent, (as they were bound) with well affected English, but either sold them to English Papists, (such as were most turbulent, and so being daily troubled and questi|oned by the English Magistrate, were like to giue the most money for the Irish land) or otherwise disposed them to their best profit, without respect of the publike good: neither did they build Castles, and doe other things (according to their couenants) for the publike good, but onely sought their priuate ends, and so this her Maiesties boun|ty to them, turned not to the strengthning, but rather to the weakening of the English Gouernement in that Prouince of Mounster.

Touching the Rebellion of the Earle of Tyrone, the worthy Antiquary Camden men|tioneth [Note: Tyrones Re|bellion.] Neale the Great, tyrannising in Vlster, and great part of Ireland, before the com|ming of Saint Patrick into that Kingdome, about the yeere of our Lord 431, adding that this Family notwithstanding liued after more obscurely, not onely till the Eng|lish entered to conquer Ireland, about the yeere 1169: but after that, to the time that the Scots vnder Edward Bruce, attempted to conquer that Kingdome, about the yeere 1318. In which turbulent time, Doneualdus O Neale started vp, and in his letters to the Pope stiled himselfe King of Vlster, and true Heire of all Ireland. Further, Camden ad|deth, that after the appeasing of these troubles, this new King vanished, and his poste|ritie lurked in obscuritie, till the Ciuill warres of England, betweene the Houses of Yorke and Lancastar. The seede whereof was sowne by Henry the fourth of Lancastar Fami|ly, deposing Richard the second of Yorke Family, and vsurping the Crowne, though Henrie the fourth and his sonne Henrie the fifth by their valour so maintained this vsurpation, as no Ciuill warre brake forth in their time, nor so long as the noble Bro|thers of Henrie the fifth, and Vncles to Henrie the sixth liued. After, betweene Henrie the sixth of Lancaster Family, and Edward the fourth of Yorke Family, this bloudy war was long continued, but ended in the death of the next successor Richard the third, a double Vsurper, both of the House of Lancaster, and the Heires of his Brother Edward the fourth of the House of Yorke. After, in the marriage of Henrie the seuenth with the

Daughter and Heire of Edward the fourth, both these Houses were vnited; and so this bloudie warre well ended. From this time, behold the Pedigree of the O|males.

Owen Oneale.

Hugh mac Owen. Art mac Hugh. Neale Moore mac Art. 6 Hugh Mac Neale Moore. 7 Owen Mac Hugh Neale Moore, offered to serue against trai|tor Hugh. Foure sonnes, Tir|logh, Hugh, Bryan, and Henry, liuing when Hugh Oneale rebelled. Phileme Roc mac Art. Henry Mac Phelime Roc. Turlogh Mac Henry of the Fuse, Rebell with Hugh. Fiue sonnes then liuing. Henrie Mac Owen Oneale married the Daughter of Thomas Earle of Kildare a Giraldine. Con More (or Great) married the Daughter of Gerald, Earle of Kildare his Mothers Neece, whose Father and himself waxing bold vpon the power of the Earles of Kildare, tyrannised ouer the peo|ple, and despised the titles of Earles, Marquises, Dukes, or Princes, in regard of that of Oneale. Con, Sirnamed Bacco (or Lame), succee|ded Oneale, who cursed his posterity, if they should learne English, fow Corne, or build houses, to inuite the English. His power being suspected of Henrie the eight, and the Kings power, after the sup|pression of the Earles of Kildare, being feared of him, who had rebelled with the Earle, he fayled into England, and renouncing the name of Oneale, and surren|dring his Inheritance held by the Irish Law of Tanistry (by which a man is preferred to a boy, and the Vncle to that Nephew, whose Grandfather ouer|liues the Father, and commonly the most actiue Knaue, not the next Heire, is chosen), had his land regraunted to him from the King, vnder the great Scale of England, as to his Vassall, with title of Earle of Tyrone. Thus in the three and thirty yeere of Henrie the eight, an Act of Parliament was made in Ireland, with consent of the three Estates of that Kingdome, whereby the vsurpation of the title of Oneale was made capitall to this Family, and King Henrie and his successors (the former stile of Lords being changed) were stiled Kings of Ire|land, and the Lawes of England were receiued to be of force in that Kingdome. Phelime Hugh eldest sonne. Turlogh Brasilogh. Six sonnes at least then liuing, and a|ble to serue the Queene. Shane (or Iohn) Oneale succeeding his Father, by killing his Brother Matthew, and vexing his Father to death, was cruell and barbarous, and tyrannically challenged the neighbour Lords to be his subiects, as Mac Gennys, Mac Guire, Mac Mahown, O Realy, O Hanlon, O Cahon, Mac Brien, O Hagan, O Quin, Mac Cartan, Mac Donnell Galloglasse. And when Henrie Sidney expostulated this (being Lord Iustice in the ab|sence of the Earle of Sussex, Lord Deputy), he offered to proue by writings, that his Ancestors, had this authori|tie ouer them, denying that his Father had any power to resigne his lands to the King; (which hee held onely for life by Tanistry Law), without the consent of the people, being to chuse Oneale (that is, the chiefe of the name.) Hee made warre against O Realy, and imprisoned Collogh Mac Donnell. But when Thomas Earle of Sussex, L. Deputy led the Eng|lish forces against him, he by the counsel of the Earle of Kildare, sailed into England, and sub|mitted himselfe to Q. E|lizabeth, and after for a while conformed him|selfe to obedience and ciuilitie. But when hee tirannised ouer the Irish Lords, and they craued succour of Henrie Sidney Lord Deputy in the yeere 1565, he leading an Army against him, seng Edward Randolph with seuen Companies of Foote, and a Troope of horse by Sea to Derry and Loughfoyle, to assault the Rebell on the back. Against whom the Re|bell turning all his forces was so defeated, as hee fled for succor to the Scots, whose brother he

had killed, and they at first entertaining him wel, after fell to words, and killed him in the yeere 1567. Af|ter in a Parliament at Dublin, he was condemned of treason, and his lands confiscated, and a Law made, that no man should after that presume to take the name and title of Oneale. He had three sonnes, Henry, Con, and Tirlogh, cast in prison by Hugh the Rebell. Matthew Okelly till 15 yeres age reputed the son of a Black Smith at Du|dalke, giuen Con O Neale by a Smiths wife at her death. This Bastard hee appointed to succeed him by the Kings let|ters Pattents, at which time he was created Ba|ron of Dungannon: but he was killed in his Fa|thers life time by Shane, the legitimate sonne of Con, whose bastard this Matthew was. Brian killed by O|donnel, at the instance of Shane O Neale. Hugh preserued by the English from Shane, married the Daughter of Tirlogh Linnogh Oneale, whom he put away by diuorce, and after prooued an Arch-Rebell. This Hugh, sonne to the Bastard Matthew, (borne of a Smiths wife, and reputed the Smiths sonne till he was fifteene yeeres of age) liued sometimes in Ireland, and [Note: Hugh Earle of Tyrone.] much in the Court of England, and was supported against Turlogh Linnogh Oneale, with the title of Barron of Dungannon, by his fathers right. He had a troope of horse in Queene Elizabeths pay, in the late warres of the Earle of Desmond, in which and all occasions of seruice he behaued himselfe so valiantly, as the Queene gaue him a yeere|ly pension of one thousand Markes. He was of a meane stature, but a strong body, a|ble to indure labors, watching, and hard fare, being with all industrious, and actiue, va|liant, affable, and apt to mannage great affaires, and of a high dissembling subtile and profound wit. So as many deemed him borne, either for the great good or ill of his Countrey. In an Irish Parliament he put vp his petition, that by vertue of the letters Patents granted to his Grand-father, to his Father and his heires, he might there haue the place and title of the Earle of Tyrone, and be admitted to this his inheritance. The ti|tle and place were there granted to him, but the inheritance (in regard the Kings of England by the attainder of Shane, were thereof inuested) was referred to the Queenes pleasure. For the obtaining whereof, Sir Iohn Perrot then Lord Deputie, vpon his promise of a great rent to be reserued to the Crowne, gaue him his letters of recom|mendation into England, where he so well knew to humour the Court, as in the yeere 1587 he got the Queenes Letters Pattents vnder the great Seale of England, for the Earledome, of Tyr-Oen without any reseruation of the rent he had promised to the I Deputy, wherwith, though his Lordship were offended, in that the Pattent was not passed in Ireland, and so the said rent omitted, yet in reuerence to the great Lords, who had procured this grant in England, he did forbeare to oppose the same. The conditi|ons of this [...] were, that the bounds of Tyrone should be limited; That one or two planet (namely, that of Blackwater) should be reserued for the building of Forts, and keeping of Garrisons therein; That the sonnes of Shane and Tirlogh should be pro|uided for; and that he should challenge no authoritie ouer the neighbour Lords bor|dering vpon Tyrone, or any where out of that County. And such were his indea|uours in the Queenes seruice, such his protestations of faith and thankfulnesse, as Tir|logh Linnogh, by the Queenes intercession, was induced (vpon certain conditions for his maintenance) to surrender the County, and all command in those parts vnto him. [Note: [...]] Cormoe preserued from Shane by the English, now rebel|ling with Hugh. Neale Conue|lagh. Turlogh Lynnogh tooke the title of Oneale after

Shane: he was aged, and so loued quietnesse, the ra|ther for feare of the chil|dren of Shane and of Mat|thew the Bastard. He was obedient to the Queene, but made warre vpon O|donnel, and the Iland Scots, of whom he killed in the field Alexander Oge, who murthered Shane Oneale. Sir Arthur O Neale Knight, liuing in this Re|bellion. This Sir Arthur serued the Queene against Hugh the Arch-Rebell, who had two of his sons in prison, but two or three other sonnes were with their father at Laugh|foyle among the English. 8 The Spanish (forsooth) inuincible Nauy, sent to inuade England, in the yeere 1588, being dispersed, and prouing nothing lessethen inuincible, many of them were wrec|ked [Note: Ann. 1588.] on the Coasts of Ireland, whereof some were harboured by the Earle of Tyrone, with whom since he was thought to haue plotted the following mischiefes.

And shortly after (in the end of this yeere, or beginning of the next) Sir Iohn Perrot [Note: Anno 1589 Sir William Fitz-wil|liams Lord Deputie.] being reuoked, Sir William Fitz-williams, was sent Lord Deputy into Ireland. I haue heard that he hauing been formerly. Lord Deputy, when he returned and sued for re|compence of his seruice, a great Lord should answer him, that such imployments were preferments, and not seruices to challenge reward: And therefore, it in this new im|ployment any shall thinke that he followed this counsell, seeking to make it a prefer|ment to him and his family, I doe not much maruell thereat. This I write of heare|say, but as in the generall relation following, I purpose to write nothing which is not warranted either by relations presented to the Queene, by the principall Councellers of Ireland, or by Letters interchanged betweene the States of England and Ireland, or like authenticall writings; so for the particular of the aboue named Lord Deputy, if perhaps some may thinke any thing obserued by me to derogate from him, I protest, that whatsoeuer I write is in like sort warranted, and may not be omitted without the scandall of Historicall integrity, being obiections frequently made by the Rebels, for excuse of their disloyalty, aswell in all their petitions, as treaties of peace: But how|soeuer I cannot but mention these imputations, yet I aduise the Reader to iudge of them, as obiections of the Rebels, who in their nature are clamorous, and could no way make their excuse so plausible, as by scandalizing the chiefe Gouernor. And I fur|ther protest, that as I shall in the due place once mention an honorable answer of this L. Deputy, to part of the chief complaints made by the Irish against him, so I would most willingly, haue inserted his full iustification, if any such memoriall had come to my hands.

Sir William Fitz-williams, being Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir Iohn Norreys was Lord President of Mounster, (who made his brother Sir Thomas his Vice-president), and Sir Richard Bingham was Gouernor of Connaght. This Lord Deputy now againe entering the gouernement of Ireland, that Kingdome was in the best estate that it had beene in of long time, not only peaceable and quiet, (so as any the greatest Lord called by letter or messenger, readily came to the State there, and none of them were known to be any way discontented), but also most plentifull in corne, cattel, and all manner of victuals. But within three moneths after his taking of the sword, some Irish informed him, that the aboue named Spaniards, last yeere wrecked on the Coasts of Connaght and Vlster, had left with the Inhabitants, (in whose hands they fell) great store of treasure and o|ther riches. This the Lord Deputy (as the Irish say) did greedily seeke to get into his hands, but surely he pretended the Queenes seruice, as may ap-

peare by a commission, by which he first assaied to sease the same. This not taking any effect, he tooke a iour|ney himselfe into those parts, with charge to the Queene and Countrey (as they said) and that in an vnseasonable time of the yeere, after Allhallontide. Where altogether failing of his purpose, he brought thence with him as prisoners, two of the best affe|cted Gentlemen to the State in those parts, whom he deemed to possesse the greatest part of those riches, namely, Sir Owen mac Tooly (father in law to the Earle of Tyrone, who had long enioied a yeerely pension of one hundred pound from the Queene, and had kept Odonnel in a good course of opposition against Tyrlogh Lynnogh Oneale) and Sir Iohn Odogherty, (of Vlster Lords best affected to the English.) Wherof the first refu|sing (as they obiect) to pay for his inlargement, continued prisoner til the beginning of Sir William Russels gouernement, who in pitty discharged him, but the old gentlemens heart was first broken, so as shortly after he died. The second was released after two yeeres restraint, not without paying for his liberty, (as the Irish say). At this hard vsage of those two Vlster gentlemen, all the great men of the Irish, (especially in those Nor|therne parts) did much repine.

In the moneth of May 1590, the Earle of Tyrone came into England, where he was after an easie manner restrained of his liberty, because he came without the Lord De|puties [Note: Ann. 1590.] 9 Licence, which fault repaired by his submission, he was freed of his restraint. In the moneth of Iune, the Earle agreed before the Lords, to enter bonds with good sureties of the Pale, to keepe peace with all his Neighbours, namely Sir Tirlogh Lyn|uogh (who since the renouncing the title of Oneale, and yeelding at the Queenes inter|cession, the gouernement of those parts to the Earle, was Knighted); and at his returne to put in pledges, to be chosen by the Lord Deputy and Counsell, for more assurance hereof, and of his loyalty, as also the performance of certaine Articles signed by him: Prouided that the pledges should not lie in the Castle, but with some gentlemen in the Pale, or Merchants in Dublyn, and might be changed euery three moneths, during her Maiesties pleasure.

The Articles were to this effect: To continue loyall and keepe the peace: To re|nounce the title of Oneale, and all intermedling with the Neighbour Lords: That Tyrone should be limited, and made a shire or two, with Gaoles to be built for holding of Sessions: Not to foster with any neighbour Lord, or any gentleman out of his Coun|trey not to giue aid to the Iland and Irish-Scots, nor take any of them: That if for his defence he needed forces, he shall leuy none out of his Countrey without speciall li|cence of the State, in which case he might haue English bands. To conclude, with the Lord Deputy within ten moneths, about acomposition of rents and seruices to her Maiesty for all his Countrey, according to the aboue mentioned composition of Con|naght, made in the yeere 1577. Not to impose any exactions without licence of the State on his Country aboue ordinary, except it be for necessary forces for his defence, and that also with licence: Not to make any roades into Neighbour Countreys, ex|cept they be within fiue dayes after a prey taken: That none of the Countrey receiue any stelths from Neighbour-Countreys, nor steale from them, but he to bring forth the theeues, or driue them out of Tyrone: That he execute no man, except it be by Commission from the Lord Deputy, vnder the broad seale for martial law, and that to be limitted. That his Troope of 50 horse in her Maiesties pay, be kept compleat for her seruice; and that besides he answer arising out at euery generall hosting. That he meddle not with spir-

ituall liuings, nor lay any charge on them. Not to maintaine any [...] or Friers in his Countrey: Not to haue intelligence with forraine traytors. That he take no blacke rent of any Neighbours. To cause the wearing of English ap|parell, and that none of his men weare glibbes (or long haire): That he answere for his brother Tyrlogh Mac Henry, Captaine of the Fewes: That in time of necessity he sell victuall to the Fort of Blacke-water. These he promised to performe vpon his honour before the Lords in England, and that his pledges to be put in, should lie for perfor|mance of them, to his power. And order was giuen, that all the Neighbour Lords should be drawne to like conditions, that so they might not spoile Tyrone.

In the moneth of Iuly 1590, Con mac Shane, (that is, the son of Shane O neale,) accu|sed [Note: Ann. 1590.] Hugh Earle of Tyrone, of many practices, to make himselfe great in the North, and that after the wrecke of the aboue named Spaniards, he conspired with those which fell into his hands, about a league with the King of Spaine, to aid him against the Queene. These Articles the Earle answered before the Lords in England, denying them, and auowing the malice of Con to proceed of her Maiesties raising him to be Earle of Tyrone, and Cons desire to vsurpe the name of Oneale, as his father had done, which name be laboured to extinguish. He could haue spoken nothing more pleasing to this State (as he well knew), and therefore his answere was approued: But the euent shewed his dissembling; for within two or three yeeres, Sir Tyrlogh Lynnogh died, and then the Earle tooke this title of Oneale to himselfe, (which was treason by act of Par|liament in Ireland,) still excusing himselfe subtilly that he tooke it vpon him, left some other should vsurpe it, promising to renounce it, yet beseeching that he might not be vrged to promise it vpon oath. Camden affirmes that Hugh ne-Gauelocke, bastard to Shane O neale, exhibited these Articles against the Earle, who after got him into his hands, and caused him to be hanged, (hardly finding any, in regard of the generall re|uerence borne to the blood of the Oneals, who would doe the office of hangman,) and that the Queene pardoned the Earle for this fact. I doubt not but he writes vpon good ground, and I find good warrant for that I write the same to be exhibited by Con mac Shane, and both may be reconciled by the exhibiting of the petition by Hugh, in the name of Con.

Sure I am that the Earle durst neuer enter into rebellion, till he had gotten the sons of Shane Oneale to be his prisoners. Two of them, in this time of Sir William Fitz-wil|liams his gouernement, were now in the Castle of Dublyn, and if they had beene fastly kept, they being true heires of Tyrone before their fathers rebellion, would haue been a strong bridle to keepe the Earle in obedience: But they together with Phillip Oreighly, (a dangerous practiser), and with the eldest sonne and heire of old Odonnel, (both im|prisoned by Sir Iohn Perrot, in his gouernement), shortly after escaped out of prison, being all prisoners of great moment, whose inlargement gaue apparant ouerture to ensuing rebellion. Neither did the Irish spare to affirme, that their escape was wrought by corruption, because one Segar, Constable of the Castle of Dublin by Patent, hauing large offers made him to permit the escape of Oreighly, and acquainting the Lord De|puty therewith, was shortly after displaced, and one Maplesdon, seruant to the Lord Deputy, was put in his place, in whose time those prisoners escaped To returne to the orderly course of my relation.

The Earle on the last of August, and the same yeere 1590, did before the Lord De|puty and Counsell of Ireland, confirme

the aboue mentioned Articles, sent thither out of England, faithfully promising by word and vnder his hand, to performe then. But still he delaied and put off the performance, by letters vnto both States, intreating that equall security might be taken of Sir Tyrlogh Lynnogh, and in generall of all the bordering Lords, (which he knew at that time most difficult to effect), and by many subtile shifts, whereof he had plenty.

About this time Mac Mahown, Chiefetaine of Monaghan died, who in his life time had surrendered this his Countrey, held by Tanistry the Irish law, into her Maiesties [Note: Ann. 1590.] hands, and receiued a regrant thereof, vnder the broad seale of England, to him and his heires males, and for default of such, to his brother Hugh Roe mac Mahowne, with other remainders. And this man dying without heires males, his said brother came vpto the State, that he might be setled in his inheritance, hoping to be countenanced and cherished as her Maiesties Patentee, but he found (as the Irish say) that he could not be admitted, till he had promised to giue about sixe hundred Cowes (for such and no o|ther are the Irish bribes). After he was imprisoned (the Irish say for failing in part of this payment), and within few daies, againe inlarged; with promise that the Lord De|puty himselfe would go to settle him in his Countrey of Monaghan, whither his Lord|ship tooke his iourney shortly after, with him in his company. At their first arriuall, the gentleman was clapt in bolts, and within two dayes after, indited, arraigned, and executed, at his owne house, all done (as the Irish said) by such Officers, as the Lord Deputy carried with him to that purpose. The Irish said, he was found guilty by a Iury of Souldiers, but no gentlemen or freeholders, and that of them foure English souldiers were suffered to goe and come at pleasure, but the other being Irish kerne, were kept straight, and starued, till they found him guilty. The treason for which he was condemned, was because some two yeeres before, he pretending a rent due vnto him out of the Ferney, vpon that pretende, louied forces, and so marching into the Fer|ney in warlike manner, made a distresse for the same, (which by the English law may perhaps be treason, but in that Countrey neuer before subiect to law, it was thought no rare thing, nor great offence). The greatest part of the Countrey was diuided, be|tweene foure gentlemen of that name, vnder a yeerely rent to the Queene, and (as they said) not without payment of a good fine vnder hand. The Marshall Sir Henry Bagnoll had part of the Countrey, Captaine Henslowe was made Seneshall of the Countrey, and had the gentlemans chiefe house, with a portion of land, and to diuers others smaller portions of land were assigned, and the Irish spared not to say, that these men were all the contriuers of his death, and that euery one paid something for his share Hereupon the Irish of that name, besides the former allegations, exclaimed that their kinsman was trecherously executed, to intitle the Queene to his land, and to extinguish 11 the name of Mac Mahowne, and that his substance was diuided betweene the Lord Deputy and the Marshall, yea, that a pardon was offered to one of the Iury for his son, being in danger of the Law, vpon condition hee would consent to find this his kins|man guilty.

Great part of these exclamations was contained in a complaint exhibited, against the Lord Deputy after his returne into England, to the Lords of her Maiesties Coun|cell, about the end of the yeere 1595, in the name of Mac Guire, and Euer Mac Cooly (one of the Mac Mahownes, and chiefe ouer the Irish in the Ferny.) To which Sir William Fit and Williams, then sicke at his house, sene his answere in writing. There first he auowes to the Lords,

that the fact of Mac Mahowne, was first adiudged treason in England, and that his calling in question for it was directed from thence, and for the manner of proceeding herein, not prescribed, that it was [...], and contrary to their calumnious al|legations, who complained against him. He further answered, that the most part of the Countrey was not bestowed on the Marshall Sir Henrie Bagnall, but that seuen of the chiefe in that Countrey had the greatest part of it, that three hundred Freeholders were raised to her Maiestie, with eight hundred pound yeerely rent, and that all the Country seemed then glad of his execution, and ioyfully receiued the English Lawes. The rest of the complaint he denied, and for the bribe of Cowes in particular, did [...] that Euer Mac Gooly, one of the [...], offered him seuen thousand Cowes to make him chiefe of the name, when he might haue learned, that his mind was not so poore, to preferre Cowes or any bribes before the Queenes seruice.

To returne to our purpose, certaine it is, that vpon Mac Mahownes execution, heart|burnings and lothings of the English gouernement, began to grow in the Northerne Lords against the State, and they shunned as much as they could, to admit any Shiriffes, or any English to line among them, pretending to feare like practises to ouer|throw them.

The sixteenth of Iuly 1591, the Earle of Tirone wrote vnto the Lords of England, excusing himselfe, that Sir Tyrlogh Lynnogh was wounded by his men, while he sought [Note: Ann. 1591] to prey his Countrey. In the same moneth he suffered his Countrey of Tyrone to be made Shire ground, being by certaine Commissioners bounded on euery side, and diuided into and Baronies, and the Towne of Dungannon made the Shier Towne, where the Goale should be. In the moneth of October he wrote againe to the Lords, iustify|ing himselfe against the complaint of the Marshall Sir Heury Bagnoll, auowing that he had not stolne his sister, or taken her away by force, but that after her brothers many delayes, she willingly going away with him, hee married her. And that he had no o|ther wife, being lawfully diuorced from her, whom the Marshall termed his wife. He complained against the Marshall, that he reaped the benefit of all that in Vlster, which by his endeauouris had been brought to her Maiesties obedience. That he had obtai|ned vnder the great Seale a superioritie ouer Vlster, which he exercised ouer him. A|bout this time the Northerno Lords are thought to haue conspired, to defend the Ro|mish Religion (for now first among them Religion was made the cloake of Treason), to admit no English Shiriffes in their Countries, and to defend their libertie and rights against the English.

In the Moneth of August 1592, the Earle of Tyrone by his letters to the Lords in [Note: Ann. 1592.] England, iustified himselfe against the complaint of Sir Tyrlogh Lynnogh, apparantly shewing that his sonne Con Oneale did not disturbe the Commissioners sitting in Mo|naghan, but that they, hauing one hundred Foote for their guard, were afraid of two horsemen; which they discouered. He wrote further, that he had brought Odonnel in|to the State, (who since his aboue-mentioned escape out of prison, had stood vpon his defence), and that he would perswade him to loyalty, and in case hee were obstinate, would serue against him as an enemy. And further craftily intreated the Lords, that he might haue the Marshalls loue, that they being neighbours, might concurre the bet|ter for her Maiesties seruice, and that their Lordships would approue of his match with the Marshals sister, for whose content he did the rather desire his loue.

In the beginning of the yeere 1593, or

about this time, a Northerne Lord Mac Guire, [Note: Ann. 1593.] 12 began to declare himselfe discontent, and to stand vpon his defence vpon the executi|on of Mac Mahowne, and the ielousies then conceiued by the Northerne Lords a|gainst the English. This Mac Guire, Chiestaine of Fermannagh auowed, that he had gi|uen three hundred Cowes to free his Countrey from a Shiriffe, during the Lord De|puties Gouernment, and that not withstanding one Captaine Willis was made Shiriffe of Fermannagh, hauing for his guard one hundred men, and leading about some one hundred women and boyes; all which liued on the spoile of the Countrey. Hence this barberous Lord taking his aduantage, set vpon them, and droue them into a Church, where he would haue put them all to the sword, if the Earle of Tyrone had not interposed his authoritie, and made composition for their liues, with condition that they should depart the Countrey. Whereupon the Lord Deputy Sir William Fitz Williams sent the Queenes forces into Fermannagh, wonne Mac Guires Castle of Exiskillen, and proclaimed him Traytor. And the Irish auow, that the Lord Deputy there let fall threatning speeches in publike against the Earle of Tyrone, calling him Traytor.

These speeches comming to the Earles hearing, he euer after pretended, that they were the first cause that moued him to misdoubt his safetie, and to stand vpon his de|fence, now first combining himselfe with Odonnell, and the other Lords of the North, to defend their Honours, Estates, and Liberties. When Tyrone first began to plot his Rebellion, he said to haue vsed two notable practises. First, his men being altogether rude in the vse of Armes, he offered the State to serue the Queene against Tyrlogh Ly|nogh with sixe hundred men of his owne, and so obtained sixe Captaines to traine them (called by our men Butter Captaines, as liuing vpon Cesse) and by this meanes (and his owne men in pay, which he daily changed, putting new vntrained men in the roome of others) he trained all his men to perfect vse of their Armes. Secondly, pre|tending to build a faire house (which our State thinkes a tye of ciuilitie) he got license to transport to Dungannon a great quantitie of Lead to couer the Battlements of his house: but ere long imployed the same only to make bullets for the warre. But I re|turne to my purpose.

Sir Henrie Bagnoll Marshall of Ireland, had formerly exhibited to the State diuers articles of treason practised by the Earle of Tyrone, who now would not come to the State without a protection. To these articles the Earle answered by letters, saying, that the Marshall accused him vpon enuy, and by suborned witnesses, and that he to|gether with the Lord Deputy, apparantly sought his ouerthrow. Further complai|ning, that the Marshall detained from him his sisters portion, whom hee had married, and that (according to his former complaint) he vsurped iurisdiction ouer all Vlster, and in particular exercised it ouer him. Yet these articles of treason against the Earle were beleeued in England, till he offered by his letters to stand to his triall either in England or Ireland. And accordingly he answered to the said Articles before the Lord Deputy and Councell at Dundalke, in such sort as they who had written into England against him, now to the contrary wrote, that hee had sufficiently answered them. Whereupon the Lords of England wrote to the Earle of Tyrone, in the moneth of August of the following yeere, that they approued his answeres, and that in their opi|nion [Note: Ann. 1594] he had wrong, to be so charged, and that publikely before Iudges, and especially, that his answeres were for a time concealed. Further, they commended him for the token of loyalty he had giuen, in

dealing with Mac Guire to submit himselfe, exhor|ting him to persist in his good course, and charging him (the rather for auoiding his enemies slaunder) not to medle with compounding of Controuersies in Ulster out of Tirone, without the Lord Deputies speciall warrant. At the same time their Lord|ships wrote to the Lord Deputy, taxing him and the Marshall, that they had vsed the Earle against Law and equitie, and that hee the Lord Deputy was not indifferent to the Earle, who offered to come ouer into England to iustifie himselfe. Thus was the Earle cleared in shew, but whether through feare of his enemies, or the guiltines of his conscience, he shewed himselfe euer after to be diffident of his owne safety.

In the beginning of the yeere 1594 Mac Guire brake into open Rebellion, he entered 13 with forces into Connaght (where the Burkes and Orwarke in Letrim, commonly called Orwarkes Countrey, for disobediences to the State, had been prosecuted by Sir Ri|chard Bingham, Gouernour of that Prouince.) This foretunner of the greater con|spirators (shortly after seconded by Mac Mahowne) was perswaded to enter Connaught by Gauranus a Priest, whom the Pope (forsooth) had made Primate of all Ireland, and was incouraged thereunto, by his ominating of good successe. But by the valour of Sir Richard Bingham the Gouernour, Mac Guire was repelled, with slaughter of many of his men, among whom this pretended Primate was killed.

Against this Mac Guire, the Earle of Tyrone serued with the Queenes forces, and va|liantly fighting, was wounded in the thigh, yet this Earle prouiding for his securitie, about this time imprisoned the aboue mentioned sonnes of Shane Oneale, who had e|scaped out of Dublin Castle, and if they had been there kept, would haue been a sure pledge of his obedience, neither would he restore them to libertie, though he were re|quired so to doe, but still couering his treacherous heart with ostentation of a feare conceiued of his enemies, he ceased not daily to complaine of the Lord Deputies and Marshals enuy against him, and of wrongs done him by the Garrison souldiers. Thus the fier of this dangerous Rebellion is now kindled, by the aboue named causes, to which may be added, the hatred of the conquered against the Conquerors, the diffe|rence of Religion, the loue of the Irish to Spaine (whence some of the are descended), the extortions of Sheriffes and sub-Sheriffes buying these places, the ill gouernement of the Church among our selues, and the admitting Popish Priests among the Irish, and many such like. And this fier of rebellion now kindled, shall be found hereafter to be increased to a deuouring flame, by slow and slender oppositions to the first errupti|ons, before they had libertie to combine and know their owne strength; by not laying hands timely on suspected persons of quality, to preuent their combining with the rest (especially in Mounster, being as yet quiet): by intertaining and arming of Irish men (a point of high ouersight begun by Sr Ioh. Perrot, and increased by Sr Will. Fitz. Williams, the present L. Deputy, who at the first sending of forces into Formannagh, gaue power to certaine Irish men to raise companies, which they did of their own Country men, so as this ill custome being after continued, it both furnished the enemy with trained men, and filled our Bands with such false hearted souldiers, as some doubted, whether we had not better haue them enemies then friends): By a Treatie entertained at the very entrance of the Rebellion, before any blow was strucken, which made the Tray|tors proud, and daunted the hearts of good subiects; By ensuing cessations, long co|tinuing and giuing liberty to the

Traytors to strengthen their combination, and to arme themselues in forraine parts and at home, whereupon all idle and discontented people had opportunitie to draw into Tyrone, and the Traytor Earle of Tyrone had meanes to oppresse the bordering Lords of Countries adioyning, whereof many fee|ling once his power, some for feare, some for loue, ioyned with him. Besides that, the Army in the meane time was not onely an excessiue charge to the Queene, but lay idle, and in stead of hurting the enemy, oppressed the subiect, thereby daily driuing many into Rebellion. Lastly (for I will not more curiously search the causes, being not suteable to so briefe a narration as I intend), the Rebellion was nourished and in|creased by nothing more, then frequent Protections and Pardons, granted euen to those, who had formerly abused this mercy, so as all entred and continued to bee Re|bels, with assurance to be receiued to mercy at their pleasure, whereof they spared not to brag, and this heartened the Rebell no lesse, then it discouraged the subiect.

This present yeere 1594, about the month of August, Sir William Fitzwilliams, [Note: Anno 1594 Sir William Russel Lord Deputie.] the Lord Deputy being recalled into England, Sir William Russell tooke the sword. A|bout this time Vlster men in open hostility distressed her Maiesties forces, and Tyrone (so I will hereafter call him, deseruing no addition of title), hauing long absented him|selfe from the State, was vndoubtedly reputed a party in their rebellion, when his sud|den and voluntary appearance before this new Lord Deputy at Dublin, in the very first moneth of his gouernement, made many hope better of him. He most assuredly pro|mised al humble obedience to the Queene, as well before the State at Dublin, in his own 14 person, as to the Lords in England by his letters, and making his most humble submis|sion to her Maresty, besought to be restored to her former Grace, from which he had fallen by the lying slanders of his enemies, not by any his iust desert. The Marshall Sir Henry Bagnoll was then ready to proue before the Lord Deputy Articles of high trea|son against Tyrone, and to auow that he sent mac Guire with his Primate into Connaght. That hee had secret intelligence with the Traytors Mac Guire and Odonnell, and had communicated counsels with them, and gaue them aide in the wasting of Monnaghan, and the besieging of Eniskellin, by his brother Cormac mac Baron, and by Con his owne base son; and that he by threats had drawne the Captaines of Kilulto and Kilwarny from their faith and alleageance to the Queene. It was in Councell debated, whether Tyrone should be staied to answere hereunto; and the Lord Deputy was of opinion he should be staied: but most of the Counsellers, either for idle feare, or inclination of loue to Tyrone, thought best to dismisse him for that time, and the counsell of these, as more in number, and best experienced in Irish affaires, the Lord Deputy followed. This much displeased the Queene, since this Foxes treasonable practises were now so apparant, and her selfe had forewarned, that in case he came to the State, he should be staied, till he had cleered himselfe of all imputed crimes. And the Lords in England by their letters thence, sharpely reproued the Lord Deputy, for so dismissing him, which might giue the Rebels iust cause to thinke that they durst not charge him with trea|son, for feare of his forces, and their Lordships professed to doubt, that Tyrones perfor|mance would not be such, as might warrant this act.

The Lord Deputy shortly after tooke the field, and leauing for martiall causes the Earle of Ormond, for ciuill causes the Lord Chanceller, to gouerne Lemster and those parts in his absence, drew the forces

into Fermannagh, that he might releeue Enis-Kel|lin, and expell mac Guire out of his Countrey. This winter following, it seemes there was some negotiation on both sides about peace. For in the moneth of February, the Lords of England wrote to the Lord Deputy, of her Maiesties dislike of certaine wri|tings sent ouer from Odonnel and Sir Arthur Oneale, namely that in their petitions, they included the pardon of mac Guire, and Orwarke (commonly called Orurke). That they indented with the Lord Deputy, that he should come to Dundalke within a moneth, and especially that the Lord Deputy by Sir Edward More should desire a fortnight more for his comming thither. Their Lordships also signified, that the Queene sent ouer 2000 old souldiers, which had serued vnder General Norreys in Britanny; (giuing order that they should be diuided into hundreds, and so many Captaines) besides that 1000. souldiers were leuied in England, to be sent thither. And because their Lord|ships iudged, that all the practises of the Northern Lords, came out of Tyrones schoole, (how soeuer he grossely dissembled the contrary), their Lordships aduised the Lord Deputy to offer Odonnel pardon, so as he would seuer himselfe from Tyrone: And that the rather, because he was put into rebellion by Sir Iohn Perrots imprisoning him with|out any cause.

Tyrone hearing that supplies of souldiers, and namely the old souldiers of Britany, were comming for Ireland, and that Garrisons of English were to be planted at the Castles of Ballishanon; and Belike, lying vpon the Lake Earn, thought it no longer time to tem|porise. Wherefore about this time of this yeere ending, or the first entrance of the yeere 1595, he drew his forces together, and in open hostilitie, suddenly assaulted the Fort of Black-water, built vpon the passage into Tyrone on the South side, and taking [Note: Ann. 1595.] the same, raced it, and broke downe the Bridge. And now the Northerne Rebels with Banners displaied, entred the Brennye. Yet at this time Tyrone subtilly made suite for pardon, and promised the Treasurer at warres, Sir Henrie Wallop, that he would conti|nue his Alleageance to the Queene. At this time likewise Feagh Mac Hugh, Walter Reagh, and many Lemster men, began to enter into actions of hostility against the English.

The Lord Deputy, who saw this storme of Rebellion would lye heauy on his [Note: L. Deputy L. General together.] shoulders, in his letters to the I, ords in England had let fall a request, that some older|perienced Commander might be sent ouer to him, for his better assistance, meaning 15 (no doubt) such a Captaine as should be commanded by the supreame authority of the Lord Deputie. But the Lords either mistaking his intent, or because they so iud|ged it best for her Maiesties seruice, sent ouer Sir Iohn Norreys, a great Leader, and fa|mous in the warres of the Low Countries and France, giuing him the title of Lord General, with absolute command ouer military affaires, in the absence of the L. Depu|tie. This great Commander was not like to be willingly commanded by any, who had not borne as great or greater place in the warres then himselfe. So as whether through emulation, growing betweene him and the Lord Deputy, or a declining of his For|tune, incident to the greatest Leaders, howsoeuer he behaued himselfe most valiantly and wisely in some encounters against Tyrone, and the chiefe rebels, yet he did nothing against them of moment. About the beginning of Iune, the L. Deputie and the Lord Generall drew their Forces towards Armagh, and now Tyrone had sent letters of sub|mission to them both (intreating the Lord Generall more specially for a

milder pro|ceeding against him, so as he might not be forced to a headlong breach of his loyaltie.) These letters should haue been deliuered at Dundalke, but the Marshall Bagnoll inter|cepting them, stayed the messenger at the Newrye, till the Lord Deputies returne, at which time because in this iourney Tyrone had been proclaimed Traytor, he refused to receiue them, in respect of her Maiesties Honour.

Yet shortly after at Tyrones instance, Sir Henrie Wallop Treasurer at Warres, and Sir Robert Gardner chiefe Iustice of Ireland, were by Commission appointed to conferre with him and his confederate Rebels. Tyrone in this conference complained of the Marshall for his vsurped iurisdiction in Vlster, for depriuing him of the Queenes fa|uour by slaunders; for intercepting his late letters to the Lord Deputie, and Lord Generall, protesting that he neuer negotiated with forraine Prince, till he was proclai|med Traytor. His humble petitions were, that hee and his might be pardoned, and haue free exercise of Religion granted (which notwithstanding had neuer before ei|ther been punished or inquired after.) That the Marshall should pay him one thou|sand pound for his dead Sisters, his wiues portion. That no Garrisons nor Sheriffes should be in his Country. That his Troope of fiftie horse in the Queenes pay might be restored to him. And that such as had preyed his Country, might make restitu|tion.

Odonnell magnifying his Fathers and Progenitors seruices to the Crowne, complai|ned that Captaine Boyne, sent by Sir Iohn Perrot with his Company into his Countrey, vnder pretence to reduce the people to ciuilitie, and being well entertained of his Fa|ther, had besides many other iniuries, raised a Bastard to be Odonnel, and that Sir Iohn Perrot, by a ship sent thither, had taken himselfe by force, and long imprisoned him at Dublin. And that Sir William Fitz Williams had wrongfully kept Owen O. Toole aboue mentioned seuen yeeres in prison. His petitions were for pardon to him and his, and for freedome of Religion. That no Garrisons or Sheriffes might bee placed in his Countrey. And that certaine Castles and lands in the County of Sligo might bee re|stored to him.

Shane Mac Brian Mac Phelime Oneale, complained of an Iland taken from him by the Earle of Essex, and that he had been imprisoned till he surrendered to the Marshall a Barrony, his ancient Inheritance. Hugh Mac Guire complained of insolencies done by Garrison souldiers, and by a Sheriffe, who besides killed one of his nearest Kins|men. Brian Mac Hugh Oge, and Mac Mahowne (so the Irish called the chiefe of that name suruiuing), and Euer Mac Cooly of the same Family of Mac Mahownes, complai|ned of the abouementioned vniust execution of Hugh Roe Mac Mahowne, in the Go|uernement of Sir William Fitz Williams.

The Commissioners iudged some of their petitions equall, others they referred to the Queenes pleasure. But when on the Queenes part, they propounded to the Re|bels some Articles to bee performed by them, they were growne so insolent, as iud|ging them vnequall, the conference was broken off, with a few dayes Truce granted on both sides, when the Queene, for sparing of bloud, had resolued to giue them any reasonable conditions.

16 This Truce ended, the Lord Deputy and the Lord Generall, about the eighteenth of Iuly, drew the Forces to Armagh, with such terror to the Rebels, as Tyrone left the Fort of Blackwater, burnt the Towne of Dungannon, and pulled downe his House there, burnt all Villages, and betooke himselfe to the Woods. They proclaimed Tyrone Traytor in his owne Countrey, and leauing a Guard in the Church

of Armagh, they for want of victuals, returned to Dublin, and by the way placed a Garrison in Alo|naghan. And when the Army came neere to Dundalke, the Lord Deputie according to his instructions from England, yeelded the command of the Army to the Lord Ge|nerall, and leauing him with the Forces in the Northerne Borders, returned to Dub|lin. The third of September Hugh Earle of Tyrone, Hugh O Donnel, Bryan O Rourke, Hugh Mac Guire, Bryan Mac Mahowne, Sir Arthur Oneale, Art Mac Baron, Henry Oge Oneale, Turlogh Mac Henry Oneale, Cormac Mac Baron (Tyrones Brother), Con Oneale, Tyrones base Sonne, Bryan Art Mac Brian, and one Francis Mounfoord, were for forme of Law indited, though absent, and condemned iudicially of Treason in the Countie of Lowthe, neere the Borders of the North.

From this time the Lemster Rebels began to grow very strong: for Feegh Mac Hugh of the Obirns, and Donnel Spanniah of the Cauanaghs, when they were declining, and in want of munition, were not prosecuted, but vpon fained submission were receiued into protection, and so had meanes to renew their Forces, and supply their wants, so as this yeere, about this moneth of September, they began to oppresse al the subiects, from the Gates almost of Dublin, to the County of Wexford (the most ancient English County, and euer much cared for by the Queene), which they spoiled, wanting forces to defend it, and so depriued the English souldier of great reliefe he might haue found therein. The like may be said of the Oconnors in Ophalia.

Generall Norris being left by the Lord Deputie on the Northerne Borders, with full command of the Army, the Winter passed without any great exploit. There was in many things no small emulation betweene the Lord Deputie and him, and no losse in Tyrones particular. The Lord Deputie seemed to the Lord Generall, to be vn|equall and too tharpe against Tyrone, with whom he wished no treaty of Peace to bee hold, (which he wisely did, hauing experienced his false subtiltie, and knowing that he sought delaies, onely till hee could haue aide from Spaine.) But the Lord Generall (whether it were in emulation of the Lord Deputy, or in his fauour and loue to Ty|rone) was willing to reclaime him by a Gentle course (which that crafty Fox could well nourish in him.) And it seemes some part of the Winter passed, while this pro|iect was negotiated betweene them.

For in the beginning of the yeere 1596, a Comission was procured out of England, whereby her Maiestie, though iustly offended with Tyrone and his associates, about [Note: Ann. 1596.] their demaunds, in the former conference with Sir Henry Wallop, and Sir Robert Gard|ner, yet in regard of their letters of humble submission, since that time presented to her, doth signifie her gratious pleasure to Sir Iohn Noreis Lord Generall, and Sir Gef|fry Fenton, her Maiesties Secretary for Ireland, giuing them authoritie to promise par|don of life, and restoring of lands and goods to the said Lords, seeking with due humi|litie her Royall mercy, and to heare them, with promise of fauourable consideration in all their complaints. And thus much the Commissioners signified to Tyrone and Odannell, by Captaine Sant Leger, and Captaine Warren, sent of purpose vnto them, with instructions dated the eleuenth of Aprill, this present yeere 1596, and with refe|rence of other particulars, to a meeting appointed to be at Dundalke. The twentie of the same month Tyrone at Dundalke before these Commissioners craued the Queenes mercy on his knees, signing with his hand a most humble submission in writing, vow|ing faith in the presence of Almightie God, who seeth

into the secrets of all mens hearts, and (to vse still his owne words) most humbly crauing her Maiesties mercy and pardon on the knees of his heart. His first petition for liberty of Religion, was vtter|ly reiected. For the second, touching freedome from Garrisons and Sheriffes, he was answered, that her Maiestie would not be prescribed how to gouerne. In the third, in|terceding for Orelyes pardon, it was disliked that he should capitulate for others, yet 17 giuing hope of his pardon vpon his owne submission. For the fourth, concerning the Iurisdiction of Armagh, the answer was, that her Maiesty would reserue all the Bishops right. For the fifth, concerning the freeing of Shane Oneales sons, it was referred to her Maiesties further pleasure. Finally, he promised to [...] from aiding the Rebels, and from intermedling with the neighbor Lords. To make his Country a Shiere: to admit a Shiriffe. To renounce the title of Oneale. To confesse (vpon his pardon) all his intelligences with forraine Princes, and all his past actions, which may concerne the good of the State. To rebuild the Fort and Bridge of Blackwater, and to relieue the Garrison for ready money at all times. To deliuer in sufficient Pledges. To dismisse all his Forces, and to pay such reasonable fine to her Maiesties vse, as should be thought meete by her Maiestie. Hugh Odonnel at the same time did agree to diuers articles, for the good of his Countrey, and made his like humble submission. The like did Hugh mac Guire, Bryan mac Hugh, Euer Oge Roe mac Cooly, Bryan Orewark (called Ororke), Shane Mac Bryan, Phillip O Reyly, and others. To each one was giuen (vnder the Commis|sioners hands) a promise of her Maiesties pardon, vpon putting in of Pledges. And Proclamation was made to giue notice hereof to all the Queenes subiects; that in the meanetime no acts of hostilitie might be done against any of those, who had thus sub mitted themselues.

Thus the Vlster Rebels, by a submission too honest to be truly intended by them, whilest Pledges were expected, and Pardons drawne, were freed from the prosecution of the Queenes Forces this Summer. And euen at this time did Tyrone solicite aide in Spaine, and two or three messengers came secretly to the rebels from thence, by whom many of them (as Ororke, Mac William, andc) sent a writing signed, to the King of Spaine, couenanting, that if hee would send sufficient Forces, they would ioyne theirs to his, and if he would at all relieue them, in the meane time they would refuse all conditions of Peace. But Tyrone, though consenting, yet was too craftie to signe this Couenant, yea, craftily he sent the King of Spaines answere to the Lord Deputie, whilest hee not|withstanding relied on the promised succours. I finde nothing of moment done this Summer by the Forces with the Generall, being restrained by the last agreement at Dundalke; onely about the end of August, hee wrote out of Connaght vnto the Lord Deputie complaining of diuers wants, and desiring more Forces to be sent him. To whom the Lord Deputie answered, that his Lordship had warrant to supply some of his wants in the Countrie, and denied the sending of any Forces to him, because him|selfe was to goe into the Field.

By this time the rebels of Lemster were (as I formerly mentioned) growne strong, Feogh Mac Hugh breaking his protection entred into acts of hostilitie, and he together with the O Mores, O Connors, O Birnes, O Tooles, the Cauenaghs, Butlers, and the chiefe names of Connaght, animated by the successe of Vlster men, combined together, and demaun|ded to haue the barbarous titles of O and Mac together with lands they claimed, to be restored to

them, in the meane time spoiling all the Country on all sides.

About the moneth of Ianuary, Sir Richard Bingham, Gouernour of Connaght, who had valiantly beaten Ororke out of his Countrie and prosecuted the Bourks, and other Rebels, was called into England, vpon complaints of the Irish, and Sir Conyer's Clifford was sent to gouerne Connaght. This Gentleman complained off by the Irish, was vali|ant and wise; but some of our English Statesmen thought him too seuere, and that he had thereby driuen many into rebellion, howsoeuer himselfe very well experienced in the Country, and those who best vnderstood the Irish nature, found nothing so neces|sarie for keeping them in obedience, as seueritie, nor so dangerous for the increase of murthers and outrages, as indulgence towards them. His answers to their complaints could not be so admitted as for the time some discountenance fell not on him, which reward of seruices he constantly bore, till in short time after, to his great grace, the State thought fit againe to vse his seruice, in a place of great commaund in the Ar|mie.

Sir Iohn Norreys Lord Generall, Sir George Bourcher, Master of her Maiesties Ordi|nance, and Sir Geffery Fenton her Maiesties Secretary for Ireland, being by Commissi|on 18 directed to treat againe with Tyrone, did by their letters dated the twenty of Ianu|arie remember him of the fauour he had receiued at the last treatie at Dundalke, and charged him (as formerly he had been charged) with high ctimes since that commit|ted by him, to the violation of the Articles then agreed on, therefore aduising him, that since they were for her Maiesties seruice to draw to the Borders, he would there testifie to them his penitencie for offences done since his pardon, by such an humble and heartie submission, as they might recommend into England from him. Tyrone by his answere of the two and twentie of Ianuarie, acknowledged vnder his hand her Maiesties mercy therein extended to him, and confessed offences and breaches of the Articles there signed, withall desiring them, to examine the wrongs and prouocati|ons, by which he had beene driuen thereunto, and protesting his sorrow for these of|fences. The same day he met the Commissioners neere Dundalke, where he being on the one side of the Brooke, they on the other, hee put of his hat, and holding it with great reuerence in his hand, said to them. That hee was come thither, not onely to shew his duty to them, as her Maiesties Commissioners, but his inward desire to bee made and continued a subiect. When he would haue remembred the wrongs since his late Pardon prouoking him to disloialtie, they cut him off by remembring him of all the benefits, and that of his last pardon, receiued from the Queene, which should haue counterpoised his wrongs, and haue kept him in duty. He confessed this, with shew of great remorse, and protested before God and heauen, that there was no Prince not creature, whom he honoured as he did her Maiestie; nor any Nation of people that he loued or trusted more, then the English. Protesting further, that if her Maiestie would please to accept of him againe as a subiect, and to take such course as hee might bee so continued, (thus still he reserued pretence of wrongs to shaddow his future disloial|ties), then he doubted not but to redeeme all his faults past with some notable serui|ces. Besides, hee gaue answers to diuers questions, and signed them after with his hand. First, asked what messages and letters had passed betweene Spaine and him; he answered, neuer to haue receiued any, but incouragements from Spaine, and assuran|ces of an Army to aide him: that he neuer had further contract with the Spaniards, and that he had

sent the King of Spaines letter aboue mentioned to the Lord Deputie and Counsell: that he neuer receiued thence any money or ought of value, nor any of his confederates to his knowledge. Only Odonnel had some fifteene barrels of pow|der, whereof he should haue had a portion, but neuer had it. Secondly, for the late Submitties, Pardons, and Pledges, hee vndertooke that with all speede the Pledges should be sent to Dublin, with Agents to sue out the Pardons granted in the last Trea|tie at Dundalke. Thirdly, for his making O kealy, he vowed that the Gentlemen of the Countrie made him, and that he would hereafter neuer meddle in the causes of the Brenny. Fourthly, for the Rebels of Lemster and the Butlers, he answered, that he ne|uer had confederacy with any but Feogh Mac Hugh, and for the Butlers, hee neuer had any thing to doe with them. Fiftly, for Agents in Spaine, he denied to haue any, or to know any his confederates had. Sixthly, for his iealousie of the State, hee auowed it to be vpon iust causes, which hee would after make knowne. This done, hee desired Captaine Warren might come ouer the Brooke to him, and then by him he requested that himselfe might come ouer to the Commissioners, in token of his faithfull heart to her Maiestie, which granted, he with great reuerence saluted them, and with hat in hand, lifting vp his eyes to Heauen, desired God to take vengeance on him, if (her Maiestie vouchsafing to make him a subiect, and to cause the Articles of Dundalke to be kept to him) he would not continue faithfull, and desired neuer to see Christ in the face, if he meant not as he spake. He confessed, that the Spanish ships lately ar|riued in the North, had brought Odonnel the Kings letter, signifying that he heard the Earle of Tirone to be dead, and the Irish to haue receiued a great ouerthrow, desiring to be aduertised of their State. And that Odonnel before his comming had giuen an|swer, that if the King sent an Army, he would take his part, and hoped the like of the other Irish. But at his comming, that the Spanish Captaine excusing that the King had not written to him, he only told him, that promise had not been kept with him by 19 the English, and therefore he would not refuse the Kings promised aide. And with many execrations swore, that the Captaine left neither Munition nor Treasure with him, and that he neuer receiued any thing from the King of Spaine, but that letter a|houe mentioned, which he sent to the Lord Deputy. And that he neuer wrote but three letters into Spaine, all about one time, and (as he thought) all intercepted. Lastly, he vehemently denied to haue incited any Mounster men to rebellion, since his last pardon. So with like reuerence as formerly, he tooke his leaue.

Vpon aduertisement hereof into England, the Commissioners receiued ample power to conclude all things with Tyrone. Thus much they made knowne to him by letters, sent to him by his old friend Captaine Warren, the ninth of March, with instructions to appoint the second of Aprill the day of meeting at Dundalke, which Tyrone accep|ted, with shew of ioy to be receiued to her Maiesties mercy, the sweetnes whereof he had often experienced, and of feare to be pursued by her forces, which he professed himselfe not able to resist. But by his letters the fifteene of March, he made doubt of meeting, pretending that his pledges were not changed according to couenant, nor restitution made him by those that had preyed his Country, and that his confederates could not come so soone. The Commissioners replyed by letters the two and twenty of March, that these were but delayes, since the pledges at the meeting (vpon his put|ting in his eldest sonne for pledge) should be restored, and he in all things reasonably satisfied,

protesting that if he refused this occasion, they could doe no more for him, since her Maiesty would be no longer abused by his faire promises and delayes: Ad|ding, that he must conforme himselfe to the directions they had, and could not alter. Master Secretary wrote out of England vnto the Commissioners the two and twenty of March; That her Maiesty was displeased to haue the treaty thus delayed, and char|ged to haue the meeting in a Towne, as a submission of the Rebels, not in the field as a parley. That her Maiesty prepared for the warre, resoluing not to haue any more treaties, if this tooke not effect. Lastly, desiring them to acquaint the Lord Deputy with all their directions, and the issues, and to excuse his not writing to his Lordship, thinking that the Commissioners were not at Dublyn with him.

Vpon the tenth of Aprill, in the yeere 1597, the Commissioners againe pressed Ty|rone by letters, not to slacke his owne greatest good by delayes, and appointed for [Note: An. 1597.] the last day of meeting, the sixteenth of that present moneth, and that his confederats not able then to come, should draw after as soone as they could, protesting that this was the last time that they would write vnto him. Tyrone on the seuenteenth of April, sent his reasons of not comming: First iustifying his relaps into disloialty by the truce not obserued to him, and because restitution was not made him of preyes taken from him, which was promised. Then excusing his not meeting, because his pledges, by the truce being from three moneths to three moneths to be changed, were still detained, yea, his pledges the second time put in, were kept together with the first; And saying, that he durst not come to the Lord Generall, because many promises by him made, being not kept, he knew it was much against his honourable mind, and so could not be perswaded, but that the Lord Generall was ouerruled by the Lord Deputy, so as he could not make good his promises without the Lord Deputies consent, who shew|ed malice to him, and was no doubt the cause of all the breaches of such promises, as had beene made vnto him. Againe, in regard he heard that the Lord Bourgh was to come ouer Lord Deputy, who was altogether vnknowne to him, he protested to feare that the acts of the Lord Generall with him, would not be made good, wishing that rather the Lord Generall might be continued in his command, for then he would be confident of a good conclusion. Finally, he desired a meeting neere Dundalke the sixe and twenty of Aprill, but this appointment for the day being against the last finall re|solution, and for the place against her Maiesties directions, there was no more speech of this treaty.

In the meane time Sir William Russell Lord Deputy, by the managing of those and like affaires, finding himselfe not duly countenanced out of England, in the place he su|stained, had made earnest suit to be called home, and accordingly about the end of 20 May he was reuoked, and the Lord Bourgh, (so he himselfe writes, others write Burke, and Camden writes Borough) came ouer Lord Deputy. The ill successe of the treaties [Note: [...]. [...].] and small progresse of the warres, together with this vnexpected change of the Lord Deputy, comming with supreme authority, as well in martiall as ciuill causes, brake the heart of Sir Iohn Norryes Lord Generall, a leader as worthy and famous as England bred in our age. Of late (according to vulgar speech) he had displeased the Earle of Essex, then a great fauourite in Court, and by his merites possessed of the superin|tendency in all martiall affaires: For Sir Iohn Norryes had imbraced the action of Brest Fort in Britany, and the warres in those parts, when the Earle himself had pur|pose to entertaine them, and

preuailed against the Earle, by vndertaking them with lesse forces, then the Earle desired for the same. And it was thought that the Earle had preferred the Lord Bourgh, of purpose to discontent him, in regard the said Lord Bourgh had had a priuate quarrell with the said Generall in England, and that besides the superiour command of this Lord, (though otherwise most worthy, yet of lesse ex|perience in the warres then the Generall had), could not but be vnsupportable to him, esteemed one of the greatest Captaines of his time, and yet hauing inferiour command of the Presidentship of Mounster in the same Kingdome. Certainely vpon the arriuall of this new Lord Deputy, presently Generall Norryes was commanded to his go|uernement of Mounster, and not to stirre thence without leaue. When he came thi|ther, this griefe so wrought vpon his high spirit, as it apparantly brake his braue and formerly vndaunted heart, for without sickenes or any publike signe of griefe, he sud|denly died, in the imbrace of his deere brother Sir Thomas Norreys, his vicepresident, within some two moneths of his comming into Mounster.

The Lord Bourgh at his entry into the place of Lord Deputy, found all the North in Rebellion, except seuen Castles, with their Townes or Villages, all but one lying to|wards the sea, namely Newry, Knockfergus, Carlingford, Greene-Castle, Armagh, Don|drom, and Olderfleet. And all Connaght was likewise in Rebellion, together with the Earle of Ormonds nephewes the Butlers, in Mounster.

In this moneth of May, Ororke was sent into England, by the King of Scots, and there executed. This Ororke seemes to haue beene expelled his Countrey, when Sir Richard Bingham was Gouernour of Connaght, but those of his name, and the chiefe of them, vsurping the Countrey of Letrym, still continued Rebels.

Tyrone hitherto with all subtilty and a thousand sleights abusing the State, when he saw any danger hanging ouer him, by fained countenance and false words pretended humblest submission, and hearty sorrow for his villanies; but as soone as opportuni|ty of pursuing him was omitted, or the forces were of necessity to be drawne from his Countrey, with the terror of them all his loyalty vanished, yea, he failed not to mingle secretly the greatest Counsels of mischiefe with his humblest submissions. And these courses had beene nourished by the sloth of our Leaders, the frugality of some of our counsellers, and the Queenes inbred lenity: yet of all other, he had most abused the late Lord Generals loue to him, and his credulity, which specially grew out of his loue. Now of this new Lord Deputy, by letters hee requested a truce or cessation, which it seemed good to the Lord Deputy to grant for a moneth, in regard of the conueniency of her Maiesties present affaires, not any way to gratifie the Rebell, for he had no purpose to entertaine more speech of his submission, or to slacke the pursuit of him and his confederates, to which he was wholly bent. He saw the lamentable ef|fects, which these cessations, together with protections, had hitherto produced, and among other euils, did specially resolue to auoid them.

Therefore assoone as the moneth of truce was expired, the Lord Deputy aswell by his first actions, to giue luster and ominous presage to his gouernement, as because he iudged it best for the seruice to strike at the head, presently drew the Forces towards Tyrone. The Irish, in a fastnes neere Armagh, (so they call straight passages in woods, where to the natural strength of the place is added the art of interlacing the low bowes, and casting the bodies of trees acrosse the way) opposed the passage of the English, who made their way with their swords, and found that the

Irish resolutely assaulted, 21 would easily giue ground. Then the Lord Deputy assaulted the Fort of Blackewater, formerly built by the English vpon the passage to Dungannon, whence the Eurle at his: first entering into rebellion had by force expelled the English, as carefully as he would haue driuen poyson from his heart. This Fort he soon wonne, and repayring the same, put a company of English souldiers into it, to guard it. But [...] the Lord Deputy with the whole army were rendering thanks to God for this good succesle; the [...] shewed themselues out of the thicke woods neere adioyning on the North-side of the Fort, so as the prayers were interrupted by calling to armes. The English entered [...], and preuayled against them, driuing them to styeinto the thickest of their dens. In this conflict were killed Francis Vaughan, brother to the Lord Deputies wife; and Robert Turnour, Seriant Mastor of the Army, and two foster brethren to Henry [...] of Kildare, who with his troope of horse valiantly serued vpon the Rebell, and tooke the death of his foster brethren so to heart, (after the education of the Irish) as he short|ly after died. Many also were wounded, among whom Thomas walker was of chiefe name.

When the Lord Deputy first resolued to draw vp to Blackewater, he sent directions to Sir Conyers Clifford to come vp with the Connaght forces by the way of Ballyshain|non, and to meete him there, which he in like sort attempted, but being ouer matched by the Rebels lying in his way, could not peirce so farre, but was forced to retire, and by that retreat wonne great reputation to himselfe and the men vnder him: for hauing with him some sixe or seuen hundred foote onely; of which part was of the old Britan Souldiers; and being assayled by more then 2000. Rebels, during thirty miles march he valiantly repelled them, and safely retired to the garrison.

The Lord Deputy leaning the Fort at the Blacke-water well guarded to the charge of Captaine Thomas Williams, withdrew the Forces towards the Pale. Now the Ru|bels tossed betweene hope, feare, and shame, resolued to besiege the Fort, and Tyrone thought his reputation lost, if he recouered it not, and so with ioynt force they com|passed and assay led the same. Whereof the Lord Deputy being aduertised, with all possible expedition gathered the forces, to leade them to the reliefe of that fort, and the Rebels hearing of his Lordships approach, quitted the siege of the Fort, and reti|red into their strengths. Whereupon the Lord Deputy marched forward and hauing passed the Blackwater Fort, and purposing to enter and passe the pace leading to Dun|gannon Tyrones chiefe House, he fel suddenly sicke, and being carried backe in his horse litter to Armagh; and thence to the Newry, died in the way, to the great ioy of the Re|bels, deiected with his sharpe prosecution and bold aduentures, and to the no lesse griefe of the English, erected with hope of good successe. Howsoeuer many of good iudgement held his purpose of passing to Dungannon very dangerous, and altogether fruitlesse, since no garrisons being planted to gaine ground, no other issue could be hoped in the best euent, then a bragge of courage in passing to Tyrones cheefe feate, which no other Deputy had yet attempted. And as they greatly commended the Lord Deputies valour in these actions, so they feared the ingaging and losse of the Queenes Army, by this or some like bold attempt.

After his death, Sir Thomas Norreys, Lord President of Mounster, was vnder the great seale of Ireland prouisionally made Lord Iustice of the Kingdome, (as the cu|stomeis [Note: Lord In|stice] in such

sudden changes) who repaired to Dublin, and there executed his place for one month (as I thinke of September) and no longer, for he being sick and cast down in minde by the great sorrow he had conceiued for the late death of his worthy bro|ther, made great suite to the Queene and the Lords in England, to be eased of this bur|then of being Lord Iustice, and to haue leaue to retire himselfe to his gouernement of the Prouince of Mounster.

And so Adam Loftus Lord Chauncellor of Ireland, and Lord Archbishop of Dub|lin [Note: Lord Lief|tenant, and Lords In|stices.] and Robert Gardner chiefe Iustice of Ireland, by letters out of England, the thirteene of October were made Lords Iustices for the ciuell gouernement, and the Earle of Or|mond with title of Lord Liefetenant of the Army, was authorized to command in cheefe for all martiall affayres. Tyrone after his old custome, flies vnto the Lord Lief|tenant, 22 with protestations of loyalty, and complaines of wrongs, inforcing his disloiall courses, which his Lordship aduertising into England, receiued authority from thence, to treat with Tyrone about his submission, hauing Sir Geffery Fenton Secretary of Ire|land ioyned with him for an assistant. Hereupon ensued a meeting at Dundalke on the 22 of December, where Tyrone made his most humble submission in writing, ac|knowledging her Maiesties great mercie in giuing him and his Associates their par|dons vpon former submissions, and vpon the knees of his heart (as he writes) profes|sed most heartie penitencie for his disloialtie, and especially his foule relopses therein|to, humbly befeeching the Lord Lieutenant to be a meanes to her sacred Maiestie for his pardon, withall making knowne his grieuances, which how soever they could not iustifie his offence, yet might in some measure qualifie the [...] thereof. And till these might be booked, to be sent ouer with his Submission, most humbly craiuing of his Lordship to grant a truce or cessation of Armes for eight weeks following. And further, to the end it might appeare that his submission proceeded from his heart, pro|mising that for the time of this cessation, there should be no impediment giuen to her Maiesties Ministers bringing victuals to Blackwater Fort, yea, that for a poore token of his humblest duty, hee would voluntarily giue to the hands of the Captaine fortie Beeues, and suffer the souldiers to cut and fetch in wood, or any other prouisions. For his performance whereof hee offered presently to giue Pledges to his Lord|ship.

The same day hee subscribed the following articles, propounded to him by the Lord Lieutenant. First, he promiseth for him and his associates, faithfully to keepe her Maiesties Peace during the cessation. Secondly, that hee will presently recall all Vlster men sent by him into Lemster, leauing those who should not obay his directions to the Lord Lieutenants discretion. Thirdly, it any during the Truce shall breake in|to Rebellion, he promiseth not to aide them, so as none depending on his Truce, be in the meanetime taken in by the State without his consent. Fourthly, he agreeth to a generall Liberty, of buying necessaries for his men in the Pale, and for the Queenes subiects in Vlster, and nothing to be forceably taken on either side. Fiftly, that vpon pretended wrongs no reuenge be taken, but restitution be made within ten dayes af|ter complaint. Sixthly, that during the Truce hee shall haue no intelligence with the King of Spaine, or other forraine Prince, but acquaint the State with any message hee shall receiue, or proiect he shall heare. Seuenthly, that he shall presently draw a booke of his grieuances, such as he can proue, without mention of friuolous matters vnwor|thie her sacred Maiesties view Eightly, that he will deli-

uer into the Fortforty Beeues, and giue safe conduct to her Maiesties Ministers to vittaile the said Fort of Blackwater, and suffer the souldiers to cut and fetch wood on the South-side of Armagh, and for all other necessaries permit them to agree with the owners, so as they come not of themselues into his Countrie, but haue his men with them in company. Ninthly, that any prey being tracked into his Countrie, he shall make restitution, and deliuer the theeues to be executed, and if any be stopped from following of his track the stop|per shall answere the goods so tracked; which course the Lord Lieutenant promised likewise to hold towards him and his associates.

The foure and twentie of December, Tyrone aduertised the Lord Lientenant, that he serued the Fort with fortie Beeues, but the Captaine had refused ten of them, wherein his discretion was taxed by the Lord Lieutenant, since they were of volun|tarie gift. Yet Tyrone promised to send ten other of the best he had in lieu of them.

The eighteenth of Februarie Brian Oge Orwarke (commonly called Ororke) Lord of Letrym (commonly called Ororkes Country) submitted himself in a great assembly on his knees to her Maiestie, before Sir Conyers Clifford Gouernour of Connaght, subscri|bing further to these Articles. First, that he and his followers promised in all humble|nesse to performe all duties to her Maiestie, as becommeth good subiects. Secondly, that he will receiue her Maiesties Sheriffes, and yeeld them all due obedience. Third|ly, that he will pay to her Maiestie her composition or rent, and yeeld to her Highnes all seruices, according to his new Patent to be granted. Fourthly, that hee shall send 23 out of his Countrie all strangers to their owned welling places. Fifthly, that hee will apprehend all Rebels, Theeues or Malefactors comming into his Countrie, sending them and their goods to the Gouernour. Sixthly, that hee will deliuer Pledges for his Sept (or Family) and the chiefe Septs with him, within twentie dayes. Hereof Sir Conyers Clifford aduertised the Lords Iustices, praying that in regard of the strength and fastnesse of Ororke Country, he might not bee discontented, with hauing Becues takes from him for reliefe of the Army, without payment of ready money for them, since that course had already grieued all the Submitties. Further, he shewed that the Countrie of Ororke was most necessary to be defended. For howsoeuer it was held by Sir Richard Bingham the last Gouernour as by Conquest (vpon expelling of the a|boue mentioned Ororke), yet then it was all waste, so as the Rebell could make little vse of it whereas now it was most replenished with cattle, and therefore like to be as|saulted by Tyrone and Odennel, incensed against Ororke by reason of this his submissi|on. Besides that, the Queenes forces could lie no where so fitly for seruice, as vpon the Earne, nor there bee relieued but by Ororke, nor receiue reliefe with his content|ment but by paying ready money. Lastly, hee shewed that all the people vpon the Earne, and in those parts, excepting Mac William, had submitted themselues to her Ma|iestie, and deliuered Pledges for their Loyalty, being glad to liue vnder her Maiesties Lawes, and onely terrified with the burden of relieuing the souldiers, without pai|ment for their cattle. Therefore he desired that two of the priuy Counsell might bee sent ouer, to take knowledge of such grieuances, as the Submitties should present vn|to them, and to take order for their satisfaction. These goodly submission, had all the same issue, as followeth in that of the famous Faith-breaker Tyrone.

Since the last meeting of the Lord Lieftenant with Tyrone at Dundalke, his Lordship had sent ouer into England Tyrones humble submission, and the Booke

of his grieuan|ces, and had receiued authority from her Maiesty, to make a finall conclusion with the Rebels, and now at another meeting in Dundalke, on the fifteene of March, the Lord Lieftenant signified to Tyrone, that her Maiesty by his humble submission had beene induced againe to receiue him to mercy, and to giue him and all the Inhabitants of Ty|rone her gracious pardon, vpon conditions following. First, that he renew his humble submission to the Lord Liefetenant on her Maiesties behalfe in some publike place. 2. That he promise due obedience of a Subiect, and not to intermeddle with the Irish, nor his adherents, not onely hereafter, but now, leauing them to themselues, that they may become humble suitors for their owne pardons, in which case it is promised them also. 3. That he dispierce his forces, vpon receit of his pardon, and dismisse all strangers, Irish, Scots, or others. 4. That he renounce the name and title of Oneale. 5. Not to intermeddle with her Maiesties Vriaghtes, (so the Irish call the bordering Lords, whom the Vlster Tyrants haue long claimed to be their vassals). 6. That he build vp againe, at his owne charges, the Fort and Bridge of Blackewater, and furnish the souldiers with victuals, as formerly he did. 7. That he deliuer to the Lord Liefte|nant the sonnes of Shane Oneale, who were her Maiesties prisoners; till breaking out they fell into his hands, and were imprisoned by him. 8. To declare faithfully all in|telligence with Spaine, and to leaue it. 9. That he receiue a Sheriffe for Tyrone, as all o|ther Countries doe. 10. That he put in his eldest sonne for pledge, and at all times come to the state being called. 11. That he pay a fine in part of satisfaction for his of|sence, according to her Maiesties pleasure. 12. That he aid no Rebell, nor meddle with the Inhabitants on the East side of the Ban, yet so as he may enioy any lands or leases he hath there. 13. That he receiue not any disloyall person, but send such to the chiefe Gouernour.

To the first and second Articles Tyrone agreeth, so as time might be giueu for the other Lords his associates to assemble, that they might herein lay no imputation on him. To the third he agreeth, craving a generall pasport for all such strangers. To the fourth he agreeth. For the fifth, he saith that he desireth nothing of the Vriaghts, but such duties as they yeelded, since his Grandfathers time. To the sixth he agreeth. The seuenth he refuseth, because he had not those prisoners from the State. To the eight 24 he agreeth. To the ninth he agreeth, according to the statute appointing a gentleman of the Countrey to be chosen, yet craving for [...] for a small time. The tenth be refuseth, for the pledges (in particular) [...] the eleuenth he agreeth to a [...] of fiue hundred Cowes, yet praying the Lord Lieftenant to [...] to her Maiesty for the remittall thereof. To the twelfth he agreeth [...] the last he agreeth, prouided that he would deliuer no man to the State, who came to him for cause of conscience [...] Fi|nally, in regard Odonnell and other of Tyrone [...], did not then appeare, and in that respect the Lord Liefetenant, had beene pleased to grant him further day [...] for tenth of Aprill following, he promised vpon his [...], and by his hand writing, that in case they or any of them should not then appeare, and submit them|selues; yet he at that time would [...] submission, and humbly craue and receiue her Maiesties gracious pardon, and goe [...] with all things requisite for a perfect conclusion, and to deliuer in two pledges of his faith, to be chosen out of a schedule presented to the Lord Lieftenant, the same to be changed according to the agreement, and if the Mores and Conners, for whom he had obtained protection, should violate this [...], that he would no way giue

aide or assistance to them. Here|vpon at the instance of the Lord Liefetenant, the Lords Iustices caused Tyrones pardon to be drawne, and sealed with the great seale of Ireland, bearing Date the eleuenth of April, in the fortith yeere of her Maiesties Raigne, and of our Lord the yeere 1598.

Tyrone receiued his generall pardon; but continuing still his distoyall courses, neuer [Note: An. 1598.] pleaded the same, so as vpon his aboue mentioned [...], in September 1595. you shall find him after [...], in the yeere 1600.

The Irish kerne were at the first rude souldiers, so as two or three of them were im|ployed to discharge one Peece, and hitherto they haue subsisted especially by treche|rous tenders of submission, but now they were growne ready in managing their Pee|ces, and bold to skirmish in bogges and wooddy passages, yea, this yeere and the next following, became so disasterous to the English, and successefull in action to the Irish, as they shaked the English gouernement in this kingdome, till it tottered, and wanted little of fatall ruine. Tyrone wanted not pretences to frustrate this late treaty, and to re|turne to his formen disloyalty, and the defection of all other submitties depending on him, followed his reuolt.

First he sent aid to Phelim mac Feogh, chiefe of the Obirnes, the sonne of Feogh-mac Hugh, (killed in Sir William Russels time), to the end he might make the warre in Lem|ster against the English: And because the English Fort of Blackewater was a great eye sore to him, lying on the cheefe passage into his Countrey, he assembled all his forces, and assaulted the same. But Captaine Thomas Williams, with his company vnder him, so valiandy repelled the great multitudes of the assaylants, with slaughter of many and the most hardy, attempting to scale sort, (which was onely a deepe trench or wall of earth, to lodge some one hundred Souldiers), as they vtterly discouraged from assayling it, resolued to besiege it a farre off, and knowing they wanted victuals, presumed to get it by famine.

This Captaine and his few warders, did with no lesse courage suffer hunger, and hauing eaten the few horses they had, liued vpon hearbes growing in the ditches and wals, suffering all extremities, till the Lord Lieftenant in the moneth of August sent Sir Henry Bagnoll Marshall of Ireland, with the most choice Companies of foote and horse troopes of the English Army, to victuall this Fort, and to raise the Rebels siege. When the English entered the Pace, and thicke woods beyond Armagh, on the East side, Tyrone (with all the Rebels forces assembled to him) pricked forward with rage of enuy and setled rancour against the Marshal, assayled the English, and turning his full force against the Marshals person, had the succesee to kill him, valiantly fighting a|mong the thickest of the Rebels. Whereupon the English being dismaied with his death, the Rebels obtained a great victory against them: I terme it great, since the English from their first arriuall in that Kingdome, neuer had receiued so great an o|uerthrow, as this commonly called, The defeat of Blackewater; Thirteene valiant Cap|taines, [Note: The defeat of Blacke|water.] and 1500. common Souldiers, (whereof many were of the old companies 25 which had serued in Brittany vnder Generall Norreys) were slaine in the field. The yeelding of the Fort of Blackwater followed this disaster, when the assaulted guard saw no hope of reliefe: but especially vpon messages sent to Captaine Williams, from our broken forces retired to Armagh, professing that all their safetie depended vpon his yeelding the Fort into the hands of Tyrone, without which danger Captaine Willi|ams pro-

fessed, that no want or miserie should haue induced him thereunto.

Shortly after Sir Richard Bingham (aboue mentioned) late Gouernour of Connaght, and vnworthily disgraced, was sent ouer to succeede Sir Henrie Bagnoll in the Mar|shalship of that Kingdome.

By this Victory, the rebels got plenty of Armes and victuals, Tyrone was among the Irish celebrated as the Deliuerer of his Country from thraldome, and the combined Traytors on all sides were puffed vp with intolerable pride. All Vlster was in Armes, all Connaght reuolted, and the Rebels of Lemster swarmed in the English Pale, while the English lay in their Garrisons, so farre from assailing the Rebels, as they rather li|ued in continuall feare to be surprised by them.

After the last yeeres nauall expedition out of England into the Ilands, certaine old Companies of one thousand and fiftie foote, drawne out of the Low Countries, were appointed to Winter in the West parts of England, To these, nine hundred and fiftie new men were added this Summer, and the command of these two thousand Foote, and of one hundred horse, was giuen to Sir Samuel Bagnol, who was appointed to goe with them to Loughfoyle, in the North of Ireland: but after the defeate of Blackwater, they were countermaunded to goe into Lemster, to strengthen the Queenes Forces in the heart of the Kingdome.

The old Companies.

Sir Samuel Bagnol, Colonell 150 1050 Foot. Captaine Iohn Iephson. 100 Captaine Iosias Bodley 100 Captaine Iohn Sidney 100 Captaine Foulke Conway 100 Captaine Nicholas Pynner 100 Captaine Edward Blaney 100 Captaine Tobey Calfeild 100 Captaine Austin Heath 100 Captaine Owen Tewder 100 To these were added new men, partly vnder old Captains, as Captaine Francis Roe, Captaine Charles Egerton, Captaine Ralph Bingley, and partlyvnder new Captaines 950 Foot Besides, Sir Samuel Bagnol the Colonell had the command of a Troope of horse new raised 100 horse After the defeate of Blackwater, Tyrone sent Ony Mac Rory O More, and one Cap|taine Tyrel (of English race, but a bold and vnnaturall enemy to his Countrie, and the English), to trouble the Prouince of Mounster. Against whom Sir Thomas Norreys Lord President opposed himselfe: but assoone as he vpon necessarie occasions had with-drawne his forces to Corke, many of the Mounster men now first about October 1598, brake into rebellion, and ioyned themselues with Tyrones said forces, spoyled the Country, burnt the Villages, and puld downe the houses and Castles of the Eng|lish; [Note: Anno 1598] against whom (especially the femall sex) they committed all abominable outra|ges, And now they raised Iames Fitzthomas a Geraldine to be Earle of Desmond, (which title had since the warres of Desmond bin suppressed), with condition, that (forsooth) he should be vassall to Oneale. The Mounster Rebellion brake out like a lightning, for in one moneths space, almost all the Irish were in rebellious Armes, and the English were murthered, or stripped and banished. Thus hauing inflamed Mounster with the 26 fire of Rebellion, and leauing this sedition to be cherished and increased by this new Earle of Desmond, and other Rebels of that Prouince; the Vlster forces returned backe to Tyrone: The infection which Mounster men had drawne from the corrupted parts in Rebellion, did more and more spread it selfe, so as the old practises long held by the Arch-Traytor Tyrone to induce them to a reuolt, now fully attained their wished ef|fect. To the working whereof in the hearts of the seditious, there wanted not many strong motiues, as the hatred which the Geraldines bare to those English Vnderta|kers (of whom

I formerly spake, in Desmonds warre), which possessed their Ancestors lands; also the incouragement they receiued by the good successe of the Rebels, and no lesse the hope of pardon vpon the worst euent. And to speake truth, Munster vn|dertakers aboue mentioned, were in great part cause of this defection, and of their owne fatall miseries. For whereas they should haue built Castles, and brought ouer Colonies of English, and haue admitted no Irish Tenant, but onely English, these and like couenants were in no part performed by them. Of whom the men of best quali|tie neuer came ouer, but made profit of the land; others brought no more English then their owne Families, and all entertained Irish seruants and tenants, which were now the first to betray them. If the couenants had been kept by them; they of them|selues might haue made two thousand able men, whereas the Lord President could not find aboue two hundred of English birth among them, when the Rebels first en|tred the Prouince. Neither did these gentle Vndertakers make any resistance to the Rebels, but left their dwellings, and fled to walled Townes; yea, when there was such danger in flight, as greater could not haue been in defending their owne, whereof many of them had wofull experience, being surprised with their wiues and children in flight. Among the Mounster Rebels were the Vicount Mountgarret, the Earle of Ormonds neere Kinsman, and the Baron of Cahir, a Butler, and of the Earles Kindred. Both these pretended their discontent and malice against the said Earle, for cause of their reuolt. But more dangerous causes were suspected, and excepta Royall Force were quickly opposed to the Rebels bold attempts, a generall reuolt was feared.

May you hold laughter, or will you thinke that Carthage euer bred such a dissem|bling faedifragous wretch as Tyrone, when you shall reade, that euen in the middest of all these garboyles, and whilest in his letters to the King of Spaine he magnified his vi|ctories, beseeching him not to beleeue that he would seeke or take any conditions of Peace, and vowing constantly to keepe his faith plighted to that King, yet most impu|dently he ceased not to entertaine the Lord Lieutenant by letters and messages, with offers of submission. This hee did, but not so submissiuely as before, for now the Gentleman was growne higher in the instep, as appeared by the insolent conditions he required.

Ireland being in this turbulent State, many thought it could not bee restored but by the powerfull hand of Robert Earle of Essex. This noble Lord had from his youth put himselfe into military actions of greatest moment, so farre as the place he held in [Note: Earle of Essex Lord Lieutenant.] Court would permit, and had of late yeeres wonne much honour in some seruices by Sea and Land, so as he had full possession of a superintendencie ouer all martiall af|faires, and for his noble worth was generally loued, and followed by the Nobility and Gentrie. In which respects the Queene knew him fit for this seruice. Hee had long been a deare fauourite to the Queene, but had of late lien so open to his enemies, as he had giuen them power to make his imbracing of militarie courses, and his popular estimation so much suspected of his Soueraigne, as his greatnesse was now indged to depend as much on her Maiesties feare of him, as her loue to him. And in this respect he might seeme to the Queene most vnfit for this seruice. But surely the Earle was perswaded, that his Houour could not stand without imbracing this Action; and since he affected it, no man durst be his riuall. Besides that, his enemies gladly put for. ward this his designe, that they might haue him at more aduantage by his

absence from Court. Finally, the vulgat gaue ominous acclamations to his enterprise, but the wiser sort, rather wished then hoped happy effects, either to his priuate or the pub|like good, in regard of the powerfull enemies hee left in Court, (whence all seconds 27 were to come to him), and of his owne distracted ends (though enclined to the pub|like good, yet perhaps, in aiming at the speedy end of this warre, and some other par|ticulars, not fully concurring with the same.)

The Earle of Essex, when he first purposed to intertaine the managing of the Irish warres, aduised and obtained, that two Regiments of old souldiers should be transpor|ted out of the Low-Countries into that Kingdome: namely,

The first Regiment.

Sir Charles Pearcy Colonell—200 1050 Foote. Captaine Richard Moryson Lieutenant Colonell—150 Sir Oliuer Lambart—150 Captaine Henrie Masterson—150 Captaine Randal Bret—150 Captaine William Turret—150 Captaine Turner—100

The second Regiment.

Sir Henry Dockwra, Colonel (and Conductor of all)—200 950 Foote. Captaine Iohn Chamberlin Lieutenant Colonel—150 Captaine Edmond Morgan—150 Captaine Edward Michelburne—150 Captaine Walter Floyd—150 Captaine Garret Haruy—150 These Regiments landed in Ireland before the Earles comming ouer, and were then dispersed by the Earle into diuers Regiments of new men, to season them, and to re|plenish them with sufficient Officers.

The Earles Patent was granted with title of Lord Lieutenant, and with more ample authoritie, then many other Lord Deputies had formerly granted them: for whereas others had power to pardon all Treasons, Felonies, and all offences, except such trea|sons as touched her Maiesties person, her heires, andc, and the counterfeiting of money. This exception was by the Earles importunitie left out, which hee extorted with wise prouidence, since the Lawyers held all Treasons to touch the Princes person. And whereas other Lord Deputies had power to bestow all Offices excepting the chiefe reserued to the Queenes gift, his Lordship had power to bestow some of the chiefest, and to remoue all Officers not holding by Patent, and to suspend such as held by Pa|tent. Besides his Lordship had power in many things, which neuer had been former|ly giuen to any: as to make Martiall Lawes (he being Lord Martiall of England), and to punish the transgressors. And to let the lands of Tyrone and other Rebels named, to any persons whatsoeuer, and to their heires Males, reseruing due rents to her Maie|stie. To command the ships already sent, and to be sent into Ireland, except the Lord Admirall were sent forth to Sea, and commandement were giuen of ioyning the said ships to his Fleete. And lastly to issue the Treasure according to the two establish|ments, with liberty to alter that which was signed by the Lords in England, with the aduise and consent of the Counsell of Ireland, so as he exceeded not the summe of the Establishments. He had an Army assigned him, as great as himselfe required, and such for number and strength, as Ireland had neuer yet seene.

The establishment was signed by the Queene the foure and twenty of March, be|ing the last day (after the English account) of the yeere 1598. It contained: first, the [Note: The Estab|lishment.] pay of the chiefe Officers in the Army: the Lord Lieutenant Generall ten pound a day. The Lieutenant of the Army three pound a day. The Generall of the horse fortie shillings a day: the Marshall of the Campe thirtie shillings a day: the Sergeant Maior twentie shillings a day: the Lieutenant

of the horse twentie shillings a day: The Quartermaster twentie shillings a day: the Iudge Marshall twentie shillings a day: the Auditor Generall thirteene shillings foure pence a day: the Comptroler 28 generall of the victuals ten shillings a day: the Lieutenant of the Ordinance ten shil|lings a day: the Surueyer sixe shillings eight pence: two Clerkes of Munitions each fiue shillings a day: foure Corporals of the field sixe shillings eight pence a day a peece: one Commissarie of victuals eight shillings, and three other, each sixe shillings a day: The Carriage Master sixe shilling eight pence a day: and twentie Colonels, each ten shillings a day; whereof the totall in the yeere amounts to thirteene thousand one hundred twentie seuen pound sixteene shillings eight pence.

It contained further the pay of thirteene hundred horse, diuided into sixe and twen|tie Bands, each Band hauing a Captaine at foure shillings a day, a Lieutenant at two shillings sixe pence a day, a Cornet at two shillings a day, and fiftie horsemen each at fifteene pence a day, whereof the totall in the yeere amounts to one and thirtie thou|sand foure hundred eight pound fiue shillings.

It contained further the pay of sixteene thousand footemen, distributed into one hundred and sixty Bands, each Band hauing a Captaine at foure shillings a day, a Lieutenant at two shillings a day, an Ensigne eighteene pence a day, two Sergeants, a Drum, and a Surgeon, each at twelue pence a day, and ninetie foure souldiers, and sixe dead paies (allowed to the Captaine) at eight pence each by the day; whereof the to|tall in the yeere amounts to two hundred twenty eight thousand two hundred fortie sixe pound thirteene shillings foure pence.

Lastly, it contained an extraordinarie supply of six thousand pound to be allowed by concordatum, for Spies, Guides, Messengers, Barkes hiring, keeping of Prisoners, buildings, reparations, rewardes, and like charges; the totall of the Establishment by the yeere amounts to two hundred seuenty seuen thousand seuen hundred eighty two pound fifteene shillings.

Besides her Maiesty was at great charge for many things not contained in the esta|blishment as followeth. First for Officers generall. The Lord Lieftenant for his ordi|nary entertainement by the yeere, one thousand three hundreth pound. His Lord|ships Band of horse by the yeere, one thousand fiue hundred thirteene pound two shillings six pence. His Lordships fifty footmen by the yeere, six hundred eight pound sixe shillings eight pence.) Both these bands of horse and foot being not of the Army, I take to be allowed him for his followers, and the seruants in his family, besides his company of horse and foot in the Army); the Treasurer at warres by the yeere sixe hundred eight and thirty pound fifteene shillings. The Marshall of the Army by the yeere one hundred foure pound eighteene shillings and nine pence. The Master of the Ordinance for himselfe by the yeere foure hundred fifty pound three shillings foure pence, and for Clerkes, Gunners, and Ministers of the Ordinance by the yeere, foure hundred fifty nine pound fiue shillings ten pence. The Muster-Master generall by the yeere two hundred nine pound seuenteene shillings six pence. Secondly for chiefe Officers newly erected. The Gouernour of Loghfoyle, by the yeere three hundred six|ty fiue pound. The Gouernour of Caricfergus by the yeere one hundred eighty two pound ten shillings. The Gouernour of Dundalke as much. The Commander of the Forces at Rathdrum and Wickelow as much. The Commander of the Forces in O|phaly as much. The Commander of the Forces at Cauan as much.

These payments being made in sterling

money, doe amount to sixe thousand fiue hundred fourescore ten pound nineteene shillings seuen pence.

Obserue that all these aboue named Officers (excepting the Muster-Master) as also the Lieftenant of the Army, The Generall of the horse, The Seriant Maior, And like|wise the Gouernours of Prouinces and Garrisons, haue all beside their fees, the com|mand of a band of horse, or of Foot, or of both. Thirdly for Officers in the foure Courts and certaine Pattentees: In the Exchequer the Earle of Ormond Lord Treasu|rer of Ireland hath for his fee, forty pound. The Treasurer at warres, threescore sixe pounds thirteene shillings and foure pence. The chiefe Baron threescore and eleuen pound ten shillings, and in augmentation fourescore eight ponnd seuenteene shillings and nine pence. The Chancellor foureteene pound. The second Baron foure and thirty pound. The Auditor Generall two hundred pound. The Surueyor Generall foure|score 29 pound. The Remembrancer forty pound. The Seriant at Law seuenteene pound sixe shillings and eight pence. The Attourney Generall one hundred forty nine pound sixe shillings eight pence. The Solicitor one hundred forty nine pound sixe shillings eight pence. The Escheator six pound thirteene shillings and foure pence. The second Remembrancer ten pound ten shillings. The chiefe Ingrosser fourteene pound. The second Ingrosser nine pound sixe shillings and eight pence. The chiefe Chamberlaine thirteene pound six shillings and eight pence. The second Chamber|laine sixe pound thirteene shillings and foure pence. The Clerke of the first fruits ten pound. The keeper of the Records thirteene pound sixe thillings and eight pence. The Vsher of the Court three pound sixe shillings and eight pence. The Clerke of the Common Pleas three pound sixe shillings eight pence. The Transcriptor fifty three shillings foure pence. The Deputy Auditor eleuen pound. The Vicetreasurers Deputy eleuen pound. The Somoniter one hundred sixe shillings eight pence. The Marshall of the Court one hundred sixe shillings eight pence. A Messenger foure and forty shil|lings fiue pence farthing. Two Pursiuants each eighteene pound fiue shillings fee. In the Kings Bench the chiefe Iustice foure hundred pound. The second Iustice one hundred three and thirty pound sixe shillings eight pence. The Clerke of the Crowne ten pound.

In the Common Pleas the chiefe Iustice threescore seuen pound ten shillings, and in augmentation fourescore eight pound seuenteene shillings nine pence farthing. The second Iustice forty pound, and in augmentation twenty pound. The Prothona|tor ten pound. In the Chauncery. The Lord Chauncellor foure hundred and fifteene pound sixe shillings eight pence. The Master of the Roles fifty pound, and in aug|mentation fourescore eight pound seuenteene shillings nine pence. Two Ministers each seuen and twenty pound thirteen shillings foure pence. The Clerke of the Crowne sixe pound thirteene shillings foure pence and in augmentation six and twenty pound thirteene shillings foure pence. The Clerke of the Hamper foureteene pound. Diuers Officers in the Starrechamber sixe and fifty pound thirteene shillings foure pence. Diuers Ministers of the Ordinance holding by Patent one hundred thirty fiue pound thirteene shillings fiue pence farthing. The Constable of the Castle of Dublyn and his warders with diuers other Constables and Porters three hundred thirty fiue pound thirteene shillings two pence farthing.

For Officers of the State: The Secretary one hundred sixe pound thirteene shillings foure pence. The Clerke of the Counsell threescore and two pound thirteene shillings foure pence. The Surueyer

of the victuals one hundred forty three pound sixe shillings eight pence. The King at Armes thirty fiue pound sixe shillings eight pence. The Seriant at Armes eighteene pound two shillings two pence halfe penny farthing. The Pursiuant at Armes thirteene pound sixe shillings eight pence. The Irish Interpreter seuen and twenty pound seuen shillings sixe pence. Officers about the Custome forty pound. For Creation money to Noble men; the Earle of Ormond thirty pound. The Earle of Kildare twenty pound. The Earle of Clanrickard forty pound. The Earle of Thomond twenty pound. The Baron of Kaher fifteene pound. Diuers annuities and procurations two hundred fourescore and nineteene pound nineteene shillings three pence halfe penny. For Parchment, Paper, Inke, Bagges, etc. In the Exchequer, Kings Bench, and Common Pleas, two hundred fourescore two pound, ten shillings eight pence: For other payments by warrant two hundred sixe and twenty pound two shillings foure peece In the County of Wexford, the Iustice of the liberties twenty pound. The Senescall fiue and twenty pound. The Receiuer twen|ty pound. The Marshall forty shillings.

The totall of these being paid in Irish money, is foure thousand six hundred fifteene pound thirteene shillings halfe penny; which reduced to sterling money, makes three thousand foure hundred threescore one pound thirteen shillings nine pence. Fourthly for Officers in Lemster, the Lieftenant of the Queenes County one hundred twenty one pound thirteene shillings foure pence. The Prouost Marshall of the Army threescore and seuenteene pound eleuen shillings three pence. The Prouost Marshall 30 of Lemster one hundred and two pound thirteene shillings one penny halfe penny. These paid in sterling money, amount to three hundred one pound sixteene shillings eight pence halfe penny.

Fifthly, for Officers in Mounster, the Lord President one hundred three and thirty pound sixe shillings eight pence. His diet with the Counsell allowed at his table, fiue hundred twenty pound. His Retinue of twenty foot with the Officers, and of thirty horse, eight hundred and three pound. The chiefe Iustice one hundred pound. The second Iustice threescore sixe pound thirteene shillings foure pence. The Queenes At|tourney thirteene pound sixe shillings eight pence. The Clerke of the Councell twenty pound. The Clerke of the Crowne twenty pound. The Seriant at Armes twenty pound. The Prouost Marshall two hundred fiue and fifty pound ten shillgs. The totall being paid in sterling mony, is one thousand nine hundred fifty one pound sixteene shillings eight pence.

Sixtly, for Officers in Connaght, the chiefe Commissioner (or Gouernour) one hun|dred poundshis diet with the Counsel at his table, one hundred fourescore two pound ten shillings. An allowance to himselfe forty pound. The Iustice one hundred pound. The Queenes Attourney twenty pound. The Clarke of the Crowne twenty pound. The Clarke of the Counsell twenty pound. The Seriant at Armes twenty pound, the Prouost Marshall two hundred threescore and foure pound, twelue shillings sixe pence. An increase of pay to the present chiefe Commissioner, two hundred foure|score two pound ten shillings.

The totall being paid in sterling money, is nine hundred forty nine li. twelues. fixed.

Seuenthly, certaine bands of Irish kerne, fiue hundred threescore nineteene pound eight shillings nine pence.

Eightly, for warders in seuerall Prouinces, three thousand fiue hundred

threescore and seuenteene pound two pence halfe penny.

Ninthly, for Commissaries of Musters, fiue hundred threescore seuenteene pound eighteene shillings foure pence.

Tenthly, Pensioners of all sorts, as well recorded in the Office of Musters, as those holding by Patent, and recorded with the Auditor, some holding for tearme of yeers, some during life, some during good behauiour, some during pleasure, three thousand two hundred forty nine l nine d.

Lastly, Almes-men, fourescore eight l. nineteene s. foure d. ob.

The totall of the aboue named charge not contained in the establishment, is twenty one thousand three hundred twenty eight l. eight s. seuen d. ob.

Adde to this the establishment, two hundred threescore seuenteene thousand seuen hundred fourescore two pound, fifteene shillings.

The totall of the yeerely charge, is two hundred fourescore and nineteene thousand, one hundred eleuen pound three s. seuen d. ob.

To which if you adde the great charge of all sorts of Munitions, with the like ex|traordinary expences, and doe also consider that the thirteene hundred horse, and sixeteene thousand Foot, by new supplies were made fully twenty thousand: the hea|uy burthen of this yeeres warre in Ireland will appeare.

The Earle of Essex had in speciall charge from the Queene, to bend all his forces a|gainst the chiefe Traitor Tyrone, (and the Vlster Rebels his confederates), and withall to plant Garrisons at Loughfoyle and Balishannon, to the end they might at the same time assayle him (and them) at the backe (both which courses his Lordship had in all counsels perswaded, and often taxed the omissions of them). Thus with happy ac|clamations of the people (who to so worthy a Generall in the head of so strong an Ar|my, did ominate nothing but victory and triumphes), yet with a Sunne-shine thun|der happening (as Master Camden notes for an ominous ill token): This noble Lord (accompanied with the flower of the English Gentry, and conducted on his way with many of the Nobility), tooke his iourny from London towards Ireland, in the end of the Moneth of March, and the beginning of the yeere 1599, and though crossed [Note: An. 15999.] with tempestuous weather, (wherein the Earle of Kildare, and some gallant gentlemen 31 accompanying him in a little barke, chosen of purpose for speed, were vnfortunately cast away), landed within few dayes at Dublin, where according to the manner of o|ther Gouernours, he receiued the Sword.

Vpon his Lordships demaund to bee aduertised from the Counsell of the present state of that Kingdome, a Collection thereof, debated and agreed vpon in Counsell, and signed by the Counsellers, was presented to his Lordship the seuenteenth of A|ptill, being to this effect. First, for the Prouince of Lemster, in the Countie of Dublin, all the Mountainers were in actuall rebellion, as Phelim Mac Feagh, and his brother Redmond, with their Sept (or name) of the O'yrns, and Phelim Mac Feagh with his Sept of the Otooles, and Walter Mac Edmond chiefe of the Galloglasses, with his Sept of Mac Donnels; onely two Castles, Newcastle and Wickloe, Sir Henrie Harrington held for the Queene, and all the rest of the Countrie continued loyall. The Rebels thereof were in number foure hundred eightie Foot, and twentie horse. In the County of Kildare Iames Fitzpierce a Geraldine, two Geraldines, base brothers to the late Earle of Kildare, some of the Delahides, some of the Odempsies, and some of the Eustaces (of which Sept was the late Vicount Baltinglasse attainted), all

in action of Rebellion, were in num ber two hundred and twentie Foote, and thirtie horse. All the rest of the Countrie being wasted by the Rebels, yet held for the Queene. In the County of Carlogh, be|ing little and all wasted, the Castles of Carlogh and Laughline, and her Maiesties house of Fernes, held by the Queenes Wardes, and sixe Castles belonging to the Earle of Or|mond, held for the Queene; but the Cauanaghs, and Keytons, were in Rebellion. In the County of Wexford being wasted, all the Castles held for the Queene, and Sir Thomas Calclough, Sir Richard Masterson, and Sir Dudly Loftus, the onely English there inha|biting, held for the Queene. But Donnel Spaniagh (alias Cauanagh) with all that Sept, the Omorroghs, Macony More, all the Kinsellaghes, Dermot Mac Morice, and diuers others with their followers, were all in rebellion, and in those two Counties the Rebels were in number seuen hundred and fiftie Foote, and fiftie horse. In the County of Leax, called the Queenes Countie, lately all English, now vsurped by the Rebels Owny Mac Rowry Omore, and all the Sept of O Mores, and the chiefe of the Galloglasses in that County, of the Sept of Mac Donnel, the Sept of O Dempsies (except Sir Terence O Demp|sey) the Sept of O doynes (except Teig Oge O Doyne), were al in rebellion, and the base son of the Earle of Kildare, a Geraldine, lately came in vpon protection. The Rebels were in number fiue hundred seuentie Foote, and thirty horse. Master Hartpol, Master Bowen, and Master Pygot, were the onely English Inhabitants, by whom and some o|thers, certaine Castles were kept for the Queene, besides the Fort of Mariaborough kept by the Qeenes Garrison. In the Countie of Ophalye, called (of Phillip King of England) the Kings County, lately English, the Fort of Phillipstowne was kept by an English Garrison, Sir George Colley, Sir Henrie Warren, Mast. Iohn Moore, and Mast. Phillips, held their Castles for the Queene, the rest of the Castles were kept by the sept of the Ocon|ners then rebels, and al the land was wasted, the Sept of the Omollyes and Odonners were likewise in rebellion, and they were all in number foure hundred sixtie and eight Foot, and twelue horse. In the County of Kilkenny, the Vicount of Mountgaret, a Butler, of the Earle of Ormonds Family, and sonne in Law to Tyrone, was in rebellion, with his brethren, and with some of his sonnes, and with his followers, being in number one hundred and thirty Foote, and twentie horse, and held the Castles of Balliragge and Colekil; the rest of the Castles, and the whole County were held by the Earle of Or|mond for the Queene. In the County of Meath, the sonne and heire of Sir William Nu|gent was in rebellion, and the Countie lying in the heart of the Pale, was greatly wasted by the Vlster Rebels, and many Castles lay waste without inhabitants, but no Rebels possed either Towne or Castle therein. In the County of Westmeath, lying for the most part waste; the Omollaughlines, and the Magoghegines, many of the Nugents, and the Geraldines were in rebellion, being in number 140 Foot, and twentie horse, besides Captaine Tyrel (a Rebel of English race), who had of Vlster men and other strangers two hundred Foote. In the County of Lowthe, Sir Edward Moore and Sir Francis Stafford were the only English house-keepers, al the lands were wasted by the Vlster re|bels; 32 but the Lord of Lowthe, an English-Irish Barron, and all the Townes and Ca|stles stood firme for the Queene. In the County of Lonford, all the Ofarrols were in rebellion, except two chiefe men of that Family, and the Castle of Longford was held by an English Warde, and the Rebels were in number one hundred and twenty Foot. The whole number

of the Rebels in this Prouince of Lemster was three thousand for|tie and eight Foote, and one hundred eighty two horse.

Secondly, for the Prouince of Vlster (consisting all of Irish Septs, except the Scots possessing the Rowt and Glinnes), those of Lecale, and the little Ardes held for the Queene, but ouerawed by Tyrone, were forced to giue way to him to tirannize in their Countries. Dundalke the frontier Towne betweene the Pale and Vlster, vnd Knockfer|gus (or Carickfergus) a frontier Towne towards Scotland, were kept by English Garri|sons, as likewise the Newry, Carlingford, Greene Castle, and Narrow water (all neare Dundalke), and the Castle of Ballinecargie in the Brenny, the rest were all in Rebellion. Neale Brian Fertough in the vpper Clandeboyes, had in number eighty Foote and thirtie horse. Shane Mac Brian in the lower Clandeboyes had eighty foote and fif|tie horse. The Whites Countrie (or the Duffery) had twentie Foote. Mac Arten and Sleaght Mac Oneale had one hundred foote, and twentie horse. Mac Rorye Captaine of Kilwarlin had sixtie foote, and ten horse. Cormack Mac Oneale, Captaine of Kilul|togh had sixtie foote and ten horse. Hugh Mac Murtagh bevond the Min water had fortie foote. Shane Mac Brian Carogh vpon the Ban side, had fiftie foote, ten horse. Sir Iames Mac Surleyboy, and his Scots, possessing the Rowt and the seuen Glynnes, had foure-hundred foote, and one hundred horse. The Iland of Magee, belonging to the Earle of Essex, was altogether waste. Mac Guire in Fermannagh had sixe hundred foot, one hundred horse. Mac Mahowne in Monaghan, and Euer Mac Coolye in the Ferney, and others of that name in Clankaruil, had fiue hundred foote, one hundred and sixtie horse. The Oreylyes in the Brenny (or the County of Cauan) had eight hundred foot, hundred horse. Ocane in his Countrie had fiue hundred foote, two hundred horse. two Sir Art Oneale in Sleught Art had three hundred foot, sixtie horse. Henry Oge in his Countrie had two hundred foot, and fortie horse. Turlough Mac Henrie Oneale in the Fues, had three hundred foote, sixty horse. Ohagan in his Countrie had one hundred foote, thirtie horse. Oquin in his Countrie eightie foote, twentie horse. The Done|laghes in their Countrie one hundred foote, sixtie horse. Mac Can in Clancan one hundred foote, twelue horse. Tyrone the Arch-traytor in Tyrone seuen hundred foot 200 horse. Carmack Mac Baron his brother, in his Countrie had three hundred foot and sixtie horse. Mac Gennis in Yuogh (or Mac Gennis Countrie) had two hundred foot, fortie horse. In Tyrconnel O donnels Country, Sir Iohn O dogherty for his Countrie had three hundred foot, and fortie horse. O donnels sonne in the Conologhs Countrie one hundred and fiftie foote, and fiftie horse. Mac Swine for his Countrie fiue hundred foote, and thirtie horse. Oboyle for his Countrie one hundred foot and twenty horse. O Donnel himselfe in the County of Donnegal two hundred foote, sixtie horse. O Gallo|hore for his Countrie (in which his chiefe house is Ballashannon) had two hundred foote, fortie horse. Sleught Rorie for his Countrie one hundred foote, and fiftie horse. The forces of the Rebels in Vlster are in all one thousand seuen hundred and two horse, and seuen thousand two hundred and twentie foote.

Thirdly, for the Prouince of Mounster, In the County of Tipperary. The Lord Baron of Cahir a Butler, with his brother and followers, had three hundred foote twelue horse. Edmond Fitzgibbon called the White Knight (this nick name giuen to one for his gray heares, comming as hereditarie to his posteritie), in his Country foure hun|dred foote, thirtie horse. Richard Pursell Baron of Loughwey

200 foot, 6 horse. The O|mulrians three hundred foote, sixe horse. The Omaighirs sixtie foote, three horse. The Okennydayes fiue hundred foot, thirty horse. The Burkes in the Lord Burkes Countrie, two hundred foote, foure horse. In the County of Corke, Iames Fitz-thomas, the sup|posed Earle of Desmond, two hundred and fifty foote, thirtie horse. The Lord of De|wallough two hundred foote, eight horse. Barry Oge, and the Lord Barryes brother in the Muskerye, one hundred and twentie foote, three horse. Dauy Burke in the Carbrye 33 fiue hundred foote. In the County of Limrick, Pierce Lacy, with diuers septs, had three hundred foote, and fifteene horse. In the County of Kerrie, the Lord Fitz Mor|rice, Thomas Oge, Iohn Delahyde, with others, fiue hundred foote, thirtie horse. In the County of Desmond, called Oswylliuan Beare, and Oswilliuan Mores Countrie, Dermod Mac Owen (vsurping the name of Mac Arty Moore) had fiue hundred foote, six horse. In the County of Waterford, the Rebels had two hundred foote, and ten horse. In all the Rebels of this Prouince of Mounster were strong fiue thousand thirtie foote, and two hundred fortie two horse. This number the Earle of Ormond iudged to bee the least, and thought the horse one hundred more in number. Obserue, that all the Ci|ties and Port-townes, and almost all the Castles in this Prouince of Mounster, and ma|ny great Lords and Gentlemen, held for the Queene.

Fourthly and lastly, for the Prouince of Connaught; In the County of Roscommen, the Castles of Roscommen, Athlone, Tulske, Boyle, and Ballinestawe, were kept at her Ma|iesties charge, and the Rebels of diuers septs had fiue hundred foote, fixtie horse. In the County of Sligo, O Connor Sligo, and diuers septs of rebels, had three hundred foot, and thirtie horse, and onely the Castle of Calony held for the Queene. Orworke in Ley|trim (called Ororkes Countrie) had sixe hundred foote, sixtie horse, and not any Ca|stle was kept for the Queene. In the County of Maio, some three Castles lately held for the Queene, but were thought to be rendred vp to Mac William, who with his fol|lowers had sixe hundred foot, sixtie horse. In the County of Galloway, the towne of Galloway, of Atheurie, and the Castle of Milech, held for the Queene, but many septs of the Country were in rebellion, who had some foure hundred ninetie foote. In the County of Clare, the Earle of Thomonds brother (who first was vpon suspition com|mitted to prison by the said Earle, and after released), with the Obryans, and Mac Marres, and other septs, had sixe hundred foote, fiftie horse, and not one Castle was there kept for the Queene. In all, the rebels of this Prouince of Connaught were strong three thousand and seuentie foote, two hundred and twentie horse. And the Rebels in all the foure Prouinces were strong eighteene thousand two hundred fortie sixe foote, and two thousand three hundred forty sixe horse.

The Earle of Essex in the moneth of Aprill dispatched two letters to the Lords in England; by the first whereof he aduertised them of this strength of the rebels; and by the second, that Tyrone had in counsell resolued, first, to hearten his confederates, and strengthen them in their dependency on his protection; then to make two heads against the Queenes forces, the one in Vlster, of some sixe thousand horse and foote, vnder his owne commaund, and the other in Connaght of some foure thousand horse and foote vnder Odonnells commaund: and further aduertised their Lordships, that many in Mounster had taken a solemne oath at a publike Crosse in that Prouince, to be stedfast in their rebellion. And that no traytor sought pardon, but vsed such in|solent behauiour, as

might well shew they had no such thought. That the mindes of the very subiects were so alienated from the English, as well for Religion as Gouerne|ment, as some who could bring one hundred horse, and three hundred foote into the field vpon priuate reuenge, would protest not to be able to serue the State with sixe horse or foote. That euery actiue borderer had a solliciter with the Rebels, and al|most euery one of the greatest in the State had some Rebell or other to his Client. Concluding, that small or no assistance could be promised from the Irish, so as how|soeuer the Queenes Army was great, yet he durst boldly say, that the playster would doe no more then couer the wound.

After few dayes of rest, good part of the English forces being drawne together, this noble Lord Lieutenant gaue entrance to his first actions, from which the progresse commonly receiueth a kind of ominous luster or staine. And therein hee attempted not the head of the Rebellion, according to his own aduise in England, and the Queens expresse commaund, but was induced by some of the Counsell in that State, aiming at their owne priuate interest, more then the publike good, to leade his forces against some few Rebels in Mounster, where he tooke the Castle of Cahir, belonging to Ed|ward Butler, Baron of Cahir, and making a great prey of the rebels cattle in those parts, 34 he cast the terror of his forces on the weakest enemies, whom he scattered and con|strained to flie into Woods and Mountaines, to hide themselues.

The fifteenth of Iune, while the Lord Lieutenant was yet in this Mounster iour|ney, he receiued aduertisement from a Captaine, whom he had imployed by sea into the North, to spie out Tyrones actions, that two ships lately come from Spaine, had put confidence in Tyrone, who went from Dungannon to Loughfoyle about that businesse, but they brought onely munition, not any treasure. That Tyrone had giuen forces to Brian Mac Art, sonne to Art Mac Baron, that hee might take pledges, and watch ouer Neale Mac Brian, whom he suspected, and had charged Mac Genis to doe the like ouer Mac Cartan, also suspected by him, so as there was no possibilitie to parley with them, according to the instructions giuen by his Lordship. That Tyrone kept his great pled|ges, Shane Oneales sonnes, in an Iland, within a strong fastnesse, but as yet had neither gathered at home, nor receiued from forraine parts any treasure. That both Tyrone and Odonnel had their Agents in the out Iles of Scotland, to sollicite the Redshankes to assist them for pay. That the King of Spaine had promised them aide of men, which they would not haue landed in Vlster, but in some Port of Mounster, or at Galloway in Con|naght. That Scots daily carried Munition to them, which trafficke might be hindred by two Gallies with Oares, but no ship vsing sayles could stop their passage. That the grosse of the Northerne Rebels in Vlster, and part of Connaght drawne together, would be nine thousand foote, and one thousand foure hundred horse. That they were confident to draw the warre into such a length, as should be vnsupportable to the State of England. To which end Odonnel had hired a Masse of Redshankes, who were to be cessed in Connaght and Mounster, because Tyrone, hauing deadly fewde with some of the chiefe Leaders, durst not trust them in Vlster. Besides that vpon arriuall of forraine treasure, great multitudes of those Scots were like to flocke vnto them. And to the same end Tyrone had made strong fastnesses or intrenchments, as well vpon the passages of Loughfoyle and Ballishanon, (where he left forces to resist the English Gar|risons to be sent thither), as at the Blackewater, and Ballinemoyree,

himselfe purposing to meet the English Army in the woods of Ballinemoyree, betweene Dundalke and the Newry, where he hoped to make some of the best to drop, and after to fall backe at his pleasure to like fights of aduantage, which he had prepared at the Blackewater. So as the onely meanes suddenly to breake those rebels, was to hier 4000. Redshankes, to breake in vpon them, (by aduantage of their rowing boates) into the heart of Tyrone, betweene these intrenchments, where they might easily take from him all his wealth, consisting in cattell, and there intrench themselues, and in despite of all Tyrones forces, be supplied with all necessaries from the Scottish Ilands. And indeed to this purpose, the Lord Bourgh, if he had not beene preuented by sudden death, had contracted with those Scots, promising 4000. men for the first moneths pay, 1200. pound, the chiefe Leader a Colonels pay, and certaine Captaines the pay of a Captaine of 100, men. After which moneth, their Septs were to be cessed for their victuals, vpon such coun|treys, as they must haue fought with the Rebels for euery morsell: Namely, the sons of Agnus mac Connell with their Sept, vpon the Route, the Glinnes, and North Clan|deboy, who for the pretence they had to inherite that Countrey, would prosecute Iames mac Surley, the possesser thereof to the vttermost. Donnel GRome and his Sept, vp|pon Yuogh, being Mac Genis his Countrey. The Mac Lanes and their Sept, vpon the South Clandeboy, and the Duffren. All which Septs were to put in pledges to the Lord Bourgh, not to prey any vnder the Queenes protection, and to depart the King|dome, when his Lordship should please no longer to make vse of their seruice.

The fiue and twenty of Iune, during the said Mounster iourney, the Lord Liefete|nant wrote vnto the Queene this Letter following.

VVHen this shall come to your Maiesties hands, I know not; but whensoeuer it hath that Honour, giue it leaue (I humbly beseech your Maiesty) to tell you, that hauing now passed through the Prouinces of Lemster and Mounster, and been vp|pon the Frontire of Connaght, (where the Gouernour and the chiefe of the Prouince 35 were with me); I dare begin to giue your Maiesty some aduertisement of the state of this Kingdome, not as before by heare-say, but as I beheld it with mine owne eyes. The people in generall haue able bodies by nature, and haue gotten by custome ready vse of armes, and by their late successes boldnes to fight with your Maiesties troopes. In their pride they value no man but themselues, in their affections they loue nothing but idlenesse and licentiousnesse, in their rebellion they haue no other end, but to shake off the yoake of obedience to your Maiesty, and to root out all remembrance of the English Nation in this Kingdome. I say this of the people in generall, for I find not onely the greater part thus affected, but that it is a generall quarrell of the Irish, and they who doe not professe it, are either so few, or so false, that there is no accompt to be made of them. The Irish Nobility and Lords of Countreys, doe not onely in their hearts affect this plausible quarrell, and are diuided from vs in religion, but haue an especiall quarrell to the English gouernement, because it limitteth and tieth them, who euer haue beene, and euer would be as absolute Tyrants, as any are vnder the Sunne. The Townes, being inhabited by men of the same religion and birth as the rest, are so carried away with the loue of gaine, that for it, they will furnish the rebels with all things that may arme them, or inable them against the State, or against themselues. The wealth of the Kingdome, which consisteth in cattle, oate-meale, and other victu|als, is al-

most all in the Rebels hands, who in euery Prouince, till my comming, haue beene Masters of the field. The expectation of all these Rebels is very present, and very confident, that Spaine will either so inuade your Maiesty, that you shall haue no lei|sure to prosecute them here, or so succour them, that they will get most of the Townes into their hands, ere your Maiesty shall relieue and reinforce your Army. So that now if your Maiesty resolue to subdue these Rebels by force, they are so many, and so fra|med to be Souldiers, that the warre of force will be great, costly, and long. If your Ma|iesty will seeke to breake them by factions amongst themselues, they are couetous and mercinary, and must be purchased, and their Iesuites and practising Priests, must be hunted out and taken from them, which now doe sodder them so fast, and so close to|gether. If your Maiesty will haue a strong party in the Irish Nobility, and make vse of them, you must hide from them all purpose of establishing English gouernement, till the strength of the Irish be so broken, that they shall see no safety but in your Maie|sties protection. If your Maiesty will be assured of the possession of your Townes, and keepe them from supplying the wants of the Rebels, you must haue garrisons brought into them, able to command them, and make it a capital offence for any Mer|chant in Ireland, to trade with the Rebels, or buy or sell any armes or munition what|soeuer. For your good subiects may haue for their mony out of your Maiesties store, that which shall be appointed by order, and may serue for their necessary defence, whereas if once they be tradable, the Rebels will giue such extreme and excessiue pri|ces, that they will neuer bee kept from them. If your Maiesty will secure this your Realme from the danger of inuasion, assoone as those which direct and mannage your Maiesties intelligences, giue notice of the preparations and readinesse of the enemy, you must be aswell armed, and prouided for your defence: which prouision, consists in hauing forces vpon the Coast, inroled and trained, in hauing Magazines of victuall in your Maiesties West and North-west parts, ready to be transported; and in hauing ships both of warre and transportation, which may carry and waft them both, vpon the first allarum of a discent. The enroling and training of your subiects, is no charge to your Maiesties owne cofers: The prouiding of Magazines, will neuer be any losse, for in vsing them, you may saue a Kingdome, and if you vse them not, you may haue your old store sold, and (if it be well handled) to your Maiesties profit. The arming of your Maiesties ships, when you heare your enemy armes to the Sea, is agreeable to your owne prouident and Princely courses, and to the pollicy of all Princes and states of the World. But to returne to Ireland againe, as I haue shewed your Maiesty the dan|gers and disaduantages, which your seruants and Ministers here shall and doe meete withall, in this great worke of reducing this Kingdome. So I will now (as well as I can) represent to your Maiestie your strengths and aduantages. First, these Rebels are 36 neither able to force any walled Towne, Castle, or House of strength, nor to keepe any that they get, so that while your Maiesty keeps your Army in strength and vigor, you are vndoubtedly Mistresse of all townes and holds whatsoeuer. By which meanes (if your Maiesty haue good Ministers) all the wealth of the Land shall be drawne into the hands of your subiects, your soldiers in the winter shall be casefully lodged, and rea|dily supplied of any wants, and we that command your Maiesties forces, may make the warre offen siue and defensiue, may fight and be in safety, as occasion is offered. Secondly, your Maiesties horsemen, are so incomparably better then

the rebels, and their foot are so vnwilling to fight in battell or grosse, (howsoeuer they be desi|rous to skirmish and fight loose); that your Maiesty may be alwaies Mistresse of the champion Countries, which are the best parts of this Kingdome. Thirdly, your Ma|iesty victualling your Army out of England and with your Garrisons burning and spoyling the Countrey in all places, shall starue the Rebell in one yeere, because no place els can supply them. Fourthly, since no warre can be made without Munition, and munition this Rebell cannot haue, but from Spayne, Scotland, or your owne Townes here, if your Maiesty will still continue your ships and Pinaces vpon the Coast, and be pleased to send a Printed Proclamation, that vpon paine of death no Merchant, Townes-man, or other Subiect, doe trafficke with the Rebell, or buy or sell in any sort any kinde of Munition or Armes, I doubt not, but in short time I shall make them bankerout of their old store, and I hope our Seamen will keepe them from receiuing any new. Fifthly, your Maiesty hath a rich store of gallant Colonels, Cap|taines, and Gentlemen of quality, whose example and execution is of more vse, then all the rest of your troopes; whereas the men of best qualitie among the rebels, which are their Leaders, and their horsemen, dare neuer put themselues to any hazard, but send their Kerne, and their hirelings to fight with your Maiesties Troopes; so that al|though their common souldiers are too hard for our new men, yet are they not able to stand before such gallant men as will charge them. Sixthly, your Maiesties Com|manders being aduiled and exercised, know al aduantages, and by the strength of their order, will in all great fights beate the rebels. For they neither march, nor lodge, nor fight in order, but only by the benefit of their footmanship, can come on, and goe off at their pleasure, which makes them attend a whole day, still skirmishing, and neuer in|gaging themselues. So that it hath been euer the fault and weakenesse of your Maie|stis Leaders, whensoeuer you haue receiued any blow. For the rebels doe but watch and attend vpon all grosle ouersights. Now if it please your Maiestie to compare your aduantages and disaduantages together, you shall finde, that though these Rebels are more in number then your Maiesties Army, and haue (though I doe vnwillingly con|fesse it) better bodies, and perfecter vse of their Armes, then those men which your Maiestie sends ouer; yet your Maiestie, commanding the walled Townes, Holdes, and Champion Countries, and hauing a braue Nobilitie and Gentry, a better Discipline, and stronger order then they, and such means to keep from them the maintenance of their life, and to waste the Countrie, which should nourish them, your Maiestie may promise your selfe, that this action will (in the end) be successefull, though costly, and that your Victorie will be certaine, though many of vs your honest seruants must sacri|fice our selues in the quarrell, and that this Kingdome will be reduced, though it will aske (besides cost) a great deale of care, industry, and time. But why doe I talke of vi|ctorie, or of successe? is it not knowne, that from England I receiue nothing but dis|comforts and soules wounds? Is it not spoken in the Army, that your Maiesties fauor is diuerted from me, and that alreadie you do boadil both to me and it? Is it not belee|ued by the Rebels, that those whom you fauour most, doe more hate me out of facti|on, then them out of dutie or conscience? Is it not lamented of your Maiesties faith|fullest subiects both there and here, that a Cobham, or a Kaleigh (I will forbeare others for their places sake) should haue such credit and fauour with your Maiestie, when they wish the ill successe of your Maiesties most important action, the decay of your great-

est strength, and the destruction of your faithfullest seruants? Yes, yes, I see both my owne destiny, and your Maiesties decree, and doe willingly imbrace the one, 37 and obey the other. Let me honestly and zealously end a wearisome life, let others liue in deceitfull and vnconstant pleasure; let me beare the brunt, and die meritoriously; let others achiue and finish the worke, and liue to erect Trophies. But my prayer shall be, that when my Soneraigne looseth mee, her Army may not loose courage, or this Kingdome want phisicke, or her dearest Selfe misse Essex, and then I can neuer goe in a better time, nor in a fairer way. Till then, I protest before God and his Angels, that I am a true Votarie, that is sequestred from all things but my duty and my charge; I per|forme the vttermost of my bodies, mindes and fortunes abilitte, and more should, but that a constant care and labor agrees not with an inconstant health, in an vnwhol|some and vncertaine clymate. This is the hand of him, that did liue your dearest, and will die,

Your Maiesties faithfullest seruant Essex.

Towards the end of Iuly his Lordp. brought back his forces into Lemster, the souldiers being wearie, sicke, and vncredibly diminished in number, and himselfe returned to Dublin. All that his Lordp. had done in this iourney, besides the scattering of the Re|bels weake troopes, was the taking of Cahir Castle, and receiuing the L. of Cahir, the L. Roche and some others into her Maiesties Protection, who after his departure did ei|ther openly fall againe to the rebels party, or secretly combine with them. While his Lordp. was in this iourny, some 600 men left in the Glinnes, by the vnskilfulnesse of some young Captaines and souldiers, and the ill affection of some Irish Officers, re|ceiued a disgracefull blow from the Obirns, whereupon his Lordp. now seuerely pu|nished their fault, disarming the souldiers, and executing the tenth man, calling the Captaines to a Martiall Court, and discharging them, and condemning to bee shot to death an Irish Lieutenant, who had parlied with the Rebels, and was thought to haue animated them. Then his Lordp. vnderstanding that the Queene was much offen|ded with this Mounster iourny, he cast in his letters the fault on the Counsell of Ire|land, whose aduise, by reason of their long experience in those warres, he thought fit|test to follow, at his first entry, but withal gaue her Maiesty ful assurance that he would presently leade the Army into Vlster against Tyrone himselfe. Yet these letters were scarce deliuered, when by others he signified a necessity of a iourney into Ophalia and Leax neere Dublin, against the Oconnors and Omores, whom he brake with ease, himself leading some 1500 into Ophalia, and sending Sir Christopher Blunt the Marshal into Leax with 1000 men vnder the command of Sir Charles Pearcy and Sir Richard Moryson. Then at his returne, taking a view of the Army, he found it so weakened, as by letters signed by himselfe and the Counsell there, hee desired a supplie of 1000 foot out of England, to inable him presently to vndertake the Vlster iourney.

Thus resolued to march Northward, he commaunded Sir Conyors Clifford, Gouer|nour of Connaght to draw his forces vp to Belike, that hee might force Tyrone to send some of his forces that way, while he assailed him on the other side. Sir Conyers Clif|ford accordingly marched this way with one thousand foure hundred foote by Pole, and the Earle of Southamptons Troop of one hundred horse, vnder the leading of Cap|taine Iohn lephson, with some other Irish horse: and comming to the Curlew mountaines he left the munition and carriages vnder the guard of

the horse, til he passing forward with the Foote had tried the passage. He had not gone farre, before Ororke and other rebels with him, vpon the aduantage of Woods, Bogges, and a stony causey, assailed our men, who at the first valiantly repelled them, till the rebels finding the munition our men had about them beginning to faile, renewed the charge with greater fury then before; at which time our men, discouraged with the want of powder, (almost all they had about them being spent, and their store being behind with the carriage), as also wearied with a long march they had made before the skirmish, began to saint, and take themselues to flight, whom the rebels pursued, and killed some one hundred and twen|ty in the place, among which the Gouernour Sir Conyers Clifford, and a worthy Cap|taine Sir Alexander Ratcliffe, were lost, besides as many more hurt, whereof the greatest part recouered. And no doubt the rest had all perished, if the horse had not valiant|ly 38 succored them. For the Lord of Dunkellyn (who that day had most valiantly beha|ued himselfe) sent word to Captaine Iohn Iephson of their distresse, who presently char|ged vpon the causey, and to the very skirts of the Wood, with such resolution, as the rebels either thinking horse could not haue serued there, or expecting aduantages vpon them in that boggy place, stood gaping on them, and gaue way, without any re|sistance for a good space, in which our men had leasure to retire ouer a Ford, into the Plaine, where the carriages were, and thence to the Abby of the Boyle, being very neere the place. Afterwards the rebels began to charge our horse, but their powder being almost spent, Captaine Iephson safely retyred, with the losse of some few horses. In a Consultation, some were earnest to haue marched forward the next day: but the Lord of Dunkellin, Sir Arthur Sauage, Captain Iohn Iephson, and many of the best iudgement, considering the Gouernor was lost, our troopes vtterly dismaied, and Odonnel come downe with all his forces into those parts, thought fit our men should retire to their Garrisons. So Captaine Iephson all that night kept the Ford, while our Foote in the silent night retired, and in the morning when they were in safetie, hee with the horse vnder his command went softly after them to the Castle of Athlone. It is strange, the rebels then present being but some two hundred, and most of our men being old sol|diers, how this defeate could be giuen, but small accidents in militarie affaires, are often causes of strange and great euents: for I haue heard this mischance fully attributed to an vnorderly turning of the whole body of the Van; which though it were toward the enemy, yet being mistaken by some common souldiers for a flight, it caused a gene|rall rowte.

In the meane time the foresaid supply of one thousand foote was sent out of Eng|land to the Lord Licutenant, according to his and the Counse is request. But few daies after, his Lordship signified by his letters into England, that he could doe no more this season of the yeere, then to draw thirteene hundred Foote, and three hundred horse to the borders of Vlster. Whether he came about the Ides of September, and Tyrone two dayes together shewed himselfe and his troopes vpon distant hilles, to the Eng|lish. Then Tyrone sent Hagan to the Lord Lieutenant, to intreat a Parly betweene his Lordship and him; which his Lordship refused, answering, that if Tyrone would speak with him, he should find him next day in Armes, in the head of the Army. The next day, after a light skirmish, one of Tyrones horsemen cried with a loud voice, that Ty|rone would not fight, but would speake with the Lord Licutenant, and that vnarmed, and both withdrawne aside from the forces. The next day, when

his Lordship mar|ched forwards, Hagan met him againe, and declared to him, that Tyrone besought the Queenes mercy, and that he would vouchsafe to speake one word with him, which granted, he would in all humblenesse attend his Lordship at the Foard Balla-clinch, neere the chiefe Towne of the County of Louth. His Lordship sent some before, to view the Foard, who found Tyrone there, and hee assured them, that howsoeuer the waters were something risen, yet they might easily heare one another from each side. His Lordship being come thither, Tyrone leauing a troope of horse vpon a hill not far off, came downe alone, and putting his horse vp to the belly in the water, with al hum|blenesse saluted his Lordship standing on the other banke, and there they passed ma|ny speeches. Then Tyrone called his brother Cormack, Mac Gennys, Mac Guire, Euer Mac Couley, Henrie Ouington, and O Quin, to the Foard, the Lord Lieutenant hauing first called the Earle of South-hampton, Sir George Bourcher, Sir Warham Sant Leger, Sir Henrie Dauers, Sir Edward Wingfeld, and Sir William Constable, to come downe. Tyrone very Courtly saluted each one, and after short conference, it was concluded, that the next day Commissioners, should meete to treate of Peace, and they made a mutuall Truce from that day for sixe weekes, and so from sixe weekes to sixe weekes, till the Callends of May, with caution, that it should bee free to either side, vpon foureteene dayes warning first giuen, to renew the warre. And if any of the Earle of Tyrones con|federates should not assent hereunto, hee left them to bee prosecuted, by the Lord Licutenant.

By this time the Queene had receiued his Lordships last letters aboue mentioned, 39 signifying that he could onely for this winter, draw to the confines of Vlster, with one thousand three hundred foot and three hundred horse; At which time, to iustifie his resolution, he sent the iudgement of the chiefe Commanders of the Army, subscri|bed with their hands, dated the one twentie of August, that for that time more could not be enterprised for these reasons; that the Army was vnwilling to bee drawne to|wards Vlster, so as many ran away from their Colours; that many were sicke; that no Plantation could be made this yeere at Loughfoyle, nor any course taken to diuert Ty|rones forces; that the Connaght Army was defeated; that his Lordships Army had not aboue foure thousand able men at the most; that these were vnable to stand a|gainst the rebels, being six thousand shot, and lying within strong intrenchments; that much lesse any strong Garrisons could bee left in the North, and a safe retreit made; And lastly, that those Garrisons, if they could bee left there, would more endanger the English (being continually to supply them with vittles in winter time) then annoy the rebels. Her Maiestie being highly offended, that so royall an Army, maintained with her excessiue charge, had in sixe moneths effected nothing, and now gaue no hope of any important seruice to be done against the rebels, wrote a sharpe letter to the Lord Lieurenant, and the Counsell of Ireland, as followeth.

Elizabeth Regina.

By the Queene.

RIght trusty and right well beloued Cosen and Councellor, and trusty and welbe-loued We greet you well. Hauing sufficiently declared vnto you before this time, how little the manner of your proceedings hath answered, either our direction, or the worlds expectation. And finding now by your letters by Cuffe, a course more strange if stranger may be, we are doubtful what to prescribe you at any time, or what to build vpon by your owne writings to vs in any thing. For we haue clearely

discer|ned of late that you haue euer to this hower possessed vs with expectations, that you would proceede as we directed you. But your actions shew alwaies the contrary, though carried in such sort, as you were sure we had no time to countermaund them.

Before your departure, no mans counsell was held sound, which perswaded not presently the maine prosecution in Vlster, all was nothing without that, and nothing was too much for that. This drew on the sudden transportation, of so many thou|sands to be carried ouer with you, as when you arriued we were charged with more then the liste, or which wee resolued, to the number of three hundred horse; Also the thousand which were onely to be in pay during the seruice in Vlster, haue been put in charge euer since the first iourney. The pretence of which voyage as appeareth by your letters was to doe some present seruice, in the Interim, whilest the season grew more commodious for the maine prosecution; for the which purpose, you did impor|tune with great earnestnesse, that all manner of prouisions might be hastned to Dublin against your returne.

Of this resolution to deferre your going into Vlster, you may well thinke that wee would haue made stay, if you had giue vs more time, or it we could haue imagined by the contents of your owne writings, that you would haue spent nine weekes abroad. At your returne, when a third part of Iuly was past, and that you had vnderstood our mislike of your former course and making your excuse of vndertaking it onely in re|spect of your conformitie to the Councels opinions, with great protestations of haste into the North, we receiued another letter, of new reasons to suspend that iourney yet a while, and to draw the Army into Ophalia. The fruit whereof was no other at your comming home, but more relations of further miseries of your Army, and greater dif|ficulties to performe the Vlster warre. Then followed from you and the Councell a new demaund of two thousand men to which if we would assent, you would speedily. [Note: Camden saith onely one thou|sand.] vndertake what wee had so often commanded. When that was granted, and your going onward promised by diuers letters, wee receiued by this bearer now fresh aduertisement, that all you can doe is to goe to the frontier, and that you haue prouided only for twentie daies victuals. In which kinde of proceeding, wee 40 must deale plainely with you and that Councell, that it were more proper forthem, to leaue troubling themselues with instructing vs, by what rules our power and their obe|dience are limitted, and to bethink them, if the courses haue bin only deriued from their Counsels, how to answere this part of theirs, to traine vs into a new expence for one end, and imploy it vpon another; to which we could neuer haue assented, if we could haue suspected it should haue beene vndertaken, before we heard it was in action. And therefore we doe wonder how it can be answered, seeing yourattempt is not in the capitall Traytors Countrey, that you haue increased our list: but it is true as we haue often saied, that we are drawne on to expence, by little and little, and by prote|stations of great resolutions in generalities, till they come to particular execution. Of all which courses, whosoeuer shall examine any of the arguments vsed for excuse, shall find, that your owne proceedings beget the difficulties, and that no iust causes doe breed the alteration. It lacke of numbers, if sickenesse of the army be the causes, why was not the action vndertaken, when the Army was in better state, if winters ap|proch: why were the summer moneths of Iuly and August lost? if the spring was too soone, and the summer that followed otherwise

spent, if the haruest that succeeded was so neglected, as nothing hath beene done, then surely must we conclude, that none of the soure quarters of the yeere will be in season for you and that Counsell, to agree of Tyrones prosecution; for which all our charge was intended. Further we require you to consider, whether we haue not great cause to thinke, that the purpose is not to end the warre, when your selfe haue so often told vs, that all the petty vndertakings in Lemster, Mounster, and Connaght, are but losse of time, consumption of treasure, and waste of our people, vntill Tyrone himselfe be first beaten, on whom the rest depend. Doe you not see, that he maketh the warre with vs in all parts by his Ministers, secon|ding all places where any attempts be offered: who doth not see, that if this course be continued, the warres are like to spend vs and our Kingdome beyond all moderation, as well as the report of the successe in all parts hath blemished our Honour, andin|couraged others to no smal proportion. We know you cannot so much fayle in iudge|ment, as not to vnderstand, that all the World seeth, how time is dallied, though you thinke the allowance of that Counsell, whose subscriptions are your Ecchoes, should serue and satisfie vs. How would you haue derided any man else, that should haue followed your steps? How often haue you told vs, that others which preceded you, had no intent to end the warre? How often haue you resolued vs, that vntill Loughfeyle and Ballishannon were planted; there could be no hope of doing seruice vpon the capi|tall Rebels? We must therefore let you know, that as it cannot be ignorance, so it can|not be want of meanes, for you had your asking, you had choice of times, you had power and authority more ample then euer any had, or euer shall haue. It may well be iudged, with how little contentment, wee search out this and other errours: for who doth willingly seeke for that, which they are so loth to find, but how should that be hidden which is so palpable? And therefore to leaue that which is past, and that you may prepare to remedy matters of weight hereafter, rather then to fill your pa|pers with many impertinent arguments, being in your generall Letters, sauouring still in many points of humours, that concerne the priuate of you our Lord Liefetenant; we doe tell you plainely, that are of that Councell, that we wonder at your indiscre|tion, to subscribe to Letters which concerne our publike seruice, when they are mixed with any mans priuate, and directed to our Counsell Table, which is not to handle things of small importance.

To conclude, if you will say, though the Army be in list twenty thousand, that you haue them not, we answere then to our Treasurer, that we are ill serued; and that there need not so frequent demands of full pay: If you will say the Muster-master is to blame, we much muse then why he is not punished, though say we might to you our Generall, if we would Ex Iureproprioiudicare, that all defects by Ministers, yea though in neuer so remote Garrisons, haue beene affirmed to vs, to deserue to be im|puted to the want of care of the Generall. For the small proportion you say you carry with you of three thonsand fiue hundred foot, when lately weaugmented you two 41 thousand more. It is to Vs past comprehension, except it be that you haue left still too great numbers in vnnecessarie Garrisons, which doe increase our charge, and diminish your Army, which VVe command you to reforme, especially since you, by your conti|nuall reports of the state of euery Prouince, describe them all to be in worse conditi|on, then euer they were before you set foote in that Kingdome. So that whosoeuer shal write the story of this yeeres action, must say, that We were at great charges to ha|zard Our Kingdome, and you haue taken great paines to pre-

pare for many purposes, which perish without vnderstanding. And therefore because We see now by your own words, that the hope is spent of this yeeres seruice vpon Tyrone and O Donnel, We doe command you and our Councell, to fall into present deliberation, and thereupon to send Vs ouer in writing, a true declaration of the State to which you haue brought our Kingdome, and what be the effects which this iourny hath produced, and why these Garrisons which you will plant farre within the land in Brenny and Monaghan, as others whereof We haue written, shall haue the same difficulties.

Secondly, VVe looke to heare from you and them ioyntly, how you thinke the re|mainder of this yeere shal be imployed, in what kind of warre, and where, and in what numbers, which being done and sent Vs hither in writing with al expedition, you shal then vnderstand Our pleasure in all things fit for our seruice, vntill which time, We command you to be very carefull to meete with all inconueniences; that may arise in that Kingdome, where the ill affected will grow insolent vpon Our ill succesſe, and the good subiects grow desperate; when they see the best of Our preseruing them.

We haue seene a writing in forme of a cartell, full of challenges that are imperti|nent, and of comParis ons that are needelesse, such as hath not been before this time presented to a State, except it be done now with a hope to terrifie all men, from cen|suring your proceedings. Had it not bin enough to haue sent Vs the testimony of the Counsell, but that you must call so many of those, that are of slender experience, and none of Our Counsell, to such a forme of subscription. Surely howsoeuer you may haue warranted them, Wee doubt not but to let them know, what belongs to Vs; to you, and to themselues. And thus expecting your answere, We ende, at Our Mannor of Nonsuch the fourteenth of September, in the one and fortieth yeere of Our Raigne, 1599.

The Lord Lieutenant being nettled, or rather galled with this letter resolued to [Note: Lords In|stices.] leaue Adam Loftus the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, and Sir George Cary Treasurer at Warres, to gouerne the Kingdome in his absence, and presently sayling into England posted to the Court, where altogether vnlooked for, he arriued the eight and twentie of September, and presented himselfe on his knees to the Queene, early in the mor|ning, being in her priuate chamber, who receiued him not with that chearefull coun|tenance, which she was wont to shew him, but after a briefe conference, commanded him to retire to his chamber, and there to stay, vntill hee knew her further pleasure; from whence his Lordships next remoue, was to the Lord Keepers house, in state of a prisoner.

The list of the chiefe Officers of the Kingdome, and the Army, and the disposall of the forces made in September, 1599, when the Lord Lieutenant left the Kingdome.

Officers and Gouernours.

Lord Lieutenant the Earle of Essex Lord President of Mounster void by the death of Sir Thomas Norreys. Place of chiefe Commissioner of Connaght void or prouisional. Lieutenant of the Army Earle of Ormond. Treasurer at Warres Sir George Carey, The Marshals place of Ireland void. Master of the Ordinance Sir George Bourcher. Mar|shall of the Campe prouisionally Sir Oliuer Lambert. Lieutenant of the horse Sir Henrie Dauers. Serieant Maior Sir Arthur Chichester.

42 Colonels of horse.

Sir William Euers.

Sir Griffin Markham.

Colonels of Foote.

Earle of Kildare. Earle of Thomond.

Lord of Dunkellin. Lord Audley. Lord Dun|sany. Sir Edward Denny. Sir Matthew Morgan. Sir Charles Piercy. Sir Henry Dockwra. Sir Christopher Saint Laurence. Sir Iohn Bolles. Sir Edward Harbert. Sir Charles Wilmott. Sir Henrie Power. Sir Arthur Sauage.

Foure Corporals and a Prouost-Marshall of the Army.

The disposall of the forces.

horse in Mounster.

The Earle of Thomond, 25. Sir Anthony Cooke, 50. Sir Warham Saint Leger, 25. Cap|taine Thomas White, 50.

Foote in Mounster.

Earle of Thomond, 200. Master Treasurer, 100. Sir Henrie Harington, 100. Sir Henry Power, 200. Sir Edward Denny, 150. Sir Anthony Cooke, 100. Sir Charles Wilmott, 150. Sir Francis Barkley, 100. Sir Iohn Dowdal, 100. Captaine William Power, 150 Captaine Clare, 150. Captaine Browne, 100. Captaine Kearnys, 100. Captaine Bostock, 100. Captaine Brooke, 100. Captaine Rande, 100. Captaine Flower, 100. Captaine Diggs, 100. Captaine William Tirwhit, 150. Captaine Parken, 100. Captaine William Hartpoole, 100. Captaine Francis Kingesmil 100.

horse in Connaght.

Earle of Clanrickard, 50. Prouost Marshall, 10. Sir Theobald Dillon, 15. Captaine George Blunt, 12.

Foote in Connaght.

Earle of Clanrickard, 100. Lord of Dunkellyn, 150. Sir Arthur Sauage, 200. Sir Thomas Bourke, 100. Sir Gerrald Haruy, 150. Sir Hugh O Connor, 100. Sir Theobald Dillon, 100. Captaine Badbye, 150. Captaine Richard Pluncket, 100. Captaine Mostian, 100. Captaine Tibot ne long, 100. Captaine Walter Floyd, 150. Captaine Thomas Roper, 150. Captaine Oliuer Burke, 100. Captaine Thomas Burke, 100. Captaine Dauid Bourke, 100.

horse at Carickfergus.

Neale Mas Hugh, 30.

Foote at Carickfergus.

Sir Arthur Chichester, 200. Sir Richard Percy, 150. Captaine Eington, 100. Captaine Norton, 100.

horse at the Newry.

Sir Samuel Bagnol, 50.

Foote at the Newrie.

Sir Samuel Bagnoll, 200. Captaine Edward Blaney, 150. Captaine Freckleton, 100. Cap|taine Iosias Bodley, 150. Captaine Francis Stufford, 100. Captaine Toby Cawfeild, 150. Captaine Leigh, 100.

Foote at Dundalke.

Captaine Egerton, 100. Captaine Bingley, 150. Captaine Basset, 100.

43 Foote at Atherde.

Sir Garret Moore, 100. Captaine Roe, 100.

horse at Kells and Nauan.

Lord of Dunsany, 50. Sir Garret Moore, 25.

Foote at Kells and Nauan.

Lord Audley, 200. Lord Dunsany, 150. Sir Fulk Conway, 150. Sir Christopher Saint Lau|rence, 200. Sir Henry Dockwra, 200. Sir Iohn Chamberlaine, 150. Captaine Iohn Sidney, 100. Captaine Ralph Sydley, 100. Captaine Roger Atkinson, 100. Captaine Heath, 150. Captaine Nelson, 100. Captaine Hugh Rely, 100.

horse at Trym.

Sir Grisson Markham, 50.

Foote at Trym.

Sir Charles Piercy, 200. Captaine Roger Orme, 100. Captaine Alford, 100.

Foote at Leax and the Barow side.

Sir Warham Saint Leger, 150. Sir Francis Rush, 150. Captaine Iohn Fitz-Piers, 150. Master Hartpoole, 10.

Foote at Eniscorthy.

Sir Oliuer Lambert, 200. Sir Richard Masterson, 150.

horse in and about the Nasse.

The Earle of Kildare, 50. Captaine Richard Greame, 50. Captaine Thomas

Gifford, 2. Captaine George Greame, 12. Captaine Thomas Lee, 12.

Foote in and about the Nasse.

Earle of Kildare, 150. The Earle of Southampton, 200. Sir Matthew Morgan, 150. Sir Thomas Loftus, 100. Captaine Walter Mac Edmond, 100 Captaine Edward Loftus, 100. Captaine Thomas Williams, 150. Captaine Thomas Lee, 100. Captaine William Eustace, 100. Captaine Esmond, 150. Captaine Iohn Masterson, 100. Captaine Ellys Flood, 100. Captaine R. Treuor. 100.

Foote at Mullingar.

The Lord of Deluin, 150. Captaine Thomas Mynne, 100. Captaine William Stafford, 100. Captaine Lionel Ghest, 100. Captaine William Winsor, 100. Captaine Thomas Cooche, 100. Captaine Garret Dillon, 100.

Foote in Ophaly.

Sir Henrie Cooly, 20. Sir Henry Warren, 100. Sir Edward Fitz-gerald, 100. Sir George Cooly, 20.

horse at Kilkenny.

The Earle of Ormond, 50. Sir Oliuer Lambert, 25. Sir Walter Butler, 50. Sir Cristopher Saint Laurence, 30. Captaine Garret Fleming, 25. Captaine William Taffe, 50.

Foote at Kilkenny.

The Earle of Ormond, 200. Sir Carew Reynel, 150. Sir Henrie Follyot, 150. Captaine Ri|chard Croft, 100. Captaine Henry Sheffeild, 100. Captaine Nicholas Pinner, 100.

Foote at Ballymore, and O Carrols Countrie.

Captaine Francis Shane, 100. Captaine Edward Lister, 100. Sir Charles O Carrol, 100.

horse and Foote at Newcastle.

Sir William Warren, 50 horse. Sir William Warren, 100 foote.

44 Foote at Athboy and Phillipstown.

Sir Richard Moryson, 200. Sir George Bourcher, 100.

Foote at Dublin.

Sir Henrie Foulkes, commanding the Lord Lieutenants Guard, 200.

horse at Fingall, and the Nauan.

Sir William Euers, 100. The Earle of Southamptons troope, commanded by Cap|taine Iohn Iephson, 100. Sir Henry Dauers, 100.

horse in the Countie of Dublin.

Sir Hen. it Harrington, 25. Sir Edward Herbert, 12. Sir Gerald Aylemer, 13. Mor|rogh Mac Teig Oge, 10.

Foote vndisposed.

Sir Iohn Talbot, 22.

Totall of horse, one thousand two hundred thirtie one.

Totall of Foote, fourteene thousand foure hundred twenty two.

The foresaid Lords Iustices being left to gouerne Ireland, vpon the Lord Lieute|nants sudden departure, did easily rule the vnweldy Helme of this Kingdome so long, as the Sea was caline, by the continuance of that truce formerly mentioned to bee made, betweene the Lord Lieutenant and Tyrone, which was then concluded for sixe weekes, and so from sixe to sixe weekes, till the Calends of May, except either of them should giue fourteene daies warning of their purpose to breake the same. But about the beginning of December, Tyrones party entring into acts of hostility, the Lords Iu|stices sent Sir William Warren, to expostulate with him the cause of this breach. He an|swered, that he had not broken the Truce, hauing (according to the condition there|of) giuen them fourteene dayes warning. And that he had so done, because the Earle of Essex being imprisoned in England, in whom he had placed all the confidence of his life and estate, he was resolued not to relye on the Councell of that Kingdome, who had formerly delt deceitfully with him therein.

Finally, that he could not now renew the truce, though hee neuer so much desired it, since hee had already sent Odonnel into Connaght, and diuers of his confederates into other parts to renew the warre.

Thus much their Lordships aduertised into England, by letters full of diffidence, professing that they feared the rebels would presently assault the English Pale. Like|wise some ill affected to the Earle of Essex, aduertised, that among the Rebels a com|mon rumor was spread, and that no doubt from Tyrone, that England would shortly be in combustion within it selfe, which increased the suspitions already conceiued of the foresaid conference had betweene the Earle and Tyrone, to the great preiudice of the Earle being in durance.

Now her Maiestie receiuing these aduertisements, and further vnderstanding, that the rebels daily increased in number and courage, that the meere Irish aspired to li|berty, and that the English Irish, if perhaps well affected, yet were daunted by the ill successe of the Queenes affaires, (whose great expences, and Royall Army they had seene vanish into smoke), and were besides exasperated with an old griefe, to be exclu|ded themselues from the Gouernement, while English Deputies were daily sent to command them. And hauing intelligence, that Tyrone full of pride, did euery where bost himselfe as Champion of the Iish Liberty and Romish Religion (euery where re|ceiuing to his protection, and cherishing all seditious persons, helping the weake with succours, confirming the diffident with strong hopes), and that he was growne confi|dent to roote out the English Gouernement, aswell by former successes, as by the suc|cour of the King of Spaine, (who already had sent him some munition and a little mo|ny, with bragging promises of greater supplies), and by the faire promises and large indulgences sent from the Pope, with a Crowne of Phoenix fethers (perhaps in imita|tion of Pope Vrban the third, who sent Iohn, the sonne to King Henry the second, then made Lord of Ireland, a little Crowne wouen of Peacocks feathers.)

Her Maiestie (I say) hauing these aduertisements, and finding thereby, that it was high 45 time, to make strong opposition to this rebellious monster, made choice of Charles [Note: Charles Blonnt, L. Mountioy, L. Deputy.] Blonnt, Lord Mountioy to be Deputy of Ireland, whom her Highnesse had the last yeere purposed to imploy in that place: At which time, the Earle of Essex, though linked in neere friendship with him, yet secretly opposed this her Maiesties determination, al|leaging that the Lord Mountioy had small experience in martiall affaires, saue that he had gained in the small time he serued in the Low-Countries, adding that he was too bookish, and had too few followers, and too small an estate, to imbrace so great a bu|sinesse. So as the Earle not obscurely affecting this imployment himselfe, (to the end he might more strongly confirme that dependancy which all military men already had on him) and his enemies willingly giuing second to this his ambition, (that by his absence they might haue better aduantages to hurt him, and to benefit them selues), at that time the said Earle easily drew this fatall gouernement on his owne shoulders, which was one of the first steps, and not the least cause of his ruine.

Being now to write of this Honourable Lord Mountioy, my deceased Lord and Master, I doe faithfully professe, and pray the Reader confidently to beleeue, (which I hope most easily to obtaine of those, who best know me), that as in the duty of a ser|uant I will not omit any thing I remember, which may turne to his Lordships Honor, so in my loue to truth, I will be so farre from lying and flattering,

as I will rather be bold modestly to mention some of his defects, whereof the greatest Worthies of the World cannot be altogether free. To which I will onely adde, that as I esteeme lying and flattery by word of mouth, among the liuing, to be vnfallible notes of basenesle and ignorance, so I iudge these vices infamous and sinfull, when they are left in print to deceiue posterity. Since the first may detect falshood by inquiring the truth, but the latter haue no meanes to rectifie their misinformed iudgements.

Thus I returne to proceed in my former narration; and first I will delineate (after my best skill) the true portraiture of this worthy Lords body and mind, then I will collect the Councels, by which he tamed this Monster of Rebellion; and lastly, I will discend by order of time to his Lordships particular actions. But ere I take my pensill in hand to figure this Noble Lords person, I must acknowledge my weakenesse such, as I cannot fully apprehend his compleat worthinesse, and therefore desire, that those of greater iudgement to discerne the same, will impute all defects to the vnskilfulnes of the workeman, and that with others, to whom his Lordship was lesse knowne, my, rude Pen may not derogate any thing from his due praise Againe, giue me leaue to remember, that which I receiued from his mouth, that in his childhood when his Pa|rents would haue his picture, he chose to be drawne with a Trowell in his hand, and this Mot; Adreadificandam antiquam Domum, To rebuild the ancient House: For this noble and ancient Barrony was decaied, not so muchby his Progenitors prodi|gality, as his Fathers obstinate addiction to the study and practise of Alchumy, by which he so long laboured to increase his reuenues, til he had almost fully consumed them. Now to the purpose, let vs obserue how he fulfilled this ominous presage, in rebnilding that Noble House, till by his vntimely death, the same was fatally eclip|sed againe.

He was of stature tall, and of very comely proportion, his skin faire, with little haire on his body, which haire was of colour blackish (or inclining to blacke), and thinne on his head, where he wore it short, except a locke vnder his left eare, which he nourished the time of this warre, and being wouen vp, hid it in his necke vnder his ruffe. The crown of his head was in his latter dayes somthing bald, as the forepart naturally cur|led; he onely vsed the Barber for his head, for the haire on his chin (growing slowly) and that on his cheekes and throat, he vsed almost daily to cut it with his sizers, kee|ping it so low with his owne hand, that it could scarce bee discerned, as likewise him|selfe kept the haire of his vpper lippe something short, onely suffering that vnder his hether lip to grow at length and full; yet some two or three yecres before his death, he nourished a sharpe and short pikedeuant on his chin. His forehead was broad and high; his eyes great, blacke, and louely; his nose something low and short, and a little blunt in the end; his chin round; his cheekes full, round, and ruddy; his countenance 46 cheerefull, and as amiable as euer I beheld of any man, onely some two yeeres before his death, vpon discontentment, his face grew thinne, his ruddy colour failed, growing somewhat swarthy, and his countenance was sad and deiected. His armes were long, and of proportionable bignes, his hands long and white, his fingers great in the ende, and his leggs somewhat little, which hee gartered euer aboue the knee, wearing the Garter of Saint Georges order vnder the left knee, except when he was booted, and so wore not that Garter, but a blew ribben in stead thereof aboue his knee, and hanging ouer his boote.

The description of his apparrell may be thought a needelesse curiositie, yet must I

adde some few words thereof, be cause hauing promised the liuely portraiture of his body, aswell as his minde, the same cannot otherwise bee so liuely represented to the imagination, besides that by his clothes, some disabilities of his body to vndertake this hard war may be coniectured, and especially thë temper of his mind may be liuely sha|dowed, since the Wise man hath taught vs, that the apparrell in some sort shewes the man. His apparrell in Court and Cities was commonly of white or black Tafetaes or Sattens, and he wore two (yea sometimes three) paires of silke stockins, with blacke silke Grogran cloakes guarded, and ruffes of comely depth and thicknesse (neuer wearing any falling band) blacke beauer hats, with plaine blacke bands, a taffaty quil|ted wastcoate in summer, a scarlet wastcoate, and sometimes both in winter: But in the Country, and specially keeping the Field in Ireland (yea, sometimes in the Cities), he ware Ierkins and round hose (for hee neuer ware other fashion then round) with laced panes of russet Cloath, and clokes of the same cloth lined with Veluet, and white Beuer hats with plaine bands, and besides his ordinarie stockings of silke, he wore vnder bootes another paire of Wollen or Wosted, with a paire of high linnen bootehose, yea three wastcotes in cold wether, and a thick ruffe, besides a russet scarfe about his necke thrice folded vnder it. So as I neuer obser|ued any of his age and strength to keepe his body so warme. He was very comely in all his apparrell, but the Robes of Saint Georges order, became him extraordinarilie well.

For his diet, he vsed to fare plentifully, and of the best, and as his meanes increa|sed, so his Table was better serued, so that in his latter time, no Lord in England might compare with him in that kinde of bountie. Before these warres, he vsed to haue non|rishing breakefasts, as panadoes, and broths; but in the time of the warre, he vsed com|monly to breake his fast with a drie crust of bread, and in the Spring time with butter and sage, with a cup of stale beere, wherewith sometimes in Winter he would haue suger and Nutmeg mixed. He fed plentifully both at dinner, and supper, hauing the choisest and most [...] meates, with the best wines, which he drunk plentifully, but neuer in great excesse; and in his latter yeeres (especially in the time of the warre, aswell when his night sleepes were broken, as at other times vpon full diet) he vsed to sleepe in the afternoones, and that long, and vpon his bed. He tooke Tobacco abun|dantly, and of the best, which I thinke preserued him from sicknes, (especially in Ire|land, where the Foggy aire of the bogs, and waterish foule, plentie of fish, and general|ly all meates with the common sort alwaies vnsalted and greene rosted, doe most pre|iudice the health), for hee was very seldome sicke, onely he was troubled with the head-ach, which duly and constantly like an ague, for many yeeres, till his death tooke him once euery three moneths, and vehemently held him some three daies, and him|selfe in good part attributed, aswell the reducing of this paine to these certaine and di|stant times, as the ease he therein found, to the vertue of this hearbe. He was very neat, louing clenlinesse both in apparrell and diet, and was so modest in the necessities of nature, as my selfe being at all howers (but time of sleepe) admitted into his chamber, and (I thinke) his most familiar friends, neuer heard or saw him vse any liberty there|in, out of the priueledge of his priuate chamber, except perhaps in Irish iourneys, where he had no with-drawing roome.

The tender vsing of his body, and his daintie faire before the waries, gaue Tyrone occasion, vpon hearing of his comming ouer, to ieast at him, as if all occasions of doing 47 seruice would be past, ere he

could be made ready and haue his breakfast, but by wo|full experience he found this ieasting to bee the laughter of Salomons Foole. His be|hauiour was courtly, graue, and exceeding comely, especially in actions of solemne pompes. In his nature he loued priuate retirednesse, with good fare, and some few choice friends. He delighted in study, in gardens, an house richly furnished, and dele|ctable for roomes of retrait, in riding on a pad to take the aire, in playing at shouel|board, or at cardes, in reading play-bookes for recreation, and especially in fishing and fishponds, seldome vsing any other exercises, and vsing these rightly as pastimes, only for a short and conuenient time, and with great varietie of change from one to the o|ther. He was vndoubtedly valiant and wise. Hee much affected glory and honour, and had a great desire to raise his house, being also frugall in gathering and sauing, which in his latter daies declined to vice, rather in greedy gathering, then in restrai|ning his former bounties of expence. So that howsoeuer his retirednes did alienate his minde from all action, yet his desire of Honour and hope of reward and aduance|ment by the warres, yea of returning to this retirednesse after the warres ended, made him hotly imbrace the forced course of the warre; to which hee was so fitted by his wisedome, valour, and frugalitie, that in short time hee became a Captaine no lesse wise, wary, and deliberate in counsell, then chearefull and bold in execution, and more couetous in issuing the publick treasure, then frugall in spending his owne reue|newes. And his care to preserue his Honour, and maintaine this estate, made him (though coldly) intertaine the like forced course of a State Counseller at home after the warres. To the mannaging of which affaires, he was no lesse inabled by the same valour, wisedome, and many other vertues, had not the streame of his nature, preuai|led to withdraw him from attending them, further then to the onely obtaining of these his owne priuate endes. But surely these dispositions of nature (besides others hereafter to be mentioned), and these his priuate endes, made him of all men most fit for this Irish imployment, wherein the Queene and State longed for an ende of the warre, and groned vnder the burthen of an vnsupportable expence.

Touching his affecting honour and glorie, I may not omit, that his most familiar friends must needes obserue, the discourses of his Irish actions to haue been extraor|dinarily pleasing to him: so that, howsoeuer hee was not prone to hold discourses with Ladies, yet I haue obserued him more willingly drawne to those of this nature, which the Irish Ladies entertaining him, then into any other. And as hee had [...] that commendable, yea necessary ability of a good Captaine, not only to fight and mannage the war well abroad, but to write and set forth his actions to the full at home, so I haue seldome obserued any omission of like narrations in him, whereof hee vsed to de|late the more weightie seriously, and to mention the smallest, at least by way of a ieast:

Touching his studies or Bookishnesse, (by some imputed to him in detraction of his fitnes to imbrace an actiue imployment), he came young and not well grounded from Oxford Vniuer sity; but in his youth at London, he so spent his vacant houres with schollers best able to direct him, as besides his reading in Histories, skill in tongues, (so farre as he could read and vnderstand the Italian and French, though he durst not aduenture to speak them), and so much knowledge (at least in Cosmography and the Mathematikes) as might serue his owne ends; he had taken such paines in the search of naturall Phylosophy, as in diuers arguments of that nature held by him with schol|lers, I haue of-

ten heard him, (not without maruelling at his memory and iudgement) to remember of himselfe the most materiall points, the subtilest obiections, and the soundest answers. But his chiefe delight was in the study of Diuinity, and more espe|cially in reading of the Fathers and Schoolemen: for I haue heard himselfe professe, that being in his youth addicted to Popery, so much as through preiudicate opinion no Writer of our time could haue conuerted him from it, yet by obseruing the Fa|thers consent, and the Schoolemens idle and absurd distinctions, he began first to di|staste many of their opinions, and then by reading our. Authours, to be confirmed in the reformed doctrine, which I am confident he professed and beleeued from the 48 heart, though in his innated temper he was not factious against the Papists, but was gentle towards them, both in conuersation and in all occasions of disputation. And I will be bold to say, that of a Layman, he was (in my iudgement) the best Diuine I euer heard argue, especially for disputing against the Papists, out of the Fathers, Schoolemen, and aboue all, out of the written Word, (whereof some Chapters were each night read to him, besides his neuer intermitted prayers at morning and night). Insomuch as I haue often heard him, with strange felicity of memory and iudgement, discouer the Papists false alleagings of the Fathers, and Texts, or additions, and omissi|ons in them, and to vrge arguments strongly, and (as much as beseemed him) schol|lerlike, as well in discourses with Iesuites and Priests in Ireland, (more specially at Wa|terford, where he made the very seduced Irish ashamed of them); as vpon diuers oc|casions with other Papists his friends.

Further, in his nature he was a close concealer of his secrets, for which cause, least they should be reuealed, and because he loued not to be importuned with suites, a free speaker, or a popular man, could not long continue his fauorite: He was sparing in speech; but when he was drawne to it, most iudicious therein, if not eloquent. He ne|uer vsed swearing, but rather hated it, which I haue seene him often controle at his Table with a frowning brow, and an angry cast of his blacke eye. He was slow to an|ger, but once prouoked, spake home. His great temper was most scene in his wise car|riage betweene the Court factions of his time: He was a gentle enemy, easily pardo|ning, and calmely pursuing reuenge; and a friend, if not cold, yet not to be vsed much out of the high way, and something too much reserued towards his dearest Minions; besides that, the strength of his iudgement made him so confident, as they had more power in seconding his Counsels, then in diuerting or altering them. To his seruants he was milde, seldome reprouing them, and neuer with ill words: for his looke of dis|pleasure was sufficient to checke them, and the best sort nearest him, did so well know him, as they serued and obserued him, as much almost by his lookes as his words. He made no seruant partner of his secrets, further then his place necessarily gaue him knowledge thereof, neither could any of them leade him, or if any did, it was more by art to know his humours, then power to sway them. I cannot say that he was bounti|full to them, some of their places drew profit, which could no more be stopped, then the Miller can stay the draining of his water through his damme gates; otherwise his gifts to them were rare and sparing, so as if it were aboue an hundred pound, it was no morsell for a seruant, yet still he kept their hopes so greene, as might continue their di|ligence, and at his death he gaue a thousand pound by will, to be diuided by his exe|cutors discretion among them. They who had his care, might easily season him with good or ill opinion of his

seruants and strangers, by reason he dranke in their spee|ches, without vttering them, onely his iudgement was excellent, to discerne the truth of the relation, aswell out of the informers passions, as obseruing the others actions. He kept his word in publike affaires inuiolably, without which he could neuer haue beene trusted of the Irish: but otherwise in his promises, he was delatory and doubt|full, so as in all euents, he was not without an euasion. Lastly, in his loue to Weomen, (for as wanton peace succeeds bloody warre, so in the last period of his life, after the Irish warres, griefe of vnsuccessfull loue brought him to his last end): He was faith|full and constant, if not transported with selfe-loue more then the obiect, and therein obstinate.

This worthy Lord Mountioy was he, whose knowne valour, sound wisdome, graue constancy, and singular temper, two old Counsellers of Ireland well obseruing, did on their death bed, (as it were by diuining faculty) pronounce to be the man, by whom Tyrones fatall rebellion (in which their thoughts and endeuours had long beene wea|ried) was to be suppressed, if euer the English were to recouer the helme of that go|uernement. Neither did their presage deceiue vs herein: for like another Fabius, he did by the ensuing deliberate and slow counsels, restore his Countries declining power.

1. He entertained and cherished (especially at his first entering the gouernment, when 49 he was yet vnskilfull in the affaires of that State and warre) all actiue spirits, whose en|deuours he saw like to be of good vse in that great action; and this he did, rather with a pleasing familiarity, then with any large bounty.

2. The hearts of the English common souldiers broken with a currant of disasterous successes, he heartned and incouraged, by leading them warily, especially in his first actions, being more carefull, that our men should not bee foiled, then that the rebels should be attempted with boldnesse. To this end also, and that he might bee euer at hand, as well to incourage and direct them fighting; as to second them by any acci|dent dismaied, he brauely aduentured his person, more then in the opinion of Milita|rie wise men, a Generall should ordinarily hazard himself (howsoeuer I must confesse, the nature of the Irish fights, maintained vpon passages, by sudden eruptions of hid|den rogues, doth more expose the Generall to these dangers, then any other warre.) And such was his forwardnesse, as his Lordships seruants may without offence boldly say, they were a small part of this great action. For howsoeuer we had neither stipend in the warres with the souldier, nor pensions with them after the warre en|ded, yet by reason of this our Lords extraordinarie forwardnesse to put himselfe into danger, and for that the Rebels vse most commonly to assault-vpon Woody paces; and difficult passages, where euery man must needes be in danger, and they most who ride in the best troope, it could not be but that we should haue our share in the aduen|ture of our persons. And lest I should sceme to arrogate that to my selfe and my fellowes, which is not due to vs, the euent may cleare this point. Since in this short warre (not to speake of many lesse dangers), my Lord himselfe had his horse shot vn|der him, his Galloglasse carrying his helmet, had the same brused with the grasing of a bullet vpon it, yea, his Lordships very Grayhound, likewise vsing to waite at his stir|rop, was shot through the body. Among his Lordships Chaplaines, Doctor Lattwara was killed, and Mast. Ram had his horse shot vnder him. Among his Lordships Secre|taries, Master Cranmer was killed, and my selfe had my thigh brused with a shot I re|ceiued in my saddle. Among the Gentlemen of his Lordships Chamber, Master Chid|ley had

his horse killed vnder him, Master Done was shot in the legge, and Master Saint Iohn, a Gentleman attending neere his Lordship, was killed. I haue heard a pleasant report of a Generall in our age, who on the contrary was so sparing to hazard himself: as a Gentlema his follower, hearing some maruel at a cold peece of seruice performed by his Mast merily replied for his own excuse, that he went to follow his General, and not to go before him. But I wil boldly say, that if our noble. Lords followers did well attend his person, they found danger enough without seeking it. But enough (and I feare too much) of this point, I will now returne to this worthy Lords Counsels, by which he effected this great worke.

3. The Rebels being swolne to the height of pride by their full numbers, and much more by continuall successe in their actions, hee proceeded in like sort with them, as formerly with his owne men, at the first warily tasting them with light skirmishes, yet he so prudently and brauely pursued his attempts, as he stil caried what he atempted.

4. The wise distribution of the forces auailed him much: for first he planted Garri|sons vpon the chiefe rebels Countries, as likewise he compassed Tyrone on euery side with them, which kept the rebels at home, so as they could not second one another, for feare of loosing their owne goods.

5. And whereas other Deputies vsed to make some two or three iournies in a Summer against the rebels, and then did leade a great Army with them. And where|as this kind of seruice neuer tooko any good effect, as well because the bruit thereof came long before to the rebels, as because these great forces could not long be kept to|gether. So as the rebels hearing the bruit of any such iourny, took victuals with them for certaine daies, and assembling themselves-together, did lie vpon the bogs and hard passages, where without danger to themselues, they were able to annoy, the greatest Army could be led against them. This noble Lord Mount-ioy on the contrary (as I said) by Garrisons keeping them at home, himselfe kept the field with some thousand foot and two hundred horse (whereof my selfe haue many times obserued the grea|ter 43 part to be English Irish), and not onely was able to affront Tyrone himselfe (speci|ally since the Garrisons lying vpon his Country drew towards him at the same time, on all sides together), but also (by reason of his singular secrecy, in keeping his purpo|ses vnknowne, and casting out false reports of them to deceiue the rebels) had the op|portunitie to assaile and spoyle any one of the rebels on the sudden, while he kept all the rest like dared larkes in continuall feare, aswell of himselfe, as of the Garrisons ad|ioyning.

6 Againe, where other Deputies vsed to assaile the rebels onely in Summer time, this Lord prosecuted them most in the Winter, being commonly fiue daies at least in the weeke one horsebacke, all the Winter long. This brake their hearts; for the aire being sharpe, and they naked, and they being driuen from their lodgings, into the Woods bare of leaues, they had no shelter for themselues. Besides that, their cattle (giuing them no milke in the Winter) were also wasted by driuing to and fro. Ad that they being thus troubled in the Seede time, could not sowe their ground. And as in Haruest time, both the Deputies forces, and the Garrisons, cut downe their Corne, be|fore it was ripe, so now in Winter time they carried away, or burnt, all thest ores of victuals in secret places, whether the Rebels had conueied them.

7 Againe, he had a speciall care to cut downe and cleare the difficult passages, that so our forces might with more safetie

meete together, and vpon all occasions second one another.

8 For protections and pardons (the easie obtaining whereof had formerly incou|raged the rebels, aswell to enter into rebellion, as to breake their faith after submissi|ons, in hope to be againe receiued to mercy), although it was necessary for the State in this generall rebellion, like a mother, to open her bosome to her children, lest being driuen to dispaire, they should plunge themselues into all mischiefes, yet he neuer re|ceiued any to mercy, but such as had so drawne bloud on their fellow rebels, and were themselues made so poore, as there was small danger of their relaps. To which ende he forbad al conferences and parleys with the rebels, by pretence whereof many trea|cherous plots had formerly beene drawne, by the falsehearted subiects, and many corruptions had been practised by some couetous commanders. But to such as were receiued to mercy, (that he might take away the diffidence they had long conceiued of the State), he kept his word inuiolable.

9 And whereas these rebellious people, are by nature clamorous (which made them tedious in complaints), and also vse great oppression vnder the shadow of Iustice, (which made the continually importunc the Gouernors with petitions, which being signed by them, gaue those Irish Lords a shadow of authoritie to oppresse the people, by shewing the Gouernours hand, and concealing the matter to which he subscribed. This worthy Lord Deputie, for their incouragement in the first, vsed singular patience in hearing their tedious complaints, and for the second, gaue them such delatory an|sivers, as might well hearten them in obedience, but could no way strengthen their tyranny ouer the poore people.

10 To conclude, nothing furthered this noble Lord more in his designes, then his singular temper, not so much in secrecy, and in sparingnesse of speech (though ma|ny great Captaines haue hindered their proceedings by letting fall rash speeches), as more specially in Court factions: for he vsed in such sort the familiar loue of the Earle of Essex, in his doubtfull courses, as he not onely kept him from intertaining dange|rous counsels, so long as hee liued with him in England, but demeaned himselfe to|wards his enemies with such moderation, as he little prouoked their enuy, yea, rather gained an inclination of their good affection towards him. So as they at this time go|uerning all the affaires in England, were readie to giue all possible seconds to his ends, which (as I formerly shewed) did aime at nothing but the speedy ende of this warre, By these counsels this worthy Lord restored the declining State of Ireland, from the desperate termes wherein he now found it.

I haue before set downe, in the Earle of Essex his Gouernement, the power of the rebels, through al the Prouinces of Ireland, and haue shewed, that at his Lordships lea|uing 85 that Kingdom, the same was nothing abated, and from that time, the rebels were [Note: The Rebels strength.] in all parts increaled. The Mountaine rebels in the County of Dublin, then 480 foote 20 horse, now by the going out of the Walshes and Harrols were increased 100. In the County of Kildare, the rebels then in number 220 foot, and 30 horse, were now more then doubled, by the going out of the Briminghams, all the Leynaghs, and many of other Septs. In the two Counties of Catherlough and Wexford, the rebels then 750 foote and 50 horse, were now increased an hundred. In the County of Ophaly, fiue strong Castles then held by the English, were now betraied, and aboue 468 foot, and 12 horse then were in rebellion, but now Mac Coughlan was gone out with 200 more, and the Oaoines with 100 more,

were now in rebellion. In the County of Meath the rebels were increased in number 150; by the Delahides, the Rochfords, Hussies, and Daeies. And beyond the Riuer, Capt. Iohn O Roly, hauing then 100 foote in her Maiesties pay, well armed, was now reuolted. In the County of West-Meath, the rebels then 140 foote and 20 horse, were now increased 100 at least, by the reuolt of the eldest sonne of William Nugent, se|cond brother to the Lord of Deluin, with diuers of the Pettyes and Daitons. In the County of Longford, the rebels then 120 foote; were now increased 180: so the rebels in Lemster being then in the whole number 3048 foote, and 182 horse, were now in|creased 1280, and made in all 4510.

For the Prouince of Mounster, Tyrone in his present iourny thither, taking pledges of almost all the Irish Lords and Gentlemen, he number of the rebels were now there increased beyond estimation.

For the Prouince of Connaght, the rebels were increased three hundred, by the reuolt of O Conner Sligo, besides the vncertainty of Tybot ne Long, who had one hundred Irish men in her Maiesties pay.

So as at this time, I may boldly say, the rebellion was at the greatest strength. The meere Irish puffed vp with good succesee, and blouded with happy incounters, did boldly keepe the field, and proudly disdaine the English forces. Great part of the English-Irish were in open action of rebellion, and most part of the rest, tempofised with the State, openly professing obedience, that they might liue vnder the protection thereof, but secretly relieuing the rebels, and practising with them for their present and future safeties. Among the English, the worthy Generals of this age, partly by this fatall warre, partly by the factions at home, were so wasted, as the best iudgements could hardly finde out any man fit to command this Army [...] hiefe. The English common souldiers, by loosenesse of body, the natural sicknosse of the Country, by the pouerty of the warre, in which nothing was to bee gained but blowes, and by the late defeates, wherein great numbers of them had perished, were altogether out of heart. The Colonels and Commanders; though many in number, and great in courage and experience, yet by these considerations of the Armies weakenesse, were somewhat deie|cted in mind. Yea, the very Counsellors of State were so diffident, as some of them in late conferences with Tyrone, had descended (I know not vpon what warrant) to an abiect. Intreaty for a short cessation. Not to speake of the Generall distraction of the hearts of all men in England, and much more of the souldiers, by the factions of this age between the worthy Earle of Essex now imprisoned and his enemies, able to ruine a great Kingdome much more to diuert the successe of any great action. And the ge|nerall voyce was of Tyrone among the English, after the defeat of Blackwater, as of [...] among the Romans, after the defeat of Cannas; Thou knowest how to over|come: but thou knowest not how to vse victorie. To conclude, not onely the remote parts, but the very heart of the Kingdom now languished vnder the contagion of this rebel|lion, Leax and Ophalia being possessed by the O Mores, and the O Conners; and the Glynnes or Mountainous, Country on the South-West side of Dublin, being in the hands of the [...] and O [...] and more remotely of the Cauanaghs), who nightly made excursions to the very Gates of the City, giuing alarum of warre to the long gound Senate, and (as it were) to the chaire of Estate. In this miserable estate was Ire|land, when the Lord Mountiey, like a good Planet, with a fortunate aspect began to shinethereon, whose

happy actions I will now set down particularly, yet as briefly as I can.

52 The tenth of Ianuary, towards the end of the yeere 1599, the Lords of England sig|nified [Note: An. 1599.] by their letters, to the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, and Sir George Carey Treasu|rer at warres, which were then Lords Iustices of that Kingdome, that from that day forward, the entertainement due to them as Lords Iustices, should cease, and bee con|ferred on Charles Blount Lord Mountioy, whom her Maiestie had made Lord Depu|tie.

And now Tyrone (who hitherto had contained himselfe in the North, onely making short excursions from thence into the Pale), being proud of victories, and desirous to shew his greatnesse abroad, resolued with his forces to measure the length of Ireland, and to the end hee might, by his presence strengthen, and increase the rebellion in Mounster (which in absence by practises he had raised), vnder the religious pretence of visiting a piece of Christs Crosse, kept for a holy relike in the Monastery of the holy Crosse in the County of Tipperary, he entred this iourny about the twentieth of Ianu|arie. On the three and twenty the rebels of the Brenny met him in the Cauan, from whence he marched forward, taking the rebels of Lemster in his company, and leading with him some two thousand fiue hundred foot, and two hundred horse, leauing the rest of his forces, and the Gentlemen of the North to guard those parts. The intent of his iourney, was to set as great combustion as he could in Mounster, and so taking pledges of the rebels, to leaue them vnder the command of one chiefe head.

This Moneth of Ianuary, her Maiestie signed that warrant, which is vulgarly cal|led the great Warrant for Ireland, whereby authority is giuen to the Lord Treasurer and Chamberlaine of the Exchequer in England, that according to an Establishment, after signed by her Maiesty the first of February, and to begin that day, (wherein the Army is reduced to twelue thousand foote, and one thousand two hundred horse), they should pay to the Treasurer at warres for Ireland such summes, as should bee sig|ned by sixe of the priuy Counsell of England, the Lord Treasurer, the Principall Se|cretary, and the vnder-Treasurer alwaies being three of them. Secondly, aboue the foure thousand pound for extraordinaries therein mentioned, to pay him such sums as should by the same be signed. Thirdly, to pay in like sort according to an Establish|ment or list of Officers and others not contained in the former Establishment, it not exceeding yeerely fifteene thousand pound, which List was then to bee signed by the Lords of her Maiesties Counsell. Fourthly, to pay in like sort diuers Officers paya|ble out of the reuenues, in case the reuenues extended not to pay them. Fifthly, to pay in like sort all summes for reinforcing the Army, for leauyes of men, for conducting, transporting, and victualling them at Sea, according to the rates of the first Establish|ment.

The Establishment signed by her Maiestie, the first of February, 1599.

The Lord Deputies entertainement to be paid according to the List after follow|ing, which List was to be signed by the Lords. Officers of the Army: Lieutenant of the Army per diem threell. Serieant Maior per diem twentys. Comptroler Generall of the victuals per diem tens. Foure Commissaries of victuals, whereof three at sixes: per diem, and the fourth at eights. per diem. Twelue Colonels, each at tens. per diem. A Prouost Marshall for Loughfoyle, another for Ballishannon, each at foure shillings per diem.

Summa per annum, foure thousand foure hundred fiftie three pound.

The pay of three hundred horse, diuided into sixe Bands, each Band

consisting of fiftie, viz, the Captaine foure shillings per diem; Lieutenant two shillings sixe pence per diem; Cornet two shillings per diem; and fiftie horsemen at eighteene pence per diem a piece. The pay of two hundred horse, diuided into foure Bands, each Band consisting of fiftie, viz. Captaine foures. per diem; Lieutenant twos. six d. per diem. Cornet twos. per diem, and fiftie horsemen at fifteene d. a piece per diem. The pay of seuen hundred horse, diuided into fourteene Bands, each Band consisting of fiftie 53 viz. Captaine, foure shillings per diem. Lieutenant, two shillings sixe pence per diem, Cornet two shillings per diem. Fiftie horsemen at twelue pence a peece per diem.

Summa per annum twenty nine thousand two hundred threescore thirteene pound.

The pay of twelue thousand footmen, diuided into 120 Bands, each Band consi|sting of a hundred heads, viz. Captaine foure s. per diem. Lieutenant two shillings per diem, Ensigne eighteene d. per diem, two Serieants, a Drum, and a Surgion, at twelue d. a peece per diem, and fourescore fourteene Souldiers, and sixe dead payes, at eight d. a peece per diem.

Summa per annum one hundred threescore eleuen thousand one hundred fourescore and fiue pound.

Extraordinaries, viz. for sending of letters, hyring of Barkes, for passage of pack|quets, for gifts and rewards, for espyes from abroad or at home, carriage of treasure, victuall, or munition, and the like, etc. for a whole yeere, foure thousand pound.

Summa totale per annum, two hundred eight thousand nine hundred and eleuen pound.

The Lord Mountioy hastened away from Court, did not stay for the Lords signing of the aboue mentioned second establishment, as a thing of ordinary course continued for many yeeres, with little or no alteration. And being now in this iourney towards Ireland, the tenth of Februarie he wrote to Master Secretarie from Daintrie, intreating him, that whereas her Maiestie, not withstanding the contrary opinion of all admitted to that consultation, had reduced the Army to twelue thousand foote, and that hee found by letters from the Counsell and other Commanders in Ireland, a general con|curring in opinion, that these forces were not sufficient (especially since the Plantation of Loughfoyle and Ballyshanon Garisons were presently to be made, and that Tyrone was now Master of the field, hauing led his forces in person as farre as Mounster), he would moue her Maiestie to giue him power, to retaine one or two thousand in Lyst, of those English, which otherwise he was to cast.

The aboue mentioned second Establishment, or Lyst of diuers Officers and Seruitors, not con|tained in the former Establishment, which list was signed by the Lords the eleuenth of Februarie, the end of the yeere 1599.

THe Lord Deputies ordinarie entertainement per mensem one hundred pound, per [Note: [...]] annum thirteene hundred pound. To him for a Band of horsemen in his fami|ly foure pound foure shillings per diem. To him for fiftie footmen in his family, eight pence a man per diem. The Treasurer at Warres per diem thirtie fiue shillings. The Marshall at fiue shillings nine pence per diem. The Master of the Ordinance per diem three and twentie shillings eight pence. Note that the aboue named, as also the chiefe Gouernours of Prouinces vndernamed, had besides in the Army the command of a Band of foote, or horse, or both. Diuers Ministers of the Ordinance per diem twen|tie fiue shillings two pence. Mustermaster two shillings eight pence per diem.

Summa per annum fiue thousand three hundred seuen [...]. seuen shillings eleuen d.

The Lord President per annum one hundred thirtie three [...].; his diet at ten pound a weeke, and so per annum fiue hundred twenty pound. His guard of horse and foote at thirtie shillings seuen pence halfe-penny per diem. Chiefe Iustice per annum one hun|dred pound. Second Iustice sixty sixe pound, thirteene shillings foure pence. Queenes Atturney thirteene pound sixe shillings eight pence. Clerke of the Counsell twentie pound. Prouost Marshall two hundred fiftie fiue pound ten shillings.

Summa per annum one thousand sixe hundred threescore seuen pound eight shil|lings two pence halfe penny.

Gouernour of Connaght per diem ten s., for increase per annum one hundred [...]. Chiefe [Note: Connaght.] Iustice per annum one hundred pound: for his diet fortie pound. Clerke of the Coun|sell twenty pound, for his diet twenty pound. Prouost Marshall one hundred two pound thirteene shillings one peny half-peny, besides twelue horse out of the Armie.

Summa per annum fiue hundred sixtie fiue pound three s. two pence halfe-penny.

54 Gouernor at Loughfoyle per diem foure shillings foure pence, besides his entertaine|ment [Note: Vlster] as a Colonel. Gouernour of Carickfergus and Dundalke no entertainement, but as Colonels of the Army.

Summa per annum threescore pound sixteene shillings eight pence.

Gouernour of the Queenes Countie at sixe shillings eight pence per diem. Prouost [Note: Lemstor.] Marshall of the Army per diem foure shillings three pence. Prouost Marshall of Lem|ster fiue shillings seuen pence per diem. And to both Prouosts, horses to bee assigned out of the Army, at the Lord Deputies discretion.

Samma per annum three hundred one pound two shillings seuen pence.

Warders in diuers Prouinces three thousand thirtie one pound seuen pence halfe|penny. Pensioners, fortie foure, at foure pound nineteene shillings two pence per diem. Almesmen foureteene, at sixe pence Irish a peece per diem. Commissaries of Musters, twenty, at sixe shillings eight pence a peece per diem.

Summa per annum three thousand one hundred twenty two pound fiue s. sixed.

Summa totalis per annum fourteene thousand fiftie fiue pound foure shillings eight pence halfe-penny.

The same day this List was signed, being the eleuenth of Februarie, the Lords by their letters to the Lord Deputie (being yet in England, but newly gone from London, and in his way towards Ireland), appointed that the ships of Bristol, which had trans|ported one thousand two hundred foote from thence to Dublin, should there be stai|ed, to the end they might transport a thousand men, which were to be sent from Dub|lin, to meete with three thousand more sent out of England, out of which the Garrison of Caricksergus was to be strengthened, and a new Garrison planted at Loughfoyle.

The Lord Mountioy lying at Westchester for a passage into Ireland, and there recei|uing notice, that the imprisoned Earle of Essex had signed a submission to the Queene, whereupon her Maiestie began to be inclined to shew him mercy, directed his letters thence the eighteenth of Februarie to Sir Robert Cecill Secretarie of State, therein a|uowing, that as his loue made him interessed in that noble Earles fortunes, so hee would thankefully acknowledge from him such fauour, as he should be pleased to shew that distressed Earle, withall protesting, that he would alwaies be a free man, and slaue to no mans humour; but as he in this Irish im-

ployment expected all fauourable seconds from him (according to his noble promise, whereupon his hopes chiefely re|relied), so he would euer be honest and thankefull towards him in all occasions. And vpon these termes all exchange of good offices passed betweene this Lord Deputie and Master Secretarie, till the fatall death of that noble Earle of Essex hereafter to bee mentioned, and the Lord Deputies participation of that ruine, made him change his stile, and neuer to cease, till hee had confirmed a neere frendship betweene himselfe and the Secretary, at least as intire, as greatnesse admits, as hereafter shall bee shewed.

The twentie sixe of Februarie, the Lord Deputie landed in Ireland, and there recei|ued [Note: A new Lord President of Mounster.] the sword, and within few dayes, by warrant out of England, he granted her Maie|sties letters Pattents to Sir George Carew, to bee Lord President of Mounster, which place liad layen void some few moneths, from the death of Sir Thomas Norreys. The 27 he receiued aduertisement from the Earle of Ormond, Generall of the English forces till his comming ouer, that Tyrone was in the West part of Mounster, hauing about him not only his owne forces, but those of the Rebels of that Prouince, which were so great, as he had not hitherto power to oppose them: but now hauing gathered all the Queenes forces he could make, purposed the next morning to set forwards to|wards him. The fifth of March his Lordship receiued aduertisement from other parts, that Tyrone could not escape in his returne to the North, but either ouer the Riuer Shanon, which passage the Earles of Thomond and Clanrickard might easily stop, or by the Westward borders of the Pale, where if his Lordship would draw his forces to Athboye, Mullingar, Ballymore, and Athlone, it was not possible for him to escape them. That Tyrone had thus engaged himselfe, presuming on the corruption of the State, and little expecting his Lordships so sudden comming ouer, so as if his 55 Lordship forgaue him this fault, he was not like to catch him againe in the like, nei|ther could any thing but want of intelligence, make his Lordship faile in stopping the returne of Tyrone, and his forces into the North. Aduising his Lordship to be wa|ry in crediting intelligences, which were commonly false, and made of purpose, and to expect, that besides the knowne enemy, and a confused warre, he should finde a broken State, a dangerous Counsell, and false hearted subiects. The eight of March the Earle of Ormond sent aduertisement, that Tyrone purposed to passe the Riuer Sha|non. That he had written to the Earle of Thomond to draw towards him, that they might oppose his passage, but that his Lordship could not performe his order, by rea|son that the Mayor of Leymricke would not afford him carriage for his victuals. That Tyrone in scattered Troopes and a cowardly manner, hastened his returne, and that present day had marched foure and twenty miles, without any stay. That Sir Warham Sent Leger, and Sir Henry Power, ioint Commissioners for gouerning of Mounster, with the forces vnder their charge, had met neere Corke with Hugh Mac Gwter, chiefe Lord of Fermanagh (in the North) and that in the incounter Sir Warham, Sent Leger, and the said Mac Guire were killed. That his Lordship had burned all the Townes where the Traytors might find reliefe, and that they vsed the same course towards her Maiesties Subiects. The same day the Lord Deputy receiued further aduertisement from Moun|ster, that Tyrone was compassed in by the Earle of Ormond, on the one side, and the Earle of Thomond on the other, and by the Commissioners forces on the third side, (who ruled the Prouince after the death of Sir Thomas

Norreys, vntill a Lord President should be chosen, for he that was newly sent ouer, was yet at Dublyn); that the Mayor of Lymbricke had commandement to lay ships and boates, to hinder his passage by that Hauen, as likewise the Mayor of Galway to interrupt his passage by sea, and the Earle of Clanrickard, to stop his passage by land through Connaght. So as how soeuer he were fiue thousand strong in able men, besides many of baser sort, yet he being far from any second of Vlster men, in whom the chiefe strength of the Rebellion consi|sted, and no way able to returne thither, his vtter confusion was confidently hoped. But these were onely Irish oftentations of seruice, which seldome vse to take effect, and many times are not truly intended, as the sequell will shew.

And lest the Lord Deputy should expect faithfull dealing of the English Irish Sub|iect in the other kind of seruice, by supplying the Army of necessaries, the nobilitie and Gentrie of the very English Pale, the same day exhibited a petition to his Lordship, to preuent the opinion of disloialtie, vpon refusal of such supplies, by pretending of disa|billitie vpon the great spoyles, which aswell the rebels, as the English souldiers had made vpon all the inhabitants.

The Lord Deputie had written a former letter to Master Secretarie, in excuse of not reducing the Armie from foureteene thousand foote to twelue thousand, accor|ding to the new Establishment (aswell because the same was to begin the first of Fe|bruarie, which his Lordship could not effect, since he arriued not in Ireland vntill the twentie sixe of the same moneth, as also because the Army was presently farre diui|ded, the greater part thereof being with the Earle of Ormond, and for that, whenso|euer they returned, the discharged Companies must presently bee reduced into some other, or else so many men and Armes should bee meerely lost, as the Lords Iustices had lately found by experience, when determining to cast a Company of one hun|dred and fiftie, being by Pole a hundred, of the oldest and best souldiers, with purpose next day to deliuer them to other Captaines, vpon the diuulging thereof, onely three of the whole Company with their Armes could be found, to be so transmitted.)

To this letter formerly written, and perswading that the two thousand might still be continued in pay, his Lordship receiued the following answere from her Maiestie, dated the fifteenth of March.

56 Elizabeth Regina.

ALthough we haue vpon your earnest request (in whose affection and duty we doe repose trust and confidence) yeelded to the continuance of fourteene thousand foot for some small time, both because we conceiue, that according to your reasons, it will giue good assurance to the Plantation of Loughfoyle, and the reduction of Lemster, and preuent the present terror, which this proud attempt of Tyrones, to passe ouer all the Kingdome, hath stricken into the hearts of all our Subiects, and would increase, if we should presently haue abated our numbers: yet must welet you know, that we doe expect at your hands, and doe determine, that assoone as the present bruites are passed, you shall diminish the same by little and little hereafter, according to our first deter|mination: for we haue had too good proofe of that gouernement, as not to know and discerne, that all the mischiefes of our seruice, haue growne most by lacke of discretion and order, by vaine iournies, whilst better opportunities haue beene lost, by vndiscreet carriages of all secret purposes, by placing Captaines of small merit or experience, and which is aboue all, by nourishing the Irish, who are snakes in our bosomes, whilst we hold them, and when they are

out, doe conuert vpon our selues, the experience and strength they haue gotten by our making them to be Souldiers. And therefore you shall vnderstand now, that although we haue beene content to grace some such as are of noble houses, and such others as haue drawne blood on the Rebels, with charge of Companies, yet we find it now growne to a common opinion, that it is as good to be a Rebell as a Subiect: for Rebels find and feele it, that they shall be hired (euen with whole companies in our pay) onely to forbeare doing harme, and not for hauing done any such seruice, as may make them irreconciliable. And further we see, that o|thers that are in pay in their owne Countrey, are so farre from doing seruice on their neighbours, that are out, as when they tarry in for a shew, they are the chiefest meanes vnder hand, to helpe the rebels with such powder and munition, as (to our no small charge) we put into their hands, to be vsed against them. In this point therefore, we command you henceforth to bee considerate, and not to be induced to put such in pay, as spend our treasure onely to their owne aduantage, vpon this supposition or bragge of theirs, that they must runne to the enemies if they be not entertained: for when we consider the effects that are deriued from our charges, to haue so many foote and horse of the Irish entertained, onely to saue their owne Cowes and Countries, we are of opinion, so they went not with our Armes to the Rebels, that it were better ser|uice for vs, to saue our treasure, then to pay for their bodies, seeing they that liue by the warre better then they should doe in peace, intend nothing lesse then our seruice. And therefore we command you, not onely to raise no more, when these shall be de|caied, but to keepe them vnsupplied that are already, and as they waste to Casse their bands: for we can neuer allow of this entertainement of them. Whilst you are forced to keep the 2000. men for our seruice, you may keepe the Captaines vncassed, but not giue any warrant to them to supply their Companies with any more Irish. We doe also require you, that you doe seeke by all meanes possible, where the Irish are enter|tained, to vse their seruice as farre from their owne Countries as may be; wherein we pray you especially to take care in the Prouince of Connaght, where there are so many Irish bands together, and rather to draw some of them to serue else where, and send English in their stead. This shall serue for the present, to answere your dispatch, where|in we doe write to you, (whom we know to loue our Commandements) more direct|ly in this point of our desire to haue our charge abated, then we doe to you and the Counsell together, because we would haue them apprehend, (seeing you thinke such an opinion would be good), that our Army shall not be so soone abated, as we hope you will; wherein notwithstanding we doe referre things to your discretion, whom we will trust with the charge of 2000. men, seeing we haue committed to you our whole Kingdome, etc.

57 His Lordship in a second dispatch to Master Secretary, had written, that Tyrone ha|uing passed through the Pale into Mounster with some one thousand fiue hundred horse and foote, of such sort as so many of the Queenes worst men were able to en|counter them, was now in Mounster with an Army of 4 thousand in reputation, and was there attended by the Queenes Army of three thousand foote, and three hundred horse, commaunded by the Earle of Ormond; so as onely the dregges of the Queenes Army were now neare him; out of which notwithstanding, he hoped to bee able to draw one thousand fiue hundred foote, and three hundred horse, and therewith to make head against Tyrone at his returne: but in regard the Plantation of Loughfoyle and Ballyshannon were

presently commanded him, whether Sir Henrie Dockura was to ship three thousand out of England, and another thousand were to be shipped from Dublin: these one thousand being part of the men he was to draw against Tyrone be durst not leade them farre from the Sea, and so might perhaps be forced to loose good occasion of seruice, whereas if these things had been left to his discretion, hee would haue deferred the Plantation of Ballishannon to a time of more safety, and with these one thousand men and their munition to bee sent thither, would now attend Tyrone in his passage with so great aduantage, as he was not likely to finde hereafter and if he escaped, would presently haue put himselfe in the head of the Earle of Ormonds Troopes, to prosecute him into the North, and would further haue aduised Sir Henrie Dockwra in his passage from Chester to Loughfoyle, to descend at Carickfer|gus, and thence to take fiue hundred old souldiers, leauing so many new in their roome.

To this dispatch his Lordship receiued the Queenes gratious answere, by a letter dated the sixteenth of this moneth, wherein allowing his beginnings, and approuing his reasons: the forbearing presently to plant Ballishannon, and the ordering of Lough|foyle Plantation, and the disposing of Garrisons aptly (for the defence of such as in that case offered to returne to due obedience), were all freely left to his Lord|ships discretion, with promise to make good construction of his actions, being confi|dent that they had no other obiect, but loyali seruice.

The Lord Deputie hauing drawne as many together as hee could about Mullin|gar, to lye for Tyrone in his returne out of Mounster, receiued aduertisement the fifteenth of this present, that Tyrone hearing of his preparations to meete him, had left a thousand Connaght rogues to assist Desmond, and some eight hundred men with Richard Butler, and hauing made Captaine Tirrell chiefe commander of all the Lemster Rebels, was stolne out of Mounster with sixe hundred in his company, and had passed the Enney, and so escaped into the North.

Whereupon the Lord Deputie the same day writ to the Earle of Ormond, to send backe from Mounster, the forces hee had drawne thither out of Lemster, and with all sent him her Maiesties letters, importing thankes for the seruice hee had done, and her desire that hee would still hold the place of Lieutenant of the Ar|mie. In the acceptance whereof, the Lord Deputie professed, that hee should e|steeme himselfe much honoured, and would be ready, after putting off the person which now was imposed on him, with much contentment to be commaunded by his Lordship.

The same time the Lord Deputie aduertised Master Secretarie, that his intelli|gence had been so bad (not onely in false reports of Tyrones purposes, but also in the relation of the Forces he had with him to bee farre greater then indeede they were, by which intelligence of false hearted subiects to discourage the Queenes Forces, the Rebels vsed to preuaile more then by fighting, and now hoped to discourage him at his first comming, from any present attempt against Tyrones returne), as in one and the same day hee first heard together of Tyrones looking back out of Mounster, comming into Leymster, and passing ouer the Enney, and the next day being assured of his escape, hee then receiued the first intelligence (the former letters of the eight of March being not till then deliuered) that euer came to his hands from the Earle of Ormond concerning Tyrone, who in this returne had gone further in three dayes, 58 then at his setting forth in thirteene, hauing in one day marched

twenty seuen miles, so speedily, as he could not ouertake any of his troopes with the Queenes forces, though he marched after him twentie miles in foure houres; adding his purpose to make pre|sent head towards the North, without which diuersion [...] rebels, the [...] to be planted at Loughfoyle was like to runne a dangerous to tune. And withall sending some of Tyrones Mandates, by which hee summoned the [...] of Mounster to ap|peare before him, and to ioyne with him, of which I haue thought good, for the strangenesse of the forme, to insert this one following.

O Neale commendeth him vnto you Morish Fitz Thomas, O Neale requesteth you in Gods name to take part with him, and fight for your conscience and right; and in so doing, Oncale will spend to see you righted in all your affaires, and will helpe you: And if you come not at Oneale betwixt this and tomorrow at twelue of the clocke, and take his part, Oneale is not beholding to you, and will doe to the vttermost of his power to ouerthrow you, if you come not to him at furthest by Satturday noone.

From Knocke Dumayne in Calrie, the fourth of February 1599 . Oneale requesteth you to come speake with him, and doth giue you his word that you shall re|ceiue no harme, neither in comming nor going from him, whether you be friend or not, and bring with you to Oneale Gerat Fitz-gerald.

Subscribed O Neale.

The seuenth of March the Lord Deputy was aduertised, that Tyrone returned to Dungannon his House the fifteenth day, and brought with him out of Mounster foure pledges of Desmonds faith vnto him. That the Earle of Clanrickard had sworne, so soon as the Lord of Dunkellyn his eldest sonne returned out of England, to take no longer day then May next, to ioyne with Tyrone, and enter into action, (so the Irish terme re|bellion): and that Tyrone had called the Lords of the North together, to consult about the opposition to be made against the intended plancation of the English Garrisons at Loughfoyle.

The twentieth of March Master Secretary wrote to the Lord Deputy, that the Earle of Essex, hitherto restrained in the Lord Keepers House, had found the Grace with her Maiesty, to be sent to his owne house in London, yet with a keeper; for Sir Richard Bak|ley, had the guard of him, with the keyes of the water-gate and street doore, and the Earle had the freedome of the whole House, with a dozen seruants to attend him, who might freely go in and out at pleasure, and the Countesse of Essex had liberty to come thither to him. And the Lord Deputy still continued frequently to solicite the Secre|taries fauour to this noble Earle, many times inlarging himselfe so farre, as to iustifie the Earles faithfull endeauours in the maine point of the late Irish seruice, about which he was most questioned. Insomuch as seeing the Earles actions in Ireland to be nar|rowly sifted, he wrote not long after to the Secretary, expressely auowing; That if the Earle of Essex had brought with him a farre greater Army, the estate of the yeere be|ing as then it was, and he comming at that time of the yeere when he did, yet during his aboade there, (which was from March to September), there could no other conse|quence haue iustly beene expected in that so short time; but that the Rebels moued with the countenance and terrour of the Army, should generally (or for the most part) haue sought her Maiesties mercy, and making their submission, haue beene receiued vpon pledges to continue subiects, or else to haue sought to haue ruined them by planting strong garrisons, which in most places must haue beene done by an Army, and they being in seuerall places, and many circumstances besides required thereun|to, the effecting

thereof would haue taken vp as much time as he spent here. And though the terrour of the Army did not worke the first effect, being in the choyce of the enemy, vntill by the second course they might be constrained, that the fault was in their disposition, and not in the Earles endeauours or power. And though the gar|risons were not accordingly planted, that as well the shortnes of the time, as the Coun|sels to which the Earle was tied at that time, might iustly cleere him of that de|fault.

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2

6.6 CHAP. II.

Of the Lord Deputies particular proceedings in the prosecution of the Rebels in the yeere 1600.

THe twenty foure of March, being the last day of the former yeere, the Lord Deputy signed the following List of the Army, to bee a direction to the Treasurer at warres, for the payment thereof, from the first of A|prill in the yeere 1600, so forward.

Generall Officers for the Army.

The Earle of Orn. ond Lord Lieutenant of the Army per diem three pound. Sir Oliuer Lambert Sergeant Maior per diem twentie shillings. George Beuerley Controller of the victuals per diem ten shillings. Fiue Commissaries of the victuals, whereof one per diem eight shillings, the rest sixe shillings a peece.

Twelue Colonels at ten shillings a peece per diem.

Earle of Thomond. Lord Audley. Lord Dunkellin. Sir Henry Dockwra. Sir Henry Poore, Sir Charles Percy. Sir Matthew Morgan. Sir Christop. St. Laurence. Sir Charles Willmot. Sir Iohn Bolles. Sir Arthur Sauage. Sir Richard Moryson. A Prouost Marshal of Ballishannon, and another of Loughfoyle, each at foure shillings per diem.

Companies of horse.

The Lord Deputie, one hundred, at eighteene pence a peece per diem. The Earle of Ormond fiftie, at twelue pence. The Earle of Southampton one hundred, halfe at eighteene pence, and halfe at fifteene pence. The Earle of Kildare fiftie at twelue pence. The Earle of Clanrickard fiftie, at twelue pence. The Lord of Dunsany fiftie, at twelue pence. The Lord President of Mounster fiftie, at eighteene pence. Sir Gar|ret Moore twentie fiue, at twelue pence. Sir Christopher Sant Laurence twentie fiue, at twelue pence. The Lord Dunkellin 25 Sir Henrie Harington 26 Sir William Warren 25 Sir Samuel Bagnal 50 Sir Edward Herbert 12 Sir Oliuer Lambert 25 Captaine Wayman Prouost Mar|tiall of Connaght 12 Captaine Richard Greame 50 Captaine Thomas Gifford 25 Captaine Fleming 25 Captaine Taffe 25 all 12 pence per diem. Sir Richard Wingfield Marshall 50, whereof 20 at eighteene pence, and thirtie at twelue pence per diem.

Captaine Thomas White 50 Sir Anthony Cooke 50 at fifteene pence per diem. Sir Henrie Dauers 100 at eighteene pence. Sir Henrie Dockwrra 50, halfe at eigh|teene pence, haife at twelue pence. Sir Grif. Markam 100, halfe at fifteene pence, halfe twelue pence.

Totall of horse 1200.

Companies of Foot. To be sent from Dublin to Loughfoyle in Vlster.

Sir Henry Dockwra Gouernor of Lough|foyle, and Colonel of the Army. 200 Sir Matthew Morgan Colonel 150 Sir Iohn Chamberlaine 150 Captaine Errington 100 Captaine Heath 150 Captaine Badbye 150 Captaine Lister 100 60 To be sent out of England to the same place.

Sir Iohn Bolles one of the Colonels of the Army 150. Captaine Vaughan 150 Captaine Thomas Coche 100 Captaine Dutton 100 Captaine Ellis Flud 150 Captaine Ralph Bingley 150 Captaine Basset 100 Captaine Oram 100 Captaine Lionel Guest 150 Captaine Leigh 100 Captaine H. Clare 150 Sir Iohn Pooley 150 Captaine Masterson 100 Captaine Stafford 100 Captaine Atkinson 100 Captaine Hales 100 Captaine Alford 100 Captaine Pinner 100 Captaine Orrel 150 Captaine Sidney 100 Captaine Windsor 100 Captaine Sidley

100 Captaine Digges 100 Captaine Brooke 100 Captaine Rand 100 Captaine Pluncket 100 Totall of Loughfoyle Garrison deuided into three Regiments vnder the Gouernour Sir Henrie Dockwra, and the two Colonels aboue named, Sir Matthew Morgan, and Sir Iohn Bolles, 4000.

Carickfergus Garrison. Foote.

Sir Arthur Chichester Gouernour 200 Sir Fulk Conway 150 Captaine Laurence Esmond 150 Captaine Egerton 100 Captaine Norton 100 Foote 700

Foote at the Newrie.

Sir Samuel Bagnol 200 Captaine Blanye 150 At Carlingford Capt. Ferdinando Freckel|ton 100 Foote 450.

Foote in the Prouince of Connaght.

Sir Arthur Sauage Gouernour 200 The Earle of Thomond 200 The Earle of Clanrickard 100 The Lord Dunkellin, the Earles eldest sonne 200 Sir Thomas Burgh his younger sonne 150 Sir Robert Louel 150 Sir Tibot Dillon 100 Captaine Thomas Bourgh 100 Captaine Tibot Nelong 100 Captaine Hugh Mostiun 100 Foote 1400.

Foote in the Prouince of Mounster.

Sir George Carew Lord President 200 The Lord Audley 200 Sir Henrie Poore 200 Sir Charles Willmot 150 Sir George Cary Treasurer at warres 100 Sir Richard Percy 150 Sir Francis Barkely 100 Sir Edward Fitzgarret 100 Sir Iohn Barkley 200 Sir Gerald Haruy 150 Sir Iohn Dowdal 100 Sir Richard Masterson 100 Captaine Roger Haruy 150 Captaine Thomas Spencer 150 Captaine Flower 100 Captaine Sheffeld 100 Captaine George Kingsmell 100 Captaine Garret Dillon 100 Captaine Hugh Oreilly 100 Captaine William Poore 100 Captaine Saxy 100 Captaine Bostock 100 Captaine George Blonnt 100 Foote 2950.

Foote in the Prouince of Leymster.

The Lord Deputies Guard 200 The Earle of Southampton 200 The Earle of Ormond 200 The Earle of Kildare 150 The Lord of Dunsany 150 The Lord Deluin 150 Sir Grorge Bourcher 100 Sir Richard Wingfeild 150 Sir Christoper Sant Laurence 200 Sir Charles Percy 200 Sir Oliuer Lambert 200 Sir Richard Moryson 200 Sir Thomas Wingfeild 150 Sir Henrie Warren 100 Sir Garret More 100 Sir Francis Rushe 150 Sir Henrie Follyot 150 Sir William Warren 100 61 Sir Thomas Loftus 100 Sir Oliner Saint Iohns 150 Sir Charles Ocarrol 100 Sir Henrie Dauers 200 Sir Iames Fitzpeirse 150 Sir Francis Stafford 200 Sir Henrie Harington 100 Capt. Thomas Williams 150 Capt. Roe 100 Capt. Toby Cafeild 150 Capt. Iosias Bodley 150 Capt. Francis Shane 100 The totall of the Foote 14000.

A list of such as the Lord Deputy could draw into the field to prosecute Tyrone, all consisting of the companies lying in Lemster, and those of the Newrie and Carlingford.

horse.

The Lord Deputy 100. Sir Henry Dauers 100. Sir Samuel Baguol 50. The Lord Dunsany 50. Sir Garret More 25.

horse 325.

Foote.

The Lord Deputy 200. The Earle of Southampton 200. Sir Francis Stafford 200. Sir Samuel B. guol 200. Sir Richard Moryson 200. Sir Henry Dauers 200. Sir Charles Percy 200. Sir Oliuer Lambert 200. Sir William Warren 100. Sir Oliuer Saint Iohns 150. Sir Henrie Follyot 150. The Lord of Dunsany 150. Sir Garret More 100. Sir Thomas Wingfeild 150. Captaine Edward Blanye 150. Captaine Iosias Bodley 150. Captaine Ferdinand Freckelton 100. Captaine Toby Cafeild 150. Captaine Francis Roe 100. Cap|taine Thomas Williams 150. Foote 3200

Foote. horse. Out of these taken to guard places til the returne of the Army 810 20 Dead paycs allowed in each hundred of foote 9, and in each fiftie horse 4

288 26 Totall 1098 46 Foot. horse. Deduct this 1098 out of the Foote, and 46 out of the horse, and so remaines for the Lord Depu|ties Armic in field 2102 279. Out of this a further allowance (though vncertaine) must be deducted for sick and deficient men not mentioned formerly.

Obserue that many Gunners, Canoniers, Armorers, and Clerks of the Ordinance, some at foure s. some at two s. per diem, and an Inginere at ten s. per diem. That some sixteene Surgians, that chiefe at fiuel. the other dispersed in Prouinces and Garrisons at thirty or fortys a peece the weeke, and that the Lord Deputies Doctor of Physicke at fiuel the weeke, and his chiefe Chaplaine at the same rate, and some ten other Prea|chers dispersed, at thirty or forty s. the weeke each are all paid by the defalcation of one pay in each company of foot, and likewise of certaine sures of apparell due to the same companies. And that the Commissaries of the Musters (raised from fiue to twenty) at three s. 4 d. a piece per dièm, are paied out of the Checques which themselues raise, and one of them following the Army in field in each Prouince, the rest are di|stributed to be resident in particular garrisons.

Hauing made distribution of the Forces for the present: It remaine: I should dis|cend to the briefe narration of the Lord Deputies particular Counsels, and actions a|gainst the Rebels. About the beginning of Aprill, it was determined in counsell by the Lord Deputy and the generall assent of the Counsellers, that the Ilander Scots should be hired to serue against Iames Mas Sorley. That Agnus pretending right to his Countrey, was the fittest for that purpose, and vpon his refusall, Mac Alaine was thought fittest to be entertained for this seruice. That the number of Scots should be 1500 or 2000 at most. That they should not land till the end of August, and remaine in pay as occasion should serue, their pay being to each man a Cow for a moneth, or for the default of Cattell, fixed by the day. And that they should land betweene the [...] and Oldenfleet, except they thought some other place fitter. Two Inhabitants of Caricfergus were appointed to treat with these Scots, and they were to haue the L. Deputies Letters to the Earle of Argile, and to the Queenes Agent in Scotland, for the 62 furtherance of this businesse. But this Councell tooke no effect, by reason the course was disliked in England. In the same Councell it was propounded, how the Army should be imployed till the Lord Deputies going into the field, which in all proba|bility could not be for some two moneths after. And it was resolued to prosecute the Rebels at one instant, both on the borders in the North, and in Lemster. For the North borders 650. foot, and 100. horse, were to lie in garrison in Dundalke, 7 co. foot, and 50. horse at Ardee, 400. foot and 50. horse at Kelles, 1000. foot and 50. horse at the Newry, and a hundred foot at Carlingford. If Tyrone drew not to a head, it was concluded these garrisons were to infest the Fewes, Ferny, Obanlons Countrey, Mac Gonnis his Countrey, and other parts of Monaghan, and the Cauan. If Tyrone drew to a head, then it was concluded, his owne troopes were like to spoile these Countries, and our men sent to Loughfoyle should plant themselues with more case, and shortly be able to spoile both Tyrone and Odonnels Country. For Lemster a thousand foot, and a hundred horse, were to draw into Ophalia, to build vp the Togher, to victuall the Fort of Phillipstone, and to spoile the Connors, Macgoghegans, Omoloyes, and Mac Coghlins. This done, it was concluded, these forces should passe into Leex, thereto attend direction, or if that passage were difficult, then to returne the way they went, and by the way to send for further direction. And

to further the last prosecution, the O Carrols were com|manded at the same time to innade the Omoloyes, and the Lord of Delain, and Sir Francis Shane were to meet, and ioyne with the Lord Dunkellin in Mac Coghlins Coun|trey, and thereto inuade the neighbour Rebels.

The third of Aprill the Lord Deputy aduertised Master Secretary, that the Queene had few Subiects in Ireland of any sort, who had not either some kinde of intelligence with Tyrone, or had not framed their hearts that way, whereof the whole Pale made sufficient ouerture, by a petition lately deliuered, and by their contestation at the Counsell Table. That the old Earle of Clanrickard, at Tyrones going into Mounster, had taken day with him till May next, to declare himselfe on that party. But that the Lord of Dunkellin his eldest soone, hated by his younger brother, whom the father esteemed much aboue him, gaue him great confidence of his firme alleagiance, who supecting his fathers disposition that way, had taken occasion by repairing to Dublin, and after going for England, to put himselfe as a gage and bridle to his fathers proceedings. Con|cluding, that [...] the Lord Deputy had taken order for securing the Castle of Athlone, but that all his hope of keeping the Prouince of Connaght in obedience, was in the Lord of Dunkellins honesty. Neither was the Lord Deputy deceiued in this worthy Lord, who [...] during his fathers life, so from his death, (happening within few mo|neths), to the end of the warre, serued the Queene as nobly, valiantly, and faithfully, as any nobleman or gentleman in the army. The Lord Deputy explaned the danger of the Irish Commanders and Companies, yet for the time shewed the remedy to be more dangerous then the disease, protesting that her Maiesty could not take a more unprofitable way to satisfie the Irish sutors, then by giuing them Companies. His Lordship further aduertised Master Secretary, that vpon Tyrones retiring out of Mounster into the North, in manner of a fearefull flight, he the Lord Deputy had [...] In the Earle of: Ormond such Companies as were not appointed for Moun|ster, and vpon their arriuall to Athye had sent Sir Richard Moryson, to take possession of the gouernement of Leau, and Sir Oliuer Lambert; to leade and bring backe the for|ces sent with victuals to relieue the Fort, called Mariabourg (of Queene Mary) seituate in Leax, (otherwise called the Queenes County) which fort being before in extreame [...], now he had supplied for three moneths. That he had imployed Brimingham, (who had about that time submitted himselfe to the Queenes mercy), to put in some Cowes into the Fort of Ophaly: That he purposed to prosecute the Rebels in Lemster with one thousand foote and a hundred horse; and to lodge the rest in garrisons vpon the North, so as on the sudden he might diuert Tyrone from resisting our present plan|tation at Loughfoyle. That hee would presently send a thousand old souldiers from Dublyn to Loughfoyle, and likewise with them such as were to lie in garrison at Balli|shannon, vnder the command of Sir Matthew Morgan, but that, for some difficulties, 63 they could not yet be setled there, yet lying at Loughfoyle in the meane time, might doe seruice, and alwaies be ready to be sent thither. That Tyrones confederates were dis|couraged at his fearefull retreat into the North, which could not haue beene greater, if he had beene broken with an Army. For after an vnreasonable dayes march, hearing of the Lord Deputies drawing towards him, within one houre of his sitting downe, he did presently rise againe at seuen a clocke in the night, and being assaulted by some of our scattered bands, still marched, leauing to the sword as many of his men as were ingaged, and leauing or

leesing all his carriages, so as now almost euery day the heads of some rebels or others were sent him, and many seruices were of late done, as there|couery of a prey by the garrison at the Naas, with the killing of many Rebels, and the defeat of one hundred and forty Rebels by Sir Francis Shane, whereof forty fiue were killed, and of them some foureteene with his owne hand. And the Rebels of Lemster daily made meanes to be receiued to mercy. Onely the Townes were the stores of the Rebels, and stood so saucily vpon their priuiledges, as a sharpe rod and strong hand were requisite to amend them. For which cause his Lordship aduised, that the Castle of Lymerik might be repaired, to bridle that Town, which seemed of more importance, then any other City of that Kingdome whatsoeuer. That the dispairing rebels were by Tirones cunning raised to some hopes, by two ships lately come into the North out of Spaine, which brought the rebels some munition, and either assurance of great and present succours, or Tyrone at least so vsed their comming to his purpose, as the rebels beleeued such aussrance was giuen. Besides, many Priests came in those ships, of which one termed himselfe the Popes Legat, and Leger Ambassadour for the King of Spaine, and Archbishop of Dublin, giuing out that he was content to suffer death, if he prea|ched not in Dublyn before Michaelmas day. Whereupon the Rebels beganne to auow themselues the King of Spaines subiects, and onely the expectation of Loughfoyle gar|rison, together with the doubt of these succours, kept the very Pale from the boldnes to professe the same. Lastly, his Lordship vehemently complained, that her Maiesty by absolute command disposed of charges in that Kingdome, so as he could neither pleasure his owne friends, nor reward her Maiesties best seruants; yea, that hauing al|ready giuen the gouernement of Leax to Sir Richard Moryson, (a friend whom he con|fessed especially to loue, and whom he would vndertake to beas worthy in his profes|sion, as any of his time, or any the Queene had in that Kingdome), now by the Lords Letters signifying her Maiesties pleasure, he was forced to his friends and his owne disgrace, to conferre the place on another: and in conclusion, besought her Maiesty, in such recommendations to leaue them somewhat to his choice, promising to exe|cute them, or else to yeeld great reason to the contrary.

The sixth of Aprill the Lord Deputy aduertised Master Secretary, that the Earle of Ormond was gone from Dublyn to his Country, hauing made great complements of affection to her Maiesties seruice, yet it was apparant that either he was growne wea|ker in iudgement, or worse affected to the Queenes seruice, then was imagined in Eng|land, affirming of certainty that in the last cessation he had thrice at least spoken very long with Tyrone, and at his last being in Mounster, had once heard from him. And in generall, that the subiects were no better seruants to her Maiesty then the rebels, with whom they daily practised, and would giue no assistance with bodies or goods to her Maiesties seruice, yea, would (no doubt) quit their allegiance whensoeuer they might doe it with safety. That euery rogue asked a Company, and if he had one, then sought a Regiment, but that (God blessing her Maiesties Army) he hoped shortly to giue law to their irregular humours.

The Prouince of Mounster (as I formerly said) was much confirmed in rebellion by the Earle of Tyrone his last iourney into those parts, where he strengthened Iames [Note: Affaires of Mounster.] Fitz-thomas, (who by the Northerne rebels sent thither from Tyrone, was exalted to be Earle of Desmond in the yeere 1598. and was by a nicke-name called the Sug-

gon Earle), he combined with Florence [249] mac Carty, (called by the Irish, Mac Carty more, a name greatly followed there) and in like sort with most of the great men of those parts, incouraging those whom he found willing to persist, taking pledges of those he su|suspected 64 to be wauering, and burning and spoyling those few, who did absolutely re|fuse to ioyne with him, as the Lord Barry with some others. And at this time another accident seeming of great consequence, did much erect the hearts of the Rebels, and dismay the subiects of those parts, which I will briefely set downe. Sir George Carey hauing newly receiued letters Pattents to bee Lord President of Mounster, and resol|uing presently to repaire to his charge, departed from Dublin on his iourny thither|ward the seuenth of Aprill, and vpon the ninth came to Kilkenny with the Earle of Thomond in his company, and one hundred horse to attend him, where the Earle of Ormond told them he had appointed to parley with some Rebels of those parts, wher|of Owny Mac Rory was the chiefe, and desired them to accompany him. The tenth of Aprill they rode out of Kilkenny with some twentie horse of the Earle of Ormonds followers, and some few others mounted vpon hacknies, his Lordship refusing to haue the Lord Presidents horse to guard him. So they rode eight long miles to the place of meeting: and the Earle of Ormond left his Company of two hundred Foot two mile short of that place. The Rebell Owny came out of the Woods with fiue hundred men well Armed, and leauing his shot, and the grosse of his troope some Ca|lieuers shot distant from the Earle, came vp to him with some choise pikes. After an hower spent, and nothing concluded, the Lord President moued the Earle to returne, but he would first speake with the Iesuit Archer, and the Rebels calling him, his Lord|ship reproued Archer, and called him traytor. In the meane time the grosse of the Rebels had crept ouer the shrubs, and compassed round the Earle and his companie, which the Lord President disliking, prayed the Earle to returne: but as he turned a|bout his hackney, the Rebels tooke him prisoner, and Owny Mac Rory laid hands on the Lord President, but the Earle of Thomond rushing vpon him with his horse, made him leaue his hold, and they both escaped by the swiftnesse and strength of their horses from the pushes of many pikes, wherewith the Earle of Thomond was slightly hurt in the backe. This treacherie was said to be plotted by Owny and Archer, and very few others, for if more had knowne it, many thought that the Earle had such spies, and was so feared among the Rebels, as his Lordship would haue had notice thereof ei|ther for feare or loue. But there wanted not others, who thought the Earle was wil|lingly surprised. Howsoeuer it were, the Rebels did him no hurt in his person, onely one of the Earles men was slaine, fiue were hurt, and fourteene taken prisoners. The Lord President with the one hundred horse attending him, and sixe hundred foote, which he sent for out of Mounster, kept the vnsetled humours of those parts from pre|sent tumult, where the Earles true followers wanting their head, and the ill affected now standing in no awe of his power, were all at liberty. The Countesse of Ormond was much afflicted with her husbands misfortune, and with feare of her own and her daughters estate. For diuers pretended to be heires to the Earle; as Sir Edward But|ler his brother, and in respect his bloud was attainted, Sir Walter Butler the Earles Ne|phew, and for other reasons the Vicount Mount-Garret. And each of these was likely to seeke to haue the Earles sole daughter in their hands, besides

[249] Florence

that these controuer|sies bred distracted humours among the Gentlemen and others of those parts. The Lord Deputie hearing hereof, presently dispatched Sir George Bourcher to command in chiefe, and Sir Christop. Saint Laurence to assist him, in guarding the Countesse, her daughter and the Earles houses, with the forces appointed by the Lord Deputie for that seruice, namely,

The Earles Company of foote 200. The foote Company of Sir Christopher Saint Laurence 200. The Earles troope of horse 50. horse of Saint Laurence 25. Sir George Bourchers horse 10.

Yet the Lord Deputie conceiued the Earles surprise to bee an euill more spetious then materiall, seeing no reason, why the Counsels of the warre should stagger vpon his wel or ill doing For whereas some were of opinion, that he was willingly taken, and would declare himselfe for Tyrone, his Lordship resolued, that if he continued faith|full, his Countries might easily be defended, if otherwise, as easily wasted, since after the Garrisons should be once planted at Loughfoyle, and those parts on the backe of 65 Tyrone, hee should bee able to spare forces for any such seruice. And whereas ma|ny thought the newes would much amaze the Court of England, his Lordship on the contrary (since neither the Lord President nor himselfe deserued any imputation for this euent, the parley being contriued without the Lord Presidents priuity, and both contriued and executed, without making himselfe acquainted therewith) conceiued, it would make the Army both better, and more carefully seconded out of England. And whereas it was thought, that this accident would erect the rogues spirits, which before began to bee deiected, and so hinder the submission of many, his Lordship knowing that they would neuer be faithfull to the State, till they could not subsist against it, was of opinion, that till they were brought into greater extremities, it would proue better, that they should stand out, then come in.

His Lordship the fifteenth of Aprill aduertised Master Secretarie of this accident, and how he had sent forces to strengthen those parts, and had taken speciall care for the safetie of the Earles daughter and heire, and being loth suddenly to giue his opi|nion herein, onely professed to thinke it strange, that one so full of regard to himselfe in all his proceedings, should be so easily ouertaken. Then his Lordship gaue confi|dence, that if the Butlers declared themselues for Tyrone, as soone as Loughfoyle Garri|son was planted at his backe, his Lordship doubted not to be able to meete the Lord President in Kilkenny, and with their ioynt Forces to subdue the Rebels, and set those parts in obedience.

At this time the Fort of Phillipstown in Ophaley (otherwise called the Kings County) was to be victualed, and Ony Mac Rory with the O Mores in Leax, together with the O Conners in Ophaly, bragged that the Queenes forces should not be able to victuall it. Now by the emulation of one of our chiefe Commanders, against another preferred before him, and strengthened by the Court factions of England, the said Com|mander had set out some weake Companies for this seruice, to be led by the other, as in preheminence of his place, but a neere friend to the Lord Deputie, conceiuing how much this first actions successe might adde reputation, or giue a blemish, both to his Lordship and the Army, gaue notice thereof, so as his Lordship offering the same Commander the leading of those Companies, he refusing to goe with them, manife|sted the suspected emulation. Whereupon his Lordship caused foureteene strong Companies to be allotted, and gaue the command of them in chiefe to Sir Oliuer Lambert, who

conducted the victuals, and led the men with such iudgement and va|lour, as being strongly fought with at the comming off, and especially at the going on, yet they performed the seruice with great losse and discouragement to those proud Rebels, and the fifteenth of Aprill his Lordship aduertised Master Secretary of this good seruice.

The thirtieth of Aprill the Earle of Ormond sent to the Lord Deputie from the Woods the conditions, Ony Mac Rory demaunded vnder his owne hand for his liber|ty, which till then he could not get, because Ony staied for Tyrones and his confederate aduice, adding a postscript of his Lordships owne hand; that the letter was brought to him ready written, neither was he allowed any man of his owne to write for him. The insolent demaunds were these: First, that her Maiesties forces should bee remoued from Leax, and the Garrisons deliuered to Oney Mac Roryes hands. Secondly, that pled|ges should be deliuered him for caution, that no garisons shuld euer be planted there, which done, Ony and his followers would submit themselues. Thirdly, if pledges were not giuen, then the Garrisons also in Ophaly should be remoued, and euery man left to shift for himselfe. The postscript required, that vpon such pledges deliuered, a generall protection for sixe weeks should be sent to Onye Mac Rorye, and all his friends in Lem|ster, whereupon answere should be returned, who desired the benefit thereof, but du|ring the said time of the protection, no forces of her Maiesties should bee sent against their confederates in Vlster and the North. The 5 of May the L. Deputie drew into the North parts, to make Tyrone look towards him, and so to giue better facility to our men to settle themselues in garrison at Loughfoyle. But before his departure from Dublin, for the better gouerning and defending the Pale, his Lr. did by co mission leaue Sir H. Poore 66 to commaund in all martiall affaires, and some of the Counsell to gouerne Ciuill mat|ters during his absence. And staying some few daies at Tredagh, for the Companies which had victualed Phillipston, and for the Garrisons of Kels and Ardee, as also for vi|ctuals, he marched to Dundalke, whence taking that Garrison also with him, he passed the pace of the Moyry on Whitsunday morning, and so came to the Newry, where hee vnderstood, that according to his opinion, Tyrone turning his forces from Loughsoyle, was come in great haste to Dungannon, had razed the old Fort of Blackwater, burned Armagh, and had drawne his men into the strong fastnes of Loughlurken, where with great industrie the rebels had made trenches, and fortified the place some three miles in length. His Lordship to the former end aduancing towards him, on the 16 of May, drew out of the Newrie, and incamped in the way towards Armagh with 1500 foote, and some 200 horse. And there hauing notice, that the rebels inquired after the time [Note: The fight at the Moyry.] when the Earle of Southampton and Sir Oliuer Lambert Sergeant Maior were to come to the Army, and with all hearing, that the said Earle and Sergeant Maior were that day arriued at Dundalke. His Lordship earely in the morning on the 17 of May, sent Captaine Edward Blany with 500 foot and 50 horse, to secure their passage through the pace of the Moyrye, who marched from the Campe, and so through the Moyrye to the Faghard, from which hill to Dundalke, there was no danger. There he made a stand, and leauing his foot in two squadrons of 250 each, himselfe with the horse passed to Dun|dalke, and told the Earle of the forces the Lord Deputy had sent to conduct him, assu|ring him further, that his Lordship with the rest of the Army would meete him by two of the clock in the afternoone, at the causey

beyond the pace, from which the whole pace hath the name of the Moyrye. Hereupon the Earle hauing with him, be|sides this conuoy, the foot Companies of Sir Oliuer Lambert and Sir Henry Follyot, and some 50 horse of voluntary Gentlemen, marched to the Faghard where hee comman|ded one of the two squadrons aboue mentioned to march on, and after that the carria|ges; then his Lordship with the horse followed, after whom the second squadron mar|ched, and last of all the two foot Companies of Sir Oliuer Lambert, and Sir Henry Fol|lyot, Captaine Blany commanding the vanguard, aduanced towards the Foure-mile|water, being a Forde all inuironed with Woods, in the middest of this dangerous pace called the Moyrye. And comming within halfe a mile of the same, they discouered the rebels on both sides in the Wood, whereupon the Earle directed the Vanguard to passe ouer the water, and to make good the rising of the hill beyond it. When these came within a Musket shot, they perceiued two hundred foote of the enemie lod|ged beyond the water, in the most aduantagious places. Then Captaine Blany diui|ded his men into three Maniples, sending 60 on the right hand vnder Captaine Henrie Atherton, and as many on the left hand vnder Captaine Williams his Lieutenant, and keeping the rest in the middest with himselfe. And so by the Sergeant Maiors dire|rections, they gaue the charge. In the meane time the Lord Deputy being on the hill beyond the pace, had sent his Vanguard consisting of two Regements, the one vnder Sir Charles Percy, and the other vnder Sir Richard Moryson (two Colonels of the Ar|my), to aduance towards the pace. And at this instant, when Captaine Blany gaue on vpon the Rebels, the said Lord Deputies vanguard appeared on the left side, within two musket shot. After some vollyes on either side, the Rebels on the right hand, and those right before Captaine Blany quitted those places, and retired through the woods to the Earle of Southamptons Reare, so as Captain Blany passing the water, made a stand there, as he was appointed to doe, till the carriage and horse should be passed. And now the Lord Deputies Vanguard being come to the passage of the said water, main|tained a resolure skermish with the Rebels on the left hand, and altogether secured the Earles troopes on that side. Therebels thus beaten on both sides, left some one hun|dred shot to skirmish with the Lord Deputies vanguard, and all retired to the Earle of Southamptons reare, and came desperatly on our men, both with horse and foot. But Sir Henry Follyot made a very good stand, and Sir Oliuer Lambert, fearing left our men should be distressed, the more to incourage them, tooke his colours in his owne hand and together with some 30 of the Earle of Southamptons Vangards best men, sent back 67 to the Rere, hastened towards the Assaliants, to second the Earle, who at that time with some 6 horse did charge the assailing Rebels, and beate them a musket shot back, still pursuing them, til they hauing spent their powder, and throwne their staues, darts, and innumerable stones, recouered the place, where Tyrone stood himselfe with some 220 horse and 200 foote in sight (besides a far greater number hid in the woods), which neuer came vnto this fight. When our men had thus gained much ground, the Earle commaunded them to march towards the Army, and presently Sir Richard Wingfeild the Marshal of the army of Ireland came to the, with order from the L. Dep. that since the repulsed rebels were not like to giue any second charge, they should continue their march, following his Lps. troopes directly to the Newry. In this conflict 2 of our men were slaine, Capt. Atherton and Mast. Cheut were

shot, and some few hurt with swords and such weapons. On the rebels side there were in all 1200 foot thus aduantagiously lodged, and 140 horse, and Tirone himself confessed, that ten of his men died with ouer|trauelling in this hasty march, besides such as were killed, whose number could not certainely be learned. The 21 of May, his Lp. was aduertised from Sir Arthur Chiche|ster, Gouernour of Carickfergus, that the English sent to plant at Loughsoyle were safe|ly landed with small resistance, and had taken Newcastle belonging to Sir Iohn Odog|herty, whose country they had spoiled and wasted, and that some of them sent forth vp|on a draught, had taken good store of cowes, and killed some of Odonnels people, and that they were now busie in fortifying about the Derric, so as many of that coun|try Southward did passe their cowes and moueables into Scotland, depending special|ly vpon the hopes of Spanish succours. That Brian Mac Art a rebel bordering on Ca|rickfergus, had left his fastnes of Kilultagh, and now lay on the borders of Lecale, where he purposed to assaile him, the rather because he had sent 200 men to assist Tyrone: that diuers Gentlemen and others did daily flie from the rebels, and resort vnto him with their goods, to the number of 1200 cowes, and more would come, but that he doubted their faithfulnes. That to free himself of the imputation to keepe Iames Mac Surley an enemy, till he had reuenged on him his brothers death, he had imployed Colonell E|gerton to inuite that rebell to submission, but receiued onely temporising answeres; whereupon according to his Lps. directions, hee had written and sent a messenger of purpose, to the Lord of Clantyer an Ilander Scot, to stirre him vp against Iames Mac Surley, wrongfully possessing his rightfull inheritance in those parts of Ireland, offering to ioyne the Queenes forces vnder his commaund, to those powers he should bring, for recouerie of this his right, so as he would after yeeld due tribute and obedience to her Maiesty: but that vpon the King of Scots late Proclamation, that al bearing Armes should be ready to attend the King on the 17 of Iuly next following, in prosecution of the Ilander Scots (as was giuen out), refusing to pay tribute, he feared that this Lord would bee diuerted from imbracing this busines, howsoeuer aduantageous to him. That he had receiued Con Mac Neale, the son of Neale Mac Brian, and his horsemen, into her Maiesties pay, and would shortly waste his fathers Country, whence Brian Mac Art and some 400 Bonnaghtes (or hired souldiers) were maintained and fed. Fi|nally, that he thought fit to rebuild Olderfleete, and leaue some in Ward there, because the Hauen was commodious to succour weather-beaten ships, going to supplie the Garrison of Loughfoyle with necessaries.

The 26 of May, the Lord Deputie receiued a letter from the Lords in England, with full answere to his late dispatches. For the Earle of Ormonds detension, they signified her Maiesties griefe to be the greater, because any attempt made for his recouerie was like to proue his ruine, and that her Maiestie had written to the Countefse, to send the Earles young daughter and heire into England. For Sir Arthur Oneales demaunds, vp|on his comming in to serue her Maiesty, in the first point concerning religion, her Ma|iesty bare with it, because she took it to proceede of his ignorance, not of presumption, only wishing the L. Dep to let him see, that her Maiesty pursued none in those parts for religion, and so to satisfie him, but in no wise by any contract or condition. Next for his andothers suits for land, and for entertainements, because such ouertures were like daily to be made, by such as submitted themselues, and protraction of sending to

68 and fro, might lose many opportunities. First, touching the sutes for land, her Maie|sties directions in particular cases following, should be a rule to the Lord Deputie for his graunts of that kind. And first for Sir Arthur Oneales demaunding Tyrones estate, that could not be granted him, by reason Tyrone, vpon pretence of an old inquisition, had extended the limits of his Countrie, and incroched far into the South and East. But her Maiesty was pleased to giue him Tyrones principall seates, reseruing places for forts, and lands to maintaine them, and reseruing all dependancy of the Vriaghtes (or neighbour Lords), also reseruing lands in Tyrone to reward the seruices of such Gen|tlemen as should serue vnder Sir Arthur in these warres, which they should onely hold of her Maiestie by letters Patents. For the rest Sir Arthur Oneale to be chiefe in Tyrone, as well in superioritie, as in reuenue. Touching Neale Garues demaunds for O Donnels estate, her Maiesties pleasure was to reserue some Portes and Castles, and some lands to reward the seruices of that Countries Gentlemen, intending that these, and more specially the Mac Swynes, should depend onely vpon her Maiestie, and haue right to those lands by her letters Patents. Touching Mac Guires Country, her Maiestie dire|cted like reseruations of land, for Fortes and rewards of seruices, and generally in all grantes charged to reserue her Maiesties ancient rights. Secondly, touching sui|tors for entertainements in pay, her Maiestes pleasure was signified to allow one thousand pound a moneth, so long as the Lord Deputy and the Counsel there should thinke fit, to be imployed that way, according to the Lord Deputies discretion. But their Lordships aduised warily to obserue, and know, such as offered submission, be|cause it had alwaies been the Arch-traitors practise, to let slip such as he could not de|fend, that they might saue their goods, and liue vpon her Maiestie, without any intent to doe her seruice. Lastly, whereas the Lord of Dunkellin by his letters, in regard of some restrictions, whereby hee was disabled to serue her Maiestie as he desired, had made offer to resigne the gouernement he had in the Prouince of Connaght. And for|asmuch as the Queene was alwaies vnwilling to imploy any great Lord in his owne Countrie, yet finding him placed in that gouernement by the Earle of Essex, had still continued him there, only out of her speciall fauor to him. And for that of late some insolencies had bin offered to Companies of the English, by the old Earle of Clanrie|ards soldiers in her Maiesties pay. Their Lordships signified, that the Queenes plea|sure was, to accept the Lord of Dunkellins resignation, in the fairest maner, and withall carefull tendering of his honour, aduising the Lord Deputie to inuite him to accom|pany his Lordship, and serue in the Army vnder him. And Sir Arthur Sauage then a Colonel of the Army, and lying with his Company at Athlone, was appointed proui|sionall Gouernour of the Prouince of Connaght, except the Lord Deputie knew some sufficient cause to the contrary. The Lord Deputy hauing attained his end of draw|ing the Army into the North, by the safe landing and setling of Loughfoyle Garrison, in the farthest North of Ireland, on Tyrones backe. His Lordship the twentie eight of May hearing that Tyrone had drawne backe his men two miles further into the fast|nesse, and being informed that the Pace of the Moyrye, by reason of much wet lately fallen, and the Rebels breaking of the causey, was hard to passe, returned by Carling|ford pace to Dundalke, and so to Dublin, where he vnderstood that the Rebels had in his absence burned the Pale, though he left for defence of it 2000 foot and 175 horse in Lemster, but the damage was not answerable to the

clamour; for many priuate men haue in England sustained greater losse by casuall fire in time of peace, then the whole Pale had done by the enemies burning in warre, and many priuate men in England haue in one yeere lost more cattel by a rot, then the Pale lost by this spoyling of the re|bels, of which they lamentably complained. Besides that indeede this burning and spoyling of the very Pale, did further the greatest end of finishing the warres, no way so likely to be brought to an end, as by a generall famine.

Giue me leaue to digresse a little, to one of the fatall periods of Robert the noble Earle of Essex his tragedy, (and the last but one, which was his death) whereof the fol|lowing relation was sent into Ireland. The fifth of Iune there assembled at Yorke|house in London, about the hearing of my Lord of Essex his cause, eighteene Com|missioners, viz. my Lord of Canterburie, Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, Lord Admi- 69 Lords of Worcester, Shrewsbury, Cumberland, Huntington, Darby, and Zouch, Mast. Comp|troller, Master Secretarie, Sir Ihon Fortescu, Lord Popham Chiefe Iustice, Lord Ander|son, Chiefe Iustice of the common Pleas, Lord Perian Chiefe Baron of the Exchequer: Iustices, Gaudy and Walmesley. They sate from eight of the clock in the morning, till ve|ry neere nine at night, all at a long table in chaires. At the Earles comming in, none of the Commissioners stirred cap, or gaue any signe of curtesie. He kneeled at the vp|per end of the Table, and a good while without a cushion. At length my Lord of Canterbury moued my Lord Treasurer, and they ioyntly my Lord Keeper and Lord Admirall, that sat ouer against them, then was he permitted a cushion, yet still was suf|fered to kneele, till the Queenes Sergeants speech was ended, when by the consent of the Lords, he was permitted to stand vp, and after vpon my Lord of Canterburies mo|tion, to haue a stoole.

The manner of proceeding was this. My Lord Keeper first deliuered the cause of the assembly, and then willed the Queenes Counsaile at Law, viz Sergeant, Attor|ney, Solicitor, and Master Bacon to informe against him. The Sergeant began, and his speech was not long, onely a preface as it were to the accusations. The summe of it was, to declare the Queenes Princely care and prouision for the warres of Ireland, and also her gratious dealing with the Earle before he went, in discharging ten thousand pound of his debts, and giuing him almost so much more, to buy him horses, and prouide himself, and especially in her proceedings in this cause, when as after so great occasion of offence as, the consumption of a royall. Army, fruitlesse wasting thirty hundred thousand [...] treasure, contempt, and disobedience to her expresse commande|ment, she notwithstanding was content to be so mercifull towards him, as not to pro|ceede against him in any of her Courts of Iustice, but only in this priuate sort, by way of mercy and fauour.

After him the Attorney began, whose speech contained the body and substance of the accusation, it was very sharp, and stinging, for besides the man, faults of contempt and disobedience, where with hee charged him, he did also shrewdly inferre a dange|rous disposition and purpose, which was by many rhetoricall amplifications, agraua|ted to the full; he diuided his speech into three parts, Quomodo ingressus, Quomodo progressus, Quomodo regressus; In the ingresse, hee obserued how large a Commission he stood vpon, such a one as neuer any man had the like before, namely, that he might haue authoritie to pardon all Traytors of himselfe, yea, to pardon treason committed against her Maiesties owne person, and

that he might mannage the warres by himself, without being tied to the aduice of the Counsell of Ireland, which clause hee said was granted, that he might at first proceede in the Northerne iourny, which the Counsell of Ireland (whose lands and liuings lay in the South), might perhaps hinder, and la|bor to diuert him, to the safeguard of themselues. In the other two parts of his speech were contained fiue speciall crimes, wherwith the Earle was charged, viz. His making the Earle of Southampton Generall of the horse. 2. His going to Lemster and Mounster, when he should haue gone to Vlster. 3. His making so many Knights. 4. His conference with Tyrone. 5. His returne out of Ireland, contrary to her Maiesties command. These all sauing the fourth, were recited by the Lords in their censures, as the crimes for which he was censured by them. The first was amplified, for that he did it contrary to her Maiesties mind, plainely signified vnto him in England, that hee increased that of|fence, by continuing him in that office stil, when her Maiesty by letters had expressely commanded him to displace him; and thirdly, for that he wrote a very bold presump|tuous letter to her Maiesty, in excuse of that offence, which letter was afterwards read. The second point of his Southerne iourny was agrauated, in that it was made co trary to her Maiesties aduised resolution, agreed vpon by her Counsel, and approued by her martial men, as the only means to reduce Ireland, and contrary to the Earles own pro|iect, yea, and that without the aduice of the Counsel of Ireland also, as appeared by a let|ter of theirs vnder their hands, though now the Earle pretended their aduice for his owne xcuse, wherupon followed the harro wing out, and the weakning of the royallest Army that euer went out of England, the wasting of that huge expence, and the ouer|throw 70 of the whole action. The third point, viz. the making of Knights, was urged to haue beene contrary to her Maiesties expresse commandement, a question being once made, whether he should haue that authoritie or no, because he had abused it be|fore, yet the same being at the last granted, with this limitation giuen him in charge, that he should make but few, and those men of good ability, whereas he made to the number of threescore, and those some of his meniall seruants, yea and that in a most vn|seasonable time, when things were at the worst, which should haue been done vpon victorie and triumph onely. The fourth point, namely, his conference with the Re|bell, was agrauated, in that it was an equall and secret conference, dishonourable to her Maiestie, for him that sustained her royall person, to conferre in equall sort with the basest and vilest traytor that euer liued, a bush Kerne, and base sonne of a Black|smith; suspicious also, in that it was priuate and secret, no man suffered to approch, but especially no English man; the end of the conference most shamefull, that the wretched traytor should prescribe conditions to his Soueraigne; abominable and o|dious conditions, a publike tolleration of Idolatrous religion, pardon for himselfe and all the traytors in Ireland, and full restitution of lands and possessions to all the sort of them. It was added, that before this parley, a messenger went secretly from the Earles Campe to the traytor, viz. Captaine Thomas Leigh, if not sent by the Earle, at least by his conniuency, at least by the conniuencie of the Marshall, whom the Earle did not punish, Lastly, the fifth point was vrged to be intollerably presumptuous, contrary to her Maiesties expresse commandement in writing, vnder the seale of her priuy signet, charging him vpo his dutie not to return vntil he heard further from her; that this his returne was also exceeding dangerous, in that he left the Army

diuided vnto two diuers men, the Earle of Ormond, and the Lord Chauncellor, men whom himselfe had excepted against, as vnfit for such a trust, and that he so left this Army, as that if God his prouidence had not been the greater, the ruine and losse of the whole Kingdome had ensued thereupon. This was the summe of the accusation, euery part interlaced with most sharpe and bitter rhetoricall amplifications, which I touch not, nor am fit to write, but the conclusion was (whereby a taste of the same may be had) that the ingresse was proud and ambitious, the progresse disobedient, and contemptu|ous, the regresse notorious and dangerous. Among other things the Lady Rich her letter to the Queene was pressed with very bitter and hard termes: my Lady Rich her letter he termed an insolent, saucy, malipert action. He proposed also in the end a pre|sident for the Earles punishment (saying, he was faine to seeke farre for one gentle e|nough): one William of Britten Earle of Richmond, who refusing to come home out of France vpon the Kings letter, was adiudged to loose all his goods, lands, and chattels, and to indure perpetuall imprisonment. Master Attorney particularly said the follow|ing words, whereas the Earle in his letter exclameth O tempora, O Mores (for so I thinke he construed these words of his, O hard destiny of mine, that I cannot serue the Queene and please her too)! let me also say with the Orator concerning him; Hae Regima intelligit, hae Senatus videt, hic tamen viuit. In the end of his speech, Now (faith he) nothing remaineth but that wee inquire quo animo, all this was done. Before my Lord went into Ireland, he vaunted and boasted, that hee would sight with none but the Traytor himselfe, he would pull him by the cares out of his den, hee would make the Earle tremble vnder him, etc. But when he came thither, then no such matter, hee goes another way, it appeareth plainely he meant nothing lesse then to fight with Ty|rone. This was the effect of Master Attorneys part.

Master Solliciter his speech followed, which contained the vnhappy successe, which ensued in Ireland after the Earles departure, whereby appeared how little good the Earle had done, in that the Traitor was growne much more confident, more inso|lent, and strongerthen euer he was before, as appeared principally by his declaration, which he hath giuen out since the Earles departure, vaunting that he is the vpholder of the Catholike faith and Religion, that whereas it was giuen out by some that hee would follow the Earle of Essex into England, hee would perhaps shortly appeare in England little to Englands good: many things he added to that purpose.

71 After him Sir Francis Bacon concluded the accusation with a very eloquent speech. First by way of Preface, signifying, that he hoped both the Earle himselfe, and all that heard him, would consider, that the particular bond of duty, which he then did and euer would acknowledge to owe vnto the Earle, was now to be sequestred, and laied aside. Then did he notably extoll her Maiesties singular grace and mercy, whereof he said the Earle was a singular work, in that vpon his humble sute, shee was content not to prosecute him in her Court of Iustice the Starre-chamber, but according to his owne earnest desire, to remoue that cup from him, (those he said were the Earles own words in his Letter), and now to suffer his cause to be heard. Inter priuatos partetes, by way of mercy and fauour onely, where no manner of disloyalty was laide to his charge, for (quoth he) if that had beene the question, this had not beene the place. Af|terwards passing along most eloquently through the Earles iourney into Ireland, hee came to charge him

with two points not spoken of before. The first was a Letter writ|ten by the Earle vnto my Lord Keeper, very boldly and presumptuously, in deroga|tion to her Maiesty, which letter he also said was published by the Earles own friends. The points of the letter which he stood vpon, were these; No tempest to the passio|nate indignation of a Prince; as if her Maiesty were deuoid of reason, carried away with passion (the onely thing that ioineth man and beast together): Her Maiesties heart is obdurate, he would not say that the Earle meant to compare her absolutely to Pharaoh, but in this particular onely, which must needs be very odious. Cannot Prin|ces erre: Cannot Subiects suffer wrong? as if her Maiesty had lost her vertues of iudge|ment, Iustice, etc. Farre be it from me (quoth he) to attribute diuine properties to mor|tal Princes, yet this I must truly say, that by the Commo Law of England, a Prince can doe no wrong. The last point of that Letter, was a distinction of the duty a subiect ow|eth to his Prince, that the duty of Allegiance, is the onely indossolueble duty, what then (quoth he) is the duty of gratitude? what the duty of obedience? etc. The second point of Master Bacons accusation was, that a certaine dangerous seditious Pamphlet, was of late put forth into print, concerning the first yeeres of the raigne of Henry the fourth, but indeed the end of Richard the second, and who thought fit to be Patron of that booke, but my Lord of Essex, who after the booke had beene out a weeke, wrote a cold formall letter to my Lord of Canterbury, to call it in againe, knowing belike that forbidden things are most sought after: This was the effect of his speech. The spetiall points of the whole accusation were afterwards proued by the Earles owne Letters, by some of her Maiesties Letters, and the Counsels, and by the letter of the Earle of Ormond and others of the Counsell of Ireland, openly red by the Clerke of the Coun|sell.

The accusation ended, the Earle kneeling, beganne to speake for himselfe, in effect thus much. That euer since it pleased her gracious Maiestie to remoue that cup from him (which he acknowledged to haue beene at his humble sute) and to change the course of proceeding against him, which was intended in the Starre-chamber; he laied aside all thought of iustifying himselfe in any of his actions, and that therefore, he had now, resolued with himselfe neuer to make any contestation with his Soueraigne: that he had made a diuorce betwixt himselfe and the World, if God and his Soueraigne would giue him leaue to hold it; that the inward sorrow and afflictions which he had, laied vpon his soule priuately, betwixt God and his conscience, for the great offence against her Maiesty, was more then any outward crosse or affliction that could possi|bly befall him. That he would neuer excuse himselfe neither a toto nor a tanto, from whatsoeuer crimes of errour, negligence, or inconsiderate rashnes, which his youth, folly, or manifold infirmities might leade him into, onely he must euer professe a loyall faithfull vnspotted heart, vnfained affection and desire, euer to doe her Maiesty the best seruice he could, which rather then he would lose, he would, if Christianity and Charity did permit, first teare his heart out of his breast, with his owne hands. But this alwaies preserued vntouched, he was most willing to confesse and acknowledge what|soeuer errours and faults it pleased her Maiesty to impute vnto him. The first part of his speech drew plenty of teares from the eyes of many of the hearers; for it was vtte|red 72 with great passion, and the words excellently ordered, and it might plainely ap|peare, that he had intended to speake no more for himselfe. But being touched (as it seemed) with the ouer-

sharpe speeches of his accusers, he humbly craued of their Lord|ships, that whereas he had perceiued many rhetoricall inferences and insinuations gi|uen out by his accusers, which might argue a disloyall, malicious, wicked, and corrupt affection in him, they would giue him leaue, not in any sort to excuse himself, but only by way of explanation, to lay downe vnto them those false guides, which had decei|ued him, and led him into all his errours, and so he entered into a kind of answering Master Atturnies speech, from point to point in order, alleaging, for the point of his large Commission for pardoning treason against her Maiesties person, that it was a thing he had learned of Master Attourney himselfe, onely to meete with the rebels curiosity, which had an opinion, that all treason in Ireland, might be interpreted trea|son against her Maiesties person, and therefore would trust no pardon without that clause. That in making the Earle of Southampton Generall of the horse, the deceiuea|ble guide which misled him, was an opinion that her Maiesty might haue beene satisfied with those reasons which moued him, as also with those reasons which he had alleaged in his letters, for continuance of him in the place, but that after he perceiued her Maiesties mind plainely in her second letter, he displaced him the next day: For his iourney into Mounster, hee alleaged diuers things, principally that the time of the yeere would not serue for an Vlster iourney and then the aduice of the Counsel there, which he protested to alleage, not to excuse himselfe, but rather to accuse his owne errours, and the errours of the Counsellors in Ireland: and whereas some of them to excuse themselues, and charge him the deeper, had now written the contrary to the Counsell: he protested deepely that therein they had dealt most falsely, and it seemeth (saith he) that God his iust reuenge hath ouertaken two of them already, the Earle of Ormond by blindnesse, and Sir Warham St Leger, by violent death. For his making of Knights, he alleaged the necessity and straights he was driuen vnto, that being the one|ly way he had to retaine the voluntaries, the strength and pride of the Army; that he made but two of his seruants, and those men of speciall desert and good ability: that he thought his seruice ought not to be any barre against them, for the receiuing there|ward of their deserts.

But before he had thus waded through halfe his answer, my Lord Keeper interrup|ted him, and told him, that this was not the course that was like to doe him good, that he beganne very well in submitting himselfe, vnto her Maiesties mercy and pardon, which he, with the rest of the Lords, were glad to heare; and no doubt but her Princely and Gracious nature was by that way most like to be inclined to him: that all extenu|ating of his oferice, was but the extenuating of her Maiesties mercy in pardoning: that he with all the rest of the Lords would cleere him of all suspition of disloyalty: and therefore hemight doe well to spare the rest of his speech, and saue time, and com|mit himselfe to her Maiesties mercy. And when the Earle replied, that it might appeare by that hedge which he diligently put to all his answers, that he spake nothing but on|ly to cleere himselfe from a malicious corrupt affection. My Lord Keeper told him againe, that if thereby he meant the crime of disloyalty, it was that which he needed not to feare, he was not charged with it, as the place and course taken against him might warrant; all that was now laied vnto him, was contempt and disobedience. And if he intended to perswade them, that he had disobeyed indeed, but not with a purpose of disobeying, that were friuilous and absurd.

Then my Lord Treasurer beganne to speake, and cleering the Earle from suspi-

tion of disloyalty, did very soundly controll diuers of his other excuses.

After him Master Secretary, making a Preface why he spake before his turne, by reason of his place, tooke the matter in hand, and first notably cleering the Earle from all suspition of disloyalty, which he protested he did from his conscience, and after|wards often iterated the same, and preserued it vnto him entire, he spake singularly for the iustifying of her Maiesties speciall care and wisdome for the warres in Ireland, in prouiding whatsoeuer could be demanded by the Earle for that seruice before his go|ing 73 out; with supplying him afterwards with whatsoeuer hee could aske, so it were possible to bee giuen him: in prescribing that course, which had it beene followed, was the onely way to haue reduced that Realme, and which being forsaken, was the onely ruine and losse of that royall army.

And as for all those excuses which the Earle alleaged for himselfe, hee cleerely cut them off, shewing that his excuse of following the Counsell of Irelands aduice, was nothing, his commission being so large, that he was not bound to follow them; and if he had beene, yet were they a Counsell at his command, he might force them to say what he list: his own letters which he alleaged, might be prouisionary, written of pur|pose then to excuse him now. To be short, he greatly iustified her Maiesties wisdome, in managing that whole action, as much as lay in her, and laid the whole fault of the bad successe in Ireland, vpon the Earles ominous iourney (so he called it) into Moun|ster. And thus in the behalfe of her Maiesty, he fully satisfied the Auditors. Master Se|cretary gaue the Earle his right alwaies, and shewed more curtesie then any, yet saied he, the Earle in all his iourney did nothing else but make (as it were) circles of errours, which were all bound vp in the vnhappy knot of his disobedient returne. Also he gaue the Earle free liberty to interrupt him at any time in his speech.

But the Earle being contented with the opinion of loyalty so cleerely reserued vnto him, was most willing to beare the whole burthen of all the rest of the accusation, and therefore neuer vsed any further reply; onely by reason of a question or two, that were moued by my Lord of Canterbury and my Lord Admirall, some little speech there was to and fro: My Lord of Canterburies question was concerning the conditions of yeelding vnto Tyrone in tolleration of religion; the Earle heartily thanked him for mouing that doubt, and then protested, that it was a thing mentioned in deed, but neuer yeelded vnto by him, nor yet stood vpon by the Traitor, to whom the Earle had said plainely; Hang thee vp, thou carest for religion as much as my horse. Master Secretary also cleered the Earle in that respect, that he neuer yeelded to Tyrone in that foule con|dition, though by reason of Tyrones vaunting afterwards, it might haue some shew of probability. By reason of my Lord Admirals question, the Earle spake somewhat of his returne, that he did it vpon a false ground of hope, that her Maiesty might pardon him, as shee did the Earle of Leicester in the like case, who returned out of the Low-Countries contrary to her Maiesties expresse Letter. This I thought with my selfe, (quoth the Earle) if Leicester were pardoned, whose end was onely to saue himselfe, why might not Essex be pardoned, whose end was to saue a Kingdome. But Master Secretary replied, that vpon his knowledge there neuer passed any letter from her Ma|iesty, to forbid the Earle of Leicesters returne.

Iudge Walmesley his speech was more blunt then bitter, Prisoners at our barres (saith he) are more gracelesse, they will not confesse their faults. Againe, he compared my Lord his comming home, and leauing

the army there, to a shepheard that left his flocke to the keeping of his dogge.

In conclusion the Earle protested, that all he sought for, was the opinion of a true and a loyall subiect, which might appeare by the speech, wherewith he hedged in all his answeres, namely, that he intended onely to shew those false guides, which misled him, whether they were his owne errours, or the errours of his Counsellors, whom he followed, that he yeelded himselfe wholly to her Maiesties mercy and fauour, and was ready to offer vp his poore carkasse vnto her, he would not say to doe (for alasse he had no faculties), but to suffer whatsoeuer her Maiesty should inflict vpon him, and so re|quested them all, to make a iust, honourable and fauourable report of his disordered speeches, which had fallen from him in such sort, as his aking head and body weake|ned with sickenesse, would giue him leaue. This done they proceeded to the censure. My Lord Keeper beganne with a good, powerfull, and eloquent speech.

That by Iustice and Clemency the Throne is established, as for mercy, her Maiesty had reserued it to her selfe; but for the satisfying of her Iustice, shee had appointed them to enquire into the cause. That they were to enquire onely of those faults of con|tempts and disobedience laid vnto the Earle, and to censure him accordingly, and for 74 her mercy, they had nothing to doe with it, onely God was to worke it in her Prince|ly breast. In examining the Earles faults, he laid these for his grounds, that the two grounds and foundations of the Princes Scepter and Estate, are the reputation of a diligent and carefull prouidence for the preseruation of her estate and Countries, and the obedience of her Subiects; and he that should take either of these from her, should take from her the Crowne and Scepter. For the first, he notably shewed at large, how her Matesty had deserued it in the whole course of the Irish warres; for obedience he shewed the nature of it, consisting in precisely following the streight line of the Prin|ces commandement, and vpon that straine he amplified to the vttermost all the Earles contempts and disobediences, that her Maiesties great mercy might appeare the more cleerely. Among the rest, (for he went through them all in order) he answered thus to the pretence of Leicesters president for excuse of the Earles returne. In good things, the example is better then the imitation of another, he that doth wel of his owne head, doth best, and he that doth well by imitation, doth commendably in a lesse degree; but in bad things, the proportion is otherwise, the example being naught, the imitation is worse: Therefore if my Lord of Leicester did euill, in comming ouer contrary to the Queenes commandement, my Lord of Essex did worse in imitating my Lord of Leice|ster, and is so much the more to be punished for it. In the end, he came to the censure, which was this. If quoth he this cause had beene heard in the Starre-chamber, my sen|tence must haue beene so great a sine, as euer was set vpon any mans head in that Court, and perpetuall imprisonment in that place which belongeth to a man of his quality, that is the Tower; but now that we are in another place, and in a course of fa|uour, my censure is, that he is not to execute the office of a Counsellor, nor to hold himselfe for a Counsellor of Estate, nor to execute the office of Earle Marshall of Eng|land, nor of the Master of the Ordinance, and to returne to his owne house, there to continue a prisoner as before, till it shall please her Maiesty to release both this and all the rest.

After my Lord Keeper all the rest in order gaue their censures, (amplifying her Maiesties clemency and the Earles offences), according to the manner in the

Starre|chamber; but all accorded to this censure, (for so they called it, and not a sentence), Master Secretary said, my censure is, that the Earle deserueth, etc. The greater part of the day was spent in the Lords censures, who were many of them very long, onely the noble men (not Counsellors) were short.

The Earle of Worcester cited these two verses;

Scilicet a Superis etiam fortuna luenda est, Nec veniant, laeso numine, casus ha-het. Euen for our fortune Gods may cast vs downe, Neither can chance excuse, it a God frowne.

The Earle of Cumberland said, if he thought that censure should stand, he would craue longer time, for it seemed vnto him somewhat hard and heauy, intimating how easily a Generall Commander might incurre the like; but (quoth hee) in confidence of her Maiesties mercy, I agree with the rest.

The Lord Zouch would giue no other censure, but that which he thought the Earle would lay vpon himselfe, that was, that he wonld restraine himselfe from executing his Offices, etc. and keepe himselfe in his house, till her Maiesty shall release all.

They all seemed by their speeches to conceiue a sure hope of her Maiesties relea|sing this censure, and the Earle was reasonably chearefull, onely his body seemed weake and distempered with sickenesse, and now and then he shewed most manifest tokens of sorrow for his offence to her Maiesty, by teares in his eyes, (specially in the first part of his owne speech, and when my Lord Keeper spake).

Now I returne to the Irish affaires. Tyrone on the fifth of Iune wrote to the Coun|tesse of Ormond, that he had written to Owny mac Rory, requesting him to take pledges for the Earle her husband, and so to inlarge him, conditionally, that he should sweare to doe henceforward no hurt or hinderance to any in action with him. And further, that the young Lady his mistresse, (meaning the Earles daughter and heire) should in 75 no sort be taken for a pledge, especially because it was giuen out, that vnder that co|lour, he sought to marry her to his eldest sonne. Auowing lastly, that where it was said, that the Earle was treacherously surprised, (which could hardly haue beene so proued, that Tyrone and his rebellious confederates should haue belceued it), he would in that case not onely take his fauour from Owny, but procure the Earles inlargement without any condition, though by his release all Ireland should be destroied. To the same effect Tyrone writ to the Earle of Ormond, whose Letter he sauced with gene|rall complaints against the Earle, for the rigorous prosecutions he had formerly made against him and his associates, but this letter being permitted to be sent to Dublyn, the said point could not be thought void of that cunning, wherein the writer excelled. A third Letter he wrote at the same time to Owny mac Rory, making Owny himselfe Iudge, whether hee had treacherously taken the Earle or no, aduising him to take the best pledges he could, (the aboue named young Lady excepted); and for more security, to send them to be kept in Tyrone, if he concurred with him in opinion, that his so doing would be more safe, then if Owny himselfe should keepe them in those parts. These Letters he dated (forsooth) from his Campe neere the Newry, so gallant was the Gen|tleman, now the Lord Deputy was returned with his forces into the Pale, who other|wise neuer appeared in Campe, but hid himselfe and his in boggy woods, and like for|tified passages.

The eight of Iune the Lord Deputy wrote to Master Secretary concerning the state of Connaght, wherein nothing was surely the Queenes, but Athlone by a

prouident guard, and Galloway by their owne good disposition, wishing that the gouernement of that Prouince might be conferred on the Earle of Southampton, (to whom the Lord of Dunkellin would more willingly resigne, and might doe it with greater reputation to himselfe, in respect of the Earles greatnes), rather then vpon Sir Arthur Sauage, (who notwithstanding vpon the Queenes pleasure againe signified, was shortly after made Gouernour of that Prouince). His Lordship protested that it was such a place, as he knew the Earle would not seeke, but onely himselfe desired this, because he knew the Earles aptnes and willingnes to doe the Queene seruice, if he might receiue such a to|ken of her fauour, iustly commending his valour and wisdome, as well in generall, as in the late particular seruice in the Moyry, when the Rere being left naked, he by a re|solute charge with sixe horse, vpon Tyrone in the head of 220. horse, droue him back a musket shot, and so assuring the Rere, saued the honour of the Queenes Army. To which purpose, though not so amply, his Lordship also wrote to the Queene.

At this time the County of Dublyn, on the South of the Riuer Liffr, was in effect wholly ouerrunne by the Rebels, the County of Kildare was likewise possessed or wa|sted by them. The County of Meath was wasted, as also the County of West Meath, (excepting the Barrony of Deluin,) and the County of Louth: So that in the English Pale, the Townes hauing Garrisons, and the Lands from Drogheda (or Tredagh) to the Nauan, and thence backe to Trym, and so to Dublyn, were onely inhabited, which were also like to grow waste, if they were further charged with the souldiers.

The fifteenth of Iune the Lord Deputy wrote to Sir Arthur Chichester, Gouernour of Carickfergus, that he should not spare the subiects lately submitting, who prote|cted the rebels goods; that he should receiue no more, but such as would simply sub|mit, and giue good pledges, neither should giue pay to any, except he knew their ser|uice would be very beneficiall to the Queene, that he should continue to treat with the Ilander Scots, till aduice came out of England what course should be taken with them. That he should take in Shane Oneale, with promise of lands and entertainement, and promise, that for preyes hee should take of the Rebels, if the English assisted him, he should haue a third part, and if he tooke them without the assistance of the English, he should haue three parts of foure.

The nineteenth of Iune the Lord Deputy aduertised Master Secretary, that he was more troubled to gouerne the friends, then to suppresse the enemies. That finding the Army a meere Chaos, he had giuen it forme. That finding it without spirit, he had giuen it life. That in all attempts, hee had preserued the whole body of it, and euery 76 part from any blow, restored the reputation of it, and possessed it with a disposition to vndertake, and a likelihood to effect great seruices. That he had omitted nothing, which might be performed by this Army, in this estate, during this time. That the assurance the Irish had receiued of succours from Spaine, was the onely fewell of the last blaze of this Rebellion: Therefore praying that, except Master Secretary had some certainety that Spaine would not at that time assist the Rebels, the Army might by all meanes be strengthened, which would be necessary if such assistance were sent, and would make an end of the warres if none were sent. And howsoeuer that befell, yet for preuention of Munition and such supplies to be furnished to the Rebels from Spaine, aduising that some few of the Queenes ships might lie on the West, and somewhat towards the

North of Ireland: Adding that some little boats made both to row and to saile, would barre the Ilander Scots from supplying the Rebels with any munition: And that his Lordship to meet with the Earle of Ormond, (lately set free by Ony mac Rory, who had taken him Prisoner), that day tooke his iourney towards Carlogh, where he hoped to sound the bottome of the conditions of his deliuery, with the best course how to disintangle him, and by his conference, to make a shrewd guesse, how the Earle stood affected in these doubtfull times. His Lordship in his next Letters aduertised into England, that he was not priuy nor consenting to the giuing of pledges at the Earle of Ormonds deliuery; but since they were giuen, in regard of her Maiesties extraordinary care for the Earles liberty, he did not shew any manifest dislike thereof; and now con|ceiued the Earle did apprehend the indignity done to him by those base traitors, and therefore had such a spleene against them, as hee had ioyned with him in diuers plots, as well to recouer the pledges (wherein the Earle protested to spare no money, if they were so to be redeemed; besides that he and their Fathers protested, that their danger should not hinder them from doing their vttermost seruice to the Queene), as also to worke his reuenge vpon the Rebels.

At this time Tyrone attending the garrison at Loughfoyle, and Odonnel starting through Connaght into Thomond, and spoyling both Countries, Sir Samuel Bagnoll drew out of the Newry into Monaghan, where he tooke a prey, and killed sixe Commanders, and some sixty of the common rebels, onely three of his being staine, and twenty hurt.

The subiects of the Pale, (fearing belike to be complained on, for the small assistance they gaue to the Queenes seruice), sent ouer the Lord of Howth, and Sir Patricke Barne|well, to make first complaint, (after the Irish manner) of the wrongs done them by the Army, neuer acquainting the Lord Deputy and Counsell therewith. And notwith|standing their former vnwillingnes, to beare any charge for the Queenes seruice, now they were content, for these their Deputies expence in England, to cesse euery plow land at three shillings.

From the seuenth of Iuly to the twelfth, Sir Oliuer Lambert with some troopes lay encamped at the Tougher in Ophalia, where he made a Causey, and built a Fort, and thereleft a Guard to keepe the passage alwaies open, for the victualling of Phillipstowne Fort, in which seruice the Earle of Southampton as a voluntary, by his presence and va|lour much encouraged our men. At this time many of the Rebels in Lemster, and the Northerne borders, made sute to the Lord Deputy to be receiued to mercy, with offer of large summes of money to the Lord Deputy for their pardons, but his Lordship re|fused their offer, till they had first done some seruice, and had drawne blood against some of their confederates. Thus much his Lordship aduertised into England, the six|teenth of Iuly, as likewise a good seruice presently done, and a great prey taken in the Fuse by Sir Richard Moryson the Gouernour of Dundalke.

The same twelfth of Iuly, his Lordship tooke his iourney towards the borders of the North, vpon hearing that Tyrone was drawne into those parts. There his Lordship intended to spoyle the corne, as likewise in all other parts, when it should be a little riper. Mac Mahowne, and Patricke mac Art Moyle, offered now to submit, but neither could be receiued, without the others head. But Oconnor Roe mac Gaire, for good re|spects of seruice, was at the same time receiued to mercy. His Lordship hearing that Tyrone contained himselfe in his fastnes, and being requited out

of England to attempt 77 something vpon the Lemster Rebels, left the Northerne borders strongly guarded a|gainst any inuasion, and left order with the Counsell to hasten the generall hoasting, and make ready all prouisions for a iourney into the North, and leauing Dublyn the twelfth of August rode to the Nasse, and so marched to the Fort of Phillipstowne in O|phaly, with fiue hundred sixty foote and sixty horse, besides voluntaries in his com|pany.

In the way into Leax his Lordship tooke a prey of two hundred Cowes, seuen hun|dred garrons, and fiue hundred sheepe, besides great store of small cattell. The sixe|teenth of August, his Lordship burning the Countrey and spoyling the corne, mar|ched towards the passage, (one of the most dangerous in Ireland), where Sir Oliuer Lambert with the Forces he had was to meet him. Both of them fought all the way, and killed diuers rebels, whereof the Lord Deputy left fifteene dead in the place, be|sides many hurt, they met together at noone. The seuenteenth day the army marched towards a fastnes, where the rebels had stored great plenty of corne. At the entry there was a Foard, compassed in with woods, and a bogge betweene them, where the rebels let the vanguard of the horse passe; but his Lordship passing with a few gentlemen, and his owne seruants before the vanguard of the foote, the rebels began the skirmish with him, and the foote wings being slowly sent out, they came close vp to him, the traytor Tyrrel hauing appointed an hundred shot to wait on his Lorships person, with markes to know him. In this skirmish we killed thirty fiue rebels, and hurt seuenty fiue; on our part two onely being killed, and a few slightly hurt, Captaine Masterson dangerously hurt in the knee, and his Lordship hauing a very good horse killed vnder him, and another killed vnder Master Iohn Chidley a gentleman of his Lordships cham|ber: But the best seruice at that time done, was the killing of Owny mac Rory, a bloody and bold yong man, who lately had taken the Earle of Ormond prisoner, and had made great stirres in Mounster. He was the chiefe of the O Mores Sept. in Leax, and by his death they were so discouraged, that they neuer after held vp their heads. Also a bold bloody rebell Callogh mac Walter, was at the same time killed. Besides that his Lord|ships staying in Leax till the twenty three of August, did many other waies weaken them; for during that time, he fought almost euery day with them, and as often did beate them. Our Captaines, and by their example (for it was otherwise painefull) the common souldiers, did cut downe with their swords all the Rebels corne, to the value of ten thousand pound and vpward, the onely meanes by which they were to liue, and to keepe their Bonaghts (or hired souldiers). It seemed incredible, that by so barba|rous inhabitants, the ground should be so manured, the fields so orderly fenced, the Townes so frequently inhabited, and the high waies and paths so well beaten, as the Lord Deputy here found them. The reason whereof was, that the Queenes forces, du|ring these warres, neuer till then came among them. The Lord Deputy in his returne the first day passed into another part of the Country with the foot alone; for the horse not able to passe were sent about, so as the rebels had the aduantage they most desire, to fight with our foot, without assistance of horse: yet all the rebels of Lemster here ga|thered together, and fighting vpon their naturall ground, had beene so beaten, as that they suffred our men to passe without a blow. That night eight heads were brought to the Lord Deputy, and with them one Lenagh a famous rebell, taken aliue, who was presently hanged on the same tree, where he plotted all his villanies. Sir Oliuer Lam|bert, with some troopes

marched into Donnell Spagniahs Countrey, where he tooke 1000. Cowes, 500. Garons, great store of sheepe, and killed twenty rebels at the first entry, besides many killed in a fight, which the rebels after maintained all the day and part of the night. Sir Arthur Sauage comming out of Connaght to meet the Lord De|puty, fought long with the Rebels, spoiled the Countrey, and tooke a great prey, but could not passe to his Lordship. In the Lord Deputies returne out of Leax, Redmond, Keating, and the chiefe of the Septs of the Kellies and Lalors were receiued into her Maiesties protection, vpon condition to set at liberty the Earle of Ormonds pledges in their hands.

By this time his Lordship had receiued out of England gracious allowance of his 78 former Northerne iourney, with her Maiesties promise to reinforce the Army with two thousand foote, and two hundred horse, against the next iourney into those parts, requiring him not to giue any one man the commaund of both horse and foote; and whereas all Companies were of two hundred, or one hundred fiftie, aduising to distri|bute some part into lesse numbers, that more Gentlemen might be satisfied with com|maunds, with the onely increase of some chiefe officers pay, and that his Lordship would be sparing to giue pasports for any to come into England, to trouble her Maie|stie with sutes, and most of all not to suffer able men to returne out of Ireland, as they daily did, with their Captaines pasportes. And to the end the Commaunders might not be idle, her Maiestie required, that all seruices done by them, might be certified monethly into England. About this time the Earle of Southampton, leauing the warres of Ireland, sayled into England. This Summers seruice made it appeare, that iourneys with a great Army did not so much good, as Garrisons lying vpon the Rebels, which vpon any sudden seruice, might easily bee drawne together in competent numbers, and in the meane time kept the Rebels at home, from seconding one another.

The Lord Deputy by his letters, during the foresaid iourny, explained to the Lords in England, that he had been most carefull not to increase her Maiesties charge in any thing, the want whereof would not haue made the rest of her great expence to be vn|profitable: and to the end the Commaunders might not be thought to lye idle, be|sides the good fortune that none of them had receiued any blow, hee particularly re|membred many preyes taken, and seruices done, and for the chiefe Garrisons on the North borders, aduertised, that Sir Arthur Chichester had layde all the Countrie waste within twenty miles of Carickfergus; that Sir Samuel Bagnol at the Newry had done the like; that Sir Richard Moryson at Dundalke had banished Turlough Mac Henry out of the Fuze into Monaghan, and yet the two last, with most part of their Garisons, had bin part of the Army in all former iournies.

The twentie sixe of August his Lordship returned from this iourney of Leax to Dublin, and there receiued aduertisement, that her Maiestie could not refuse to heare the complaints of the Pale, by the Deputies formerly mentioned to bee sent ouer, though she had sharpely rebuked them, that they did not first complaine to the Lord Deputie, which they excused by experience, that like complaints in Ireland had euer been vaine. The chiefe complaints were these; that the forces that should lye vpon the borders, neare the Rebels, were lodged vpon them. That the fetching of one bar|rell of powder, was often made a sufficient reason to spoyle them, by a company of horse and foote sent to conuoy it. That the Clarkeship of the Counsell was sold, and then executed by a Deputie, who for euery small petition tooke great fees.

That the spirituall liuings were giuen to ignorant and idle persons, being the chiefe cause of this rebellion; scarce any Church standing for sixtie miles betweene Dublin and Athlone. That they were spoyled as much by the Army as Rebels, no souldier nor Captaine be|ing punished, nor any order giuen for remedie taking effect. That priuate Captaines gaue pasportes to run awaies, and her Maiestie was deceiued by false Musters, so as the forces were weake to end the warre, and they were spoyled as much as if the number were full, requiring that some Gentlemen of the Pale might be ioyned with the Com|missaries, in taking the musters of adiacent Garrisons. In the same letter her Maiestie commaunded the Lord Deputy to signifie to Sir Arthur O Neale, that she purposed to create him Earle of Tyrone, and giue him a portion of lands fit for an Earledome. And for Tyrone, that the Lord Deputy should proclaime him Traytor, with promise of two thousand pound to any should bring him aliue, and one thousand pound to him that should bring his head to any of hir Maiesties Fortes or Garrisons. Lastly, her Maiesty gaue letters of fauour to the Deputies of the Pale, directed to the Lord Deputy, to whom the complaints were wholly referred, it being her Maiesties pleasure, that only before him, and by him, they should be heard and redressed.

Yet because the Lord Deputie was many waies taxed in these complaints, hee did expostulate in his next letters to Master Secretarie, that hee should be taxed for those things, for which he expected approbation and thankes. The wisest Counsels (said 79 he) are vncertaine, and the wisest men vnperfect, and what shall I looke for, when out of my weakenesse (though free from wilfulnesse) I shall happen to commit any errour of consequence, seeing I am now charged with so many matters, and those nothing belonging to me. His Lordship added, that in his opinion, nothing had made the af|faires of Ireland more vnprosperous, then that the State vsed to heare euery man a|gainst and before the chiefe Gouernour, so as hee was driuen to let matters goe as they would, so as hee might saue himselfe. Another discontented letter be wrote to the same effect, and to the same person, but therein explained other grieuances, besides the former complaints. And whereas the Lords of the Counsell had taxed him, for being ruled by young counsell (wherby he vnderstood his three most familiar friends to be meant, namely, Sir Henry Dauers, Sir Richard Moryson, and Sir William Godolphin) he boldly answered, that besides the Counsellors of State, hee vsed the familiarity of none, which were not older then Alexander the great, when he conquered the World. Lastly, he protested to Master Secretarie, that he tooke him for his chiefest friend, and knew that he had more power to do him good or hurt, then any other, yet as he would not dishonestly lose him, so he would not basely keepe him, beseeching him to vse his power, in mediating licence vnto him, that he might come ouer for a short time, to kisse the Queenes hand, for touching other fauours concerning the publike, he would neuer acknowledge any particular obligation to him, or to any other, since hee made his de|maunds as he thought best for the seruice, but the granting or denying thereof, con|cerned not him.

The Muster of the Army at Dundalke, before the sitting downe at the Faghard Hill.

80 81 Colonels of Regiments. In Lyst. By Muster. Where|of Irish|men. Swords want|ing. Sick and hurt lying at Dun|dalk. Captaine Berey. 472. The Lord De|puties Guard. 200 Targets 28 120 01 00 16 Pikes 32 Shot 60 The Marshall Sir Rich. Wing|field 150 Targets 4 96 10 30 06 Pikes

39 Shot 53 Vnder the Lord Deputie. 400. The Sergeant Maior Sir Oliuer Lambert. 200 Targets 10 108 08 05 05 Pikes 46 Shot 52 Capt. Handserd. 100 Targets 1 79 20 10 06 Pikes 28 Shot 50 Capt. Fisher. 100 Targets 3 69 05 20 11 Pikes 21 Shot 45 Sir Christopher Saint Laurence. Sir Christopher Saint Laurence. 200 Targets 10 141 113 14 12 Pikes 61 Shot 70 Sir Henry Fol|lyot. 150 Targets 6 90 15 10 09 Pikes 36 Shot 48 Earle of Kil|dare. 150 Targets 6 81 78 06 14 Pikes 35 Shot 40 Sir Fra: Shane. 100 Targets 00 55 47 04 08 Pikes 18 Shot 37 Sir Charles Percy 336. Sir Charles Percy 200 Targets 10 149 28 30 04 Pikes 54 Shot 85 Captaine Willi|ams. 150 Targets 00 90 06 03 10 Pikes 37 Shot 53 Captaine Roe. 100 Targets 4 59 08 05 01 Pikes 25 Shot 30 Capt. Stannton. 100 Targets 00 38 00 00 10 Pikes 18 Shot 20 Sir Richard Mo|rison. 473. Sir Rich. Mory|son. 200 Targets 6 118 22 25 36 Pikes 44 Shot 68 Sir Hen. Dauers. 200 Targets 26 128 12 15 22 Pikes 37 Shot 65 Capt. Caufeild. 150 Targets 07 94 10 10 23 Pikes 32 Shot 55 Capt. Constable. 100 Targets 3 76 01 12 05 Pikes 25 Shot 48 Ca. Rauenscroft. 100 Targets 3 57 01 23 06 Pikes 24 Shot 30 Sir Thom. Bourk 276. Sir Thom. Bourk. 150 Targets 06 85 82 26 14 Pikes 25 Shot 54 Lord Deluin. 150 Targets 03 76 74 30 10 Pikes 30 Shot 43 Sir Henrie Har|rington. 100 Targets 03 40 37 08 12 Pikes 20 Shot 17 Sir Garret More. 100 Targets 07 75 13 02 08 Pikes 23 Shot 45 Sir Oliuer Saint Iohns. Sir Oliuer Saint Iohns. 150 Targets 10 95 24 15 05 Pikes 33 Shot 52 Sir Thom. Wing|feild. 150 Targets 05 102 25 20 13 Pikes 29 Shot 68 Capt. Billings. 100 Targets 03 59 01 04 15 Pikes 24 Shot 32 Capt. Treauor. 100 Targets 06 70 01 15 14 Pikes 23 Shot 41 The men of Dublin. 50 Targets 03 44 40 00 01 Pikes 15 Shot 26 Sir S. Bagnol. 346 Sr S. Bagnol with broke co panies and his owne. 200 Targets 18 200 20 30 00 Pikes 24 Shot 158 Capt. Esmond. 150 Targets 02 82 15 10 14 Pikes 28 Shot 52 Capt. Freckleton 100 Targets 03 64 03 06 02 Pikes 15 Shot 46 Totall 4150 Totall 2640 702 388 315 The greatest part of the Army haue neither Armours nor Murrions, neither are here mentioned the sicke and hurt in other places besides Dundalke, nor yet the war|ders allowed out of some of these Companies.

The fourteenth of September his Lordship began another iourny into the North, and the fifteenth incamped at the hill of Faghard, three miles beyond Dundalke, and there his Lordship lay till the ninth of October, in such extremitie of weather, as would haue hindred his passage, if the enemie had not withstood him, his Lordships tent being [...] wet, and often blowne downe. Before his Lordship came, Ty|rone with his vttermost strength had possessed the Moyry, being a strong fastnesse, as any the Rebels had, but his Lordship resolued to march ouer him, if hee stopped his way, and make him know, that his Kerne could not keepe the fortification against the Queenes forces. Many skirmishes fell out happily to vs, and two seuerall dayes the Rebels were beaten out of their trenches with great losse, till at last, vpon the eight of October, they left the passage cleere. Then after the army was a few daies refreshed at Dundalke, his Lordship marched the twenty one of October to the Newry, passing through the Moyry, where he caused all the rebels trenches to be laid flat to the grou d, and the woods to be cut downe on both sides of the Pace. At the Newry for want of victuals, his Lordship staied till the second of Nouember, when he set forward eight miles towards Armagh, and there incamped. The Rebels horse-men shewed them|selues vpon a hil; wherupon Sir Samuel Bagnols Regiment hauing the Reare, and being not yet come into the Campe, was directed to march towardes them, there being a bog between vs and them, but the Rogues quickly drew

to their fastnes. The next mor|ning his Lordship rode some quarter of a mile from the Campe, and viewed a place where Sir Iohn Norreys formerly intended to build a Fort, and liking his choice, set downe there with the Army to build the same. The place is a hill like a Promontory, all inuironed with bogges, a Riuer, and great store of wood. By it on the right hand o|uer the Riuer and a great bogge, was a little firme ground, and then another bogge, and ouer that a faire Countrey, with houses and much corne. His Lordship could by no meanes send ouer any horse, but foure miles about; wherefore he commanded a regi|ment of foote to aduance to the first peece of firme ground. and from thence to send ouer the next bogge some few men, to bring in the Corne and Tymber of the houses, with directions to make their retreit to the grosse, if the enemies horses should fall downe that way. On the left hand and before was a bogge, ouer the bogge before a great wood, that continueth through all this fastnes, and ouer the bogge on the left hand a hill, where Tyrone all that day and most of the time that the Army lay there, did muster himselfe and his men. This day most of his horse and foote fell ouer, but farre about on the right hand, vpon which, our straglers that went out retired to the firme ground, ouer the first bogge, and there beganne betweene our foote and theirs, a very good skirmish, till our men did beate them off, and brought with them great store of Corne and wood, and killed diuers of them. In 82 the meane time, their sconts on the other side being somewhat busie with ours, Neal Oquin was taken prisoner, being the chiefe fauourite vnto Tyrone. The next day we be|ganne to worke, in the building of the Fort, and to impeach our worke, the rogues be|ganne to skirmish with vs on both sides, which was excellently maintained by some few of our men, that we sent out: We saw many of them killed, and after vnderstood they lost a great number, whereof many were horsemen, of the best sort, that had ligh|ted to incourage their men to fight. They were then so well beaten, as they would ne|uer after offer to meddle with vs, till our returne by Carlingford. The ninth of No|uember the Fort being finished, his Lordship called it Mount Norreys, in honour of his Master, (so he tearmed him, vnder whom hee had serued his apprentiship in the warres), and he left therein foure hundred foot, vnder the command of Captaine Ed|ward Blaney, with six weekes prouision of victuals.

The weather grew so extreame, as it blew downe all our Tents, and tore them in pieces, and killed many of our horses, so that the tenth day his Lordship putting all the Army in armes, with all the Drummes and Trumpets, and a great volly of shot, proclaimed Tyrones head, (with promise of 2000. pound to him that brought him a|liue, and 1000. pound to him that brought him dead), which was done in the face of his own army, and so his Lordship marched to the Newry. He had purposed to plant a garrison at Armagh 8. miles beyond Mount Norryes, but the rebels Cowes had eaten vp all the grasse thereabouts, which should haue fed our horses, and the time of the yeere with the weather, was now vnseasonable for that purpose.

And whereas his Lordship was resolued to returne into the Pale by Carlingford, to discerne whether that way or the way of the Moyry were more safe, that the army might not runne so continuall hazards, this resolution was now confirmed by [Note: Carlingford fight.] necessity, there being victuals at Carlingford, and none at the Newry or Dundalke. The twelfth of Nouember his Lordship came with the army to the narrow water, whence he sent Sir Iosias Bodley with three hundred choyce foot to possesse a peece of

ground, and keepe the enemy from hindering our passage ouer the water, the streame whereof he found so exceeding swift, that it was like to be dangerous to venture our horses o|uer. The first that tried was Doctor Latware, his Lordships Chaplaine, who only with his horse led by the boat side, and with some thirty foot, went ouer; but his Lordship perceiued so great difficulty by his passage, that he passed the foot ouer as fast as might be, sent Sir Henry Folliot to possesse the pace of the Faddome, and made all the horse and our Garrons to goe about that way. In the meane time wee might see the rebels forces draw ouer the mountaines towards the pace of Carlingford, and come close by our men that were first landed, yet they neuer offered any skermish. That night we en|camped directly ouer the narrow water, betweene the pace of the faddome, and the pace of Carlingford, and hauing at midnight gotten ouer for our men some vittels, that came by water from Carlingford, his Lordship caused the same to be deliuered before day, for the Army had fasted two daies, and after they had eaten but a little bisket, and cheese or butter, neuer men went on in a greater iollity. The thirteenth of Nouember we were to rise very early, for otherwise we could not passe our carriages by the sea side, as we had determined, and by breake of day the Scoutmaster brought word that Tyrone with all his army was lodged in the pace, which is an exceeding thicke wood, at the foote of a great mountaine, reaching downe to the sea side, betweene which and the sea, there is in most places as much space as seuen may march in ranke, but in some places lesse, and in some none at full water, but onely there is a narrow deepe high way through the wood.

Captaine Thomas Roper with the broken Companies sent out of the Pale, went on as a forlone hope, and that day by course it fell out, that Captaine Beniamin Berry, with the Lord Deputies Regiment vnder his command, had the vanguard, Sir Christopher St Laurence, had the reare of the vanguard, Sir Richard Moryson had the vanguard of the Rere, and Sir Samuell Bagnoll the reare of the reare, so that we had but two bodies, a vanguard and a rere, thus subdiuided. Captaine Treuor with as many as Captaine Roper had in the point, led a forlorne rere. Out of all the regiments his Lordship ap|pointed 83 three strong wings to goe on the right hand (for on the left hand was the Sea), commanded all by Captaines; the first by Captaine Billings, the second by Cap|taine Esmond, and the last by Captaine Constable.

The ground the rebels chiesely chose to make good, was a little Plaine like a semi|circle, whereof the Sea made the Diameter, and a thicke Wood the Circumference. At the next corner to vs, there ran into the Sea a Riuer out of the wood, being a Foard of good aduantage to the enemie. All along the circumference they had made diuers trenches, euen close vp to both the corners, and at the furthest corner they had made a Barricado, reaching a good way into the Wood, and downe to the Sea. At the first they shewed themselues horse and foote vpon this Plaine: but when his Lordship commanded ours to giue on (which they performed presently and roundly), their horse drew off into the Woods, and their foote into their trenches, and neuer shot, till the Vanguard was drawne ouer the Riuer, when from all partes they powred vpon vs great vollyes of shot; but presently Captaine Roper gaue on the farthest trench on the right hand of the corner, Captaine Billings on the next with the wing hee led, and Captaine Berry with the rest of the Vanguard gaue vpon the farthest corner, where the Barricado reached from the Wood into the Sea. In some of them they made good resistance, and many of them lost their liues with the

Pike and the Sword. But the last trench where they made greatest shew of opposition, they did soonest quit, though it were strongest for them, and to greatest purpose to arrest vs: the reason his Lordship conceiued to be, that in that place they were furthest from their retreat, and feared the forlorne Hope and Wing led by Captaine Billings might cut betweene them. When we had gained the trenches, the Vanguard made a stand, in the Rere of which, to countenance them (if there had been occasion), his Lordship stood with a troope of horse of voluntarie Gentlemen, and next to his Lordship (betweene the Van and next bodies of foote) Sir Henrie Dauers and his Lordships troopes of of horse. At this time they entertained skermish with all parts of our Army, but still falling towards the Rere, and at this time his Lordships Secretarie Master George Cran|mer was killed, betweene Sir William Godolphin and Mast. Henrie Barkely, Master Ram his LordPs. Chaplaines horse was killed, and a Gentleman of his Lordships chamber, called Master Done (that carried his cloake) shot through the leg. And I will not forget one accident, that might haue proued of great consequence: During this stand, his Lord|ship roade vp to a little hill in the edge of the Wood, vnderneath which our men were in skirmish with the rebels, beyond whom somewhat more then a musket shot off, on the side of a hil, by a few little houses, there stood in a troope some seuen or eight horsemen on foote, with their horses by them, at whom his Lordship caused his foote|man to shoot (who alwaies carried a long piece with him), who (as within two howers after it was told his Lordship by one that was at that time one of the number) killed the next man to Tyrone, on whose shoulder at that time he leaned. Sir Henrie Daners came vnto his Lordship, and desired he might take twentie of his owne horse to fall into the Rere, because he saw all the enemies horse fall thitherward, and that the Irish horse onely that day had the Rere. His Lordship gaue him leaue, and withall sent young Iames Blount with 100 shot out of the Vanguard, Captaine Caufeild, and Captaine Constable with as many more out of Sir Richard Morysons Regiment, to re|inforce the Rere, with whom the rogues continued a good skermish, almost for halfe an hower, vntill their horse and foote comming on a little plaine, somewhat farre from the skirt of the Wood, Sir Hen. Daners charged home, and brake them, but in the begin|ning of the charge he was shot in the thigh. After this charge they presently drew off their foote by the Mountaines, and their horse by the strand ouer against the narrow water. In our Rere Captaine Richard Hansard and Captaine Treuer were sore hurt, and Sir Garret Mores Ensigne and Hugh hanlon killed, and in all wee lost not twenty, but aboue threescore were hurt. Of the enemie (as we heard then of certaine) there were fourescore killed outright, but within two daies after his Lordship vnderstood by Maguire, that they lost two hundred. The Marshall and the Serieant Maior were al|waies in the Van or Rere, as in either place the fight grew hottest, and generally all the 84 Commanders and souldiers serued with extraordinary forwardnes and alacrity. To conclude, by credible reports the Rebels lost in this iourney aboue 800. and Tyrones reputation (who did all things by his reputation) was cleane ouerthrowne, so that from all places they began to seeke pardons or protections. On our part in the whole iourney some two hundred were killed and dead of hurts, and some 400. were hurt, which shortly after recouered.

Giue me leaue to digresse a little to continue the iournall of my trauels, the writing whereof hath occasioned the relation of Irish affaires. When the Earle of

Essex went Lord Lieftenant into Ireland, the Lord Mountioy was first named to that place, where|vpon by my brother Sir Richard Morysons inwardnes with him; I then obtained his Lordships promise to follow him into Ireland, in the place of his chiefe Secretary. But this imployment failing vs both, I retired my selfe into Lincolneshire, where I liued till his Lordship was the last spring sent ouer Lord Deputy; and such was then my diffidence of vulgar reports, (for I had no other knowledge of his Lordships imploy|ment), that I did not certainely beleeue the change of the Deputy, till his Lordship was ready to take his iourney, which was besides extraordinarily hastened by the Queenes command, for the necessity of her affaires in that Kingdome: yet my letter swifter then my selfe came to his Lordships hands; before his going; and from him I receiued this honourable answere, that not knowing what was become of me, he had already receiued three Secretaries, yet wished me to follow him, for he would find out some fit and good imployment for me. The indisposition of my body by reason of an ague staied me some few moneths in that Countrey; but in Iuly taking my iourny for Ireland, I came to Cambridge, whereas yet I was one of the fellowes of Peter-house. The Master and Fellowes by speciall indulgence had continued vnto mee my place, with leaue to trauell from the yeere 1589. to this present Iuly, in the yeere 1600. At which time being modest further to importune so louing friends, and hauing the fore|said assurance of preferment in Ireland; I yeelded vp my Fellowship, which in my for|mer absence had yeelded me some twenty pound yeerely. And the society (to knit vp their louing course towards me) gaue mee aforehand the profit of my place for two yeeres to come: For which curtesie and for my education there, I must euer acknow|ledge a strict bond of loue and seruice to each of them in particular, and to the whole body iointly. From thence I went to London, and so to Westchester; and whilest I staid there for a passage, I receiued another letter, by which I did gather that his Lordship purposed to imploy me in the writing of the History or Iournall of Irish affaires. But it pleased God in his gracious prouidence, (which I may neuer leaue vnmentioned) to dispose better of me. For staying for a wind till the end of September, one of his Lordships three Secretaries, (either to auoide the trouble and danger of the warres, or for other reasons best knowne to him) came ouer, and told me that he had left his Lordships seruice. Thus with better hope of preferment, I crossed the seas in very tempestuous weather, (at our putting to sea the carkasse of a broken ship swimming by vs, and at our entring the Port of Dublyn, another ship being cast away in crossing from one shoare to another, wherein a Bishop and his whole family were drowned), After few daies spent in Dublyn, I tooke my iourney to Dundalke, on the Northerne borders, where my brother Sir Richard Moryson was then Gouernour, and there I lodged till the Lord Deputies returne with the Army. And the thirteenth of Nouem|ber, being the day of Carlingford fight aboue mentioned, whilest I walked in my bro|thers garden, I sensibly heard by reuerberation of the wall, the sound of the vollies of shot in that skirmish, though the place were at least six miles distant. In this fight the Lord Deputy his chiefe Secretary George Cranmer (as is aboue mentioned) was killed, and his Lordship hauing now but onely one Secretary, did receiue me the next day at Dundalke into Cranmers place.

I return to the Irish affaires. At Dundalk his Lordship receiued a letter from the Lord Admirall, signifying that hee had earnestly moued her Maiesty to giue him leaue to come ouer for a short time, whose

answere was, that there liued not any man that shee would be more glad to see then his Lordship: but that now he had begunne so wor|thily, 59 and all things prospered vnder his worke, she would not giue incouragement to the Rebels by his absence, whom his presence had so daunted.

The List of the Army, and the distribution of the same into Garrisons in the end of Nouember.

Twelue Colonels of the Armie.

The Earle of Thomond: Lord Dunkellin: Sir Henrie Dockowra: Sir Arthur Chiche|ster: Sir Henrie Power: Sir Charles Percy: Sir Matthew Morgan: Sir Christopher Saint Lau|rence: Sir Charles Wilmot: Sir Arthur Sauage: Sir Richard Moryson: Sir Iohn Bolles.

Foote at Carickfergus.

Sir Arthur Chichester Gouernour, 150. Sir Foulk Conway, 150. Captaine Richard Croftes, 100. Captaine Charles Egerton, 100. Captaine Gregorie Norton, 100.

horse.

Sir Arthur Chichester, 25. Captaine Iohn Iephson 100.

Foote at Mount Norreys.

Captaine Edward Blaney Gouernour, 150 Sir Samuel Bagnol, 150. Captaine Henrie Athyerton, 150.

horse at the Newry.

Sir Samuel Bagnol Gouernour, 50.

Foote.

Sir Oliuer Saint Iohns, 150. Sir Francis Stafford, 200. Captaine Iosias Badley, 150. Cap|taine Edward Treuer, 100. Captaine Edward Fisher, 100. Captaine Rauenscroft, 100.

Foote at Carlingford.

Captaine Richard Hansard, 100.

Foote at Dundalke.

Sir Richard Moryson Gouernour, 150. Sir Henrie Dauers, 150. Captaine Tobie Ca|feild, 150. Captaine Ferdinand Freckleton, 100. Captaine Ralph Constable, 100.

horse.

Sir Henrie Dauers, 50.

Foote at Arde.

Sir Charles Percy, 150. Sir Garret More, 100. Captaine Thomas Mynne, 100. Captaine Thomas Williams, 150. Captaine Francis Roe, 100.

horse.

Sir Henrie Dauers, 50. Sir Garret More, 25.

Foote at Ballymore.

Sir Francis Shane, 100. Captaine Thomas Roper, 150. Captaine Rotheram, 100.

At Mullingar.

The Lord of Deluin, 150 Foote. Sir Christopher Saint Laurence, 25 horse.

At the Nauan.

Sir Thomas Maria Wingfeild, 150 Foote. The Lord Deputie, 100 horse.

Foote at Drogheda.

Captaine Billings, 100. Captaine Linley, 100. Captaine Iefferey Dutton, 100. Cap|taine Morice, 100. Captaine Bentley, 100.

Foote at Trymme.

Sir Christopher Saint Laurence, 150. Sir Edward Harbert, 100. Captaine Yeluerton, 100.

Foote at Kelles.

The Lord of Dunsany, 150. Captaine Hugh Orely, 100.

horse.

Lord of Dunsany, 50.

Foote at Aboy, Clancary and the Castles of Ophalia.

Sir Henrie Folliot, 150. Captaine Lionel Guest, 150. oir Henrie Warren, 100.

Foote in the Fort of the Dingon, and at the Nasse.

Sir George Bourcher, 100. The Lord Dunkellin, 150. Sir Henrie Harrington, 100. Cap|taine Thomas Boyse, 100.

86 horse at New castle.

Captaine Daughtrey, 50. Sir Henrie Harrington, 25.

At Athey, Reban, and the borders of Leax.

Sir Henrie Poore, 150. Sir Iames Fitzpiers, 150. Master Marshel, 150. Captaine Phi|lips, 100. Sir Thomas Loftus, 100 Foote.

The Marshall, 50 horse.

Foote in the Forts, Sir Francis Rush, 150.

Foote in Occarrals Countrie, Captaine Mollrony Ocarrol, 100.

Foote and horse in Kilkenny.

The Earle of Ormond Lieutenant of the Armie, 150. Captaine Marbery, 100 Foote. The Earle of Ormond, 50 horse.

Foote and horse in Kildare.

The Earle of Kildare, 150 Foote. The Earle of Kildare, 50 horse.

Foote and horse in the Countie of Waxford.

Sir Olin'r Lambert, 150. Captaine Iohn Master son, 100. Captaine Esmond, 150 Foote. Sir Oliuer Lambert, 25 horse.

Foote at Dublin.

The Lord Deputies Guard, commanded by Captaine Berry 150.

Foote and horse in Connaght.

Sir Arthur Sauage Gouernour, 150. The Earle of Clanrickard, 150. Sir Thomas Bourk, 150 Sir Tibbot Dillon, 100 Captaine Clare, 150. Captaine Tibot Nelong, 100. Captaine Thomas Bourgh, 100 Foote. The Earle of Clanrickard, 50. The Lord Dunkellin, 25. The Marshall of the Prouince, 12 horse.

horse in the Pale at the Captaines disposall neere themselues, or

attending their persons.

Sir Edward Harbert, 12. Sir William Warren, 25. Sir Iohn Barkley, 12. Captaine Rich. Greame, 50. Captaine Garret Fleming, 25. Captaine Pigot, 12. Captaine Darcy, 25.

At Loughsoyle a remote Garrison, vnder Sir Henrie

Dockwra his command.

Sir Henrie Dockwra, 50 Sir Iohn Bolles, 50 horse. Foote vnder 25 Captaines, 2900.

In the Prouince of Mounster at the Lord

Presidents disposall.

The Lord President, 50. Sir Anthony Cooke, 50 Captaine William Taaf, 25 horse. Foot der 23 Captaines 2800.

Totall of horse, 1198. Totall of Foote, 14150.

From Dundalke, the Lord Deputy, with his seruants and voluntary horsemen, rode to Dublin the seuenteenth of Nouember. Within few dayes, vpon Sir Arthur Sauage his intreatic to goe for England, about his priuate affaires; his Lordship gaue him li|cence, and appointed Sir Iohn Barkely to supplie his place of Prouisionarie Gouernour of the Prouince of Connaght. At the same time his Lordship wrote into England for authoritie to passe vnto certaine submitties their Countries, with reseruation of her Maiesties rights, and some other conditions for her profit and seruice, more particu|larly on the behalfe of Connor Roe Mac Guyre, who being put from the Chiefery of his Country by Tyrone, had quitted al his possessions and goods, to come to the Queenes seruice, when Tyrone had two of his sonnes for pledges, of which the elder lately esca|ping from the rebels, had likewise submitted himselfe, and they both had serued vali|antly in the late Northerne iourney; so as the father had his horse killed vnder him, and the sonne killed three rebels with his owne hand. And from thence both going into Fermanagh, had drawne many of that Country to follow them in the Queenes seruice, diuerting all the Countrie from assisting Tyrone. Besides that in a late skir|mish, they had taken Cormock, Tyrones brothers eldest sonne, a young man of the grea|test hope in the North, whom the Rebels purposed to create Oneale after

Tyrones death, for which respect he was a better pledge then any of Tyrones sons. This youth they had brought to the Lord Deputy, with great hazard to conuoy him, and that 87 when 3000. pound, and other ample conditions were offered them for his ransome. In the same moneth of Nouember, many of the Northerne Rebels with great troops, (among them a Mounster man Piers Lacy of English race, a famous rebell), drew into the Brenny, meaning to passe to the Shannon side, and so into Mounster, after they had strengthened the broken rebels of the Pale with some assistance. But this their pas|sage was so stopped; as it tooke no effect. The sixth of December his Lordship was ad|uertised from an honourable friend in Court, that his late proceedings were mentio|ned by all men with much honour, and most of all by the Queen, who vttered to him|selfe the most gracious and kind speeches of his Lordship, and the most extolling his valour and worthy parts, that euer he had heard her vse of any.

Till this time, the rebels of the Mountaines neere Dublyn, called the Glinnes, gaue allarums almost euery night in the Suburbes of Dublyn. But the time when the insolency of some of them should bee chastened, was now come. The O|birnes hauing Phelim mac Feogh, the chiefe of their Sept, after the death of Feogh mac Hugh, (formerly mentioned) inhabited the Glinnes bordering on the plaines of Dublyn, extending some foure or fiue miles that way; and these being neerer then the O Tooles and other their confederates, were most insolent vpon that City, and the Counsell there residing, when the Lord Deputy was farre off in any seruice with the horsemen. Now his Lordship was purposed to scourge them, and according to his singular secrecie, did so keepe his Counsell from divulging, and so cunningly masked his intent, as he came vpon them; when they were most secure. It was confidently gi|uen out, that his Lordship meant presently to vndertake some seruice against the O|Mores of Leax, and Oconnors of Ophalia, and to that purpose meant to lie with his hous|hold at Monastreuen, a great house kept by a Constable for the Queen: yea to make this proiect more beleeued, his Lordship sent Arras hangings, and many prouisions to that house. And now the forces hauing beene refreshed, his Lordship the twenty two of December, being Monday, rode to the Nasse twelue miles distant from Dublyn, where the rendeuous was appointed that day for the Lemster Garrisons, (for it was fit those bordering on the North, should be left strong.) On Wednesday his Lordship sent most of his houshold right forward to Monastreuen thirteene miles distant; but himselfe with the rest of his seruants and the forces, suddenly turned on the left hand into the Glinnes, and after a day and nights tedious march, ouer steepe mountaines couered with snow, he arriued on Thursday being Christmas day, at Phelim mac Fe|ogh his house, so suddenly as his wife and eldest sonne were taken, and himselfe hard|ly escaped at a backe window, and naked, into the woods, where he kept a cold Christ|mas, while my Lord liued plentifully in his house, with such prouisions as were made, for him and his Bonnaghs and kerne to keepe a merry Christmas. To vent his anger, he daily offered slight skirmishes vpon aduantage, but his heart was nothing eased therewith, being continually beaten. His Lordship with the Queenes Forces, lay in this Countrey till about the twentieth of Ianuary: In which time his troopes spoiled and ransacked the Countries of Rannelagh and Cashay, swept away the most part of their cattle and goods, burnt all their Corne, and almost all their Houses, leauing little or nothing to releeue them; and to finish the worke, his Lord-

ship planted two strong Garrisons vpon them, the one at Wicklo on the East side, (not able to come neerer, because a ship with our tooles and instruments was beaten backe by ill weather, and could not arriue in time); the other at Tullogh vpon the west, so as they could not long hold from submitting or flying, being thus hedged in.

This done, his Lordship came to Monastreuen, with purpose to vndertake the Mores and Connors. But hauing in few daies setled a correspondency for proceeding in that seruice, betweene our Forces in those parts, and the neighbouring septs of O|dempsies, and some suspected subiects, of whose faith till then his Lordship stood not assured, and discerning the Mores to be weake in Leax, after the killing of their Chiefe|cashe Oway mac Rory, and the burning and spoiling in the Leax iourney, so as they had not meanes to keepe their Bonnaghs, and hearing that the Oconnors were fled far from that part of Ophaly, so as neither of them could be found to make resistance to any rea|sonable 88 strong Forces. His Lordship leauing in these parts some few Companies to assist the subiects, rode from Monastreuen the twentie nine of Ianuary to Abiconal, nine miles, passing by the ruined City of Kildare, now altogether disinhabited. The thirti|eth we passed the Liffye, and came to Milhussy, one Master Hussyes Castle, eleuen miles, passing by some pleasant Villages, and by Menouth, a faire house, belonging to the Earles of Kildare, now in the hands of the Countesse Mabell an old widdow. The thirty one we came to Trym, eight miles, champion ground. This is a pleasant towne for seate, if the inhabitants were sutable, through which the Boyne runnes, and it hath the ruines of a sumptuous Castle. This place his LP. thought fittest for his present resi|dence: for if Captaine Tirrel (now the chiefe rebel in Ophalia) should draw his force to the South of the Country, from hence his Lordship might easily fall back on him. If the rebels in the West desired to passe into Mounster (as they intended), then our forces were so disposed, as they could not escape without fighting with vs vpon dilad|uantage to them. And if neither fell out, then his Lordship purposed to plant a Gar|rison at the Cauan in the Brenny, and to settle our aboue mentioned Mac Guire in Fer|managh.

At this time his LP desired to haue authoritie out of England, to passe Tirconnel (the Countie of Odonel) to Neale Garue, reseruing eight hundred Acres about Ballishannan, and the fishing of the Erne to her Maiestie. And such was the opinion of the seruice his turbulent spirit could doe the State, as he had the grant of three hundred foot, and one hundred horse in her Maiesties pay, on condition he should bring the men ser|uiceable, and maintaine them so, without further charge to her Maiestie.

From Trym, lying in East-Meathe, his Lordship the eleuenth of Februarie, passing by the Barron of Trimblestones house, rode to the Lord of Deluins house in West-Meath, eleuen miles distant. The twelfth we passed ten miles further to Molingar, the Shire towne of West-Meath, compassed with bogges. Thence the fourteenth, wee went to Ballymore, Sir Frances Shanes house, ten long miles. The sixteenth to Sir Tib|bot Dillons house, seuen miles. Thence the seuenteenth to Athlone, fiue miles, where the Gouernour of the Prouince of Connaght vseth to lye in a strong Castle belonging to her Maiestie, which being scituate in Connaght, is deuided from the Towne by a Ri|uer and a faire bridge of stone with eight arches, lying in West-Meath. And all this Countrie is Champion, whereof the greatest part lay waste. His Lord, returned back the eighteenth of February to Sir Tibbot Dillons house, and the nineteenth to Danoar

twelue miles (being Brian Mac Gohagans Castle in West-Meath.

While his Lordship lay in this Castle, he rode forth the twentieth of February, to view a strong hold, seated in a plaine, and in a little Iland, compassed with bogges and deepe ditches of running water, and thicke woods, in which fastnesse Captaine Tirrel, with some of the boldest Rebels then lay. At the first approch to the bogge, two shot of the Rebels came out, our horsemen standing on a hill, moued continually, but my selfe being a raw souldier, stood stil, and because I had a white horse, I gaue the Rebels a faire marke, so as the first shot flew close by my head, and when I apprehending my danger, turned my horse, the second flew through my cloake, and light in my padde saddle, (which saued my life), and brused my thigh. Presently his Lordship seat Sir Christopher Saint Laurence, Captaine Winsor, Captaine Roper, and Captaine Rotheram, with wings of Foote into the Wood, to discouer the fortified Iland. And on the o|ther side sent Captaine Leg to the same purpose. While these skirmished with the re|bels lying intrenched, Master Darcy riding by the skirt of the Wood, was shot in the neck. The two and twenty day his Lordship drew forth againe, and we carried hurdles and fagots to passe into the Iland, but the water carrying them away, and his Lord|ships Guard being not well seconded by the Irish, wee came off with losse, and Cap|taine Rotheram was shot.

Before I proceede, I must digresse a little to other matters. In this Iourney (begun the twentie two of December) his Lordship receiued commandement to pardon all such in Mounster as should require it, and should be commended by the Lord Pre|sident, with assurance that Spaine was so intangled with the warre of Sauoy, as the Irish 89 Rebels could at this time haue small succour thence. His Lordship writ to Master Secretary to procure him leaue to start ouer into England, to kisse the Queenes hands, and to conferre with him about the Irish seruice, professing that hee reputed him his honourable friend, and did much disdaine that humour in any subiect (if any such were) which would thinke him tyed by any respect, from hauing his affection free to loue him. In the beginning of Februarie, the Lord President of Mounster, excused himselfe to the Lord Deputy, that hee had made stay of some forces his Lord|ship had directed to come from thence, because hee had intelligence that some Nor|therne Rebels were sent to inuade Mounster. But his Lordship knowing that he had stopped their passage, and that they could not goe with any great numbers; if per|chance they escaped, did againe require that these forces might be sent vnto him. At this time, there was a plot for Tyrones head, the managing whereof was commended to Sir Richard Moryson Gouernour of Dundalke, whether Sir William Godolphin was sent with his troope of horse, to second this plot, which tooke not the wished effect; the vndertaker Henry Oge Oneale failing in his courage, or in his faith.

Now I will returne to his Lordships actions while hee lay at Maghogans Castle. The same two and twentieth of February, his Lord receiued a packetout of England, by which he vnderstood that the Earle of Essex was committed to the Tower for trea|son, which much dismaied him and his neerest friends, and wrought strange alterati|on in him: For whereas before he stood vpon termes of honour with the Secretary; now he fell flat to the ground, and insinuated himselfe into in ward loue, and to an absolute dependancy with the Secretary, so as for a time he estranged himselfe from two of his neerest friends, for the open declaration they had made of de-

pendancy on the Earle of Essex; yet rather couering, then extinguishing his good affection to them. It is not credible that the influence of the Earles malignant star, should worke vpon so poore a snake as my selfe, being almost a stranger to him yet my neerenesse incloud to one of his Lordships aboue named friends, made it perhaps seeme to his Lordship improper, to vse my seruice in such neerenesse, as his Lordship had promi|sed and begun to doe. So as the next day he tooke his most secret papers out of my hand, yet giuing them to no other, but keeping them in his owne cabinet: and this blow I neuer fully recouered: while I staied in Ireland. In truth his Lordship had good cause to be wary in his words and actions, since by some confessions in England, himselfe was tainted with priuity to the Earles practises, so that how soeuer he conti|nued still to importune leaue to come ouer; yet no doubt he meant nothing lesse, but rather (if he had been sent for) was purposed with his said friends to saile into France, they hauing prinately fitted themselues with money and necessaries thereunto. For howsoeuer his Lordship were not dangerously ingaged therein, yet hee was (as hee priuately professed) fully resolued not to put his necke vnder the fyle of the Queenes Atturnies tongue. But his Lordships former seruice, and the necessity of his future imployment, together with his good successe, so strengthened him, as without great vnthankefulnesse, and popular obloquy, he could not haue beene questioned vpon this weake ground.

The same twenty two of February, his Lordship in colmsell resolued to proclaime, that all such as had any rebels goods, should discouer them, or be guiltie of Treason: That none vpon paine of death should parley with the rebels: that the Countrey should bring in victuals to the Campe, which no man (vpon paine of death) should take from them without paying the price of the market. And thus purposing to force the rebels out of the fortified Iland, and then to plant a garrison at the Abbey neere adioyning; and to charge the new submitted subiects to loyne with this garrison in the seruice as also to take order for the safe victualing of the same when he should be gone, his Lordship resolued the next day to make another attempt against the Iland wherein Terril lay, preparing all things to second the same, and taking order to bring victualls to the Campe from all parts, and especially from Athlone by boates.

The twenty three of February, his Lordship drew forth to the Abbey, where hee had lodged foure hundred souldiers, there hee dined and proclaimed Terrils head at 90 two thousand crownes, and after dinner drawing to the Iland, he diuided the forces, sending part to put boates into the water, and so to assaile the Iland, and causing the rest to be led into the Woods to fetch out the rebels corne, and to burne the houses, and such things for their reliefe, as they could not bring away. The twenty foure of February, being Shroue-tuesday, there fell a great snow, so that we were forced to lie still, and the next night the Rebels did steale away, leauing the Iland to his Lord|ship, where the next day wee found much corne, some Murrions and Peeces, eight Cowes, and some garrons.

The twenty six, his Lordship drew the forces beyond the Iland, into a pleasant valley, wherein was a ruined house of Sir Edward Herberts, and the ground was well plowed by the Rebels. Our men burnt houses and corne, and his Lordship gaue an Angell to a Souldier to swim ouer the water, and burne the houses in another Iland. Then we came to a riuer, which diuideth West Meath, and Orphaly; into which coun|trey his Lordship sent diuers companies vnder Sir Christopher, Saint

Laurence, to spoyle the same. The twenty seuen, his Lordship rode six miles to Sir Iohn Tirrels, a strong Castle, wee passed by the way Tirrels pace, compassed with bogges and hilly woods. This Knight was a subiect, and here his Lordship rested the next day. The first of March his Lordship rode to Klonegaue, the house of Sir Terrence Odempsey in Ophalia, being twelue miles; in the first part whereof wee passed a dangerous part of Tirrels fastnesse.

Here his Lordship receiued a gracious Letter from her Maiesty, whereby she made known vnto him the Earle of Essex his death, and (to vse her own words) professed, that in regard of his approued fidelity and loue, it was some alleuation of her griefe, to eia|culate the same to him. First, her Maiesty required him to look wel in general, vpon the dispositions of all his Captaines, whereof, some preferred by the Earle, might per|haps haue hollow hearts towardes her seruice, for as shee was pleased to pardon those, who by his popular fashion and outward profession of his sincerity had beene sedu|ced, and blindly led by him; so shee was carefull to seuer the chaffe from the corne, and to depriue the malicious of meanes to preiudice her seruice. Secondly, whereas the Secretary in his Lordships name had moued her Maiesty, that he might haue war|rant to come ouer; yet in regrad the Spanish ships had not yet passed the narrow seas into Flaunders (whether surely they were sent, and nothing lesse then for Ireland, how|soeuer the Traytor made vse of like rumors) her Maiesty wished that hee would con|ceale this his desire for a time, with promise to call him home the next winter, and vse his seruice neere her person.

The same time his Lordship receiued Letters from the Lords in England, giuing allowance in her Maiesties name, for the passing of Tirconnell to Neale Garne, vpon the aboue mentioned conditions; yet aduising that hereafter no Countrey should so absolutely bee passed, as all the inhabitants should depend vpon one man, which would still kindle new flames of rebellion. By the same Letters his Lordship vnder|stood, that the supplies of money, victuals, and munitions, were ready according to his demands. And their Lordships aduised the plantation of a garrison about Strang|ford, to preuent the assistance which the Scots gaue to the Rebels. The third of March his Lordship rode ten miles to Bally Britton, Sir Henry Warrens house in Leax, which was kept for the Queene by a Constable and Warders. In the midway we passed by Phillipstowne (otherwise called Dyngen) a strong Fort in Ophalia (otherwise called the Kings County) and that day his Lordship sent out many parties of souldiers into the woods, against Tirrell and the Oconnors, scatteredly lurking in those parts.

Here his Lordship receiued from the Lords, directions to [...] the siluer mony, and to proclaime a new coine, three ounces fine; which base money was sent ouer, onely to impouerish the Rebels (as was pretended) who made warre against the Queene with her owne treasure; but in conclusion it was the vndoing of all the Queenes seruants there, for no man cared to lay it vp, and all things were bought at excessiue rates, after the exchange in England once failed. This exchange was pro|claimed to be held at three Cities in England, and foure in Ireland; but by reason that 91 great summes were coyned by Rebels and strangers, and for other abuses of the same, as namely of the Merchants, who notwithstanding that the money was duly chan|ged, did excessiuely raise all prices, this exchange soone failed, and our hearts there|with: for we serued there in discomfort, and came home beggars, so that onely the Treasurers and Paymasters, (who were thereby infinitely inriched) had

cause to blesse the Authors of this inuention.

The fourth of March his Lordship rode fiue miles to Sir Edward Fitzgeralds house, scituate in Meath, in a pleasant and fruitfull Countrey. The fifth of March we rode ten miles to Mormeere, a very pleasant house, belonging to Sir Iames Dillon, and thence the next day two miles further to Trym. Sir Richard Moryson Gouernonr of Dundalke, had lately aduertised his Lordship, that Turloghmac Henry, Tyrones brother, Captaine of the Fewes, had taken his oath to him, before a Priest and vpon a Masse booke that he would submit himselfe to her Maiesties mercy, without any conditions at or be|fore St Patricks day next following. And further had aduertised that the Lord of Clancaruin humbly desired to be receiued to mercy with him. For better ratifying hereof, the said Sr Richard Moryson now brought the said Turlogh in person to his Lordship lying at Trim. The fifteenth of March his Lordship drew to Arbrachin, the Bishop of Meaths house, sixe miles distant, where his Lordship had appointed the adioining garrisons to meete him the next day; and presently after their arriuall, his Lordship tooke horse towards euening, and thence we marched all night, being very darke, and in the morning suddenly fell into the Ferney, the possession whereof Euer Mac Cooly, one of the Mac Mabowns then vsurped; and there we burnt the houses and spoiled the goods of the Inhabitants, Sir Richard Moryson Gouernour of Dundalke, with that Gar|rison, and Sir Oliuer Lambert with other troopes, and Captaine Thomas Williams with the forces of Ardee comming in diuers wayes, and meeting his Lordship in that Coun|trey, with small or no resistance made by the rebels, to either party. The nineteenth we marched fiue miles to Ardee, the twentieth seuen miles to Mellisant, Sir Edward Mores house, the twenty one two miles to Drogedagh, where his Lordship staied till the sixteenth of Aprill, and so returned to Dublyn. At Drogedagh his Lordship altered the list of the foot, the horse standing still as before.

The disposall of the foot into garrisons the 23. of March, 1600.

At the Newry vnder Sir Oliner St Iohns 750. At Carlingford Captaine Hansard 100. At Mount Norreys vnder Sir Samuell Bagnoll 450. At Dundalke vnder Sr Richard Mo|ryson 400. At Arde a refreshing but no standing garrison 350. At Luscanon 400. At Tullogh 350. At Wickloa 250 At the Nauan 300. At the Nasse 100. In Westmeath 450. In Opha|lia 200. In Leax 300. At Athy 100. At Monastreuen 300.

In Connaght.

Sir Iohn Barkely Deputy Gouernor 200. The Lord of Dunkellin now vpon his fathers death Earle of Clanrickard 150. More vnder foure Captaines 500.

Foot in Galloway and Odoynes Countrey.

Three Captaines 400. Capt. Tho: Roper 150. At Rebon 150. In Ocarrols Country 100. In In [...] 150. At Dablyn the Lord Deputies guard 200. At Carickfergus vnder Sir Arthur Chichester 550. Of new Companies 1150. being cast, and 50. made ouer to [...] Garrison, remained 800. Of Sr Charles Percies Company, 100 were made [...] to other Captaines, and 50 were added to Loughsoyle garrison. These Companies together with the foot in [...] and at Loughsoyle, do make the new list of foot 13250.

Her Maiesties charge in Ireland from the first of Aprill in the beginning of the yeere 1600. to the last of March in the beginning of the yeere 1601.

Her Maiesties allowances by establishment, and by her letters for increase amount to two hundred seuenty sixe thou-

sand nine hundred and foureteen li, nine s. foure d. ob. qu. demy.

92 Hereof saued by the Lord Deputy his prouidence fifteene thousand two hundred sixty two l. fixe s. fiue d.

Saued also by Checks imposed on the Army, seuenteene thousand twenty nine pound sixteenes. nine d. ob.

So her Maiesties charge for the Army this yeere, besides munition and like extraor|dinaries, amounteth to two hundred thirty foure thousand six hundred twenty two li. fiue s. two d. qu. demy.

It remaines briefly to collect (out of the Lord Presidents letters to the Lord De|puty), the seruices done in Mounster the yeere 1600. now ended. About the sixteenth [Note: Mounster.] of Aprill, in the beginning of the yeere 1600. Sir George Carew Lord President of Mounster departing from Kilkenny, where hee had beene some daies detained by the Earle of Ormonds surprisall at a parley with the rebels, came to Waterford. And Thomas Fitz-Iames bastard sonne to Iames Fitzgerald late Lord of the Decies, chiefe rebell in the County of Waterford fearing present prosecution, made sure to be receiued to her Maiesties mercy, which the Lord President granted, aswell to draw from the titulary Earle of Desmond some part of his strength, as to open the passage betweene Waterford and Yoghall by land, formerly shut vp, so as nothing could passe any way but by sea. The twenty three of Aprill at Dungaruen his Lordship receiued aduertisement that Florence [250] mac Carty after many fauours from the State, being wholly hispaniolised had great power in Carbry and Desmond, and according to his plot with Tyrone at his being there, was entered into open action, (so they terme rebellion). That Captaine Flow|er Sergeant Maior of Mounster, had hereupon entered Carbry with 1200 foot, and 100 horse, burning and spoiling the same, and killing many rebels. That Florence [251] had le|uied of the Prouincials and Bonnaghs (so they call waged souldiers) 2000 foot, yet neuer attempted the English, till in their returne they came within fiue miles of Corke, where in a fastnesse the midway betweene Corke and Kinsale, they assailed the Eng|lish, and were beaten by them, some 100. of the Rebels being slaine, in which conflict Captaine Flower had two horses slaine vnder him. The twenty foure the Lord Presi|dent came to Corke, where he receiued the State of the Prouince by the relation of Sir Henry Pore sole Commissioner for Mounster, (since the killing of his partner Sir War|ham St Leger by Mac Guire, likewise killed in the fight) and vnderstood the rebels to be strong and masters of the field, supplied with all necessaries from the Townes through the perswasion of Priests, and the couetousnesse of the Townesmen. About this time Fitzgibbon called the White Knight, either ill vsed by Tyrone at his being in Mounster, or fearing prosecution, submitted himselfe to her Maiesties mercy. Likewise Florence [252] mac Carty by perswasion of friends, and vpon safe conduct came to the Lord Presi|dent, and protested loialty to her Maiesty, but refused to giue his sonne for pledge, left his waged souldiers should cast him out of his Countrey, till his Lordship threatned to lay aside all other seruice sharpely to prosecute him, whereupon he consented for his pledge, but required to haue the County of Desmond giuen to him and his [...], with title of Mac Carty More, or Earle of Clanoar, with like high demands, which being reiected, he desired leaue to sue for these graces in Eng-

[250] Florence
[251] Florence
[252] Florence

land, with promise not to serue against her Maiesties forces in the meane time, wherewith the Lord President was sa|tisfied, hauing no other end for the present, then to make him stand neutrall, while the whole forces were imploied against the titulary Earle of Desmond, Iames Fitzthomas, called the Suggon Earle by nickename. Now one Dermod Oconnor, hauing no lands, yet by marriage with the daughter of the old Earle of Desmond and his great valour, had the leading of 1400. Bonnaghs. And because the Lord President hoped to ragine the rebels one by another; at this time by the wife of the said Dermod and other A|gents his Lordship plotted with him, vpon promise of great rewards to kill Iames the titulary Earle of Desmond. And in like fore, one Iohn Nugent a rebell, vpon promise of pardon and reward, did within few daies vndertake to kill Iohn the said Earles brother. About the beginning of May Redman Burke leading 500 Rebels, lost 120. of them while he aduentured to take a prey in [...] Countrey [...] being nourished by the Lord President, with hope to be Baron of Letrim, drew his men out of [...] into 93 Ormond, with purpose to leade them into Connaght: And Tyrrell leader of the Nor|therne men, staied not long behind him, pretending discontent against Dermod O|connor, but indeed fearing some plot against his head. It had beene long rumored that the Lord President would take the field the sixth of May, which made the rebels draw to a head and spend their victuals; so as after ten dayes they were forced to disperse themselues. The twentieth of May the Lord President tooke the field, and marching towards Lymbricke, setled Warders in some Castles to secure the passage thither from Kilmallock. At Lymricke his Lordship vnderstood that Iohn Nugent aboue named, be|ing ready (as he had vndertaken) to kill Iohn brother to the titulary Earle of Desmond; was by accident hindered from discharging his Pistoll, and being apprehended, was put to death; but as well Iohn as the titulary Earle his brother, were so terrified here|with, as they durst neuer keep together, and thought themselues least secure in the head of their owne men from like practises. The Lord President marched into Iohn Burkes Countrey, and spoyling the fame, forced him to seeke her Maiesties mercy on his [...], which at last he obtained, though with difficulty. His Lordship hauing gained here plenty of graine for the Army, sent fiue hundred foot into Omulrians Countrey, who spoiled the same, and killed many rebels. Then his Lordship returned to Limricke without any losse, and in the beginning of Iune diuided the Army into garrisons not far distant, which his Lordship did though the time were fit for seruice, that he might attend the plot with Dermod Ocannor for killing the titulary Earle of Desmond, which could not well be done, except the rebels were dispersed, who would keepe together as long as the English Army was in the field. Besides, his Lordship vpon their break|ing, tooke aduantage to settle a garrison at Asketon without any resistance. Dermod O|cannor tooke the titulary Earle prisoner in the name of Oneale, pretending by a forged letter that he had plotted his death with the Lord President, and presently sent his wife for the money promised in reward, wishing the Lord President to draw his forces to Kilmalloch, where he would deliuer him the prisoner, which his Lordship did accor|dingly the sixteenth of Iune, but the rebels hauing notice hereof, drew together foure thousand in number, stopped the passages, set the titulary Earle at liberty, and besieged Dermod Ocannor in a Castle, till the Lord President marching thither the 29 of Iune, forced forced them to leaue the siege. His Lordship kept the field, tooke the chiefe

Castle of the Knight of the vally, wherein were slaine threescore warders, tooke other Castles, and did many good seruices, the rebels in great number lying neere him, but neuer [...] to fight, by reason of the ielousies between them whereupon 2500. Connaght men were sutors to his Lordship to returne home without impediment from his [...]. At this time Ocannor Kerry yeelded his Castle to the Queene, and was receiued to mercy, and the Lord President at last granted a passe to the Rebels of Connaght, but the Lord Burke not knowing thereof, for a priuat reuenge set vpon them as they mar|ched home [...] three score of them, besides many drowned. The sixteenth of Iu|ly the Lord President bestowed the Army in garrisons: The 23, of Iuly his Lordship [...] the [...] againe; to releeue the men he had formerly sent into Kerry, and mar|ching thither, took [...] the chiefe house of the Lord Fitz Morrice, and many other Castles, for griefe whereof the said Lord died, yet leauing a sonne then as dangerous as himselfe. The Lord President returned to Cork about the eighteenth of August, lea|uing Sir Charles Wilmot, Gouernour of Kerry, a valiant Gentleman, a chiefe Comman|der vnder him, and in the first ranke of those instruments he vsed in all seruices, who in short time brought most of the freeholders of Kerry to due subiection, and droue the titulary Desmond out of those parts. All the garrisons in time of haruest, gathered as much come as they could, and destroied the rest, which made the rebels not able to subsist the yeere following. Sir George Thornton hearing that the titulary Earle of Des|mond passed neere Kilmalloch sent the garrison out, and Captain Greame charging them with his troope of horse, killed 120. of them, in which conflict the English got 300. garons laden with baggage, 150 pikes and peeces with other weapons, and 40. horse, but the English had 16. horses killed in the fight. The titulary Earle of Desmond, could neuer after draw 100. men together, and was forced to flie into Tipperary with his bro|ther Iohn, Pierce Lacy an Archrebel, and the Knight of the Glin, whence his brother Iohn 94 hasted into Vlster for reliefe from Tirone. And in the end of this Summer vpon the de|parture of the Bonnaghs of Connaght and Vlster, and the good successe of the English, ma|ny of the Prouincials submitted themselues, yet sent to Rome for dispensation of their so doing. About the middest of October Iames Fitzgerald (who had long been impriso|ned in the Tower of London, being the next and true heire to the last Earle of Desmond, and released by the Queene with title of Earle by letters Pattents sent to the Lord President and promise of a good proportion of land to support his dignity at the end of the warre, according to his deserts in her Maiesties seruice, and in the meane time to liue vpon pay in the Army) landed at Yoghal, and the eighteenth day came to the Lord President at Mallogh, and was industrious in the Queenes seruice. Desmod O Connor be|ing in Connaght, and hearing of the young Earle of Desmondi arriuall, vpon promise of great seruices had the Lord Presidents protection to come vnto him, but was set vp|on by Tybot we long, his men defeated, he taken and hanged, whereupon Tibet hauing then a Company in her Maiesties pay was cashered. Florence [253] mac Carty hauing all this while practised vnderhand many things against the State, and putting still off his ap|pearance by delatory excuses, at last in October by the desperatenesse of his estate was forced to submit, and obtained pardon vpon pledges of his loyaltie. The [...] Earle of Desmond stealing backe into Mounster liued as a

[253] Florence

Wood-kerne, neuer hauing more then two or three in his Company.

In Nouember, Sir Charles Wilmot took the last and only Castle the Lord Mac Morice had in Kerry, and his eldest son therin (betraied by a Priest for safetie of his life) and great prouisions laid vp in that Castle. In these two last moneths Sir Richard Percy lying in Garrison at Kinsale, twice passed into the Country, and tooke preyes of fiue hundred Cowes, killing many rebels. In December the Lord President had notice where the titulary Earle lurked, and sentmen to surprise him: but he escaped in such haste, as hee left his shooes behind him. And now there was not a Castle in Mounster held for the rebels, nor any company of ten rebels together, though there wanted not loose [...] bonds dispersed in all corners, so as his Lordship had leisure to looke into the Corpo|rate Townes, being aiders, abetters, and procurers vnder hand of this rebellion, all the Queenes treasure being spent in them by the souldiers, and they vnderhand supply|ing the rebels with all necessaries, though at excessiue rates. The rebels fled outof Mounster into Tiperarie and Ormond, had hitherto liued there among the Bullera being subiects, without any disturbance, the rather for the Earle of Ormonds, mounting for the death of his most worthy and vertuous Lady: but in Ianuary his Lordship sent some forces against them, who killed many, and forced the rest to flie, where of some were drowned passing the waters then very high, and some chiefe rebels were taken and hanged at kilkenny. About the end of Ianuary, the Lord President sent [...] foote of the Mounster List, to be disposed by the Lord Deputie, as he had direction to doe. His Lordship to settle the Country the better, refused to renew any protection, so as all were forced to sue their pardons, and in two moneth a space before the end of Februarie, vpon his Lordships recommendation, morethen fouret-housand Mounster men had their pardons, granted by the Lord Deputie, and passed vnder the great Seale.

Early English Books Online

2

6.7 CHAP. I.

Of the Lord Deputies particular proceedings in the prosecution of the Rebels, and of the Speniards inuading Ireland, in the yeere 1601.

WHile the Lord Deputy lay at Drogheda (namely, from the the one and twentie of March, till the sixteene of Aprill, vpon which day he returned to Dublin), his Lordship as|sembled the Counsellers of State to attend him there. And vpon the eight and twentie of March 1601, the Lord Deputie and Counsell wrote from Drogheda (vulgarly cal|led Tredagh) their ioynt letters to the Lords in England, whereby they aduertised, that the Lord Deputie hauing spent the greatest part of Winter in the Irish Countries of Lemster, had by burning their Corne, consuming their cat|tel, and killing many of them, so scattered their maine strength, as certaine of the chiefe had since submitted to the Queenes mercy, and the rest were seuered into small com|panies, and vnlike to draw to any dangerous head; yea, Tirrel, in opinion the greatest among them (taken for Tyrones Lieutenant in Lemster), being forced out of his grea|test fastnesse, now with a few base Kerne following him, was driuen to wanderin Woods and Boggs, seeking to escape into the North (as shortly after he did, notwith|standing that certaine English Companies were left to hunt him in his walkes, and to stop his passage.) That his Lordship desirous to be at hand, to watch all opportuni|ties of seruice vpon the Northerne borders, had pierced into the Fearny, and that Sir Richard Moryson Gouernour of Dundalk with his Garrison had formerly wasted, and now passed through the Fewes, and met his Lordship there, so as both these Countries being spoiled, Euer Mac Cooly chiefe of the Fearny, and Turlogh Mac Henry, Captaine of the Fewes, had both been humble suters for her Maiesties mercie, and were com|manded to appeare shortly, and make their humble submissions: which course like|wise the septs of the Brenny were [...] to take, for many of them chastised by the Ar|my, and vtterly discouraged, had alreadie diuers times offered most humble submissi|ons. That his Lordship hereupon had called the Counsellors to Tredagh, there to consider of the circumstances and conditions, to be obserued in taking these [...], as also to deliberate how the Army might be imployed most to vex Tyrone, til the Summer came on, at which time his Lordship purposed to dwell vpon him, and put him to triall of his vttermost fortune. That it was resolued in Counsell to accept the submissions of the Chiefe of Fearny, and the Captaine of the Fewes, aboue named, as likewise of the septs of the Brennye (these three Countries being an hedge betweene the English Pale, and the North, and yeelding many commodities to passe into Tirone with her Maiesties forces. That it was resolued to send Mac Guyer into Fermanagh with 200 men to helpe him for a time, against the rebel Mac Guyer (whom he and his sonne had already much impouerished), for hee was thought a fit instrument (in case he preuailed), aswell to intangle Tyrone and infest Ororke, as to helpe the Plantati|on at Ballishannon intended to be put in execution about Iune following, when forage could be had for horses.

They further solicited by these letters for supplies of victuals, munition and mony, and that the victuals and munition should be addressed some part to Dublin and Tre|dagh, 96 but the greatest part to

Galloway, being intended for the forces to be planted at Ballishannon, and those to inuade Tyrone that way; and the rest to Carlingford, intended for the forces to inuade Tyrone by the way of the Newry, which inuasion was purpo|sed about the middest of Iune, when forrage might be had for the horse, and this they prayed, because the vnshipping and reshipping of the victuals at Dublin, caused great expence of mony, and waste of the victuals.

Tirlogh Mac Henry Captaine of the Fewes, and Euer Mac Cooly, of the Family of the mac Mahownes, chiefe of the Fearny, did about this time declare themselues to be sub|iects, and humbly made their submissions on their knees, signing certaine articles of subiection vnder their hands, and putting in pledges for performance thereof. And the said Euer in particular confessed in the Articles vnder his hand, that hee was not Lord, but Farmer of the Fearnye, binding himselfe to pay her Maiestie his old rent. The one and thirty of March 1601, her Maiestie signed the following Establishment. [Note: An. 1601.]

Officers Generall.

The Lord Deputy for his diet one hundred li. per mensem: a Band of horse three li. foure s. per diem: fifty foot each at eight d. per diem: for allowance in lieu of cesse, ten li. per annum, besides his Companies of horse and foote in the Army. In all per diem twelue li. six s. sixe d. ob. qu. per annum, foure thousand foure hundred fortie foure li. seuenteene s. one d. ob. qu.

The Lieutenant of the Army, three li. per diem; one thousand fourescore fifteene pound per annum.

The Treasurer at warres, thirtie fiue s. per diem; sixe hundred thirty eight li. fifteene shillings per annum.

The Marshall besides his thirty horse at twelue d. per diem without checque in the Army, fiue s. nine d. per diem; one hundred foure li. eighteene s. nine d. per annum.

The Serieant Maior of the Army, twenty s. per diem; three hundred sixtie fiue li. per annum.

The Master of the Ordinance, twenty sixe s. eleuen d. per diem; foure hundred nine|tie one li. foure s. seuen d per annum.

Ministers of the Ordinance, twenty fiue s. two d. per diem; foure hundred fiftie nine li. fiue s. ten d. per annum.

Muster-master Generall, eleuen s. sixe d. per diem; two hundred nine li seuenteene s. sixe d. per annum.

Comptroler of the victuals, ten s. per diem; one hundred eighty two li. ten s. per annum.

Fiue Commissaries of victuals, one at eight s., and foure, each at sixe s. per diem, thir|tie two s. per diem; fiue hundred eightie foure li per annum.

Fourteene Colonels, each at tenne s. per diem, seuen li. per diem; two thousand fiue hundred fifty fiue li. per annum.

Scout-master, besides sixe horse, each at twelue d. per diem, part of the Army, sixe s. eight d. per diem; one hundred twenty one li. thirteene s. foure d. per annum.

Prouost Marshall of the Army for himselfe and foure horsemen, foure s. three d. per diem; seuenty seuen li. eleuen s. three d. per annum.

Officers Prouinciall.

President of Mounster at one hundred thirty three li sixe s. eight d. per annum; his diet and the Counsels at ten li. the weeke; his retinue of thirtie horse and twentie foote at thirty s. seuen d. ob. per diem; three li. sixe s. fixe d. per diem; one thousand two hundred thirteene li. thirteene s. foure d. qu. per annum.

Prouost Marshall in Mounster, fourteene s. per diem; two hundred fiftie fiue li. ten s per annum.

The Commander of the forces in

Counaght at ten s per diem, with an increase of one hundred li. per annum; fifteene s. fiue d. ob. qu. per diem; two hundred eightie two li. ten s. per annum.

97 Prouosh Marshall in Connaght, besides twelue horsemen of the Army, fiue s. seuen d. ob. per diem; one hundred two li. foureteene s. one d. ob. per annum.

Commander of the forces at Loughfoyle, besides his pay of ten s. per diem as Colo|nel, hath three s. foure d. per diem; sixty li sixteene s. eight d. per annum.

Prouost Marshall there, foure s per diem; seuenty three li. per annum.

Prouost Marshall of Ballishannon, foure s. per diem; seuenty three li. per annum.

Lieutenant of the Queenes County, sixe s. eight d. per diem; one hundred twentie one li. thirteene s. foure d. per annum.

Prouost Marshall in Lemster for himselfe and sixe horsemen, fiue s. seuen d. ob. per diem; one hundred two li. fourteene s. one d. ob. per annum.

Warders in Lemster per annum, one thousand three hundred ten li. nineteene s. two peace.

Warders in Vlster per annum, eight hundred twentie one li. fiue s.

Warders in Mounster per annum, fiue hundred forty two li. eighteene s. nine d.

Warders in Connaght per annum, two hundred li.

Twelue hundred horsemen distributed into foure and twenty Bands, the Captaine foure s., the Lieutenant two s. sixe pence, the Cornet two s. per diem, and three hun|dred horsemen, each at eighteened. per diem; on condition they be English both horse and men, or else to haue but twelue d. per diem. And 200 horsemen at fifteene d. per diem, and seuen hundred horsemen at twelue d. per diem. Per annum twenty nine thou|sand two hundred seuentie three li.

Fourteene thousand footmen, distributed into one hundred forty Bands, the Cap|taine foure s. Lieutenant two s. Ensigne eighteene d. the day, two Serieants, a Drum, and a Surgion, each at twelue d. a piece per diem, and each souldier at eight d. per diem. Per annum one hundred ninety nine thousand seuen hundred fifteene li. sixteene s. eight d.

Pensioners in the Muster-booke, per annum one thousand eight hundred nine li. fif|teene s. ten d.

Pensioners by letters Patents per annum eight hundred seuenty foure li. fiue s. nine pence, ob.

Thirteene Almesmen per annum eightie eight li. nineteene s. foure d. ob.

Officers of the Musters which are payable out of the checkes, namely one Muster-Master at sixe s. eight d. a Comptroller at ten s. and twenty Commissaries, each at three s. foure d. per diem. Per annum one thousand fiue hundred twenty li. sixteene s. eight d.

Extraordinarie allowance for Messengers, Espials, Post-barkes, rewards of seruices etc. per annum, sixe thousand li.

Totall of this Establishment per annum two hundred fifty fiue thousand seuen hun|dred seuenty three li. fourteene d. qu. denny.

Memorandum, that the dead paies allowed to the Captaines in each Company of horse or foote, are herein contained, but the charge of munition, of leuying horse and foote for reinforcing the Army, with many like charges, are not herein contained.

The sixth of Aprill 1601, his Lordship receiued aduertisement from Captaine Io sias Badley, at the Nowry, that he, and Captaine Edward Blony, Gouernour of the Forte of Mount-Norreys, purposing to surprise Loghrorcan, could not carrie a boat, which they had prouided to that purpose, but he carrying certaine fireworkes

prouided in case the boat should faile, went to the Fort, and ioyning with Captaine Blany, march|ed towards that Iland, where they arriued by eight of the clocke in the morning, and leaning their forces behind a Wood, they both went together to discouer the Iland, which done Captaine Bodley made readie thirtie arrowes with wildfier, and so they both fell downe with one hundred shot close to the water, where the shot playing in|cessantly vpon the Iland, while the other deliuered their arrowes, suddenly the hou|ses fired, and burnt so vehemently, as the rebels lodging there, forsooke the Iland, and swumme to the further shoare. That after they [...] burnt to the ground, they fired a great house vpon their side of the shoare, and killed there sixe Kerne, (gaining their Armes) besides Churles and Calliachs, and after the burning of other houses also, 98 they brought away some Cowes and Sheepe, with other pillage; and they vnderstood by a prisoner, that there were about thirty persons in the Iland, whereof onely eight swumme away, (of which foure were shot in the water), so as the rest either were kil|led or lay hurt in the Iland. Likewise they vnderstood by the said prisoner, that great store of butter, corne, meale, and powder, was burnt and spoiled in the Iland, which all the rebels of that Countrey made their magasine. Further, that some forty kerne skir|mished with them at places of aduantage, in their retreat for two miles march: but howsoeuer the common opinion was, that the Rebels sustained great losse by this seruice, yet of the English onely two were slaine and seuen hurt.

The seuenth of Aprill Sir Henry Dockwra Gouernour of Loughfoyle wrote to his Lordship, that he had taken the submission of Hugh Boy Boy, of whose seruice to her Maiesty, he was confident to make manifold good vses, as well for the present setling Sir Iohn Odogherties Countrey after his late death, as for reuealing the Rebels secret counsels wel knowne to him. Among which, he confidently anowed that the King of Spaine had promised to inuade Ireland this yeere, with six thousand men, and to land at some Towne in Munster, (swearing that three of the chief Cities had promised to re|ceiue them:) Adding that Florence [254] Mac Carty had written to Odonnel, that he had sub|mitted to the Queene onely vpon necessity, and that vpon the Spaniards comming hee would ioyne with them. This Gouernour further aduertised that Phelim Oge, chiefe of a contrary faction in Odogherties country, desired to make his humble submission to the Queenes mercy vpon these conditions: to leaue of the name of Odogherty, and o|bey any man, to whom her Maiesty should giue that Countrey. To pay all debts his men did owe to any subiects. To discharge his souldiers. To returne to the owners twelue hundred Beeues hee had cut for Odonnell. To make satisfaction for a Barke comming to the Liffer, which his people had taken and spoiled: And to yeeld vp to him the Gonernor all the cattle should be found in his Countrey belonging to Odon|nell. Adding, that Sir Iohn Bolles in a iourney made vpon Ocane, had killed fifty of his people, had burned many houses and much corne. And that the garrison of the Lif|fer had spoiled Tirconnel, had slaine many, and had brought away two hundred Cowes, and great booties.

The tenth of April Sir Oghy Ohanlon, a northerne Lord submitted himselfe on his knees to her Maiesties mercy at Tredagh, and signed certaine Articles, for the perfor|mance whereof hee tooke his oath. And because these Articles (except there fell out some speciall reason to leaue out some of them, and to adde others) were the same to which all submitties at this

[254] Florence

time were tied, I will once for all adde the briefe of them.

After his acknowledgement that Queene Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, etc. Is the true absolute and Soueraigne Lady of this realme of Ireland, and of euery part, and of all the people therof, with humble con|fession of his former disloyaltie, and of his penitency, and like profession that he had felt the waight of her Maiesties power. This done, further to the example of all other offenders, he testified, that hee made this his humble submission and protestation of his penitency, his future loyalty and indeuour to redeeme his faults by his good ser|uices. Then he acknowledged vnder his hand, that now before the Lord Deputy and Counsell, he taketh a corporall and religious oath for all and seuerall Articles follow|ing; Namely, That he will euer continue a loyall subiect. That for performance thereof, and of all the following Articles, he will put in sufficient pledges. That hee doth renounce all manner of obedience to any forraine power or Potentate, depen|ding only on the Queene his Soueraigne. That hee renounceth all Rebels, and will not aide them, but serue against them when he is commanded. That hee will to the vtter most of his power withstand and confound any disloyal subiect, or forraine ene|my attempting against the sacred person, or estate of her Maiesty, or the quietnes of her faithfull subiects, more especially, against the Arch-traytor Tyrone, and the King of Spaine supporting him. That hee will come to the State whensoeuer hee is comman|ded, neither will vpon wrongs seeke to right himselfe, but will seeke redresse by course 99 of Law. That he will reueale all conspiracies of treason which hee shall heare. That he will sue out her Maiesties pardon within certaine dayes, for him and his followers, and answer for their good behauiour. That hee will booke these followers within certaine dayes. That he will suffer all subiects safely to trade in his Countrey. That hee will extort no blacke Rents, or make other exactions on his people, but by due course of a subiect. For sincere performance hereof, he testified that he had taken his corporall oath, vpon his knees, before the Lord Deputy and Councell, (the same oath being solemnly ministred to him, and taken by him in the said assembly) and did againe vow the same vpon his saluation, religiously professing, that if he should break those Articles or any of them, he would acknowledge himselfe not onely to be wor|thy of all infamy and extreame punishment; but euer after to bee most vnworthy to beare the name of a Christian, or to inioy the society of men, to which, as hee had vn|fainedly sworne, so now in witnesse thereof, he did in this written forme of submissi|on set to his hand, with addition of the day of the moneth, and of the yeere when this act was done by him.

The sixteenth of Aprill, the Gouernour of Loughfoyle by his letters intreated, that a pardon might be parsed to Hugh Boy (which businesse the bearer had vndertaken to solicite) and that Neale Garue, to whom the Queene had granted Odonnels Countrey, might be sent backe from Dublin, because the Irish were consident, that vpon his ar|riuall all the people of Tirconnell would flocke vnto him. Further aduertising, that the garrison of the Liffer had burnt the New-towne, and killed twelue kerne and thir|ty eight of other people, and had brought backe some three hundred Cowes. And that the garrison of Donnegall, had burnt in Ocanes Countrey a great village, and many women, children, and Cowes, with the houses, and had killed someforty kerne and churles.

The three and twenty of Aprill, his Lordship kept S. Georges feast, at Dublin, with so|lemne pompe, the Captains bring-

ing vp his meat, and some of the Colonels attending on his person at Table. To which feast the Rebels were inuited, whom his Lordship lately receiued to mercy, vnder her Maiesties protection, till their pardons might be signed, namely Turlogh Mac Henry, Captain of the Fewes, Euer Mac Cooly, chiefe of the Fearney, Obanlon a Lord of Vlster, Phelim Mac Feagh, chief of the Obyrnes, and Don|nell Spaniagh, chiefe of the Cauanaghs in Lemster. These were entertained with plen|ty of wine, and all kindnesse, his Lordship assuring them, that as he had bin a scourge to them in rebellion, so he would now be a mediator for them to her Maiesty, in their state of subiects, they standing firme and constant to their obedience. And no doubt, as there is a secret mystery of State in these solemne pomps; and as his Lordship therein, for his person and carriage, was most comely, and (if I may vse the word) Maiesticall; so the magnificence of this feast wrought in the hearts of those Rebels, and by their relation in the hearts of others after submitting, (both hauing first ex|perienced the sharpenesse of the Queenes sword,) such an awfull respect to her Maie|sty, and such feare tempred with loue to his Lordship, as much auailed to containe them in due obedience.

From the end of March to the beginning of May, vpon the Lord Presidents inter|cession by letters to the Lord Deputy, many pardons were granted for life, land, and goods, to Chiefetaines of Countries, and Gentlemen in Mounster; namely, to Mac Carty Reough, Chieftain of Carbery, and two hundred and ten followers, as well men, as women and children: to Oswylliuan Beare, and some fiue hundred twenty eight fol|lowers, as also to Oswylliuan Brantry: to Iohn Odoyre of Tiperary, and some one hun|dred fifty followers: to Fitz Iames Gerrald, with some three hundred seuenty fol|lowers and to Teig Mac Mereretagh Obrian; in the County of Lymrick, with some two hundred twenty one followers; and some others, which for brenity I omit. And it was concluded at the Councell Table, on the last of Aprill, that the two following Prouisoes, should bee inserted in all pardons, (and charge was accordingly giuen to the Queenes learned Counsell, and to the Officers, and to his Lordships Secretaries, whose hands al pardons passed, that the said Prouisoes should be continually inserted) 100 namely: First, in regard some notorious Rebels of the Pale might passe as followers to remote Lords, that the pardon be not auailable to any, but to the naturall inhabi|tants, tenants, and knowne followers of the Lord so pardoned. Secondly, in regard many Rebels taken, and to be iudged according to the Law, might by oucrsight bee pardoned, prouiso was to be entred, that no pardon should auaile any, who were al|ready in prison, or vpon bayle.

The second of May, his Lordship wrote to the Lords in England, that Mounster was not only wel reduced, but began to taste the sweetnes of peace: that the like might be said of Lemster, except the Mores and Conners, who were scattered, and had sought, but could not obtain of him the Queens mercy. That the Northern borders of Vlster were assured, namely; Ohanlons Country, the Fewes, Clancaruill, the Ferney, most of the Gallo|glasses, and many of the Mac Mahownes, and that a garrison was planted in the Brenny, and the Queenes Mac Gwyer setled in Fermanagh. That Sir Henry Dockwra at Lough|foyle, and Sir Arthur Chichester at Carickefergus (commonly called Knockefergus) had made their neighbours sure to the State, and both had done her Maiesty excellent ser|uice. That onely Connaght, most easily to be reduced, was most out of order. That for this reason hee thought fit to plant Ballishannon garrison through

Connaght, which might be reduced with the very passing of the Army; and therefore had perswaded the Magazin of victuals at Galloway, specially since from those parts his Lordship might easily ioine with the Lord President, in case Spaine should inuade Mounster. That in the meane time his Lordship would draw one thousand foot out of Mounster, to serue in Vlster, and for a time borrow thence fiue hundred Foot and fifty horse for Connaght iourney, the forces remaining being sufficient to guard Mounster, and grea|ter then he had left in Lemster, in the peace whereof he might seeme to haue more pro|per interest. But if Spaine should inuade Mounster, then all the Army was to be drawne thither, and great supplies sent out of England, since the defection of the Irish was like to be great, euen of those who yet had neuer declared any malice against the State: yet that his Lordship desired presently no supplies, in regard of her Maiesties excessiue charge, in leuying and transporting them, trusting that by the Rebels forces dimini|shed, occasion would be giuen to cast some of the Army, with which cast Companies the defects of the standing might be supplied, wherein his Lordship promised to pro|ceed without preferring such, as quen with their blood shed in his fight deserued ad|uancement, or satisfying some worthy Commanders, (whose entertainement he had rather lessened) or pleasuring those, who might iustly challenge preserment from him. Therefore praying, that her Maiesty would not command him to bestow new Com|panies (as of late shee had done) vpon such as of late had beene absent, and had onely serued at the loosing of the Kingdome, so as they were least fit to be preferred before those who had hazarded their liues in regaining it: Adding, that he writ not this, to vphold any priuate dependency on himselfe, esteeming it a great vanity so to doe, but onely to strengthen himselfe, so long and no longer then he should be imploied in her Maiesties seruice. That in stead of new supplies, he desired leaue to entertaine some of the Irish Submitties in pay, by them to consume the Rebels, and by the Rebels to di|minish their number, since two things remained to settle the Kingdome. First the rid|ding Ireland of the Swordmen, (to which end the Irish affected some iourney into the Low Countries or the Indies, which could not make them any whit more able Soul|diers then now they were, not adde to their knowledge of warre fit for Ireland, which they now had; but three parts of foure were like neuer to returne, if they were inga|ged in such a voyage). Secondly, the making of the English owners fit to inhabit their lands, which was most difficult, in regard of their pouerty and of the great quantities of lands they possessed, since in particular of some gentlemen of Leax and Ophalia, each possessed as much land, as being well inhabited, would maintaine more men then all the Rebels of those Counties were in number.

About the tenth of May his Lordship gaue warrant to passe the pardon of Phelim mac Feogh Obirn, of the Glinnes, with his followers, and likewise of Phelim mac Feogh O Toole of the Fartrey, with fifty six followers. And vpon the humble submission of 101 Rossemac Mahowne, his Lordship granted him her Maiesties protection, till he might sue out his pardon.

About this time his Lordship had aduertisement from Sir Henry Deckwra Gouer|nour at Loughfoyle: That he had taken in Odogherties Countrey, and secured the passa|ges into it, as well against Odonnell, as the false Inhabitants. That he hauing gathered the forces to spoile Hughmac Hugh Duffes Countrey, the proiect was frustrated by and Irishman stealing from the Army, and giuing them intelligence hereof, so as they droue the

prey sarre oft into remote parts. That Neale Garue with Cormocke O Neale, dispat|ched lately from Dublin, were arriued at Loughsoyle. That he the said Gouernour de|ferring the prosecution of Ocane, because he had no Hauen in his Countrey for the lan|ding of Spaniards, nor could escape from the English forces, though Spaniards should land, the same time resolued to enter Hugh mac Hugh Duffes Countrey, as more fit to receiue forraigne forces, and to supply them with victuals or other necessaries. And to this end that he had assembled the forces to the Liffer. That Shane mac Manus Oge Odonnell, commanding certaine Ilands in the Sen; did there offer to submit, but vpon such conditions as were vnfit, yet the Irish extolling his valour, and intreating for him, and Neaie Garue for the time being content to spare him of the men allowed him, fifty foot and twenty fiue horse, that he the Gouernour had further promised him, vpon acceptable seruice, to procure him as many more men in her Maiesties pay, whereup|pon he had taken his oath of obedience, and had secretly sent word to his people to spoyle Rory Odonnels Countrey; (who then had him in no suspition). This done, that he the Gouernour suddenly entered Hugh Duffes Countrey aforesaid, and spoyled the same, taking a prey of more then one thousand Cowes, with great numbers of Gar|rons, Sheepe, and Goates. That thence he marched into Fanaght, where [...] Oge mac Swinedoe, Lord of the Doe, met him on the borders, and deliuering the chiefe pled|ges of his Countrey for his and their loyalty, tooke his oath of obedience to her Ma|iestie. That hearing of Odonnels drawing into those parts, he thence retired with great part of the forces, leauing Neale Garue with his Irish and some English Companies for his assistance, to spoyle and absolutely waste Fannaght, to whom Mac Swine Fannaght Lord of the Countrey, presently deliuered pledges of his loyalty, taking his oath of obedience to her Maiestie, at which time likewise Mac Swine Bane, and O Boyle, ear|nestly solicited the Gouernour to be receiued to mercy. That Neale Garue by the kee|ping of Tirconnell granted him at Dublyn for the time, till her Maiesty might please to passe the same to him by Letters Pattents, and by great gifts he had there receiued, was puffed vp with pride, desiring present possession of the Countrey, and calling the peo|ple his subiects, and saying to the Gouernours face, that he would punish, exact, cut, and hange them, as he list. But that he had calmed him with seuere speeches, and with charge not to meddle with any man, or any part of the Countrey vpon his alleagiance, since he had no right but from her Maiesties bounty, not yet fully expressed, and that not soueraigne, but limitted, so as might best stand with the peoples good, who were not his but her Maiesties subiects. That he found him to be in his nature proud, valiant, miserable, tyrannous, vnmeasurably couetous, without any knowledge of God, or al|most any ciuility, good to be vsed while he was satisfied, (which he could hardly bee, being like a Quince, requiring great cost ereit be good to eat), or whilst he was kept vnder (which was the fitter course to be held with him), yet that he thought him sure to the State, in regard of the pledges he had giuen, but much more, because he could no way better his estate by leauing the Queenes seruice, nor be secure of any word from Odonnell, whose brother he had killed. That Cormacke O Neale, being of late come from Dublyn, could hitherto haue done no seruice, but that he was of reasonable e|steeme among the people of his Countrey, and was of a mild honest disposition, wil|ling to serue without grating beggery, or vnreasonable demands, yet was Irish and lit|tle lesse barberous then

the better sort of wood kern. That comming out of the woods without friend or kinseman, he could then giue no pledges, but his wife and children were since come to him, and within the Gouernours power, besides that he seemed not to be inclined to trechery, neither could mend his estate by leauing the Queenes ser|uice, 102 to which he came in voluntarily, without calling, forcing, or composition, and therein remained with his desires limitted, and to be contented with reason. That Hugh Boy, was subtill, wise, ciuil, a Papist, and aliened (but not deeply malicious) against Odonnels person, yet firme in his allegiance, hauing come in with his Countrey, and deliuered his chiefe pledges, offering any other to be deliuered vpon command; and hauing shewed the passages into his Countrey, and himselfe sollicited and furthered the fortifying thereof, daily giuing sure and important intelligences, to the great fur|therance of the seruice; besides that, all his wealth lay within the power of the Queenes forces. Lastly, that betweene these submitties were factions and heart-burnings, which discreetly measured, could not but aduantage the seruice.

The fifteenth of May the Lord Deputy receiued (by the hands of Sir George Cary, Treasurer at warres) a Ploclamation (signed by the Queene) to be published, for making the new standard of mixed monies to be onely currant in this Kingdome, all other coyns being to be brought in to the Treasurer. And likewise a letter from the Queene, requiring the Lord Deputy and Counsell to further the due execution of the contents of this Proclamation, and by some plausible graces, done in generall to the subiect, (in the establishing an exchange of this coyne into sterling money of England, and taking away the impositions on sea coles transported into Ireland, and in particular to the Captaines of the Army, in allowing their dead paies in mony, after the rate of eight pence per dicm, and some like fauours), inuiting all to swallow this bitter pill, which impouerished not only the Rebels, but her Maiesties best seruants in this King|dome, onely inriching her Paymasters, sitting quietly at home, while others aduentu|red daily their bloods in the seruice.

The twentieth of May the Lord Deputy and Counsell aduertised the Lords in Eng|land, that they had giuen order to print 300. of the Proclamations for the new coyne, to be published through all parts of Ireland at one time. That they had in Counsell agreed vpon a generall hoasting for this yeere, to beginne the last of Iune following. And in the meane time, while that was preparing, that the Lord Deputy would draw the forces to Dundalke vpon the Northerne borders, there to watch opportunities of seruice, and specially by his presence to animate the new submitties, to attempt some thing against the Arch-traytor Tyrone, and to put them in blood against him and his confederates. And that his Lordship towards the time of the said hoasting, purposed to returne to Dublyn, and to the end he might find there all things in readines for his intended prosecution of Tyrone in his owne Countrey, they besought their Lordships that victuals and munition might with all possible speed be sent thither out of Eng|land. The foresaid generall hoasting is a rising out of certaine foot and horse, found by the subiect of the fiue English shires and the Irish Submitties, to assist the Queenes forces, and these, together with some of the English Companies, his Lordship vsed to lay in the Pale, for the defence thereof, at such time as the forces were to be drawne in|to Vlster.

The rising out of the fiue English Shires and the Irish Submitties. Vizt. Of the County of Dublyn. Besides sixteene Kearne.

horse Archers horse. horse Archers horse. In the Barrony of Balro|thery. In that of Newcastle, nil. 18 nil. 26 In that of Castleknocke. nil. 11 In that of Cowlocke, nil. 30 In that of Rathdowne. 12 10

2. Of the County of Meath. Besides one hundred Kerne of the Pooles.

In the Barony of Dulicke. nil. 32 In that of Dunboyne. nil. 3 In the Barony of Skrine, 24 30 In that of Decy. nil. 17 In that of Ratothe. nil. 13 In that of Moyfewragh. nil. 4 103 horse Archers horse. horse Archers horse. In that of Lane. nil. 8 In that of Slane. 6 11 In that of Nauan. nil. 48 In that of Fowere. 28 nil. In that of Kenllas, alias Kells. 16 6 In that of Margallen. 7 [...] Thirdly, Of the County of Westmeath—60.—2

Fourthly, Of the County of Kildare.

In the Barrony of Sualt. 8 14 In that of Kilkey. 1 12 In that of the vpper Naasse. nil. 13 In that of Ophaly. 1 2 In that of the nether Naasse. nil. 5 In that of Counall. nil. 3 In that of Kelkullen. 8 2 In that of Clane. nil. 2 In that of Narragh. nil. 2 In that of Okethy. nil. 5 In that of Rebau and Athy. nil. 3 In that of Carbery. nil. 4 Fifthly, Of the County of Lowth.

In the Barony of Ferrard. 4 26 In the Townes of Lowth and of Dundalke. 16 6 In that of Atherdy. 16 13 Summa 207—374. Totall both 581.

The rising out of the Irish Lords, and their Captaines.

The Obyrnes, ouer whom after the death of Sir Henry Harrington, his son Sir Willi|am Harrington, is Captaine by the late Queenes Letters Pattents, granted to his father and him, horsemen 12. Kerne 24.

The Cauanaghs hauing then no Captaine ouer them. horse 12. Kerne 30.

Other particular septs, besides those which were in rebellion. horse 104. Kerne 307.

Totall, horse 128. Kerne 361.

The proiect of disposing the Queenes forces for the following Summers seruice.

Out of Mounster we thought fit to be spared, and to be drawne into Connaght 1000 foot and 50 hose, (since there should still remaine in Mounster 1600 foot and 200 horse, for any occasion of seruice.) Foot 1000. horse 50.

In Connaght were already (besides Tybot ne longes Company. Foot 1150 horse 74.

These to be placed as followeth.

To keepe at Galloway and Athlone in Connaght, foot 350.

To leaue at the Abbey of Boyle in Connaght vnder the command of the late Lord of Dunkellen, now Earle of Clanrickard. Foot 1000 horse 62.

These to further the plantation of Balishannon.

To leaue at the Annaly in Lemster side of the Shannon, vnder the command of Sir Iohn Barkeley. Foot 800. horse 12.

These fit to ioine with the vndermentioned forces of Westmeath, Kels, and the rest vpon the Northerne borders, to stop the Vlster Rebels from comming into Lemster; or if they should passe them, then to ioine with the forces of Ophaly, and the rest south|ward. Tybot ne long, (the payment of whose Company had long beene stopped) was to be kept in good tearmes. Oconnor Sligo to be threatned, that if he did not submit and declare himselfe against Odonnell before the planting of Ballishannon, he should haue no hope of mercy. The forces at the Abby of Boyle were to infest Oconnor Sligo, and to keepe Ororke from ioining with Odonnell. Those at the Annaly, to infest Ororke, besides the aboue mentioned, lying betweene any forces that might come out of the North into Lemster, and to follow them if they should escape, it being likely that about har|uest time Tyrrell and the Oconnors will gather strength (if they possibly

can) to returne and gather the Corne they sowed last yeere in Leax and Ophaly. And thus are disposed the aboue said Foot 2150. horse 124.

104 The Forces towards the South of [...] to lie thus;

In Ophaly. The Earle of Kildare [...] George Bourcher 100. Sir Edward [...] Capt. Garrall 100. Sir Henry [...] 100. Foot In all 550. Earle of Kildare 25. Sir Edward Harbert 12. horse. In all 37. In Leax. Sir Henry Power 150. Sir Francis Rushe 150 Sir Tho|mas Lostus 100. Foot. In all 400. Master Marshall 20. Captaine Pigot 12 horse. In all 32. At Kilkenny. Earle of Ormond 150 Foot. Earle of Ormond 50 horse.

The Forces towards the North of Lemster to lie thus:

In Westmeath. Lord of [...] 150. Sir Francis Shane 100 Foot. In Kelles. Captaine Roper 150 Foot. Earle of Kildare 25. Sir Henry Harrington 25 horse. At Liseannon in the Brenny. Lord of Dunsany 150. Captaine Esmond 150. Sir William Warren 100. Sir Henry Harrington 100. Foot 500. Lord of Dunsany 50 horse. At Dundalke. Captaine Freckleton 100. Foot. In the Moyry. Captaine Hansard 100 Foote.

These of the North and the Garrisons at the Abby of Boyle, lic-sit for correspon|dencie.

These of the South, together with the submitted Irish in Opprossery, and the O|demsies, Omolyes, and Mac Goghlins, [...] for correspondency among themselues, is also with the garrison at the Annaly. Also all these of the South and North, lie aptly placed to answere one another vpon occasion of seruice, and are in number, those of the South, Foot 1100. horse 119. Those of the North. Foot 1100. horse 100.

Both of the South and North. Foot 2200, horse 219.

Totall, adding the forces aboue said drawne out of Mounster, and those being in [...], (homely foot 2150. horse 124.) Makes Foot 4350. horse 343.

The Lord Deputies forces follow, wherewith he purposed to build a Fort at the Moyry, and put men into it to keepe that Pace. To plant a Garrison in Lecale of 500. foot and fifty horse. To giue Sir Arthur Chichester the Gouernoun of Knockfergus, two Companies for his better strength. To plant a garrison at Armagh, and another at the old fort of Blackewater, and a little loope sconce betweene them both. To see great store of [...] made in time of the yeere at Armagh, and at Mount Norreis, for feeding of horses there in the winter following. To lie all the summer close vpon Tyrone, destroy|ing the new Corne, and spoyling the Countrey, and so to facilitate the planting of Ba|lishannon, and perhaps to passe into Tyrenes Countrey, the Garrisons of Knockefergus, Locale; and Longhfoyle entering at the sametime on al hands; and there ordered to meet him. And to draw towards winter to Athlone in Connaght.

The Lord Deputies said forces.

The Lord Deputy 200. The Marshall 150. Sir Oliuer Lambert 150. Sir Christopher St Laurence 150. Sir Er. Stafford 200. Sir Oliuer St Iohns 200. Sir Henry Folyot 150. Capt. Williams 150. Sir Iames Fitzpieree 150. Sir William Fortescue 100. Sir Garret Moore 100. Captaine Oreyly 100. Captaine Edward Blaney 150. Captaine Iosias Bodley 150. Sir Henry Dauers 150. Captaine Ghest 150. Captaine Roe 100. Capt. Masterson 100. Capt. Rothe|ram 150. Foot 2750. Lord Deputy 100. Sir Henry Dauers 100. Sir Oliuer Lambert [...]. Sir Garret More 25. Sir Ghrist S. Laurence 25 Captaine Darcy 25. Hose [...].

The Companies intended to be left in the garrison to be planted this summer at Lecaile.

Sir Richard Moryson the Gouernour 150. Captaine Cawfield 150. Captaine Treuer 100 Captaine Constable 100. Foot 500. Sir Samuel Bagnol 50 horse.

The Carrison then being at Knockfergus.

Sir Arthur [...] the Gouernour 200. Sir Foulke Conway 150. Captaine Egerton [...]. Captaine Norton 100. Captaine Billing 100. Captaine Phillips 100. Foot 750. [...] 25. Captaine Iohn Iephson 100. horse [...].

These two garrisons of Lecayle and Knockefergus, might meet vpon all occasions, 105 and so by the intended plantation of Lecayle, the garrison of Knockfergus was thought as much strengthened, as if those companies lay there.

Lying presently in garrison at the Newry, vpon Vlster borders, Sir Samuell Bagnoll 150 foot. Sir Francis Stafford 50 horse.

Lying at the fort of Mount Norreys, Captaine Aderton 150 foot.

These two garrisons, and the two intended at Blackewater and Armagh, to be vnder one Gouernour, and to haue correspondency as one garrison.

The garrisons at Loughfoyle to be drawne forth into the field.

At the Derry, in Lyst.

Sir Henry Dockura the Gouernour 200. Captaine Digges 100. Captaine Willis 150. Captaine Lee 100. Captaine Oram 100. Captaine Brooks 100. Capt. Orrel 100. Foot 850. whereof to be drawne into the field 650.

At the Lyffer.

Captaine coach 100. Captaine Morgan 150. Captaine Winsore 100. Captaine Dutton 100 Captaine Goare 150. Captaine Pinner 100. Capt. Band 100. Foot 800. For the field 550.

At Dunalong.

Sir Iohn Bolles 150. Captaine Floyd 150. Capt. Badby 150. Capt. Sidley 100. Capt. Basset 100. Foot 650. For the field 400.

At Kilmore, Captaine Alford 100. For the field 35. At Newtowne. Capt. Atkinson 100. For the field 40. At Romolyon, Capt. Bingley 150. At Gulmer at, Captaine Vaughan 100 At the Cargan, Capt. Stafford 100. At Anny, Captaine Sidney 100. Foot 650. For the field 75.

Totall in List 3000. For the field 1675.

Thus at Lougsfoyle with these English foote, and one hundred English horse, together with fiue hundred Irish foote, and one hundred Irish horse, and the helpe of the Submitties, especially of Neale Garne, and of Cormocke Oneale. It was thought that Sir Henry Dockewra might plant an intended garrison at Ballishannon, as by his owne offer he had proiected in England, and besides keeping his owne, might also draw out sufficient forces to meete the Lord Deputy in the heart of Tyrone, if the proiect of planting Ballishannon could take such effect as was hoped. To the furtherance where|of, I did at this time, vpon his Lordships command, deuise a Cipher, to passe betweene his Lordship and the Gouernours of Loughfoyle, Knockefergus, and Lecaile, to the end, that if the rebels should light vpon any their letters, contriuing this meeting or other seruice, yet they might not be able to discouer any their secret purpose, especially since they were so ignorant, as they could not attaine the deciphering of those Characters, or any like, though farre more easie: and this Cipher was presently sent to the aboue named Gouernours.

His Lordship further resolued in Councel to write to the Lords in England, to haue six thousand of the trained bands in readines, to be sent ouer presently vpon the sus|pected, inuasion of forraigne powers, and to haue a Magazin of victuals and munition at Limricke, aswell to answere the seruice in Mounster, if they

should make discent in those parts (being most likely) as to be drawne thence to Galloway, in case no such inua|sion were made, there to answere the prosecution of the Connaght rebels, intended the Winter following.

All things thus proiected for the following prosecution of this warre, his Lord|ship on the two and twentieth of May, beganne his intended iourney aboue menti|oned, from Dublin, and the twenty three came to Tredagh, and the twenty fiue to Dun|dalke, where his Lordship lay, till the dispersed Companies could be draw nethither, and victuals brought. Here he composed all controuersies betweene the late Submit|ties, and setled a correspondency betweene them, aswell to make them concurre in the defence one of another, as also in the defence of the Pale. Here his Lordship receiued the twenty eight of May, letters from the Lords in England, requiring that no Captain should supply his Company with Passe-volants at pleasure; but onely with such men as should bee sent out of England for supplies. That the Captaines refusing to shew their companies when they were required by the Commissaries of the Musters, should be checked two moneths pay. That such Pensioners should be cheked as without spe|ciall 106 licence, should be absent from any seruice. And that speciall care should be had to punish and preuent such souldiers, as dismissed by their Captaines Passes, or run|ning away from their colours, did duly returne into England.

The nine and twentieth of May, vpon the intercession of the Lord President by his Letters, (according to the course held by directions out of England), the Lord Deputy granted his warrant for drawing of her Maiesties pardon to Cuocher Omulrian, a Mun|ster rebell, chiefe of his Sept (or name), and eighty three followers, aswell men as weo|men and children of that sept. The second of Iune it was resolued in Councell, that letters should be written to the Lord President of Mounster, requiring him to draw the forces vnder him towards Lymricke, and in those parts to imploy them most part of the following summer, as well ready to attend the discent of any forraigne enemy, as fitly laid to giue countenance to the prosecution of the rebels in Connaght, whether the said Lord President was to be further directed, to send a thousand foot and fifty horse, (according to the aboue mentioned proiect), to the end that the rebels being prosecuted in that Prouince, might haue no leasure to ioine with those of the North, for disturbing the planting of a garrison at Ballishannon, which Sir Henry Dockwra was to plant from the way of Loughfoyle. The fifth of Iune the Lord President aduertised that warning had beene giuen to those of Mounster, for the sending of their men to the generall hoasting aboue mentioned, which the Lord Deputy had appointed to meet (according to the old custome) at the hill of Tarragh, but that he feared the scarci|ty of victuals and want of furniture, would either hinder their full appearance, or make them of small vse to the seruice. The sixth day vpon the Lord Presidents letters, warrant was giuen for a charter of pardon without fine, to be granted to one hundred fifty one Inhabitants about Moghely in the County of Corke, as well men as weomen and children, for life, lands, and goods. And the like was granted to Oswilliuan More of that Prouince with 481 followers.

The eighth of Iune being Monday, the Lord Deputy drew the forces out of Dun|dalke, and marched two miles to the hill of Fagher, neere the pace of the Moyry, where he encamped. And while he lay there, his Lordship caused a fort to be built in the said Pace, at the three mile

water, not rising from thence till he had made this Fort defen|sible, so as leauing some warders in it, the workemen might in his absence finish the building. The thirteenth of Iune, in the Campe at the Fagher, his Lordship publi|shed the Proclamation of the new Coyne, all other monies hauing beene decried three daies before. And by his Lordships direction like Proclamations printed at Dublyn, and thence formerly sent to Loughfoyle and Knockfergus, and into the Prouinces of Connaght and Mounster, were at the same time published together in all places. The foureteenth, in the same Campe, his Lordship and the Counsellors there, wrote the following letter to the Lords in England.

IT may please your most Honourable Lordships, perceiuing by your Lordships Letters of the eighteenth of May, that the victuals expected to answere our purpose of planting Ballishannon by Connaght, could not arriue in such quantity nor time, as might inable vs to proceed in that iourney; and receiuing some arguments of your Lordships inclination to Sir H. Dockwra his offer to plant that garrison from Lough|foyle, we grew into a new consultation, in what sort to make the warre this Summer. First, it was propounded with the Army to march by Lecaile and those parts into Col|rane, the end whereof should haue beene to haue brought in subiection all the wood|men, and vtterly taken from Tyrone all that part of Vlster between Colrane and Lough|sidney to the Blackewater, from whence heretofore the Traitor hath gathered his grea|test strength. The passages being not very dangerous, and we hauing the commodity of the Sea to supply vs, we should haue made the warre that way to great purpose, and with good conueniency, and perhaps might haue fallen ouer the Banne into Tyrone, all other wayes being of extreame danger, to enter into that Countrey, except that one by Loughfoyle. The chiefe difficulty that did arise against this proiect, was the danger wherein we should leaue all things behind vs, if the Spaniard should land, when we 107 had carried the chiefe force of the Kingdome into the vttermost corner thereof: and the next was, that we being not able to leaue any great guard for the Pale, should haue left it naked to any attempt of Tyrone, and the new reclaimed rebels to the mercy of him, as the Pale to the mercy of both: But in the end we grew to this resolution. First, in the Interym, betweene this and the appointment of the generall hoasting, (by the which we should be supplied with carriages, and about which time we expect victuals and munition out of England, of the first wherof we are more sparingly prouided then may warrant the ingaging our selues into any great businesse, and of the second so vt|terly vnfurnished, as wee scarce haue powder to maintaine a good daies fight, nor tooles, nor other prouisions to fortifie, which must be our chiefe worke, as we carry the rebels before vs to dwell by them), we determine to assure the passage of the Moy|ry, then to plant a garrison at Lecaile; and to conuay some more men to Sir Arthur Chichester Gouernour of Carickefergus, (who with that Garrison and those supplies, to|gether with the aduantage that our stirring in all other places will giue him, may goe neere to work little lesse effect, then we with the whole Army should haue done): and lastly, we purpose to lie with the forces as neere Tyrone as we can. After when victuals and munition should be arriued, (which we hope to receiue by the last of Iune, being the time appointed for the generall hosting), we purpose (God willing) as neere as wee can to imploy her Maiesties forces according to the inclosed proiect: (This proiect I haue formerly set downe). With the particularities of Sir H. Dockewra his purpose

to plant Ballishannon, (sent by Captaine Vaughan to your Lordships) we are not acquain|ted, onely Master Treasurer hath told vs of such a proposition in generall. But wee doubt not, that withall he hath propounded to your Lordships for such meanes to ac|complish his worke, as must be supplied from thence. For from vs he can receiue little other assistance, then our imploying the whole forces according to the inclosed pro|iect, which in euery part is done as much as may be for his aduantage, neither (which is worse) can we easily haue any intelligence from him, or often heare one from ano|ther. But if we perceiue that he shall find any impossibility to plant Ballishannon, wee thinke to aduise him, with the whole grosse of his strength to fall into Tyrone, about such time as we shall be at Blackewater, whereby it may fall out, that we shall (with the helpe of God) meet at Dungannon, and vtterly waste all the country of Tyrone, vnto the which course if we be driuen, we must resolue to make the warre this following winter in Connaght, (first leauing the Northern border in good strength), which we hope will reduce that Prouince, and ruine O Donnel; for if we keepe him out of Connaght, he cannot long subsist, and so we hope, for the continuall assurance of that Prouince, to plant the next yeere at Ballishannon with facilitie. But if the planting of so many Ga|risons doe seeme, by continuing the greathesse of the Armie, to draw on too long her Maiesties charge, wee doe first thinke, that to recouer this Kingdome, and to preserue it from being hereafter chargeable, it will bee necessary, that Ballishannon, Loughfoyle, some Garrisons on the Ban, Lecayle, Mount Norreys, Armagh, Blackwater; and some other places, be continually kept, all which places may be euer victualed by Sea, or they being neare together, without any dangerous passage betweene them by land; may be victualed by Sea and land, without any further force then their owne. And if there be in euery Fort some little Keepe (or Tower) of stone built, then as the warres decrease, or occasion shall serue, the places may bee guarded with a few men, and so continue bridles in peace, and fit places to put in more men to great purpose, when the rebellion shall at any time breake out. Neither neede these little Castles bee workes of any great charge, for they may be easily made such, as this people will hard|ly force them. To proceede in our proiect of this Summer seruice. The victuals al|readie contracted for, must-arriue in due time, and your Lordships supply vs with good quantities hereafter. For our onely way to ruine the rebels, must be to make all possible wast of the meanes for life, which done, if we be not supplied out of England, we shall aswell starue our selues as them; but especially where wee must make the warre, which is farre from the reliefe of any friend, and where nothing is to be gotten from the enemy, except it be by great chance, since what is in their Countries, they wil 108 lightly either hide, or spoile, or conuey to inaccessable Fastnesses. And because the greatest seruice here is to be done by long and sudden iournies, which cannot be done without victuall, and no victuall but cheese well carried by the souldier, without ga|rons (or carriage Iades) we must humbly desire your Lordships to send vs some great quantities of cheese. In the prouision whereof whatsoeuer inconueniences your Lord|ships shal find, we assure you they will be ten times counteruailed in the seruice. Lastly, because the Army is already weak of English, and this iourny (without the extraordi|nary fauor of God) must needs diminish them much, as wel by the sword as sicknes, we most humbly and earnestly desire your Lps. assoone as conueniently may bee, to send vs 1000 shot to Carlingford for supplies, that at our re-

turne, we may both strengthen those English Companies; which we meane to leaue behind vs in the North and such as wee carry with vs for the Winter seruice. The time will be exceeding fit for their ar|riuall; for besides the succour we may receiue from them; if we grow very weake at our returne, they will come ouer well cloathed against the Winter, and may haue timë to rest, and to be seasoned, till Christmas, (till when in these warres it is the most vnactiue part of the yeere), and then may bee imployed till the end of May (which is the onely season to plague these rebels), and when the Summer is past (wherein those rogues reuiue and liue like flies) then our Garrisons being well planted, and the Army streng|thened with English, wee may begin to cast the Irish Companies, and to cleare the English Companies of them. For they must continue good subiects, or starue if they goe out, and haue the Queenes sword hang ouer them, wheresoeuer they goe. In the meane time we thinke them necessarily entertained, for wee take so many men from the Rebels, and by them giue vnto our selues facilitie to plant the foundation of their owne ruine, and both with vs and against vs to wast them by themselues. For if wee should not entertaine them, they would-lie vpon some Countric of the subiect, and except it were defended by as many as themselues, they would waste and liue vpon it, so that in effect the very numbers entertained would grow all to one reckoning. And for a more particular instance of the benefit that ensueth the entertaining these Irish, we thinke we can giue your Lordships an account of aboue one hundred that haue this yeere been killed with the bullet, fighting on our side, who were formerly rebels (for of such wee speake) and questionlesse would haue been so againe, if they had liued, and should haue been put out of the Queenes pay. Wee humbly desire your Lordships to make a fauourable construction both of our counsels, and the successes, since those grounds whereupon we doe now iustly build our resolution, may by their alteration giue vs iust cause to alter our course, and the want of such meanes, either in matter or time as we expect, may vtterly hinder it. And that more especially, in case any forraine succours doe arriue. For then the whole frame of this our proiect is bro|ken, and we must be presently relieued out of England, or else we with this Kingdome shall suffer much hazard. And because your Lordships in your last letters, gaue vs some light, that it might be, and leaue to informe you, what likelihood wee could here receiue, that it would be; wee haue first the intelligence which we send your Lord|ships, with many other reports. Next we haue a constant and of late an extraordina|ry conceiued confidence in this people. And lastly we iudge what a wise and a pow|erfull enemie will doe, by that which is best and easie for him to doe. So as wee haue many reasons to thinke, that Spaine will send them helpes this yeere, and few to thinke otherwise, saue that he hath so often deceiued their expectations. For if the malice of Spaine continue to England, they haue an easie and dangerous step thereto by Ireland; and if they doe not imbrace the occasion of this yeere, there is no doubt but the next will for euer loose it vnto them. Now because it must please your Lordships to pro|portion our succours to the force we are likely to be offended with, and that from vs you will expect our owne effates; it may please your Lordships to consider, that the power of this Kingdome consisteth of her Maiesties English Army; of such Irish as are here in Companies by themselues, or in English Companies to serue as mercena|ries, of the Nobilitie, Townes, and inbred people of this Nation, which liue as subiects; and lastly of such meere Irish Lords and their

people, as were lately reclaimed, or still 109 remaine in rebellion. The English are few and farre dispersed, the Irish that serue [...] many and therefore likely to follow their golden hopes of [...], the [...], Townes and People are of so obstinate a contrariety in Religi|on [...] without question they are grow [...] malicious to the Gouernement, and affect [...] of the power of Spaine, to declare themselues the Irish Lords [...] the same motiues as they against vs, in their last necessitie to ioyne with [...]. And all these, especially the Townes, are more stirred on by this new coine [...] though, if the [...] of Spaine doe not arriue, may securely be established, yet if [...] it [...] breede many dangerous inconueniences.) It may therefore please her [...] to haue in a readinesse sixe thousand of the trained Bands of such Countries, [...] best for transporting into Ireland, to be sent ouer into Mounster vpon the first [...] of any [...] power to be arriued there, and some part of her Nauy in a readi|nesse [...] a greater portion of munition and artillerie for vs, then otherwise this warre [...] require. We doe hope to giue her Maiestie a very good account of her King|dome and of our selues, vntill wee shall haue cause to sue for more reliefe. And if it [...] fall out, that Spaine will haue warre with England, we shall be glad that the [...] of England may be made in Ireland, and that wee her poore seruants shall haue the happinesse to strike the first blowes for both her Royall Kingdoms, the which the [...] God preserue long vnto her, and her vnto them and vs, etc.

The same fourteenth day, from the said Campe at the Fagher, his Lordship wrote to Sir Henrie Dockwra, Gouernour of Loughsoyle, first touching his Lordships purposes; That the generall hoasting being the last of Iune, his Lordship presumed within [...] dayes after, to be prouided of all meanes to put at the forces in action, according to their distribution (the proiect whereof he sent to him inclosed), and to bee himselfe as high as Armagh, with such a power, as Tyrone should haue good reason to thinke, that he would doe somewhat more, and in the meane time he would (God willing) keepe the field as neere Tyrone, as his meanes would giue him leaue. So as his Lord|ship hauing planted at Armagh and Blackwater, hoped either by lying there to facili|tate his planting of Ballishannon from Loughfoyle, or to breake into Tyrone, and meete him there. And if Tyrones Army should breake, as his Lordship expected, he thought to find no great difficulty herein, but otherwise held the passage to Dungannon not to be ventured that way. But touching the planting at Ballishannon, that Sir Henrie Dock|wra should not build vpon any supplies from his Lordship, of victuals, munition, or tooles: for artillery that he might vse that he had at Loughfoyle, and either bring it back by water, or be after supplied thereof from Dublin. For munition, tooles, and like ne|cessaries, that his Lordship could spare none, and if he could, yet had no speedy meanes to send them. For intelligence, that he had sent him a Cipher, which he might vse safe|ly in writing to his Lordship, not caring how the messengers sped, so the letters were not vnderstood. That he had sent the like Cipher to Sir Arthur Chichester at Knockfer|gus, with whom he should haue often intelligence, and might that way write most safely to his Lordship. That when he knew his owne meanes, and by his Lordships proiect should find him in readinesse to answere his attempts, he should chuse his [...] for planting Ballishannon, and as neere as he could, send his Lordship cer|taine notice of the time, and vse all possible expedition. But if he could not plant there [...] want or difficulty, that then hee should agree with Sir Arthur Chichester,

that they might both at one time breake into Tyrone, where his Lordship, vpon notice [...] would meete them in which iourney, besides all other effects of warre, they should [...] all the dwellings, and destroy the corne on the ground, [...] might bee [...] by incamping vpon it, and cutting it downe with swords, and other waies, hol|ding [...] best they should spoile all the corne, except that which he could gather, where|in he should not regard the [...] of the Irish Submitties in his Campe.

The [...] fourteenth day wee dislodged from the Fagher, and leauing the Moyry [...] with Warders to guard it, and the workemen, being to build a Tower [...] keepe of [...] we marched eight miles, and incamped at Carickbane, a little beyond the Newrie. The fifteenth his Lordship rose, and marching some fifteene miles, incam|ped 110 in Enagh the Countrie of Mac Gennis. The late Rebels neere Dundalke being all submitted, his Lordship had drawne Sir Richard Moryson with his Regiment from that Gouernement, purposing to place him in Lecayle, neerer to the enemie. And in|tending to march thither with the Army the next day, left the rebels should haue lea|sure to burne the Countrie, and carry away the prey, his Lordship sent Sir Richard Moryson this euening with sixe Companies of Foote, and one of horse, to march all night into Lecayle, who comming suddenly on the rebels, tooke all the prey, and inta|king of Downe Patrick, the Bishops seate, one of the Bradyes was taken, and his head cut off, the rest yeelding to mercy there, and in all adioyning places. Here his Lord|ship was aduertised from the Secretarie of Ireland, that the newes of the Spanish inua|sion this Summer was seconded from diuers, comming from Cales. The sixteenth day his Lordship marched with the Army (through high Mountaines and Woods, and some dangerous paces) seuen miles to the Blackstaffe tiuer, neare a strong Castle, called Dundrom, lying on the North side of the Paces, where the plaine Countrie opens into Lecayle, being an Iland compassed on the West side with this Riuer, and on the three other sides with the sea, and two small armes thereof. This night his Lordship with some horse passed the Blackstaffe bridge, and rode three miles into Lecayle, to view the Countrie. In the way Phelim Mac Euer submitted himself, and yeelded to the Queene his Castle of Dundrom. Also Mac Carty submitted himselfe, and drew his creaghts (or cattle, seruants and goods) into Lecayle. His Lordship returned to the Camp, and the next day rode to Downe Patrick, and thence by Saint Patricks Well to Arglasse, being sixe miles, in which Towne two Castles yeelded to the Queene, and the Warders vp. on their liues saued, gaue vp their Armes. A third Castle there had been held for the Queene all the time of the rebellion, by one Iordane, neuer comming out of the same for three yeeres past, till now by his Lordships comming he was freed, and to him was giuen a reward from the Queene by Concordatum, besides his Lordships bounty of his priuate purse. After dinner his Lordship rode two miles to Russels Towne, and foure miles to the Campe at Blackstaffe. The eighteenth day Mat Rory, Captaine of Kilwarden adioyning, was receiued to the Queenes mercy vpon his submission. And Sir Arthur Chichester, Gouernor of Knockfergus, all this day expected, came in the eue|ning, to whom his Lordship that night imparted his designes in the present seruice, and to the same effect sent a packet by him to Sir Henrie Dockwra, Gouernour of Loughfoyle; and to them both, as also to Sir Richard Moryson being to bee left Gouer|nour of Lecayle, his Lordship gaue Proclamations to be published for establishing the aboue mentioned new coine. All this time Arthur

Mac Gennis the chiefe of his name, and Edmond Boy Mac Gennis his Vncle, made meanes to be receiued to her Maiesties mer|cy, but could not obtaine the fauour, without first doing some seruice. This day his Lordship and the Counsell (following the Army) gaue thirty pound by concordatum to Phelimy Ener Mac Gennis for some special seruices and Balinthor a strong Castle was taken by our men, with diuers cowes and other goods, sixe of the Ward being killed, and the rest swimming awny.

His Lordship hauing placed Sir Richard Moryson (with fiue hundred foote, and fif|ty horse vnder his command) to gouerne Lecayle (which had their residency at Downe), did march backe on the nineteenth day eleuen mile, to fiue mile Church, neere the Newry, passing one pace exceeding strong by nature, and plashed with trees, which lay at the end of the Plaines of Lecaile, and entrance into the woody Moun|taines. And before the entry of this pace, Sir Arthur Chichester hauing receiued two hundred Foote to strengthen his Garrison, returned backe to Knockfergue. The twen|tieth day his Lordship marched with his forces three miles to Carickbane, lying North ward of the Newrie.

This day Sir Henrie Dauers lying at Mount Norryes, aduertised his Lordship, that Tyrone lying in a fastnes, and his men neuer venturing vpon the Plaine, the souldiers left vnder his command there, could not in all this time get any occasion to fight with him, whereof they shewed great desire, onely the horse often shewing themselues vp|on the hilles, had kept him beyond Armagh, where he with his Creaghts lay, feeding III some thousands of Cowes. Whereupon because his Lordship desired to preserue the grasse neere Armagh for his horse troopes, as also to make store of hay there for the Winter following. He sent Sir William Godolphin with his Lordps. troope of horse vn|der his command, to second the forces at Mount Norreys, in attempting some seruice vpon Tyrone, meaning to draw presently his whole forces thither. But in the meane time Sir Francis Staffords Lieutenant of his horse, sent by Sir Henrie Dauers to spy the rebels proceedings, had passed to the view of Armagh, and found that Tyrone had sent backe all his cowes, vpon the hearing of his Lordships returne out of Lecayle. For which cause, and vpon notice that Tyrone had taken a dayes victuals for his men, as if he meant to attempt something, his Lordship recalled Sir William' Godolphin with his troope. The one and twentieth day his Lordship lay still, in regard that, for difficul|tie of getting Garrous (that is, carriage Iades), or by some negligence, victuals were not (according to his former directions) put into Mount Norreys, to which place hee purposed to draw with his forces. This day three daies bread came to his Lordships forces, which in stead of other victuals liued vpon becues. And his Lordship writ to Sir Henrie Dauers, that according to his daily vse of late daies, hee should the next morning earely draw the forces of Mount Norreys towards Armagh, and should on the sudden possesse the Abbey there, and the Towne, whether his Lordship would also draw the Army presently for his second.

The two and twentieth day, his Lordship hauing, by extraordinary pay aboue the Queenes price, gotten garrons, and carrying victuals with him for Mount Norryes, and for the Garrison he intended to plant at Armagh, marched sixe miles neere to Mount Norryes, where Sir Henrie Dauers with that Garrison met him, hauing not been able, for some difficulties, to execute his Lordships former directions. From thence his Lordship (taking with him the said Garrison) marched

forward seuen miles, and that night incamped a little beyond Armagh, where some few rebels shewed themselues braggingly, but attempted nothing. His Lordship before his returne from Lecayle, was purposed to leaue such forces at Mount Norryes, as might plant the Garrison at Armagh when they found opportunity: but lest they should haue been hindred by a greater force, his Lordship rather then to returne towards the Pale (for the attending there of the generall Hoasting, where his Army should haue spent the same victuals it now did) was resolued himselfe in person to plant it, imagining that Tyrone, not loo|king for him till the generall hoasting, would not haue his whole forces with him, nor by that reason, and an opinion and feare that his Lordship intended to march further into Tyrone, would haue any minde to follow his Lordship, or hinder his retreate when hee should haue weakened his forces by that Plantation. Therefore the three and twentieth day his Lordship making a shew to draw from his campe be|yond Armagh towards Blackewater, caused his forces to make a stand for his retreat, and so himselfe with his followers and seruants rode more then a mile forward, to view the way to Blackewater Fort, and the place of the famous Blackewater defeat, vnder the Marshall Bagnols conduct, and hauing passed a pace without one shot made at his troope, he returned to his forces, and marching backe, he left a garrison of seuen hundred fifty foote, and one hundred horse, at the Abbey of Armagh, vnder the com|mand of Sir Henry Dauers, and that night marched with the rest neere to Mou t Nor|reys, where he encamped, hauing in this march from Armagh, viewed the Foard, where Generall Norries formerly was hurt, making a stand with his horse, to secure his foot distressed by Tyrones charge.

The foure and twenty, his Lotdship leauing at Mount Norries the foot and horse of that garrison, marched himselfe with 1250 foot, and 150 horse, sixe miles to [...], being two miles short of the Newry. This was a hill naturally and artificially ofold sortified, where in regard of the weakenes of his forces he encamped, purposing there to attend and solicite the hastning, to send to him from the Pale, all the meanes hee ex|pected to furnish him for his intended iourny, to build the demolished Fort of Black|water.

112 Here his Lordships Army was mustered, and was by Pole,

Captaines and Officers 87. Targets 112. Pykes 291. Muskets 125. Calliuers 635. In all 1250.

Whereof besides Captaines and Officers, English 593. Irish the rest. Wanting Swords 191.

The six and twenty day, his Lordship sent victuals to the garrisons at Mount Nor|reis and at Armagh. The twenty nine day his Lordship receiued aducrtisement, that Sir H. Dauers drawing out the garrison of Armagh into the fastnes, where Brian mac Art lay with his Cattle, had killed diuers of his men, taken many horses from him, and spoiled much of his baggage, besides three hundred Cowes which he had taken from Mac Gennis. And the same day his Lordship receiued the examinations of certain Wa|terford Marriners, who testified, that being at the Groyne, they were pressed there to serue the King of Spaine, in a flye boat of two hundred tun carrying bread to Lisbone; where there was an army of three thousand men to be shipped with victuals and mu|nition for Ireland, and there heard that Tyrones Agent lay at Court, importuning aid to be sent him presently, being not able to subsist any longer without speedy aid. And that the examinates demanded if they were Pylots for the Irish Coast; and finding they should be imploied that way, had secretly

got shipping to transport themselues into France, and so returned home.

The thirtieth day Arthur Mac Gennis chiefe of the name, terrified by the plantation of the garrison in Lecaile, made humble sute for mercy, and obtained her Maiesties protection for nine daies, conditionally that he should come the Satturday following, to submit himselfe in person to her Maiesties mercy, and craue her gracious pardon at Dundalk, where his Lordship then purposed to be. And Rory Oge Mac Gennis, obtained the like protection for one moneth. The same day his Lordship vpon the Lord Presi|dent of Mounster his intercessory letters, granted warrant for her Maiesties pardon, to be passed for two hundred seuenty Artificers and Husbandmen of the County of Kerry. The first of Iuly his Lordship had purposed to rise from Dunanurey, and to re|turne himselfe to Dundakle: but he staied that day, in respect the weather was very foule, and the rather to countenance the Conuoy going with bisket vp to Mouut Norreis and Armagh.

Hitherto his Lordship had kept the field, rather to make Tyrone keepe his forces to|gether, and so to weaken him, then for purpose of any other feruice of moment: but now hearing from Dublin, that the rising out for the generall hoasting, came slowly, and not onely victuals were not yet arriued there, but euen the carriages and beeues for the Army, were like in great part to faile; the second day of Iuly his Lordship dispersed his forces into the said garrisons fronting neerest vpon the rebels, and so with his followers and seruants rode to Dundalke, leading with him of his army onely three Companies of foot, and one troope of horse. The third day, Sir Francis Stafford Go|uernour of the Newry, brought Arthur Mac Gennis to Dundalke, who made his sub|mission to her Maiesty, kneeling before the Lord Deputy and Counsell. Then he made certaine humble requests: First for his pardon which was granted: Secondly, for lands granted to his father by letters Pattents, which his Lordship promised to confirme, excepting only the Lands of Glasny Mac Gennis, on whom he should make no imposi|tion. That he might take in such tenants as would come from the Rebels, acquainting the Gouernour of the Newry therewith before he receiued them, which was granted. Fourthly, that he might retaine and absolutely command all his old tenants, till Al|hollandtide next, which was granted, excepting Glasny Mac Gennis. Fiftly, that he might enioy the Corne he had sowed in Lecaile, which being sowed on other mens Lands, could not be granted, onely fauourable respect to him was promised. Sixthly, that his people might be freed from all actions of priuat wrongs in the warre, which was gran|ted vpon a fine of three hundred Cowes, presently to be deliuered for the Army. The same time Patricke mac Mahowne, Nephew to the chiefe of that name, was vpon like 113 humble submission receiued to her Maiesties mercy, with promise of his pardon.

The fifth day the Lord President and Counsell of Mounster, by letters desired his Lordship, to recall his warrant of marshall Law, giuen to the Lord Bourke, aswell be|cause the Lords abused the same, to draw followers to them, and to reuenge their pri|uate quarrels, as because the whole Prouince was peaceable, and willing to be gouer|ned by iudiciall courses, and this warrant his Lordship presently recalled.

This day Sir Oliuer S Iohns brought letters from the Lords in England, whereby her Maiesty gaue direction, that the Lord Deputy should publikely to all the Army, and priuately to the chiefe Commanders, giue thankes from her Maiesty to them, for the zeale and duty they had shewed in

her seruice, and signifie her gracious acceptance of their endeauours. The sixth day his Lordship staied at Dundalke, to hasten the supplies of the generall hoasting, which came in slowly, and to order the Irish forces of the same fitly for defence of the Pale. This day Captaine Thomas Roper, with his company of foot, according to his Lordships former directions, came from Kells, to serue in the ar|my vnder his Lordship. And while his Lordship lay here, newes came from Armagh, that Sir Henry Dauers had taken some chiefe horses from Tyrones campe, and had en|tred Mac Carty his Country, being one of the greatest fastnesses in Ireland, and brought from thence a great prey.

His Lordship finding that the rising out of the generall hoasting, would doe little good in the Army, and they being willing to vndertake their owne defence, which as their owne perill his Lordship thought hee might best commit to their trust. The se|uenth of Iuly his Lordship gaue order, that the forces of the generall hoasting, for the Counties of Dublyn and Lowth, should lie at Lowth, vnder the command of the Lord of Lowth, and Mr Garland of Killencoule. That those of Meath should lie at Kels, vnder the command of the Lord of Tremelstone, and Mr Dillon his Deputy. That those of West-Meath should be commanded by the Lord of Deluin, and any Deputy his Lord|ship should chuse; so that his Lordship or his Deputy should alwaies in person be re|sident with them, and keepe them together ready to answere any seruice, vpon paine of a fine and imprisonment, to such as should disobey. That those of Kildare, should vnder the Earle of Kildares command, lie at Athy, or else where, at his Lordships discre|tion: and that the Sheriffe of the shire command them vnder his Lordship.

The ninth day his Lordship marched from Dundalke towards the North, and ga|thering the forces to him out of the adioining garrisons, encamped at Latenbur, be|yond the Newry, where he lay still the tenth day, till the victuals was in readines to be carried to Armagh. The eleuenth day his Lordship marched some foure miles, to an hill little beyond Mount Norreis, and that day his Lordship was aduertised, that Sir Arthur Chichester had taken the sole Castle held in those parts of Knockfergus by Brian mac Art, namely, the Reagh, and that Sir Richard Moryson in Lecale, had taken in two Loughes (or Ilands in Lakes), being all the fastnesses (or places of strength) which the said Brian mac Art held there. The twelfth day the Army marched early in the mor|ning to Armagh, and there resting some houres, marched againe after dinner a mile and a halfe beyond Armagh, and there vpon an hill encamped.

The thirteenth day of Iuly, the Lord Deputy with the Army rose from the former Campe, and marched one mile and a halfe, to an hill on this side (namely the South|side) of Blackewater, where he made a stand, Tyrone and his horse and foot, shewing themselues out of a wood, beyond a Meadow on the other side of the Riuer, and that with Trumpets and diuers colours, (some wonne at the old defeat of the English in those parts), and with some Drummes, rather for a bragging oftentation then other|wise, since they fighting like theeues vpon dangerous passages, vsed not to appeare in such warlike manner. And from the trenches kept by the Rebels on the other side of the water, some vollies of shot were powred vpon vs, which sell downe on euery side dead on the ground, by reason of the distance betweene vs, and did small or no hurt. We hauing a Rabinet and a Falcon, made from this hill, some shot at the rebels troope farre distant, whereupon their Puppits brauery suddenly vanished; and accor|ding to their

wonted manner, they hidde themselues in the woods. Presently the Lord Deputy sent three hundred foote to another hill on this side of the Riuer, adioi|ning 114 to the old Fort lying beyond the water, and his Lordship rode to that hil, whom many voluntary Gentlemen with his seruants followed. And in the way my selfe and some others lighted in a Valley to refiesh ourselues by walking, but found an ene|mies soile no place for recreation, for out of the Ditches and Furrowes many shot were made at vs; whereupon we tooke our horses, one shot dangerously, yet (God be prai|sed) without hurt passing betweene my legges, while one of my feete was in my stir|rop, and so we retyred to the grosse, standing in more safetie. Towards euening, wee incamped vpon the aboue mentioned hil, at which time wee saw faire off by a Wood side, Tyrone draw some horse ouer to our side of the water, either (as we imagined) to assayle Tirlogh Mac Henrie of the Fewes, lately submitted, and comming after vs to attend the Lord Deputie in this seruice, or else to conferre with him and his compa|nie: but assoone as Sir William Godolphin Commander of the Lord Deputies troope of horse, by his Lordships direction made towards Tyrone, he with his horse presently retired backe. That night we made Gabyons to enter the Rebels trenches, and sent the Rabinet and Falcon to be planted on the other hill, where our aboue mentioned three hundred foote lay. All the night the rebels out of the trenches shot at our men, while they were busie in working. But the fourteenth day very early at the dawning of the day; vpon our first discharging of the said great pieces, charged with musket bullets, and after some three vollies of our smal shot, the rebels quitted their trenches, basely running into the Woods, and our three hundred men passing the Riuer, vnder Captaine Thomas Williams his command, possessed the trenches, and the old ruined Fort, with the Plaine in which it lay, the Wood being almost musket shot distance, whether the rebels were fled, and had by night carried their hurt and slaine men. Presently the Lord Deputie sent one Regiment to lye beyond the Blackwater, vpon a hill where his Lordship had made choice to build a new Fort. Vpon view of the tren|ches made vpon euery Foard, his Lordship found they were strongly and artificially fortified, wondring much that either they should so laboriously fortifie them, if they meant not to defend them, of should so cowardly quit such strong places, and so sud|denly, if they had former resolution to make them good. In gaining them wee had some twentie men hurt, and two slaine, and they had greater losse, especially in the go|ing off, though we could not truly know it.

The fifteenth day his Lordship with a troope of horse, and foure hundred foote, drew towards Tyrones Wood, and viewed the paces in the sight of the rebels who ran away with their cowes, onely at his Lordships retrait making some few shot at our men, but hurting not one man. In the euening, Captaine Treuer, and Captaine Con|stable with their Companies came to the Campe, sent thither from Lecayle to streng|then the Army, according to his Lordships direction to Sir Rechard Moryson, after the Countrie was all taken in, and Mac Gennis the greatest neighbor Rebel had submitted himselfe.

The 16 day the L Deputy drew out a Regiment of Irish, commanded by Sir Christo. St. Laurence, and passing the Blackwater, marched to Benburb, the old house of Shane O Neale, lying on the left hand of our Campe, at the entrance of great woods. There our men made a stand, in a faire greene meadow, hauing our camp and the plaines behind them, and the wood on both sides, and before

them. The rebels drew in great multitudes to these woods. Here we in the Campe, being ourselues in safety, had the pleasure to haue the ful view of an hot and long skirmish, our loose wings sometimes beating the rebels on all sides into the Woods, and sometimes being driuen by them back to our Colours in the middest of the meadow, (where assoone as our horse charged, the re|bels presently ran backe) and this skirmish continuing with like varietie some three howers: for the Lord Deputie, as he saw the numbers of the rebels increase, so drew other Regiments out of the Campe, to second the fight. So that at last the Rebell had drawne all his men together, and we had none but the by-Guards left to saue-guard the Campe, all the rest being drawne out. Doctor Latwar the Lord Deputies Chap|laine, not content to see the fight with vs in safetie, but (as he had formerly done) af|fecting some singularitie of forwardnesse, more then his place required, had passed in|to the meadow where our Colours stood, and there was mortally wounded with a 115 bullet in the head, vpon which hee died the next day. Of the English not one more was slaine, onely Captaine Thomas Williams his legge was broken, and two other hurt, but of the Irish on our side twenty sixe were slaine, and seuenty fiue were hurt. And those Irish being such as had been rebels, and were like vpon the least discontent to turne rebels, and such as were kept in pay rather to keepe them from taking part with the rebels, then any seruice they could doe vs, the death of those vnpeaceable sword|men, though falling on our side, yet was rather gaine, then losse to the Common|wealth. Among the rebels, Tyrones Secretary, and one chiefe man of the Ohagans, and (as we credibly heard) farre more then two hundred Kerne were slaine. And lest the disparitie of losses often mentioned by me, should sauour of a partiall pen, the Reader must know, that besides the fortune of the warre turned on our side, together with the courage of the rebels abated, and our men heartned by successes, we had plentie of powder, and sparing not to shoote at randome, might well kill many more of them, then they ill furnished of powder, and commanded to spare it, could kill of ours.

These two last dayes our Pioners had been busied in fortifying and building a new Fort at Blackwater, not farre distant from the old Fort, demolished by the rebels, and for some daies following, his Lordship specially intended the furtherance and finish|ing of this worke, so as many souldiers were extraordinarily hired to worke therein as Pyoners.

The nineteenth day his Lordship wrote to the Lords in England, that had not the Irish submitties for the new coyne (now currant ouer all) furnished the Army with beeues, it had been in great distresse, since the victuals of the new contract were not ar|riued, and that of the old store consisted principally of saltfish, whereof the souldier could not feede, especially in Summer, besides that by long keeping it was of ill condi|tion, so as infection was feared in the Army, praying that in the next contracts, the sol|dier might be fed therewith onely one day in the weeke. That he had in his directions to Sir Henry Dockwra, giuen him choice, either with the countenance of his Lordships Army on this side Tyrone, to goe forward with planting Ballishannon, or concurring with the Gouernour of Knockfergus, to enter into Tyrone, where his Lordship vpon, notice would meete them; and in respect he since vnderstood, that he wanted tooles for the Plantation, he thought the second proiect would rather be followed by him. That Tyrone lay with all his forces to hinder his Lordship from passing to Dungannon, which he most feared, and had no fastnesse but onely this to stop it, so as hee doubted not to breake in to

meete Sir Henrie Dockwra, if he could once be assured of his resolu|tion. Further, he besought their Lordships to giue warrant for allowance to the Cap|taines for broken Armes, vpon bringing the old, because vpon the breaking of pieces, the souldiers were turned to serue with Pikes, and our shot diminished daily, and the Pikes were increased more then our vse required, the Captaine excusing himselfe, that vpon breaking of pieces, he was not able to prouide other Armes then Pikes for his men. Likewise he aduertised to their Lordships, that since the last dispatch, Sir Henrie Dockwra had taken in Newtowne, being some sixteene miles from Dungannon (Tyrones chiefe seate), on the North side, (as he the Lord Deputy had planted at Blackwater, be|ing some fifteene miles from Dungannon, on the South side); and that Sir Henrie Doc|wra had spoiled and burned the Countrie there about, and had taken some one thou|sand cowes, from the parts neere the Lough of Earne. That Sir Iohn Barkley, Gouer|nour of the forces at the Anneley, had met with Tyrrels men, as they passed towards Ophaly, (for which purpose that Garrison was specially laied there), and had taken from them three hundred cowes and killed some of them, and had stopped them from troubling that Countrie. And that he the Lord Deputy with the Army had destroi|ed the rebels Corne about Armagh (whereof he found great abundance), and would destroy the rest, this course causing famine, being the onely sure way to reduce or root out the Rebels. Finally, praying their Lordships (as formerly) to send one thousand shot for supplies, the strengthening of the English being the next way to diminish her Maiesties charge, since the Irish were kept in pay rather to preuent their fighting a|gainst vs then for confidence in their fighting for vs.

116 The same nineteenth day of Iuly, the Lord Deputy wrote to Sir Robert Cecill, her Maiesties Secretary, that he found vpon good consideration, that the Gouernement of Connaght was not in his disposall, and therefore being loth to exceede his Commis|sion, he would onely assure him, that as it was requisite, a man of experience, and fit for the present seruice, should haue that Gouernement, so he conceiued none to be fit|ter then Sir Oliuer Lambert, who had already deserued well in this seruice, and would (in his opinion) be able to doe her Maiestie as good seruice, as any in that place, whom (if it might stand with her Maiesties pleasure, to giue him warrant), he was desirous to imploy in those parts, fearing it would be a great hinderance to his intended worke, if any should be put into that Gouernement, who might proue vnfit, or vnable to make that warre; In which respect, he hauing no other end but the aduancement of her Ma|iesties seruice, was bold to make it his humble suite, that Sir Oliuer Lambert might bee placed in that Gouernement.

While the Army lay at Blackwater to build the new Fort, his Lordship on the twentieth of Iuly, drew out two Regiments into the woods, aswell to view the paces, and prouoke the rebels, as to fetch some houses thence, for the building of our Fort, and to cut a field of Corne lying on the skirt of the Woods; which was all performed; the rebels on the further side of the Blackwater, onely making a slight skirmish with our men, vpon their retreit on this side the Riuer. The two and twentieth day, wee cut all the Corne by the Bogge and Wood side, neere our Fort, except that which our men had power to reape. The three and twentieth day Captaine Thomas Williams with his Company, being left to gouerne the new Fort (who before the Blackwater defeat did valiantly defend the old Fort there, being after demolished by the rebels) his Lp. with the army dislodged, and at

our rising, a Proclamation was made, that how soeuer Tyrone vaunted, that his Pardon was offered him, and he might haue it at plea|sure, her Maiestie was not onely resolued neuer to receiue him to mercy, but was plea|sed againe to renew her gratious offer, that whosoeuer brought him aliue, should haue 2000 li. and whosoeuer brought his head, should haue 1000 li. for reward. Thence we marched two little miles to an hill South West-ward in Henrie Oges Countrie, where we incamped, and cut downe the Corne on cucric side. The seuen and twentieth day his Lordship leauing Sir Henrie Follyots Regiment to guard the Camp, drew out three Regiments, expecting that the Rebels would fight, who shewed themselues on an hill neere vs, with all their horse and foote, and sounding of Trumpets, yet our men not onely cutting downe the corne close by them, but entring the Woods to cut Corne there, and burning many houses in the skirts of the woods, they were so patient, as af|ter one volley of shot, they retired into the thickest Woods. The same day the Army dislodging, marched a mile or two more Southward, where we cut down great abun|dance of Corne with our swords (according to our fashion), and here Shane Mac Don|nel Groome, Tyrones Marshall (whose Corne this was) vpon humble submission was re|ceiued to her Maiesties mercie, and came to his Lordship in person the same night at our setting downe in our last Campe, whether we returned. The eight and twentieth his Lordship leauing Sir Christopher Saint Laurence his Regiment to guard the Camp, drew out three Regiments both in the morning and euening, to countenance two con|uoies of victuals. This day his Lordship sent a dispatch to Sir Henrie Dockwra, about their concurring in the present seruices, and the like to Sir Arthur Chichester, to the same purpose. His Lordship staied the longer in these parts, to see the Forts wel victu|aled, and to cut downe the Corne, whereof he found great store.

The nine and twentieth day his Lordship was aduertised, that Sir Henrie Poore had scattered and broken three hundred rebels in Lease, and had beggered them by diuers preyes of cattell taken from them, and among them, being of the Sept of O Mores, had killed, burnt and hanged forty at least, and after had slaine in fights O Connor Mac Lyre, and most of his men, and hurt many of those which escaped.

And this day great store of victuals for the Forts came from the Newry with a conuoy safely to the Campe. The thirtieth day his Lordship rose with the Ar|mie, and marched Northward backe to the new Fort of Blackwater, and beyond it, 117 in all some three miles, along the South side of the Riuer, and there his Lordship in|camped close vpon the Bogges and the Fastnesses (or fortified passages) in the Wood. The same euening his Lordship drew some choise men out of euery Regiment, and some troopes of horse, and with them rode to view the Countrie, and woody paces, more specially that pace which lay right before vs Northward, where the neerest and best passage was to enter Tyrone, the Arch-traytors chiefe house Dangannon, being some tenne miles distant, to which, after the passage of this pace and Blackwa|ter, the plaine Countrie lay open, yet being in some parts boggy. Here Tyrones men lay intrenched on the other side of the Riuer, in such trenches as he had made to im|peach the building of our new Fort at Blackwater, and cowardly quitted them (as is a|boue mentioned.) The Rebels bestowed some vollies of shot on his Lordships troopes, but they returned safely, hauing onely one man hurt. And here one of the three Trumpets in Tyrones pay, ran from him to our Campe.

The one and thirtieth day his Lord-

ship drew out (as before) and that day and the first of August next following, cut downe the Wood, to cleare the said pace, lying be|tweene vs and the said passage ouer Blackwater. And this day the rebels attempted to cut off a guard, which we had placed on a remote hill, to second the workemen cut|ting the Wood, but were by them and the workemen stoutly receiued, and by our se|conds beaten backe.

At the same time, by accident we had almost lost all our best horses: for at the A|larum giuen, the horses being frighted with the skirmish, and with diuers horsemen hurrying out to answere the Alarum, broke their headstals, and ran backe to Armagh, and some of the best as farre as the Newry, whether our men following, did recouer them all: but had the rebels horsemen followed them, no doubt they might haue caught them, and defeated our men loosely following them, and so by this aduantage haue done vs more mischiefe, then they could otherwise haue done with their forces doubled.

The second of August his Lordship with the Army rose, and marched backe to Ar|magh, to the end he might shun all paces, and from thence haue an open passage into Art Mac Barons Countrie. We marched sixe miles to Armagh, and three to Rawlagh, where while we incamped, Sir Henry Dauers with three hundred foote, and for|tie horse, was sent into a Fastnesse to burne some twentie faire timber houses, which he performed; and about the time to set the watch, hee returned towards the Campe, and at his retreat all Tyrones Forces guarded with three hundred horse, skirmished with our men, but they seconded out of the Campe, came off orderly, the rebels fol|lowing them to our very Campe, into which they powred a volley of shot, and by reason of the Fastnesses adioyning, and night approaching, retired in safety.

Here his Lordship was aduertised, that the Earle of Ormond had executed in the borders of Kilkenny and Tiperary nine and twenty rebels, of which Tybot Leyragh But|ler, and Dauid Bourk, and Vlicke Bourke, were the chiefe, and that the Company vnder his Lordships command, had slaine eight and twentie, of which two principall men of the Omores, one Okelly, one Captaine Edmund Roe Bourke, and one Richard Bourke, sonne to Vlicke, were the chiefe.

The third of August we rose, and hauing marched three miles backe, we incamped betweene the paces and Armagh, a little beyond Armagh towards the North, to the and our messengers and our conuoyes for victuals might more safely passe (which was the chiefe end of our returning), and that we might haue better grasse for our hor|ses, all the higher Country aboue, being eaten by the rebels Creaghs (or cattell), and al the way we marched, the rebels in their fastnesses drew downe closeby, and follow|ed vs all the way, being very strong. Here the Commissary tooke a view of the Army in field with his Lordship. Regiments.

First, of Sir Beniamin Berry his Lordships Lieutenant of his foote, in List 825, by pole present in the Campe 490. 2. Regiment of Sir Oliuer Saint Iohns, in List 875, by Pole 533. 3. Regiment of Sir Hen. Folliot, in List 500, by Pole 305. 4. Regiment of Sir Christopher Saint Laurence, in Lyst, 750, by Pole 400. Totall in List 2950, by Pole 1728,

118 Herein are not contained either Officers present, or the sicke, or hurt, or vpon other occasions absent. The fourth day some Companies were drawne out to cut the pace of Armagh, and the rebels being in sight, offered not to skirmish with them. But to|wards night they drew downe strong out of the woods, to an hil vnder which we lay encamped in a faire

meadow. They came with cries and sound of Drummes and bag|pipes, as if they would attempt the campe, and powred into it some two or three thou|sand shot, hurting onely two of our men. But his Lordship commanding that none in the Campe should stirre, had lodged in a trench some foure hundred shot, charging them not to shoot till the rebels approached neere. And after these our men had giuen them a volly in theirteeth, they drew away, and we heard no more of their Drummes or Bagpipes, but onely mournefull cries, for many of their best men were slaine, and among the rest one horseman of great accompt, and one Pierce Lacy an Archrebell of Mounster. The next morning we found some dead bodies at the skirt of the wood, and three scattered peeces. Hence his Lordship sent direction to Sir Iohn Barkeley, to bring with him to the Campe a regiment from the Annaly and Liseannon, because Tyrone was growne strong by the comming to him of his Mac Guire, and his Mac Mahownd, and of Cormocke mac Baron, (comming to him from the frontires of Loughfoyle). The fifth day his Lordship sent againe some shot, with Pyoners, to cut the pace close by the Rebels.

The sixth day his Lordship purposed to rise and meet our Conuoy bringing victu|als from the Newry: but being staied by ill weather, sent early some horse to stay the Conuoy, till his Lordship drew downe towards those parts. This day his Lordship gaue order to Master Treasurer, that proportions of new monies should be sent to all the Market Townes, to change the same for sterling, and that Proclamations should be made in them to decry the old sterling monies, and onely make the new to be currant. The seuenth his Lordship rose to draw towards the Newry, and marching to Mount Norreis, encamped neere the said Fort. The eight day his Lordship dispatched the Earle of Clanrickard into Connaght, to command the forces in those parts, hauing sent for Sir Iohn Barkeley to come with a regiment to the Campe. Here his Lordship gaue warrant for the passing of her Maiesties pardon for land, life, and goods, to Arthus Mac Gennis, chiefe of his Sept, with some 170 followers.

Here his Lordship receiued letters out of England from Mr Secretary, signifying that the Lord President had sent to her Maiesty diuers aduertisements, that the Spani|ards would presently land in some part of Mounster, from whence the Lord Deputy for necessity had lately drawne one thousand foot and fifty horse into Connaght. That her Maiesty did well allow of his Lordships care in drawing those men to that seruice, and not leesing the present certainty for apprehension of the future, not so assured. That it was probable that the King of Spaine would doe something now at the vp|shot, and though it was not credible, that he would send ten or twelue thousand men into Ireland, yet since he had from February last begunne a foundation to prouide for|ces for the Low-Countries or Ireland, as his affaires should require: and since the Low-Country Army was reinforced by land out of Italy, her Maiesty thought he might with ease transport foure or fiue thousand men for Ireland, and was like to doe it, and so he might for the time turne the state of Ireland, would thinke them well bestowed, if he should leese them all at the yeeres end. That in this respect her Maiesty had resolued to leauy fiue thousand men to be in readines, and to send two thousand of them pre|sently for Mounster, to arriue there by the tenth of this moneth; so as if the Spaniards should land, the Lord President might be enabled to keepe the Prouincials from re|uolt, till he the Lord Deputy might come thither, and more forces might be sent out of England; and if they should not inuade Ireland, then his Lordship might keepe the

one thousand he had drawne from Mounster, to finish the worke whereof he had laide an happy foundation, heartily wishing that his Lordship might be the happy Instru|ment to saue Ireland, to whom he professed himselfe tied in most constant and honest friendship, and praying his Lordship to esteeme these ready seconds, besides the pub|like duty to proceed much out of an extraordinary respect to his Lordship. That for 119 bestowing of the Companies to be sent into Mounster, as he who was gone, (meaning [...], the Earle of Essex), made too great a Monopoly in bestowing all such pla|ces himselfe, so now there was a great confusion, euery Lord importuning to preferre his friend and follower; but that for his part, he sought no mans preferrement herein, but onely aduised that those might be first respected, which came ouer with the Lord Deputies recommendations. That the Lord President had earnestly moued him, and in good sort challenged to haue hopes in him for the procurement of some meanes to gratifie his followers; and had by other friends obtained of her Maiesty, that some of those Companies might be sent ouer vndisposed, and left to his disposall, to which he the Secretary had giuen second, rather then that the places should be bestowed in Eng|land, without any thankes eather to the Lord Deputy or Lord President. Protesting that how soeuen he loued the Lord President, he would not scant his due respect to his Lordship, wherein he thought to giue him the least discontent. That he conceiued the Spaniards would not make difcent at Corcke, which Towne was not guardable when they had it. Noryet at Lymricke, though fit by the scituation, because an enemy inga|ged, so farre into the Kingdome, could not hope for supplies, when her Maiesty should take due resolution to oppose them. But rather iudged Galloway a fit place for their dis|cen giuing commodity to ioine with the Northerne rebels, and seated in a Countrey all out in rebellion. Or else Waterford, in respect of the goodly Riuer and the peoples affection to Spaine, adui [...] the Fort of Dungannon should carefully be furnished with a Commander, men, and necessaries. Lastly, that Ostend was obstinately besieged by the Arch-Duke, with thirteene thousand foote, and sixty peeces of battery; and howsoeuer the States had left two thousand Dutch there, yet their Army being at Bercke, whence it would not be raised, the Town had beene carried within ten daies, if Sir Francis Vere had not throwne himselfe into it with one thousand sixe hundred English, to whom her Maiesty sent one thousand men, and prepared to send 2000. more, no succour the place, because part of the Army in Italy was come downe to the Arch Duke.

The ninth of August his Lordship and the Counsellors present in the Campe, writ to the Lords in England. That the Army had bin imployed in preparing her Maiesties Forts, and fitting them for the winter war, and in the present spoyling of the rebels corne, (the only way to ruine them), hoping to keep the army in field til haruest were past; so that it being impossible to cut all their corne, our garrisons might haue opportunity to gather the rest, and the rebels might be hindred from gathering any, except it were Ty|rones corne neere Dungannon, wherunto the passage was so difficult, as his LP for so lit|tle thought not good to hazard al, especially since Sir Hen. Dockwra for want of Match (as he had written) could not meete his Lordship in Tyrone, according to their former proiect, whereof his Lordship notwithstanding professed himselfe nothing sorrie, in regard that meeting would haue giuen the Arch rebell power to fling the Dice againe for recouerie of their fortune, and that vpon an vnequall

hazard, by setting his rest vpon either of them apart, diuided into three bodies, vnder the Lord Deputy, the said Sir Henrie Dockwra, and Sir Arthur Chichester, euen with the whole force of his Nor|therne partakers, though his other friends further off were kept from aiding him, by the disposall of our other forces. That besides the spoyling of their corne, his Lord|ship by search had found an ensie way to pasle to Dungannon, which hitherto was ne|uer by any Guide made knowne to vs, and had cut down a broad pace, through a thick Wood in two dayes labour, and so came to the Riuer, where he purposed, as soone as might be, to build a Fort with a Bridge, there being from thence to Dungannon lesse then foure miles, all in a plaine; That this would cut the Arch-traytors throat: for howsoeuer the name of Oneale was so reuerenced in the North, as none could bee in|duced to hetray him vpon the large reward set vpon his head, yet when the hope of assistance from Spaine should be taken away, they seeing their Corne spoyled, and vp|on our expected supplies seeing vs enter Tyrone, could not but see their apparant con|fusion. That howsoeuer this Summer few of their cowes had been taken (which worke is more proper to the Winter warre), yet they had been forced to feede them 120 within their fastnesses, which they vsed to keepe for feeding them in Winter, so as they must either starue them by keeping them there in winter, or hazard the taking of them by our Garrisons, if they feede them abroad. That for the future seruice, they besought againe to be inabled, by the sending of one thousand shot out of England for supplies, and that the rather, because Tyrone was very strong, as appeared by a note deliuered by Shane Mac Donnel Groome, who hauing been Tyrones Marshall, was receiued to [...] the seuen and twenty of Iuly, besides our experience of their strength, when few daies since they powred three thousand shot into our Campe, and could hardly be kept from forcing it. So as our army consisting only of one thousand seuen hundred nintie eight by Pole, and more then halfe of them being Irish, the speedy sending of the supply was most necessarie. As also the sending of munition and victuals, with|out which all this labour would be lost, and the souldier forced, not onely to leaue his Garrison, but to liue idly in the Pale vpon the subiect. Lastly, that the Army (by Gods grace) had not had any disaster, but burning their houses in the very Woods, had still beaten the Rebels, few or no English being lost. Together with these letters were sent diuers notes of victuals and munition remaining, and new stores to be sent ouer. And therewith was sent the aboue mentioned note of Tyrones forces, as followeth.

A perfect note of such Captaines and Companies, as are vnder the command of the Traitor Tyrone, within Tyrone, not mentioning the Chiefetaines, as O Don|nel, O Cane, Mac Gire, and the rest of the Vlster Lords, but onely such as attend him in his Countrie.

horse.

Tyrone for his Guard, 100. His sonne Hugh Oneale, 100. His brother Cormock, 100. Art Mac Baron, 20. Phelim Ohanlons sonne, 10. Tirlogh Brasils sonnes, 50. Con, Tyrones base sonne, 20.

In all 400.

His Guard of Foote.

Led by Iames Osheale a Lemster man, 200. Led by Ienkyn Fitz Simon of Lecayle, 200.

In all 400.

Other Foote.

Hugh Mac Cawel, and two other Captaines vnder Cormock, Tyrones brother, 600. Con, sonne to Art Mac Baron, 100. Brian Mac Art, 200. Con, Tyrones base sonne, 100. Mac Can, 100. Owen O Can, 100. Donough Aferadogh Ohagan, 100.

Owen Ohagan, 100. Donnel Oneale for Owen Eualle O Neale, 100. Three Brothers, Gillaspick Mac Owen, 100; Rory Mac Owen, 100; Randal Mac Owen, 100. Kedagh Mac Donnel, 100. Owen O Quin, 100. Iames O Hagan, 100. Phelym Oge O Neale, 60. Tirlogh Brasills sonnes, 200. Henry wrag|ton, 200. Henry Oge Mac Henrie Mac Shane, 100. Tirlogh Con Mac Barons sonne, 100. Art Ohagan, sonne to Hugh, 100. Hugh GRome Ohagan and his Cosin, 100. Donnel GRome Mac Edmund, 100. Patrick Mac Phelim, 100. Gilleduff Mac Donnel, one of Connaght, 100. In all 3260.

Totall of horse and Foote, 4060.

All these (three hundred excepted) had meanes for themselues and their compa|nies within Tyrone, and diuers of them haue great forces besides these, which they keepe in their owne Countries for defence thereof.

This present ninth of August the Lord Deputic wrote to Sir Robert Cecyll the Se|cretarie this following letter.

SIr, I receiued your letter of the fiue and twentie of Iuly, the fourth of this moneth, being in Campe neere the place where the Marshall Bagnol was slaine. The newes you receiued from the President of Mounster, of Spanish succours, I doe find no waies more confirmed, then by the assured confidence this people hath thereof, out of the which they are growne from the most humble begging of their peace, to exceeding pride, and the traytor himselfe so strong, as (beleeue me Sir) he hath many more figh|ting 121 men in his Army, then we. And yet we doe not omit any thing of our purposes, but haue since our comming to this Camp, made that a faire way to Blackwater, which the Marshall shunned, when he was ouerthrowne, and euery day cut downe either his Woods or his Corne in his sight, onely with some slight skirmishes, in all which (God be thanked) we cannot say, we had any disaster hitherto, but in all he loseth some of his best men. I presume there could nothing be added to our Couusell of the distributi|on of her Maiesties forces: but whether the fault hath been in the Commanders of the seuerall parties, or in some impediments which they pretend, I know not; but wee re|ceiue little assistance by any of them, and the whole brunt of the warre lieth vpon vs. But out of the present iudgement wee make of this Countrie, wee haue discouered, and directed Sir Arthur Chichester a course, which if we may inable him to go forward in, will, I hope, vtterly banish Tyrone; and haue found another way into his country, that if we can but build a Fort, and make a passage ouer the Riuer, we shall make Dun|gannon a center, whether we may from all parts draw together all her Maiesties forces, and (as I presume) before this winters end, not leaue a man in the Country of Tyrone, Whatsoeuer others haue vndertaken, I beseech you Sir to remembet, that in all my dispatches, I haue declared, that the vttermost you could looke from vs in this Sum|mers work, should be to plant such Garrisons as must take effect this next Winter, and that we should proceed slowly, and come short of our purpose, if we were not continual|ly supplied with meanes, and in time, of victuals and al kind of munitions. If you haue not been informed in due time of our wants, I must excuse my selfe, that being conti|nually imploied in the actiue prosecution of as busie a warre as any is in the World, and most commonly farre from Dublin, where our Magazins are, I am driuen in al the seuerall kindes of our meanes, to appoint of the Counsell Commissioners, whom I haue desired in my absence to informe you of the estate of these things, and to solicite our wants, hauing directed the particular Ministers of euery nature, to informe them of the remaines, and to deli-

uer them (to bee sent ouer) estimates, of what wee should want. Onely in generall I haue in all my dispatches protested, that without sufficient supplies of these things, wee should bee driuen to sit still, and make all the rest of her Maiesties charge vnprofitable. Sir, I cannot from a quiet iudgement make you a large and perfect discourse at this time of our affaires, for I am continually full of the pre|sent busines, and haue so little rest, as sometimes these rogues will keepe vs waking all night: but in short, I dare assure you, I see a faire way, to make Vlster one of the most quiet, assured, and profitable Prouinces, if the Spaniard doe not come: If they doe, I cannot say what we shall first resolue on, till by the euent we see their purpose; for to prouide for all places, that carrie equall probabilitie of their vndertaking, wee cannot, neither can I put my selfe into any part of Ireland with my chiefe strength, but I may happen to be as farre from their discent, as I shall bee where now I am, which maketh me the more loth to forgoe my hold in these parts; and yet for all occasions you must not imagine me to be now in the head of a great Army, but of some sixteene hundred fighting men, of whom there are not halfe English, and vpon the newes of Spanish succours, I know few Irish that I can reckon ours. With this Army I must make my retreat, which I resolued to haue left most part in Garrisons all this winter in these quarters; and in truth Sir, I cannot at this present thinke of a better counsel, then that we might goe on with the warre by these Garrisons against Tyrone, as wee were deter|mined, whether the Spaniards come or no, and to make head against them, chiefely with meanes out of England. By this course they shall giue each other little assistance, and if we doe but ruine and waste the traytors this Winter, it will bee impossible for the Spaniards to make this people liue, by which course I presume it is in her Maiesties power to giue the King of Spaine a great blow, and to quit this Country of them for euer. If in the checkes, the Queene doe not finde the weakenesse of her Army. I dis|claime from the fault; for without a wise honest Muster-master, of good reputation, to be still present in the Army, the Queene in that kinde wil neuer be well serued, and vp|on those Officers that are, I doe continually call for their care in that matter. If accor|ding to our desire you had sent vs one thousand supplies of shot to the Newrie, it had 122 aduanced the seruice more then I can expresse, but some you must needs send vs, to be able to leaue those garisons strong in winter. Most part of these troops I haue here, are they that haue stricken all the blowes for the recouerie of the Kingdome, and been in continuall action, and therefore you must not wonder if they be weake. If Sir Henrie Dockwra do not plant Ballishannon, I thinke it fit, that Sir Arthur Chichester had a thou|sand men of his List, whom I hope we would finde meanes to plant within foure or fiue miles of Dungannon, and by boats victuall them commodiously. I doe apprehend the consequence of that plantation to be great: but till I heare from you againe, I wil take no men from Loughfoyle, because I am loth to meddle much with that Garrison without direction: but I besecch you Sir by the next let me know your opini|on.

I pray you Sir giue me leaue to take it vnkindly of my L: President to informe you, that Sir Hen. Dockwra hath had greater fauor in the nomination of Captaines the he; for he neuer placed but one, whom I displaced after. To haue some left to his nomina|tion, is more then I could obtaine, when the last supply came to me. But since it is the Queenes pleasure, I must beare this (and as I doe continually a great deale more) with patience. And though I am willing you should know I haue a iust

feeling of these things, yet I beseech you Sir to beleeue, that my meaning is not to contest, or to im|pute the fault vnto you, for (by God Sir) where I professe my loue in the same kind I haue done to you, they shall bee great matters that shall remoue me, although they may (and I desire that I may let you know when they do) moue me. I do only impute this to my misfortune, that I perceiue arguments too many of her Maiesties displea|sure: but while for her owne sake she doth vse my seruice, I will loue whatsoeuer I suf|fer for her, and loue the sentence, that I will force from the conscience of all, and the mouth of the iust, that I haue been, and will be, an honest, and no vnprofitable seruant vnto her. I dare vndertake, we haue rid my Lord President of the most dangerous re|bell of Mounster, and the most likely man to haue renewed the rebellion; for that night I receiued your letters, the rogues did powre aboue three thousand shot into our Campe, at which time it was our good fortune to kill Peirce Lacie, and some other of their principall men. Wee are now praying for a good wind, for wee are at our last daies bread, if victuals come in time, we will not be idle. Sir, if I haue recommended any into England, I am sure it was for no charge; for I know none that haue gone from hence but there are many that continue here more worthy of preferment then they, therefore I pray Sir let them not be reckoned mine, that there challenge any thing for me, but whatsoeuer shall please their Lordships I must be contented withall, and it shall not much trouble mee, for I meane not to make the warres my occupa|tion, and doe affect asmuch to haue a great many followers, as to bee troubled with a kennel of hounds. But for the Queenes sake, I would gladly haue her serued by such, as I know to be honest men, and vnhappy is that Generall, that must fight with weapons of other mens choosing. And so Sir, being ashamed that I haue troubled you so long, I desire you to be assured, that no man shall loue you more honestly and faithfully, then my selfe.

From the Campe neere Mount Norreys this ninth of August, 1601 . Yours Sir most assured to doe you seruice Mountioy.

Touching the aboue mentioned distate betweene the Lord Deputy and the Lord President of Mounster, his Lordship shortly after, wrote a letter to him, resenting him|selfe in very high tearmes, of the wrong he conceiued to be offered him, as followeth in his Lordships letter.

123 MY Lord, as I haue hitherto borne you as much affection, and as truely as euer I did professe it vnto you, and I protest reioyced in all your good successes as mine owne; so must you giue me leaue, since I presume I haue so iust cause, to challenge you of vnkindnes and wrong, in writing into England, that in preferring your followers, Sir Henry Dockwra hath had more power from me then your selfe, and consequently to solicite the Queene to haue the nomination of some Captaines in this Kingdome. For the first I could haue wished you would haue beene better aduised, because vpon my Honour he neuer, without my speciall warrant, did appoint but one, whom I after displaced; and I do not remember that euer since our comming ouer, I haue denied any thing, which you haue recommended vnto me, with the marke of your owne desire to obtaine it, and in your Prouince I haue not giuen any place (as I thinke) but at your instance. For the other, I thinke it is the first example, that euer any vnder another Ge|nerall desired or obtained the like sute. And although I will not speake iniuriously of your deserts, nor immodestly of mine owne, yet this disgrace cannot make me beleeue that I haue deserued worse then any that haue beene Generals before me: but since it is the Queenes pleasure, I must endure it,

and you chuse a fit time to obtaine that, or any thing else against me. Yet I will concurre with you in the seruice, as long as it shall please her Maiesty to imploy vs here: but hereafter I doubt not but to giue you satis|faction that I am not worthy of this wrong. The Counsel and my self, vpon occasion of extraordinary consequence, sent for some of the Companies of Mounster out of Con|naght, when we heard you were to be supplied with two thousand out of England, but we receiued from them a flat deniall to come, and the coppy of your letter to warrant them therein. If you haue any authority from the Queene to countermand mine, you may very well iustifie it, but it is more then you haue vowed to me to haue, when I (before my comming ouer) protested vnto you that if you had, I would rather serue the Queene in prison, then here. My Lord, these are great disgraces to me, and so con|ceiued, and I thinke iustly, by all that know it, which is and will be very shortly all Ire|land. My alleagiance and owne honour are now ingaged with all my burthens, to goe on in this worke, otherwise no feare should make me suffer thus much; and what I doe, it is onely loue doth moue me vnto it: for I know you are deere to one, whom I am bound to respect with extraordinary affection. And so my Lord I wish you well and will omit nothing (while I am in this Kingdome) to giue you [...]he best contentment I can, and continue as,

Your assured friend, Mountioy.

The Lord President within few daies, not onely with a calme, noble, and wise, an|swere, pacified his Lordships anger; but also by many good Offices betweene his Lordship and Master Secretary, (with whom as a most inward friend hee had great power) so combined their new begunne loue, as hee ingaged his Lordship in a great bond of thankefulnes to him.

The eleuenth of August, his Lordship wrote to the Gouernour of the Newry, that to auoid the continuall trouble of Conuoyes hereafter, he should presently send vp as great prouision of victuals to Armagh as possibly he could, while his Lordship lay in that part with the Army: For two daies after, by reason of much raine falling and the expecting of these victuals, his Lordship lay still in the Campe neere Mount Nor|ris. The thirteenth the victuals came, but not in such great proportion as was dire|cted, because the victuler had failed to bake great part of his meale, and the Cowes ex|pected from Dundalke, were not yet sent by the Submitties, according to their pro|mise. The same day his Lordship rose and incamped three miles short of Armagh. The foureteenth his Lordship rose with the Army, and put all the victuals he had receiued into the Abbey of Armagh and the Fort of Blackewater, and returned back to the same camping place. The fifteenth his Lordship drew backe to his former Campe, neere Mount Norreis, and sent out some Companies of horse and Foote to the skirts of the wood neere the Fort, to guard those that cut wood for making of Carres, to transport 124 more victuals to the said garrisons. The sixteenth his Lordship drew backe to Carick|bane, neere the Newry, to hasten the prouision of victuals, in as great quantity as might be, which was dispatched within few dayes. The twenty three his Lordship wrote the following letter to Mr Secretary.

SIR I did euer foresee, and haue signified so much that any forraine succours would cleane alter the State of this Kingdome, and the whole frame of our proceedings, and doe find that the assurance that these people doe now receiue thereof, doth make them stand vpon other termes then they were wont, and much diuert our purposes, which we had conceiued with good reason and great hope. Of any but the English we haue small assurance, and of them the Army is exceeding weake. The

Irish newly sub|mitted, and their wauering faith hithetto we haue vsed to great effect: for we haue wast|ed them, and the rebels by them, but when we come to lay our Forces in remote garri|sons, they flie the hardnes of that life, and doe againe betake themselues vnto any head that is of power to spoile, and with the best paid and preuailing party they will euer be. I am certainely told by Sir Iohn Barkely, that some Spaniards that arriued at Sligo (as they say to discouer, and with assurance of the present comming of a great force,) doe there fortifie, and (as he hath been more particularly informed) not in a compasse only capeable of themselues, but in such sort as it will be able to lodge great numbers. This, (and my being preuented to follow my purposes in these parts as I would,) draweth me into the Pale, to aduise of the best assurance for the maine, and yet not to quit my pur|poses in such sort in these parts; but if the Spaniards doe not come, I may againe look this way with my former desire, which was to beat the chiefe Traitor cleane out of his Conntrey: for vntill that be done, there will be euer left a fier, which vpon all occasi|ons will breake out more and more violently. When I haue spoken with the rest of the Counsell, and considered more neerely the disposition of these inward parts, I will more largely relate vnto you my opinion, neither will I now much trouble you with my owne estate, although not onely my selfe, but (I protest) the seruice doth feele the effect of a general conceiued rumour of her Maiesties displeasure to me. I am so neere|ly interessed therein; that I cannot speak much of that matter, without the preiudice of a priuate respect to my selfe: but onely this, I most humbly desire her Maiestie for her owne sake to vse me no longer here, then shee thinketh me fit to be trusted and graced; for without both, I shal but striue against the wind and tide, and be fit for nothing but my owne poore harbour, vnto the which I most humbly desire to be speedily called with her gracious fauour, since my owne conscience maketh me presume to desire so much, that best doth know with how vntollerable labour of minde and body, I haue and doe continually serue her. And so Sir I beseech God to send you as much con|tentment as I doe want.

The 23 of August 1601. Yours Sir to doe you seruice, Mountioy.

The fortifying of the Spaniards at Sligo, vanished with the rumour, which was grounded vpon some arriuing, to bring the Rebels certaine newes of present succours, and presently returning. And the brute (or perhaps his Lordships iealousie) of her Maiesties displeasure, arose from the confessions of some examined, about the rash at|tempts of the vnfortunate Earle of Essex, who had accused the Lord Deputy to be priuy to that proiect. His Lordship purposing to draw into the Pale (or parts neere Dublyn), left his forces in the North, (for those of Loughfoyle had not yet correspon|dency with these), in this following manner disposed.

At Carickefergus.

Sir Arthur Chichester Gouernour 200. Sir Foalke Conway 150. Captaine Billings 150. Captaine Phillips 150. Captaine Norton 100. Captaine Egerton 100. Foot 850.

Sir Arthur Chichester 25. Captaine Iohn Iephson 100. horse 125.

At Lecaile.

Sir Richard Moryson Gouernour 150. Captaine Toby Cawfield 150. Foot 300.

125 These following forces, when they should be drawne out, for conuoy of victuals or otherwise, were to be commanded in chiefe by Sir Francis Stafford, and were thus dis|posed in seuerall garrisons.

At the Newry.

Sir Francis Stafford Gouernour 200. Captaine Iostas Bodley 150. Sir William

Warren 100. Foot 450. Sir Francis Stafford 50 horse.

At Mount Norreis.

Captaine Edward Blaney Gouernour 150. Captaine Atherton 150 Sir Samuell Bagnoll 150. Captaine Rotheram 150. Foot 600. Sir Samuell Bagnoll 50 horse.

At Armagh.

Sir Henry Dauers Couernour 150. Sir H. Follyot 150. Capt. Guest 150. Capt. Thomas Roper 150. Captaine Francis Roe 100. Capt. Treuer 100. Foot 800.

Sir Henry Dauers 100. Captaine Darcy 25. horse 125.

At Blackewater.

Captaine Williams Gouernour 150. Captaine Constable 100. Sir Garret Moore 100.

Foot 350.

The twenty foure of August, his Lordship leauing the field, rode backe to the New|ry, from whence he sent one W. an Englishman in bonds to the Lords in England, for the reasons following. Sir Henry Dauers after his elder brothers perishing in the late Earle of Essex his attempt, was desirous by actiue prosecution of the Rebels, to deserue her Maiesties good opinion. And for this cause, as for that hee was enabled to doe great seruices, aswell by his noble vertues, as by the command he formerly and now had both of horse and foot; his Lordship in speciall loue to him, being most willing to giue him all opportunity to attaine this his desire, appointed him Gouernour of Armagh, aduising him to be often stirring with the forces vnder his command, and to practise what possibly he could deuise vpon the person of the Arch-traitor. To him this Englishman made offer to kill Tyrone, yet would not discouer his plot for greater secrecy (as he pretended), neither would he presse him further, since he required no as|sistance; and so in the night he was suffered to goe by the watches, and passed to Ty|rones Campe, whence he was imploied to the Ilander Scots, and comming to Sir Ar|thur Chithester hands, was by him sent backe from Knockefergus to his Lordship at the Newry, where being examined what he had done in Tyrones Campe, he auowed that once he had drawne his sword to kill him, though vnder pretence of bragging what he would doe for his seruice, yet gaue he no good accompt of his actions or pur|poses, but behaued himselfe in such sort, as his Lordship iudged him franticke, though not the lesse fit for such a purpose. Now because hee had not performed that he vn|dertooke, and gaue an ill accompt of himselfe in this action; his Lordship, aswell for the discharge of Sir H. Dauers, who imploied him, as of himselfe who consented there|vnto, and aduised Sir H. Dauers so to doe, thought good to send him prisoner to the Lords, that he might be there examined, where by reason of his friends dwelling in London, they might be sufficiently informed of the mans quality.

The fiue and twentieth, his Lordship and the Counsel there present, wrote from the Newry this following letter to the Lords in England.

IT may please your Lordships. Since our last letters we haue for the most part im|ploied our selues in putting vp as great quantity of victuals as we could to Armagh and the Blackewater, being loath to ingage our selues into any thing, which wee had further purposed, vntill we should see the issue of this assured expectation of the Spa|niards inuasion, or till we might by some meanes better strengthen this Army. Of the first we haue reason to be iealous, both by many arguments of assured confidence in 126 this people of present succour, and by the arriuall of a Spanish ship, in which the Arch-traytors agent is returned, with assurance that he left the Spanish forces ordai|ned for his aide in a readinesse to set out. For the strengthen-

ing of our Armie wee had good reason to bee prouident, considering the weakenesse thereof, and especially of the English, and finding by experience the rebels strength now, when he had none but the forces nourished in Tyrone to assist him. Wherefore hearing that Sir Henrie Dockwra had planted a Garrison at Dunnagall, and had left O Donnel possessed in a manner of nothing in Tirconnel, and that vpon the late ariuall of his mu|nition, he intended to be actiue in those parts neere Loughfoyle, and vnderstanding by Master Secretary, that about the twelfth of August there were two thousand men to be supplied for Mounster, we resolued to send for some of the Companies in Connaght of the Mounster Lyst, and to put the rest into Galloway and thereabouts, for the assu|rance of those parts, and vpon the receiuing of that addition to our strength, to haue drawne to Monaghan, and spoiled the Corne of that Country, being of exceeding quantitie, or if we had seene reason, to haue left a Garrison there, and to haue inabled it to gather the most part of that Corne for their better prouision, or otherwise to haue continued the prosecution in these parts, vntil we should heare of the Spaniards landing, or by any assurance of their not comming, should be at liberty to proceede in our former purposes. But receiuing answere from the Captaines of Mounster, that they had direction not to stirre from Connaght vpon any other order whatsoeuer, then from the President of Mounster, in regard of the present expectation of Spaniards to land in those parts: and we thereby being not so well able to wade any further in our determinations for the North, and receiuing some probable intelligence, that the place designed for the Spaniards landing was Sligo, wee resolued to leaue the Northerne Garrisons very strong in foote and horse, and as well prouided with meanes as we can, and to draw our selues with the rest of our force towards Connaght, appointing the rest of the Couusel to meete vs in the way at Trym, to aduise with vs of the best course to establish the heart of the Pale, and to answere the present expectation of Spanish forces. And although by our suddaine leauing the North, we haue ommitted some things which wee conceiued to bee of great consequence to the seruice, yet if it shall please your Lordships to supply the foundations we haue laid in those parts with one thousand shot, according to our former sute, and with store of victuals for the Garri|sons in Winter, we hope you shall finde no small effect of our Summers labour. But seeing we are perswaded, that if any Spanish forces arriue, they wil land at Sligo, where they haue a fit place to fortifie, to be relieued by sea, to vnite themselues with all the Rebels force, and where they haue a faire Countrie to possesse, with an casie way (by the rebels assistance) into Mounster, or the hart of the Pale, or especially to Loughfoyle, where we cannot, without great difficulty, affront them, hauing no magazins of victu|als or munition at Athlone or Galloway, and where it is vnpossible for vs to prouide our selues, or if we could, most difficult to carrie them by land, when we are so farre in the Countrie, and haue no meanes for carriage. Therefore we most humbly desire your Lordships to send good store of victuals and munition to Galloway, and to Lymbrick, which howsoeuer our expectation fall out, will be most necessarie for the prosecution of Connaght, and that prosecution as necessarie this Winter, since O Donnel hath for|saken his owne Countrie, and betaken himselfe to liue in that Prouince. But because we doe foresee it to be no ill Counsel for the Spaniards to land at Sligo, and think that Tyrone will presently vrge them to cut off our Garrison at Loughfoyle, whether from thence they haue a faire way,

and secure from our opposition, and may imagine, that it will be no great difficulty for them with such royall prouisions as they wil bring, to force those slender fortifications. We beseech your Lordships to send a large prouisi|on of victuals and munition to Carlingford and Knockfergus; for we cannot by any o|ther way then that relieue Loughfoyle if it be distressed. Neither can her Maiestie ha|zard any losse in these great prouisions, though we neuer vse them; for all kinde of vi|ctuals may be issued in this Kingdome with great gaine, and especially Corne, which we chiefely desire; and for munition, it may be kept with prouidence as a store for all 127 occasions. Thus howsoeuer it fall out, we shall be inabled to make such a prosecution this Winter in Connaght and the North, as in all reason will ende these warres, it the Spaniards come not, and will leaue this Prouince of Vlster in farre greater subiection, then euer any of her Maiesties Progenitors had it. And since wee apprehend, that Spaine may make in this Countrie a dangerous warre for England, we conceiue that if not now, yet with his first abilitie; he will imbrace it, which makes vs to haue the grea|ter desire (if it bee possible) to preuent his footing here for euer, and that (by Gods help) we hope to do before this next Su mer, if we may be inabled this winter to ruine Tyrone and O Donnel. We haue great neede of one hundred Northerne horses, for our horses here grow weak, and ill, and if your Lordships please to afford vs that number, we will so handle the matter, as it shall bee no increase of the Lyst. If the Spaniards come, we must haue at the least three hundred, and if they be Northerne horses, and Northerne Riders, we assure our selues they will be much fitter for this seruice, then such as are vsually sent hither, who come with purpose to get licence to returne, and yet are a greater charge to her Maiesty. But for the one thousand foote wee desired by our former letters, we find their comming to be of that necessitie, as wee must bee most humble and earnest sutors to your Lordships to send them presently: for our Companies are so exceeding weake, and now decay so fast, by the extremitie of the weather, as a much greater number will not supplie vs, but that the checkes will bee as great as now they are, and they little be seene amongst vs, which giues vs cause to wish now, and humbly to moue your Lordships, to be pleased to send one thousand foote more soone after. The reports here are so vncertaine, as vntill we meete the rest of the Counsell at Trym, we know not how the Pale stands affected, vpon this assured confi|dence of the Spaniards comming, onely this we perceiue, many of them are wauering, yet the Lords hereabouts, namely, Mac Gennis, Tirlogh Mac Henrie, Euer Mac Coo|ley, and O Hanlon, keepe with vs, notwithstanding that Tyrone hath sent them word, that hereafter it will bee too late for them to make their peace with him, if they doe it not now vpon this occasion, and they assute vs, as much as men can doe, that they will not fall againe from their obedience, though thereby their state bee no better then horseboyes. But of this wee can giue your Lordships no assurance, neither in them haue wee any extraordinarie confidence. It may further please your Lordships to be aduertised, that the Lord of Dunsany, hauing the command of a Fort in the Bren|ny, called Liscanon (where wee had placed certaine Irish Companies, as fittest to spoile and wast the Countrie thereabouts), did lately draw most of them into Mac Mahowns Countrie, for the taking of a prey, which they lighted on, (as is said) to the number of some sixteene hundred Cowes: but in their returne, being hardly laied vnto, (as some of them say, with very great numbers, yet as we haue

heard by some that were present, not aboue senenscore), they did not only lose their prey, but according to the manner of the Irish (who haue no other kind of retreat) fell to a flat running away to the Fort, so as poore Captaine Esmond (who had the command of the Reare, and very valiant|ly with a few made good the place) was sore hurt, and afterwards taken prisoner, and forty or fiftie of our side slaine. We cannot learne that any English were among them, so as we account our losse to be no more then the taking of the Captaine, neither doe the Rebels bragge thereof, both because they scaped not free, loosing very neere as many men as wee did; and for that they knew they dealt but with their Countrimen, who (as they doe) hold it no shame to runne, when they like not to fight, though wee meane to call some of ours to account thereof. And so we most humbly take leaue.

The eight and twentieth of August, his Lordship receiued two letters from the Lord President of Mounster; the first imported, that hearing that his Lordship had sent into Connaght for part of the Companies of the Mounster Lyst to come into the North, he prayed to bee excused, that hee had giuen contrary directions, vpon feare of the Spaniards landing, and the knowledge of Tirrels purpose to come with the banished Mounster men, and aides of Northerne men out of Connaght, presently to disturbe the Prouince of Mounster, and signified, that now to manifest his precise obedience to his Lordships commands, hee had sent them directions to march towards his Lordship 128 vpon sight of his letter, yet praying his Lordship to send some part of them into Mun|ster, without which helpe he could neither keepe the field against Tirrel and the Pro|uinciall fugitiues at their first entrie, nor vpon the Spaniards arriuall, giue any impedi|ment to their disposing of such Townes, as were recommended to his speciall care, and assuring his Lordship that the Spaniards had been seene at Sea, and that in his iudge|ment and by vulgar report, it was likely they would make discent in some part of Mounster. Lastly, aduertising that he had sent Iames the Suggon pretended Earle of Desmond, and Florence [255] Mac Carty (the chiefe practiser with the Spaniards in those parts) into England. The second letter imported the Lord Presidents recommendati|on (which by established course was effectuall) to his Lordship, for the granting of her Maiesties pardon for lands liues and goods, to fiue hundred fortie two inhabi|tants of Muskery, and other parts in the Countie of Corke, for which present warrant was accordingly giuen.

The nine and twentieth day his Lordship came to Trym, where the Counsellers comming from Dublin met him, according to appointment. Heere they consulted of the publike affaires, more particularly how that part of the Army within Lemster, might be employed to prosecute Tirrel, sent by Tyrone to disturbe that Prouince, and yet to be ready vpon any sudden occasion to make head against the forraigne enemie. And the aduertisements being daily multiplied, that the Spaniards were at Sea, it was concluded, that in regard these forces were not able to answer both, or either the ends aforesaid, great part of the Army in Vlster should be drawne downe, and both forces ioyned, should assayle Tirrel, who came to insult ouer the subiects, and to draw them to rebellion, but especially the late Submitties, whom by many promises and threat|nings he had tempted to a relapse, but preuailed not with them. And his Lordship resolued, by his presence to giue a sharper edge to this seruice, till either hee should be called, to affront the

[255] Florence

Spaniards landing, or to draw backe into the North; if they lan|ded not.

The third of September his Lordship and the Counsell here wrote vnto the Lords in England, excusing that the extraordinary expences had farre passed the limited sum of sixe thousand pound yeerely, which was farre too little, for the transportation of victuals, carriage of munition, charges and imprests to victualers, rewards to messen|gers, and for speciall seruices, making of boats, and things of like necessitie, and the re|pairing of Castles, Houses, Bridges, Forts, and all buildings. In which last charge, they had not been able fitly to repaire Athlone Castle, the Key of Connaght, nor the Castles and Bridges of Carlogh and Laughlin, and the Forts of Phillipstowne and Mary|burgh, being of great consequence, to curbe the Traytors, and assure the subiects, and the decay whereof would giue the rebels free passage into many Countries, besides our dishonour to neglect those places, which the wisedome of former times with great policie planted; the great charge of repairing whereof, appeared by the trans|mitted certificats of Commissioners appointed to view these places. And for these reasons they besought her Maiesties warrant, to leaue this charge to their discretion for a time, without any limitation, promising not to inlarge the same in any thing, which might be spared, without apparant preiudice to her seruice, and giuing their o|pinion, that in this time of the new coine, these places might be repaired with small charge. Likewise they desired to haue great store of munition and victuals sent ouer, and that presently, to preuent the vsuall contrarietie of winds after Michaelmas, and all the Winter season. Lastly, they desired to haue the one thousand shot presently sent ouer, for which they had formerly written; the Army consisting in great part of Irish, which could not be kept to liue in Garrison out of their owne Countrie. And they aduertised the Lords, that diuers of the horse at twelue pence per diem had quit their pay, being not able to liue thereupon in those deare times.

This third of September likewise his Lordship receiued letters from her Maiestie, giuing warrant for the pay of two thousand men sent into Mounster, being aboue the Establishment. The same day his Lordship receiued letters from Sir Robert Cecyll Se|cretarie, that the Spaniards were discouered neere the Silly, and as hee thought they 129 would land at Lymrick, being fortie fiue sayle, whereof seuenteene were men of warre, whereof sixe were Gallions, the rest of one hundred, or one hundred and fifty tunnes burthen, and had in them sixe thousand souldiers, praying his Lordship to demand such supplies as he thought needfull, and vpon the Spaniards landing, to name the places whether the supplies should be sent, and assuring his Lordship that the two thousand men for Mounster were already imbarked.

The same time his Lordship receiued letters from the Lords in England, importing her Maiesties acceptance of his seruice, with her willingnesse and theirs to send him needefull supplies, praying him to demand them timely, because hee could hardly re|ceiue them from England in sixe weekes after the demand, the wind standing fauoura|ble. Likewise professing that it is the fault of the Commissioners and Commissaries for victuals, if there be any want thereof, since the proportions required by them were arriued in Ireland; as likewise that the souldier made not some part of prouision for victuals by mony (especially in parts neere the sea, and like places, where victuals were to be bought), since by these great prouisions of victuals in England with sterling mo|ny, her Maiesty lost the third part of the profit she hoped

to make by the new standard of Ireland, and which might be made, if vittels were prouided by the souldier in Ireland, hauing full pay in that mixed mony. Also aduertising, that her Maiestie had sent for Ireland twenty lasts of Powder, with all munitions in proportion necessary, halfe by land, and (for sparing of carriage) halfe by Sea, praying that care might be had in issu|ing thereof, since they were informed, that great wast thereof had been formerly made, by the Irish bands, conuerting the Powder to their priuate gaine, and by the whole ar|my, vnder pretence of her Maiesties remittall of Powder spent in seruice (which had been defalked out of the souldiers pay, but was after held an hard course, to punish them for their good deferts), now charging vpon her Maiestie all wilfull and fraudu|lent consumptions of Powder. Further signifying, that Sir Henrie Dockwra his fai|ling in correspondency with his Lordship this Summer, for want of match, was di|stastfull to them, had he not made amends by surprizing of Donnegall, which would faciliate the planting of Ballishannon. That her Maiesty referred the garrison of Lough|soyle wholly to his Lordships direction, and the transposing any part thereof to the in|abling of Sir, Arthur Chichester at Knockfergus, the charge of that garrison being excee|ding burthen some to her Maiesty, by reason that Coast in Winter is so subiect to stormes, and for that it was supplied with all prouisions out of England bought with sterling money, and small quantity of the Irish mixed monies could be there issued to any such purpose, in which regard her Maiesty wished that the Irish in those parts (in whose seruice no profit was found) should either be cast, and pensions of mixed mo|nies giuen to the chiefe Lords, or at least should receiue no victuals out of the stoare, but haue their full pay in that standard, to prouide therewith for their Companies. Touching the expected landing of the Spaniards, their Lordships being of opinion that they would presently land in Mounster, aduertised his Lordship, that two thou|sand men were imbarked for that Prouince, and two thousand more should be readie within twentie daies at the Sea-side, to come where his Lordship should direct them. Touching the exception aboue mentioned which his Lordship had taken, that part of the Officers for the Companies sent into Mounster were left to the Lord Presidents disposall, and all the rest were bestowed in England, their Lordships professed, that as in all circumstances of honour and contentment, they desired to respect his Lordship, so they praied him to consider, that it stood with the reputation of a Counsel of State, to conferre some such imploiments, and keepe men of quality at Court, to be vpon all occasions vsed in her Maiesties seruice, wherein notwithstanding they had preferred few or none, who had not his Lordships letters of recommendations to that Board, and now referred them all to bee continued or cassed at his pleasure. Lastly, whereas their Lordships were informed, that some were apprehended in Ireland for coining of the new mixed monies, they signified her Maiesties pleasure, that those men should be executed, the rather to preuent the great inconuenience might arise, in maintaining the exchange for such counterfet monies and otherwise.

130 The fourth of September his Lordship wrote from Trym to Sir Robert Cecyll the fol|lowing letter.

SIR at my comming into these parts, I found them not so distempered as I was borne in hand I should, so as I make no doubt at all, but if the Spaniards doe not come, I shall be able to giue her Maiesty a good accompt of my charge here; and I am not out of hope, but rather of opinion, since they haue staied so long, that

they will not come this Winter, though I desire not to leade you into that conceit, nor omit not my selfe to prouide for the worst may happen: and therefore haue sent Master Mar|shall towards Leax, with almost a thousand foot and some horse, both to be neere the Lord President of Mounster, for what may fall out that way, and to prosecute Tyrrell in the meane while, who with some two hundred Rogues is gotten thither, and with the remaine of the Moores, Connors, and their followers, whom I could not cut off the last yeere, are altogether drawne to be aboue foure hundred. For Connaght, I haue ap|pointed Sir Oliuer Lambert, with as many Companies as I can spare him, vntill I may vnderstand her Maiesties further pleasure, because I know him to be very actiue, and find a necessity to imploy some forces that way, so long as the brute of the Spaniards comming doth continue; especially now, that Odonnell doth make his residence in that Prouince about Sligo, and might otherwise doe what hee lift without impeachment. For my selfe, I thinke it fittest to stay hereabouts a while, for from hence I may aptly draw towards Mounster or Connaght as need requires, or fall backe towards the North, so soone as we can gather any certainty of the Spaniards not comming. And if we may be supplied with the 1000 shot, so earnestly desired by our former letters, (and without which, our foundation will be in a manner ouerthrowne), to strengthen the English Companies here, (I assure you) growne exceeding weak, (otherwise I would not put her Maiesty to that charge); I make no doubt but we shall be able to doe her Maiesty that seruice there this Winter, (those shot being landed at Carlingford or the Newry, with the victuals, munition, and other meanes desired), that the Spaniards shall not from thenceforth be able to get footing, to doe vs any great annoyance, especially if it would please you to procure, for an addition to the rest two hundred shot to be sent for the supplying of Sir Arthur Chichester at Carickfergus: for from that place we haue discouered such an entrance into the heart of Tyrone, as in all likelihood will soon ruine that Arch-Traytor, if Sir Arthur may be enabled with meanes, as from me he shall not want what I can yeeld him. I haue here inclosed sent a note, that you may see how the garrisons are planted North-wards, and who it is that commands in each of them, in the absence only of Sir Francis Stafford, for he hath the chiefe command ouer them, as the best meane to make them ioine vpon all occasions of the seruice.

The ninth of September his Lordship receiued aduertisement from the Lord Presi|dent, that the two thousand men embarked in England for Mounster, were arriued, part in Corkharbour, part at Waterford, of which companies some were left by the Lords of her Maiesties Counsell, in their directions to his disposall, but he left them to his Lordships pleasure, knowing the duety he ought to his Generall. And whereas the Lords of the Counsell, in the same letters gaue directions that the foot Companies of the Lord President and Earle of Thomond, being each 150, should be increased each to two hundred, the Lord President auowed that it was obtained by the said Earle, ioy|ning him for countenance of the sute, altogether without his priuity, which he praied his Lordship to beleeue: for since his Lordship had promised that fauour to him vpon the first occasion, he protested that he neuer had any thought to make so needlesse a request in England. Therewith hee sent his Lordship the list of the said Companies newly arriued, being one thousand foure hundred vnder foureteen Captaines named in England, one hundred for the increase of the Lord Presidents and Earle of Thomonds foot Companies, and fiue hundred which

hee the Lord President, by vertue of the Lords letters, (the Lord Deputy pleasing to giue his admission) assigned to fiue Cap|taines, being in all two thousand foot.

His Lordship hauing disposed the forces as is aboue mentioned, and written from 131 Trym to the Lord President, desiring him to meet him vpon the borders of Lemster, meaning Kilkenny, as the fittest place for that meeting, tooke his iourney thitherward, and arriuing at Kilkenny the thirteenth of September, the same night receiued aduertise|ment from the Lord President, that the Spaniards were met at Sea, bearing for Ireland, and therein (as he was informed) for Mounster, so that he craued pardon that hee came not to meete his Lordship, whose pleasure hee conceiued to bee, that in this case hee should not be absent from those parts, where the enemies discent was expected; and he further prayed his Lordship so to fashion his affaires in Lemster and the North, as the forces he meant to bring might be in readinesse; withall protesting, that he staied only for a second direction, which if he receiued, he would come without delay to his Lordship.

The next day his Lordship wrote the following letter to Sir Robert Cecyll her Maie|sties Secretarie.

SIr, hauing left the Northerne borders as well guarded, as in prouidence I could, the command wherof I left to Sir Ioh. Barkeley, and hauing sent Sir Oliuer Lambert into Counaght to settle those parts, and Sir Rich. Wingfeild the Marshal into Leax, to prosecute Tirrel with his adherence, I wrote to the President of Mounster to meete me about Kilkenny, if hee conueniently might, with a desire to establish a full correspondencie for the resistance of forraine forces, if they should arriue, or otherwise for making the warres in all parts this Winter, the rather because I know not how (for the present) Galloway, and consequently Asherawe (if it be planted) might be supplied of munition and some other prouisions, but out of, and by Mounster: and further my being in those parts seeming to me of no small purpose, to deuide the Birnes and Cauenaghs from hol|ding intelligence, or ioining with Tyrrel, and to nourish the ouerture I haue lately enter|tained from O. M. S. the chiefe of the Moores, to bring me Tirrel aliue or dead, which he desires should passe as a secret between only me, himself, and Omoloy, to whom he hath already giuen a pledge to performe it. Now that I might not disinable any of the for|ces, I am come to Kilkenny onely accompanied with some threescore horse, without any one Commander or Captaine of the Army, hauing left them all with comman|dement to be resident on their charge. Onely when I came neere Master Marshall, I sent to conferre with him, being before accompanied with none of the Counsell, but onely Sir Robert Gardner chiefe Iustice. As I entred into Kilkenny, I receiued intelli|gence from the Lord President of the Spaniards being at Sea, and returned his messen|ger, desiring him not to stirre from his charge, but to aduertise me often of occurrents. My selfe purpose to returne presently to Carlogh (whether vnder the colour to prose|cute Tirrel, I will draw as many of the forces, as I can, to imploy them in the meane time, and to be ready to answere such occasions as shall fall out in Mounster) that be|ing (as things stand) the place best to giue direction to all parts, and to assure the most dangerous. Now Sir, what I should desire or aduise from hence, on so great a sudden, as I thinke it fit to make this dispatch, and in so great a matter, I am not very confi|dent, but propound to your much better iudgement what I thinke first and fittest to be thought of. That it may please the Lords to send ouer the two thousand

men by their last letters signified to me to be at Chester, with all expedition, one thousand of them to Carlingford, the other to Dublin. These I intend to thrust into other compa|nies, to make them full (if I can) to a man, whereby the Queene shall be serued with all their bodies, and yet her Lyst no way increased, nor other charge but transportation. I desire so many at the least may be sent to Carlingford, because I am confident that it is the best counsell, whether the Spaniards land or no, to strengthen that part of the Ar|mie, which will be able to assure the Pale that way, and to ruine the Northerne Rebels, in such sort, that it shall not be in the power of forraine force to make them liue, and if the worst happen, they be therby inabled to come off to vs, if we send for them, where now they cannot except we fetch them. In generall, for such a warre you must send great Magazins of munition and victuals, and when you resolue how many men you will send, or haue sent, the proportion will bee easily cast vp by such Ministers as you 132 haue there in those kinds. The best place for the greatest quantity will be Dublin; for from thence we may finde meanes to transport what other places shall haue neede of, except th[...] warre be in Connaght, for then onely from Lymrick and Galloway all our pro|uisions must come, and in Connaght I chiefly expect the Spaniards first discent, yet there with most difficulty can front them with any warre before Galloway, or Athlone (from Lymricke) be throughly supplied with prouisions. If forraigne force doe not ar|riue, these prouisions will not be lost; for this Winter Odonnell must be forced out of Connaght, or else he will get there what he hath lost in Tyrconnell, and so, this Winter we must doe our endeuour to doe the like in Vlster, to ruine Tyrone, which is a worke of no small difficulty, but of so great consequence, that I am perswaded it would not onely turne the professions of this people, but euen their hearts to her Maiesties obedi|ence, for such as loue Tyrone, will quit their affections, when the hope of his fortune failes, and such as doe not, their dependancy on him will fall, when their feare of his greatnes shall be taken away: for beleeue me Sir, I obserue in most (if I be not much deceiued) of the Irish reclaimed Lords, great desire to continue Subiects, if they might once see apparance of defence, though perchance not so much out of their honest dis|positions, as the smart they yet feele of a bitter prosecution. If you heare that forraigne powers in any great numbers are arriued, you must resolue to send at the least 200 horse out of England, and two thousand men more well armed, for you must beleeue Sir, that then it will not be the warre of Ireland, but the warre of England made in Ire|land. If we beat them, both Kingdomes will be quiet, if not, euen the best in more dan|ger then I hope euer to liue to see. If you prouide vs more men when wee send you word that the Spaniards are landed, wee will write whether we desire they should be sent. Howsoeuer, I presume her Maiesty shall not repent the putting ouer so many men hither; for we hope to ease the charge in the shortnesse of the worke: If this aide arriue not here, and if any forraigne force arriue in England, (the which we gather by some intelligence may be), then if you send hither new men to assure places fit to bee kept, we may bring you ouer old souldiers and Captaines, two or three thousand; which I wil vndertake shal strike as good blowes as ten thousand ordinary men. I haue made some of the subiects lately reclaimed, and in these times suspected, put themselues in blood already, since my comming hither; for euen now I heare my Lord Mountgar|rets sonnes haue killed some of the Clarcheeres, and some of Tyrrels followers, since I contested with their Father,

about somewhat I had heard suspicious of them. Sir I will againe aduertise you of our affaires here very shortly, and desire you now to pardon my hast.

From Kilkenny this foureteenth of September 1601. Your most assured friend to doe you seruice, Mountioy.

His Lordship returned from Kilkenny to Carlogh, where he disposed the forces to an|swere the seruice in those parts of Lemster. Thence he wrote to the Lord President to meet him some time at Kilkenny, if possibly he could: And within few daies hearing that the Lord President hauing left Sir Charles Wilmot with the forces at Corke, was on his iourney towards him, his Lordship parted from Carlogh, and the nineteenth of Sep|tember met him at Laughlin, whence they rode together to Kilkenny.

Before I proceed further, I will briefly adde the affaires of Mounster till this time, [Note: Mounster.] collected out of the Lord Presidents letters. The setling of peace in the yeere 1600. was interrupted by the allarum of a Spanish inuasion generally giuen in the begin|ning of this yeere 1601. And in the moneth of Aprill the Mounster Rebels which fledde the last yeere into Connaght and Vlster, attempted againe to returne into Moun|ster, hauing beene strengthened by Tyrone; but the Lord President sent Captaine Flower with one thousand foote to the confines, and these forces of Mounster on the one side, and Sir Iohn Barkeley with the Connaght Forces on the other side, so persued them, as the same moneth they were forced to breake and returne into Vlster. 133 Florence [256] mac Carty notwithstanding his protection, had procured the sending of the said Rebels out of the North, and besides many rebellious practices, about this time laded a Barke with hides, which should bring him munition from forraigne parts. The Lord President ceased not to lay continuall plots to apprehend the ticulary Earle of Desmond, and hauing often driuen him out of his lurking dennes, (in which ser|uice the Lord Barry hauing a Company in her Maiesties pay, did noble endeuours,) at last the Lord President vnderstanding that he lurked in the white Knights Countrey, his Lordship did so exasperate him with feare of his owne danger, as in the moneth of May he tooke him prisoner and brought him to Corke, where hee was condemed for treason, to intitle the Queene in his lands, and for a time kept prisoner there.

In the moneth of Iune the Lord President receiued this gracious letter from the Queene, written with her owne hand.

MY faithfull George. If euer more seruice of worth were performed in shorter space then you haue done, we are deceiued among many eye wituesses: we haue receiued the fruit thereof, and bid you faithfully credit, that what so wit, courage, or care may do, we truly find, they haue all been throughly acted in all your charge. And for the same beleeue, that it shall neither be vnremembred, nor vnrewarded, and in meane while beleeue, my helpe nor prayers shall neuer faile you.

Your Soueraigne that best regards you, E. R.

In the beginning of Iuly the Lord President aduertised the Lord Deputy, that ac|cording to his directions hee would presently send into Connaght 1000 foot and fifty horse of the Mounster list, though vpon good and fresh intelligences, the arriuall of Spaniards was daily expected in that Prouince, and the forces remaining with him, were not sufficient to guard Kinsale, Waterford, Yoghall, Killmalloch, Lymricke, and Cork, (the last whereof according to his Lordships directions, he would haue care specially to strengthen).

[256] Florence

That he had giuen the chiefe leader of the said forces Sir Fran. Barkely direction to return to him vpon his letter, if her Maiesties seruice in his opinion should require it, praying the Lord Deputy to allow of this direction, since hee meant not to recall them, but vpon sudden reuolt of the Prouincials or arriuall of Spaniards. That the Prisoner vsurping the title of Earle of Desmond, and many other euidences made manifest; that the rebels of Vlster, and especially the Spaniards, did most relie vpon the helpe of the said prisoner, and Florence [257] mac Carty, which Florence [258] though protected had assured them of his best aide, and had preuailed in a Councell held in Vlster, that the Spaniards should land at or neere Cork. And that hereupon he the Lord President had apprehended Florence [259] , and sent him together with the said Earle Prisoner into England, where they were safe in the Tower, which being in time knowne to the Spaniards, might perhaps diuert their inuasion of Ireland. And no doubt the laying hand on these two Archrebels, much aduanced her Maiesties seruice in the following inuasion, whereby the Lord President deseruedly wonne great reputation. Thus much I haue briefly noted to the time aboue mentioned, when the Lord Deputy wrote to the Lord President to meet him on the confines of Mounster.

They meeting (as I said) at Laughlin, rode together to Kilkenny, where the twenty [Note: The landing of the Spa|niards.] day of September they sate in Counsell with the Earle of Ormond, and the rest of the Counsel with purpose, so soone as they had resolued of the meetest course for the pre|sent seruice, to returne to their seuerall places of charge. But the same day newes came by post, (for Postes were newly established for the same purpose) that a Spanish Fleet was discouered neere the old head of Kinsale, whereupon they determined to stay there all the next day, to haue more certain aduertisement therof. The three and twentith day another Post came from Sir Charles Willmot, aduertising the Spanish Fleete to be come into the harbour of Kinsale, and it was agreed in Counsell, that the Lord President should returne to Corke, and the Lord Deputy for countenancing of the seruice in Mounster, should draw to Clommell, and gather such forces as hee could presently, to 134 draw to Kinsale, nothing doubting but that this forwardnesse (howsoeuer otherwise the Army, neither for numbers of men, nor sufficiency of prouision, was fit to vnder|take such a taske) would both couer their many defects from being spied by the Country, and for a while, at the least stop the currant of that generall defection of the Irish, which was vehemently feared. This was resolued in Counsell, after the Lord President had giuen them comfort to find victuals and munition at Corke: for at first they were not so much troubled to draw the forces thither, as suddenly to bring vi|ctuals and munition thither for them. But when they vnderstood, that his Lordship had fed the souldiers all Summer by cesse, and preserued her Maiesties store of victuals which they thought to be wasted, they were exceeding ioyfull of this newes, and not without iust desert, highly commended the Lord Presidents prouident wisdome, in the said most important seruice to the State.

The same day they wrote these letters to the Lords in England.

IT may please your Lordships: The Spanish Fleete so long expected by the Rebels here, is now in the harbour of

[257] Florence
[258] Florence
[259] Florence

Kinsale or Corke, as it may appeare vnto your Lord|ships for a certainty, by the copies of these inclosed letters, from Sir Charles Wilmott, and the Maior of Corke, which is as much newes as we haue yet receiued, so as we can not iudge, whether this be the whole Fleete set out of Spaine, or whether part thereof is comming after to them, or bound for any other harbour, onely we haue some rea|son to thinke (the weather falling out of late exceeding stormy and tempestious) that all the ships could very hardly keepe together, and the report was, the whole number were at least seuentie. We are now to be earnest sutors to your Lordships, to supply vs with all things needefull for so weighty an action, and so speedily as possibly it may be. The two thousand foote already (as we conceiue) at Chester, we now desire may presently be lent to Waterford (and neither to Carlingford nor Dublin, as I the Deputie thought fittest in my last dispatch, when I meant to haue vsed them in the North), two thousand more at the least had neede come soone after vnto Corke, if it be not in|uested before their comming, but if it bee, their landing must then be at Waterford or Yoghall, and with them three hundred horse will be as few, as we conceiue wee haue reason to demand, and therefore expect both the one and the other so soone as may be, also munition and victuall must be sent for ten thousand men, to come likewise to Waterford (vnlesse your Lordships heare from vs to the contrary), for if in those two kinds we be not royally supplied, men and mony will serue vs to little purpose, with all which we recommend to your Lordships consideration, whether it were not fit to send some part of her Maiesties Nauy to lie vpon this coast, aswel to assure the passage by Sea, as to attempt something vpon the Spanish shipping. Thus hauing briefly set downe our requests, as sparingly as we may do, the danger considered, we think it not impertinent to acquaint your Lordships with the cause of our meeting here, and pur|poses. We thought fit vpon the expectation of these forraine forces, before we held it of any certaintie, to conferre with the Lord President of Mounster, and to consult vpon the generall disposall of the forces of this Kingdome, how to make the warre vpon their arriuall, which we could hardly doe, without being thorowly informed by him, of the state of that Prouince, and what meanes of victuall, munition, and other prouisions we should finde there, if we should draw the army thither, or from thence were driuen to make the warre in Connaght, where wee found it would bee of excee|ding great difficulty, vnlesse wee might haue good helpes out of Mounster. For this purpose meeting at this place vpon Munday the one and twentieth of this present, the next day while wee were in consultation, came the first of these letters from the Maior of Corke, assuring vs of the discouery of the Fleete neere the old head of Kinsale, but whether friends or enemies he then knew not, but that being made certaine by the rest of the letters that came since, we presently grew to this resolution, that the Presi|dent should returne with all speede possible, though before hee left the Prouince, hee tooke order to the vttermost that could bee done in prouidence, aswell to settle the same, as to defend all places likeliest to be inuaded; and we concluded, that I the De|puty 135 should draw forward, as farre as Clommell, to be neere the chiefest brunt of the warre, and vpon the present apprehension of all things thers, to giue directions to the rest of the Kingdome, and yet to omit no occasions against the inuasion, whi|lest the Marshal drew vp as many of the forces to me, as he can with best conueniency and expedition. For since the two thousand supposed to be at Chester, came not to

Carlingford and Dublyn, in time to supply the Companies Northward, that they might haue gone on with their prosecution, we haue now resolued to leaue no more in those parts, then are sufficient to keepe the garrison places, because wee hold it to bee to no purpose, vntill her Maiesty send hither greater forces, though we are still of opinion, it were the best course to proceed there, if her Maiesty would be pleased to enable vs, for otherwise it cannot be looked for, but that we shal go backward greatly in this busines. Thus being confident your Lps. will be carefull of vs, we take this to be sufficient vp|pon this sudden, since what is any way necessary or fit for vs, is to your Lordships in your wisdome and experience best knowne, and so we doe most humbly take leaue, with this assurance, that we will leaue nothing vnperformed, that may giue true testi|mony to the World, that we value our duty to our most gracious Soueraigne, and tender the preseruation of this her Kingdome, committed to our charge (as we know we ought) before our liues and liuings, and doubt not but to giue her Maiesty a very good account of all our doings.

From Kilkenny this three and twenty of Septem|ber, 1601 . Your Lordships most humbly to command, etc. signed by the Lord Deputy and Councell.

The foure and twentith day; his Lordship wrote this following letter to Master Secretary.

SIR I did euer thinke, that if any forraigne force should arriue, it would be doubt|full for me to lay my finger on any sound part of all this Kingdome, which if our supplies had come in time, to haue left the Northerne garrisons strong, we might in some good sort haue prouided for, but now my resolution is this, to bend my selfe as suddenly as I can against these forraigne forces. If wee beat them, let it not trouble you, though you heare all Ireland doth reuolt, for (by the grace of God) you shall haue them all returne presently with halters about their neckes: if we doe not, all prouidence bestowed on any other place is vaine. Till I know more particularly in how many pla|ces they haue made their discent, I cannot write much; but for the present I apprehend a world of difficulties, with as much comfort as euer poore man did, because I haue now a faire occasion to shew how prodigall I will be of my life, in any aduenture that I shall finde to be for the seruice of my deere Mistresse, vnto whom I am confident God hath giuen me life to doe acceptable seruice; which when I haue done, I will sing Nune dimittis. This day I expect to receiue light and further ground to write more at large, and being now ready with the President to take horse, whose fortune and mine shall now be one, I leaue you to Gods continuall blessings, in hast. Kilkenny the foure and twenty of September 1601.

The same day Master Marshall was dispatched into the Pale, to draw the Compa|nies thereabouts towards Mounster, and to procure from the Councell at Dublyn all things necessary for that businesse. Sir Henry Dauers was sent for the Companies a|bout Armagh, and Sir Iohn Barkeley had direction to bring other Companies that were laid about the Nauan. And the L. Deputy the same night rode to Kiltenan, a Ca|stle and dwelling of the Lord of Dunboyne, being a great daies iourney, where he was assured that the Spaniards were landed and entered into Kinsale. The fiue and twenty [...] Lordship rode to Clommell, where Sir Nicholas Walsh, one of the Councell, came to [...], and there it was resolued; his Lordship should goe on to Corke, and so to proceed as there should be cause. The six and twentieth his Lordp. rode to Glonowre, the Lord [...] Castle. The seuen and twentieth his Lordship rode from Glonowre to Corke, ac|companied with the Lord

President, Sir Robert Gardener, and Sir Nicholas Walsh, Counsellors.

136 The eight and twenty day his Lordship was aduertised by a Scot comming from Lisbone, that the Spaniards sent to Kinsale, were sixe thousand in number, comman|ded by Don Iean del' Aguyla, who had beene generall in Britaine, that one thousand of them scattered by tempest, were since arriued at Baltemore. That they were directed to Kinsale, with promise of great succours by the pretended Earle of Desmona, lately ta|ken and sent into England, and by Florence [260] mac Carty, whom the Lord President vpon suspition had lately taken, and in like sort sent prsoner into England. That the Spani|ards gaue out, that assoone as they could haue horses from Tyrone, and other Irish re|bels, in which hope they had brought foure hundred, (or as after was credibly aduer|tised 1600 saddles), they would keepe the field, and therefore would not fortifie at Kin|sale, and that vpon the reuolt of this Countrey, the King of Spaine meant from these parts to inuade England.

Whereupon the same eight and twenty day the Lord Deputy resolued in Coun|sell, that letters should bee written into England, that it was giuen out, the Spaniards in Mounster were sixe thousand, and that of certaine they were fiue thousand com|manded by Don Iean del' Aguila, whereof three thousand were arriued in Kinsale, and the Vice-Admirall Siriago, (for Don Diego de Brastino, was Admirall of the Fleet), with foure other ships scattered by tempest, were arriued at Baltemore. That no Irish of ac|count had repaired to them; excepting some dependants of Florence [261] mac Carty, (of whose imprisonment the Spaniards had not heard before their landing), who was the perswader of their comming to that Port. That to keepe Rebels from ioining with them, it behoued vs presently to keepe the field. That it was requisite to send some of the Queenes ships, who might preuent their supplies, and giue safety to our supplies, both out of England and from Coast to Coast, and might bring vs to Carke Artillery for battery, with munition and victuals. Likewise to write presently for three hundred Northerne horse, and for the two thousand foot at Chester, and two thousand more. To write for sixe peeces of battery, the biggest to be Demy Cannon for the field, with carriages and bullets. To certifie the Lords that Artillery could not be brought from Dablyn, because the Irish ships had not masts and tackle strong enough to take them in and out, (besides that, Easterly and Northerly winds onely seruing to bring them; were rate at this season of the yeere;) and that the greatest Peeces in Mounster lay vn|mounted on the ground. And lastly, to write for powder for fiue thousand shot, and for sixe Peeces of Battery, (which must be some sixty last), and for fifty tunne of lead, with like quantity of match, and fiue thousand Pyoners tooles.

The same day his Lordship was by letters aduertised, that a Friet in a Souldiers ha|bit, was dispatched from Kinsale the foure and twenty of September, and passed through Clommell, naming himselfe Iames Flemming, and from thence went to Waterford, where hee aboad few dayes, and named himselfe Richard Galloway. That he had Buls from the Pope, with large indulgences to those, who should aide the Spaniards, (sent by the Catholike King to giue the Irish, liberty from the English tyranny, and the exercise of the true olde Apostolike Roman Religion), and had authority to excommunicate those that should by letters, by

[260] Florence
[261] Florence

plots, or in person ioyne with her Maiesty, (whom the Pope had excommunicated, and thereby absolued all her Subiects from their oath of alleagiance). That euery generall Vicar in each Diocesse, had charge to keep this secret till the Lord Deputy was passed to Corke, when he assured them, his Lordship should either in a generall defection not be able to vnderstand these proceedings, or hearing thereof should be so imploied, as he should haue no leisure to preuent them. That he gaue out, the Spaniards at Kinsale were 10000, besides 2000 dispersed by tempest, which were landed at Baltimore, hauing treasure, munition, and victuals for two yeers. And that Tyrone would presently come vp to assist them at Kinsale, and to furnish them with horses, which they onely expected from him; and had brought saddles and furniture for them. Lastly, aduice therein was giuen to his Lordship to write to the corporate Townes and chiefe Lords, not to beleeue these fabulous reports, but to take aduice (not giuen out for feare of their defection, but onely for their good) to conti|nue loyall subiects.

137 The nine and twentieth his Lordship with the Lord President and the aboue na|med Counsellors, tooke some horse for guard, and rode to view the Towne and har|bour of Kinsaile; and the Spaniards Fleete, that vpon that view, they might resolue of the fittest place for our Campe to sit downe by them. They found the Spaniards possessed of the Towne, and the greatest part of their shipping to haue put to Sea for Spaine, (for of thirty foure ships arriuing there, only twelue now remained in the Har|bour, some of the other being lately put out, and then seene vnder sayle), so as they saw there was no more to be done, till our forces should be arriued out of the North and Lemster, and we inabled from England to keepe our selues from breaking, after we should take the field.

The first of October his Lordship and the Counsell here, wrote to the Lords in England, according to the proiect resolued on the eight and twentieth of September. Further beseeching their Lordships to pardon their earnest writing for munition and victuals, though great proportions of them were already sent, and that in respect the magazines formerly appointed for the best, when the place of the Spaniards discent was vnknowne, were so farre diuided, as we could not without great difficulties make vse of them in these parts, and at this time, when for the present the Spaniard was Ma|ster of the Sea, and the Queenes forces being drawne towards Kinsaile, the rebels might easily intercept them by land, but especially for that great vse might be made of those prouisions in the very places where now they were, if Tirone come into Mounster with his forces, as no doubt he would, namely, the magazin at Lymricke would serue excel|lently for the prosecution formerly intended, and after to be made in Connaght, though by sea or land they could not be brought to Corke, without great difficulties and dan|gers. Adding that for the present, the Lord Deputie was forced to draw most of the forces of the North into Mounster, leauing onely the Fortes guarded, and so the Pale was not able to defend it selfe against Tyrone, whereas he hoped to haue been enabled both to continue the prosecution in the North, and also to besiege the Spaniards at one and the same time, whereof yet hee did not altogether despaire, so as their Lord|ships would speedily furnish such things, as were earnestly desired by them, for the good of the seruice; being confidently of opinion, that the only way to make a speedy end of the rebellion, and as quicke a dispatch of the Spaniards out of Ireland, was to make the warre roundly both in the North, and in Mounster at one time. Also aduer|tising that the Spaniards

(as they for certaine heard) brought with them not onely sixteene hundred Saddles, vpon the Rebels promise of horse, but also great store of Armes for the common people, vpon hope they had giuen them of their generall re|uolt; and humbly praying their Lordships, that in regard our greatest strength and aduantage consisted in our horses they would cause a thousand quarters of Oates to be speedily sent for Corke, without which store, our horses were like to starue within a short time, and in case they approued the prosecution in the North to bee continued without intermission, then they would bee pleased to send the like quantitie of Oates to be kept in store at Carlingford. Lastly, praying their Lordships to send hether a Ma|ster Gunner, with sixe Canoniers.

The second of October, his Lordship wrote this following letter to Master Secre|tarie.

SIr I doe thinke we shall finde these forces out of Spaine to be aboue foure thousand, aboundantly prouided with Munition, Artillery, and Armes (besides their owne vse, to arme the Countrie people, great store of treasure, and of all victuals but flesh. All the Chiefes that are in rebellion, and all the loose sword men, will presently take their parts. The Lords that we haue reclaimed, if we doe not defend them from Ti|rone, must and will returne vnto him. Vpon the first good countenance the Spanish ar|my shall make, I feare me, many will declare themselues for them, but vpon the first blow we shall receiue (from the which I hope God will preserue vs), I doubt there would fall out a generall reuolt. The Commander of the Spanish Army is one of the 138 greatest Souldiers the King of Spaine hath, the Captaine vnder him are most ancient men, their Bands, some out of Italy, some from the Terceraes, and few Bisonioes. They are specially well armed, all their shot (as I heard) muskets, they haue brought sixteene hundred saddles, and Armes for horsemen, of light shot, whereof they make account to be prouided in Ireland, and so may they be, as well as in any part of Christendome, and likewise to haue horses for their saddles, but therein I thinke they will be decei|ued. There are not yet come vnto vs any other forces, but such [...] onely I found in this Prouince. Vpon the arriuall of the first troopes (which I looke for howerly) we shall send you word of some good blowes that will passe betweene vs, for I meane to dwell close by them (by the grace of God) to put them to it. Sir, the King of Spaine hath now begun to inuade her Maiesties Kingdomes, if only to put Ireland in generall commotion, he hath chosen the worst place, if to doe that, and to lay a sudden foun|dation for the warre of England, the best: if he hath beene deceiued in any expectation here, the State of Spaine must now make good the errour, and doubtlesse is ingaged to supplie all defects. The commodity that is offered vnto her Maiesty is, that shee may sooner preuent then Spaine prouide: Now as her Maiesties faithfull workeman, I am bold to propound in my own taske, that it may please her to send presently good part of her royall Fleete, and with them such prouisions for battery as we did write for, and at the least so many horse and foote as by our letter we haue sued for, with victuals and munitions in aboundance for them. It will be fit that this Winter there be a sharpe warre made in Vlster, which will keepe the Spaniard from any important succour, and ruine for euer the Traitors, if the warre be well followed. If it be made by the seuerall Gouernours, the effect will not be so great: if you will haue it perfor|med thorowly, you must make one Gouernour of all Vlster, and the fittest man that can bee chosen in England or Ireland is Sir Arthur Chichester. If you res-

olue on that course, from him you must continually receiue his demands, onely of the three hun|dred horse wee did write for, it were good he had sent him out of the North one hun|dred. For foot, if you send him out of England to supply the Companies at Loughfoyle and Knockefergus, aboue our proportion, it will be much better: for Armagh and those parts shall receiue from vs. This course I hope will soone make an end of the warre in Ireland, of Spaine in Ireland, and perchance of Spaine for a long time with England. I doubt not but you will conceiue this action to bee of no lesse importance then it is. What goodly Hauens are in these parts for shipping, how many fighting men of the Irish may be from hence by the King of Spaine carried for an inuasion of England; (the want of which two kinds hath beene his chiefe impediment hitherto) you well know. Beleeue Sir, out of my experience here, if the King of Spaine should preuaile in Ire|land, he may carry aboue ten thousand men from hence, that ioined with his Army, will be of more vse for the inuasion of England, then any that can be chosen out of any part of Christen dome. And now Sir, that you know (as I hope) the worst, I cannot dis|semble how confident I am, to beate these Spanish Dons, as well as euer I did our Irish Macks and Oes, and to make a perfect conclusion of the warre of Ireland as soone, as if this interruption had neuer happened, if wee haue Gods blessing and the Queenes, and those ordinary meanes without the which none but infinite powers can worke. I beseech the eternall God preserue her Maiesty and her Kingdomes, and send me the happinesse to kisse her royall hands, with the conscience of hauing done her the seruice I desire. And so Sir I doe wish you all happinesse, and will be euer

From Corke the 2 of October 1601 .

Yours Sir most assured to doe you seruice, Mountioy

The same day his Lordship wrote another letter to Master Secretary as followeth.

SIR here are diuers worthy men very fit to haue charge, who haue followed the wars here as voluntaries to their very great expence, and look now by my meanes to haue command vpon the comming ouer of the next Companies, if you send more 139 then serue only for supplies. I haue no meanes to keep them from going thither, to vse the helpe of their friends and get them Companies there, but by promising them any thing that I can doe for them here, for by that course I conceiue I ease you of that trouble, which their importunate sutes would breede you, and hold them here ready for any seruice vpon the sudden, thinking it no pollicy at this time to spare any, that may giue furtherance to the great worke we haue in hand. If it will please you to doe me that fauour, to procure that the Companies to come ouer, may be appointed Cap|taines of my nomination, I shall be able to satisfie those Gentlemens expectations, who I am perswaded will be fitter for this imployment then any that can be sent from thence, and they finding their aduancement here, where they are to be tied to their taske, will (in my iudgement) endeauour to deserue the best, being in the eye of him that was the meanes thereof, which for the seruice sake chiefly I affect, though I can be content Sir to acknowledge vnto you, that I would gladly haue the World see, that I am no lesse graced in my imployments then my Predecessours haue beene; for this people doe not little obserue it, and at this present especially I hold it a matter of that consequence, as without it, I shall be the lesse able to weeld this great businesse, with that successe that otherwise I am hopefull of: We haue not here any of the Queenes Pin-

nisses, whereof at this time there is great want. At my comming out of the North, althougst the Rebels in generall did giue out, that they were out of hope of forraigne succours this yeere, (I thinke in policy, and to make vs flow to call for supplies), yet Tyrlogh mac Henry did assure me vpon his life, that the Spaniards would come, and further told me that one Bathe Agent for Tyrone in Spaine, and since returned to him, was sent into Scotland, whence he was presently to returne: Whereupon I deliuered a description of the man to Captaine Button, and willed him to lie vpon the Coasts to apprehend him, assuring my selfe that I should haue wrested out of him the certainty of all things. Since that time I haue heard nothing of that Captaine, nor of the Queenes Pinnis vnder his command. I pray you Sir let vs haue some of the Queenes shippes with expedition, for without them we shall not be able to conuay any thing vpon this Coast from place to place, and the waies by land will be dangerous. So Sir I wish you all happinesse.

The third of October, his Lordship and the Counsell here wrote to the Lords in England this following letter.

IT may please your Lordships. Hauing seriously considered of the great worke we haue now in hand, wee obserue that besides the forraigne enemy the Spaniard with whom wee are first to deale, and the knowne Traitors and Rebels already in armes, there are two other sorts of people here, which if wee doe not carefully prouide for, they will soone adheare vnto the rest, and make their party so strong, as in iudgement wee cannot see how we shall be well able to encounter it, vnlesse by good prouidence it be preuented, which is the marke we aime at. The one of these two sorts is the sub|iect, who hath lands and goods to take to, for whom wee must prouide defence, else with his liuelyhood wee are sure to loose him, and therefore wee will omit no|thing that our meanes will stretch to, that may preserue, cherish, and content him. The other sort are such as haue no liuing, nor any thing that will afford them maintenance, and yet hitherto haue not shewed themselues disloyall, though all of them bee Swordmen, and many Gentlemen by discent, and are able to draw after them many followers. To this sort wee heare for certaine, the Spaniards make offer of great entertainement, and if wee should not in some sort doe the like, wee cannot in reason looke but they must and will fall to their partie. Wee haue therefore out of this necessitie resolued, to take as many of them into her Maiesties intertainement, as wee haue any hope will truly sticke vnto vs, being confident that wee shall make good vse of them against the Spaniard; for wee meane thorowly to put them to it, though if wee should faile in our expectati|on, and finde them cold or slacke in seruing with vs, yet will it bee a great counte|nance 140 to the seruice to shew the persons of so many men on our side, where otherwise they would haue been against vs: and of this we can assure your Lordships, that when they haue serued our turne against the Spaniards, vntill wee haue freed ourselues of them, we can without danger case her Maiestie of that charge, and wil no longer hold them in entertainement. In the meane time they shall spend little of the Queenes vi|ctuall, but being paid of the new coine, prouide for themselues, which may bee with lesse oppression to the Countrie, then if in that sort they were not entertained, for then they would spoile all, and put out such as otherwise will continue in subiection. Of this course of ours, we humbly desire your Lordships approbation (though wee will be very sparing to entertaine more then shall be necessary) and warrant to Master Treasurer to make them paiment, and hold vs we beseech you excused for resoluing

it, before we acquainted your Lordships there with all, seeing we were enforced there|unto by necessitie for the seruice sake (since many of them were actiue, and would o|therwise haue serued the enemie), and wee could not sooner write vnto your Lord|ships of it, and euen so, etc.

The same day Sir Beniamin Berry came to Corke with his Lordships Guard which he commanded, and with some other Companies (for till this time his Lordship had no part of the Army with him, but only the Bands of the Mounster Lyst.) The ninth day the Companies came to Corke, which Sir Richard Wingfield the Marshall had drawne out of the Pale, and Sir Iohn Barkeley Sericant Maior had drawne from the frontiers of Lemster and Connaght. The tenth day being Saturday, the Companies came to Corke, which Sir Henrie Dauers had drawne from Armagh and the Northerne Garrisons. And this day Sir Richard Wingfield Marshall, and Sir Iohn Barkeley Serieant Maior, were sent with some horse and foote, to view and chuse a fit ground neere Kin|sale, where our Army might sit downe to besiege the Towne. The next day some horse and foote were sent out to keepe the Irish from selling victuals to the Spani|ards. The twelfth two French men ran from the Spaniards to vs, who confessed that three thousand Spaniards landed at the first in Kinsale, beside sixe hundred since arti|ued in a great ship scattered from them by a tempest.

This day one aduertised his Lordship, that vnder pretence of fauouring the Spani|ards discent, he had spoken with their General; who inquired whether the L. Deputie in person came to view Kinsale, and with what numbers, to which he answered, that he was there in person with foure hundred foote lodged not farre off out of sight, and foure troopes of horse. That he asked what souldiers the Lord Deputy had, to which he answered some eight thousand, besides the daily arriuall of others of the Army in Lemster and the North: what souldiers were new, and what weapons they had, and what artillery the Lord Deputy had, to which hee answered with addition to our strength. He said that the Generall presumed by the contrary winds, that they in Eng|land heard not of his arriuall, and though hee told him the English Fleete was at Ply|moth, he seemed not to beleeue it, and made countenance, that they should haue e|nough to doe, to defend the English coast from inuasion, and much insisted vpon the copper money the Queene sent, with purpose to make the Irish her slaues: but pro|mised gold and siluer from his Mastor. That he inquired to Tyrone and Odonnel, see|ming to distaste their being so farre off, and the way to them being dangerous, and his owne want of horses, and therefore prayed this Gentleman to certifie Tirrell and the Lord of Leytrim, that hee expected Tyrone with horses and beeues, which hee praied them to supply in the meane time, both sending him notice before they came, adding that himselfe had Bread, Rice, Pease, and Wine for eighteene moneths, and store of treasure. And that he inquired much after the strength of Corke, and the Queenes new Fort there. Lastly, he aduertised, that the ships returned were foureteene (of them six the Kings owne of one thousand run the least, in which was the Admirall Generall, Saint liage, and the great Admirall of Castill, Don Diego, de Bruxero.) That the twelue remaining were smaller, and embarged (or arctied) to serue the King, whereof some were Irish. That the ships at Baltemore had 700 men. That by his view, there were 3000 in Kinsale royally prouided of all prouisions for war, hauing many saddles for horses; 141 and that vpon Tyrones expected comming, they intended to take the field.

The thirteenth it was resolued we

should presently take the field, though wee had not as yet any prouisions fit for that purpose, but that day and the two dayes follow|ing we could not stirre from Corke, by reason of extreame raine and foule weather. Neither artillery, munitio nor victuals were yet come from Dublin, yet it was thought fitter thus vnprouided to take the field, then by discouery of our wants to giue the Irish opportunitie and courage to ioyne with the Spaniard.

2

6.8 CHAP. II.

Of the besieging of the Spaniards at Kinsale, with the deliuery of the Towne to the Lord Deputy and their returne into Spaine in the same yeere 1601.

THe 16 day of October, his Lordship with the Army rose from Corke, and encamped fiue miles short of Kinsale, at a place called Owny Buoy. The 17 the army rose, and marching towards Kinsale, encamped within half a mile of the towne vnder a hill called Knock Robin, where some few shot of the Spaniards offered to disturbe our sitting downe, but were soone beaten home. Wee had at that time scarce so much Powder as would serue for a good dayes fight, nei|ther had wee any competent number of tooles, so as wee could not intrench our selues, for these prouisions were not yet come from Dublin. That day Captain Morgan came out of England with one of the Queenes ships, and our Master Gunner came from Waterford, aduertising that some ships of prouisions, sent from Dublin, were come to that Port where they were enforced to stay by a contrary wind, being Southerly. The eighteenth the Army lay still, and we viewed the fittest places to incampe neere the Towne: but our Artillerie being not come, we remoued not. And that night the Spaniards made a salley, much greater then the former, to disturbe our Campe, but our men soone repelled them without any losse to vs. The ninteenth wee lay still, expecting prouisions, and that day, our men sent to view the ground, had some slight skirmishes with the enemy, and Deu Iean after professed, that hee neuer saw any come more willingly to the sword, then our men did. That night Sir Iohn Barkeley was appointed to giue Alarum to the Towne, who did beate the Spanish guardes set without the Towne, into their tren|ches. The next night after, some sixteene hundred Spaniards came to the top of the hill, vnder which wee lay, either with purpose to cut off some of the scouts, or to at|tempt some thing on the Campe: But Sir Iohn Barkeley lying with a party of ours not exceeding three hundred, discouered them, and skirmishing with them, killed some dead in the place, tooke some Armes and other spoyle, and hurt diuers, and did beate them backe to the Towne, without the losse of any one of our men, and onely three hurt.

The one and twentieth Cormock Mac Dermot an Irish man, chiefe of a Countrie called Ministerie, came with the rising out (or souldiers) of his Countrie, to shew them to the Lord Deputy, who to the end the Spaniards might see the meere Irish serued on our side, commanded them at their returne to passe by the Spanish trenches, made without the Towne on the top of the hil, but lodged strong parties (out of the enemies fight) to second them. The Irish at first went on wel, and did beat the Spanish guards from their ground, but according to their custome, suddenly fell off, and so left one of the Lord Presidents horsemen ingaged, who had charged two Spaniards: but Sir William Godolphin commanding the Lord Deputies troope, when he saw him in dan|ger, and vnhorsed, did charge one way vpon their grosse, and Captaine Henry Barkley Cornet of the same troope, charged another way at the same instant, and droue their shot into the trenches, and so rescued the horseman with his horse, comming off with 142 one man hurt, and onely one horse killed, from the great numbers of Spanish shot, whereof foure were left dead in

the place, diuers carried off dead into the Towne, and many hurt.

The two and twentieth day Captaine Button arriued at Corke with the Queenes Pin|nis, called the Moone, which wafted other ships bringing victuals and munition from Dublyn, and the same day came to the Campe, aduertising that the same shippes were come from Waterford towards Corke. That night his Lordship sent him backe, to bring his ship about to Kinsale Harbour, and to take with him Captaine Wards shippe from Oyster Hauen, where it lay to guard the victuall and munition we brought with vs.

These two ships were commanded to annoy the Castle of Rincoran, seated close vpon the harbour of Kinsale, and possessed by the Spaniard; but after they had spent many shot vpon the Castle without any great effect, because their Ordinance was small, they lay still to keepe the Harbour, that neither the Castle nor the Towne might be releeued by water, which was the chiefe end of their comming. The three and twen|tith the Dublyn shipping arriued at Corke, and were directed to come presently to Oyster Hauen, where we might vnlade the Artillery (which could not be brought by land), and other prouisions for the present vse of the Army.

The foure and twenty day it was resolued, we should rise and incampe close by the Towne, but the shipping being not come about with the artillery and other necessa|ries, that day was spent in dispatching for England. And by night Captaine Blany and Captaine Flower were sent out, to lie with fiue hundred foote, to intertaine the Spani|ards which were drawne out of the Towne, but they came no further, and so our men returned.

This day his Lordship and the Counsell wrote to the Lords in England this fol|lowing letter.

IT may please your Lordships, since our last dispatch from Corke, which bare date the fourth of this present moneth, we spent some time there, expecting the com|ming of the old Companies out of the Pale and Northerne parts, and hoping to be supplied with victuals, munition, and other necessaries from Dublyn, without which we saw it would be to little purpose to take the field. But when we had staied there till the sixteenh, and were not prouided of munition, (none being come to vs from Dublyn or from Lymricke, whether we had likewise sent to haue some brought to vs), and wanting both victuals, and most of the prouisions belonging necessarily to so great a siege, yet to inuest the Town where the Spaniards are lodged, from receiuing succours both of victuals and of such as were disposed to ioine with them, and withall to auoid the opinion, which the Countrey beganne to conceiue of our weakenes, because wee did not draw into the field, we resolued the sixteenth day to rise, and the next day did sit downe within lesse then halfe a mile of the Towne, keeping continuall guardes round about the enemy. We can assure your Lordships that we doe not thinke our selues much stronger (if any thing at all) in numbers then they are, whose army at their setting to sea, did beare the reputation of sixe thousand, and we haue cause to iudge them (because since our last letters to your Lordships, there arriued another ship at Kinsale, which brought fiue hundred men more vnto them) now to be aboue foure thousand by the Pole. In both these points of number in reputation or by Pole, they differ not much from ours, for it may please your Lordships to consider, that the whole force we can draw into this Prouince (leauing the Pale, Connaght, and the North prouided for, as it may appeare by this inclosed note they are in some measure) doth not exceede in lyst 7000, and of those we are enforced to leaue some part vpon the bor|ders towards Lym-

ricke, to be some stay to the whole Countrey, and it must in reason be thought, that our Companies generally are weake in numbers, seeing they haue had no supplies of a long time, and that we desire two thousand to reinforce them, be|sides that many are taken out of them for necessary wards, some are sicke, and many of the Northerne Companies lie yet hurt, since the late great skirmishes against Tyrone, 143 which they performed with good successe but a little before they were sent for to come hither. Wee doe assuredly expect, that many will ioine with Tyrone, (if hee onely come vp towards these parts), and almost all the Swordmen of this King|dome, if we should not keepe the field, and the countenance of being Masters thereof, how ill prouided soeuer wee doe find our selues. Wherefore wee most humbly and earnestly desire your Lordships to hasten away at the least the full number of such supplies of horse and foote as we doe write for in our last, and that it will please your Lordships to beleeue from vs, that if the Countrie should ioyne with Tyrone, and make a defection, our chiefe securitie will be in the horse we must receiue out of Eng|land, for the most of these here already, are much weakned and harazed out, with their continuall employment in euery seruice. It may also please your Lordships to consi|der, that in a siege, where foure thousand such men as these Spaniards, are possessed of any place whatsoeuer, there will bee necessarily required royall prouisions, and great numbers to force them, neither can it bee thought, but the sword and season of the yeere will continually waste our Army, so as we are enforced earnestly to desire your Lordships, while this action is in hand, to send vs continuall supplies, without which this Army will not be able to subsist. And although (grieued with her Maiesties huge expence) we are loth to propound for so many men as are conceiued to be needefull and profitable for the present prosecution of this dangerous warre, yet wee are of opi|nion, that the more men her Maiesty can presently spare, to be imployed in this Coun|trie, the more safe and sudden end it will make of her charge. And not without cause we are moued to solicite your Lordships to consider thereof, since wee now perceiue that we haue an Army of old and disciplined souldiers before vs of foure thousand Spaniards (that assuredly expect a far greater supply), and much about twenty thou|sand fighting men, of a furious and warlike nation of the Irish, which wee may iustly suspect will all declare themselues against vs, if by our supplies and strength out of England, they doe not see vs likely to pre uaile. These Prouincials (a few of Carbry on|ly excepted, appertaining to Florence [262] Mac Carty) do yet stand firme, but no better then neutralitie is to be expected from those which are best affected, nor is it possible to dis|couer their affections, vntill Tyrone with the Irish Forces doe enter into the Prouince, who (as the Councell at Dublin write) is prouiding to come hither. The supplies from Spaine are presently expected: If they should arriue before our Army be streng|thened out of England, or before this Towne of Kinsale be taken, it must be thought a generall defection through out the Kingdome (wherein wee may not except the Townes) will ensue, and then the warre will be drawne to a great length, and the euent doubtfull. If the Queenes ships doe not in time come to Kinsale, our taske will bee very heauie, with this small Army to force so strong an enemie, so well pro|uided of all necessaries for the warre. Wherefore wee humbly beseech the sen|ding of them away, which will not onely giue vs a speedie course to winne the Towne, but

[262] Florence

also assure the coasts for our supplies, and giue an exceeding stay to the Countrie (the enemie fearing nothing more, and the subiect desiring no|thing so much as the arriuall of her Maiesties Fleete.) The sixtie lasts of Powder and sixe pieces of battery with their necessaries, the victuals and all things else, written for in our former letters, wee humbly desire may presently bee dispatched hither, and although so great a masse of victuals, as is needefull, cannot bee sent at an in|stant, wee desire it may bee sent as it can bee prouided, and directed for the ha|uen of Corke. What wee shall bee able to doe till our supplies come, wee cannot say: but what we shall haue reason to feare, except they come in time, your Lord|ships may iudge. Onely wee assure your Lordships, that her Maiestie (with the helpe of God) shall finde, wee will omit nothing that is possible to bee done, nor shunne any thing that may bee suffered, to doe her the seruice wee owe vnto her. If in the meane time, by all our letters both to the Councell at Dublin, and all others in this Countrie, to whom we haue occasion to write, we giue out these Spa|niards to bee in number not three thousand, in their meanes scant and miserable, in their persons weake and sickely, and in their hopes dismayed and amazed; 144 we hope your Lordships will conceiue we do that, but for the countenancing of our party, and to keepe as many as we can from falling from vs. On the other side, Don Iean de l'Aguyla the Spanish Generall, hath vsed many arguments to moue the Irish to defection, and among other (which is very forceable and feare-full vnto their waue|ring spirits), he telles them, that this is the first great action that the King his Master hath vndertaken, and assures them he hath protested, that he will not receiue scorne in making good his enterprise, and that he will rather hazard the losse of his Kingdoms, then of his Honour in this enterprise. The Priests likewise (to terrifie the conscien|ces) threaten hell and damnation to those of the Irish, that doe not assist them (hauing brought Bulles for that purpose), and send abroad Indulgences to those that take their parts. These and such like pollicies (as their offering of sixe shillings a day to eue|ry horseman that will serue them) doe so preuaile with this barbarous Nation, as it is a wonder vnto vs, that from present staggering they fall not to flat defection, as they will soone doe, if they once discouer them of abilitie to giue vs one blow, before the comming of our supplies and meanes, which wee are most earnestly to solicite your Lordships to hasten, assuring your Lordships that nothing will more confirme the state of this Kingdome, then the arriuall of her Maiesties Fleete, which wee are resol|ued by the best iudgements may be imployed in these parts to preuent the arriuall of forraine succours. Yet in the meane time we will omit nothing that shall be feasable with the force we haue, neither haue we been idle since our comming hither, hauing had continuall skirmishes, whereof two especially were well performed by our men. The first the twentieth of this moneth, when the enemy by night sallyed with more then a thousand foote, to cut off a guard of horse we kept neere the Towne, and pur|posing to attempt something on our Campe; but three hundred of our men led by Sir Iohn Barkley did incounter them and beat them backe, with losse of many of their men, and some bodies left in the field, by whose spoile our men were incouraged, and returned with triumph. The other, the next day when Cormock Mac Dermot, chiefe Lord of Muskerie, comming to the Campe, to shew vs his rising out, we willed him to returne by the Spaniards trenches, that they might see the Irish serue on our side a|gainst them, where they entertained a good skirmish, but soone

falling off, a horseman was engaged and vnhorsed: but Sir William Godolphin with my troope rescued him, charging close to their trenches, in a way flancked by two trenches, and filled with great numbers of shot, yet returned (to our great maruell) with little or no hurt, ha|uing beaten them from their strength, and killed many of their men, whereof they left some behind them, besides others wee saw them carry off. From this beginning we hope God will so blesse our iust quarrell, as shortly we shall haue cause to enforme you of better successe. We vnderstand that Tyrone will presently come hither, which if he doe, your Lordships can iudge how weake we are to deale both with him and the Spaniards.

The same day his Lordship wrote this following letter to Master Secretarie.

SIr, what we desire, and how our affaires are disposed of, you haue by our general let|ters to my Lords. Now I will desire, that my vnremoueable affection may be held as a conclusion so absolutely granted, that I may no more trouble you with any cere|monies; for you shall finde, that I will not value my life, nor any fortune of this world to make you assured demonstration thereof, when I shall haue the happinesse to haue power and occasion to shew it. Onely now touching the point of my Lord Presi|dents comming ouer, to take from you any doubt, that in my owne particular I could not earnestly concurre with you, I doe protest on my Christianitie, that I know no man in this Kingdome, that I could haue been better pleased, should haue been the deliuerer of my affections and actions, then himselfe, and by him vnto you, and from you might haue deliuered and receiued much, which I desire most to doe; neither do I know any, who I conceiue could haue deliuered more sufficiently the present state of this Kingdome, nor propounded to greater purpose for her Maiesties seruice the course that will be fittest for you in England to embrace. But against mine owne pri|uate 145 desire, he hath opposed his own peremptory distaste of the motion, with this pro|testation, to hate me if I should vrge it. Besides, it seemes to me against the publike commodity, in so weighty a cause to send away so worthy an instrument, and depriue our selues of the assistance we receiue thereby at this time, (especially the stage of this great action being chiefly in his owne Prouince, in the which the succesee of his go|uernement doth best shew what authority his iudgement and presence doth carry). So that I conclude, for your sake, his owne and mine, but especially for the publike, at this time he cannot well be spared from hence, besides that he hath vowed to fall out with all, if it be vrged. And although these spoiles of ambition are of all other the most vnwillingly shared by men of our profession; yet I protest I am glad, euen in this great goale of honour, to runne equally with him, and to participate with all his aduentures. This band of the honour we beare to you, and mutuall affection to each other, hauing for chiefe knot the seruice of our dearest Soueraigne, there is no corruption that may be likely to dissolue it; and therefore I hope it is tied by the hand of God, and it shall not be in the power of man to loose it. I am assured, that you and I thinke, the State of England cannot but conceiue the importance of our worke: for now I act a est alia betweene England and Spaine, and we that doe play the game, haue least interest in the stake, though we will winne or loose our liues, to shew that we doe not play booty: wherefore I hope you will not forget vs, for vestrares agitur: And let this onely argu|ment, which I could confirme with many circumstances, oppose it selfe against the Counsels of those, that will sell their birth rites in Heauen it selfe, to please their owne

enuious and partiall pallates, that the warre of the Low-Countries was begunne, and hath beene maintained with few more naturall Spaniards, then are arriued here alrea|dy; and that putting armes and discipline into this people, they are more warlike then any of his auxiliaries. Sir I will trouble you no longer, being desirous to doe some|what worth the writing. God send vs an Easterly winde, and vnto you as much hap|pines as I doe wish vnto my owne soule.

From the Campe by Kinsale this 24 of Oc|tober 1601 . Yours Sir most assured for euer to doe you seruice, Mountioy.

The fiue and twenty the Army was ready to rise, but the weather falling out very foule, direction was giuen not to dislodge. Foure naturall Spaniards came this day to vs from the Enemy, who the next day were sent to Corke. This night Sir Iohn Barke|ley went out with some three hundred foot, hauing with him Captaine Flower, Cap|taine Morris, and Captaine Bostocke, and fell into the Spaniards trenches, and did beate them to the Towne, fell into the gate with them, and killed and hurt aboue twenty of the Spaniards, hauing but three hurt of our men. Hitherto we lodged in Cabbins, so as it rained vpon vs in our beds, and when we changed our shirts.

The sixe and twenty the Army dislodged and incamped on an hill on the North|side before Kinsale, called the Spittle, somewhat more then musket shot from the Towne, and there intrenched strongly. When we fat downe, we discouered that the Spaniards had gotten a prey of two hundred or three hundred Cowes, and many sheepe, which were (in an Iland as it seemed) vpon the South-east side of the Towne, beyond the water, which wee could not passe but by going eight or nine mile about, where there was a necke of land to goe into it. Captaine Taffe being sent with horse and foot, vsed such expedition in that businesse, as he attained the place before night, and [...] hot skirmish recouered the prey, saue onely some twenty Cowes that the Spaniards had killed, although they were vnder the guard of a Castle, called Castle Ny Parke, which the Spaniards had in possession.

The disposall of the whole Army in Ireland the seuen and twentieth of October 1601.

Left at Loughfoyle.

Sir Henry Dockwra 50. Sir Iohn Bolles 50. horse 100.

Sir Henry Dockwra 200. Sir Matthew Morgan 150. Captaine Badby 150. Sr Iohn Bolles 146 150. Captaine Erington, 100. Captaine Vaughan, 100. Captaine Bingley, 150. Cap|taine coach, 100. Captaine Basset, 100. Captaine Dutton, 100. Captaine Floyde, 100. Cap|taine Oram, 100. Captaine Alford, 100. Captaine Pinner, 100. Captaine Winsor, 100. Captaine Sydley, 100. Captaine Atkinson, 100. Captaine Digges, 100. Captaine Brooke, 100. Captaine Stafford, 100. Captaine Orrell, 100. Captaine Letgh, 100. Captaine Sidney, 100. Captaine Gower, 150. Captaine Willes, 150. Captaine W. N. 100.

Foote 3000.

horse left at Carickfergus.

Sir Arthur Chichester Gouernour, 50. Captaine Iohn Iephson, 100.

horse 150.

Foote left at Carickfergus.

Sir Arthur Chichester Gouernour, 200. Sir Foulke Conway, 150. Captaine Egerton, 100. Captaine Norton, 100. Captaine Billings, 150. Captaine Phillips, 150.

Foote 850.

Foote left in Lecale.

Sir Richard Moryson the Gouernours Company vnder his Lieutenant, himselfe at|tending the Lord Deputy at Kinsale, 150.

horse left in Northerne Garrisons.

At the Newrie Sir Francis Stafford, 50. At Mount Norreys, Sir Samuel Bagnol, 50.

horse, 100.

Foote in the North Garrisons.

At the Newrye Sir Francis Stafford, 200. At Dundalke Captaine Freckleton, 100. At Carlingford Captaine Hansard, 100. At Mount Norreys Captaine Atherton, 100. At Ar|inagh Sir Henrie Dauers vnder his Lieutenant, himselfe being at Kinsale, 150. At Black|water, Captaine Thomas Williams, 150.

Foote, 800.

horse left in the Pale, and places adioyning.

In Kilkenny the Earle of Ormond, 50. In Kildare the Earle of Kildare, 50. In West-meath the Lord of Dunsany, 50. In Lowth Sir Garret Moore, 25.

horse, 175.

Foote in the Pale.

At Kilkenny the Earle of Ormond, 150. Captaine Iohn Masterson, 100. Captaine Tho|mas Butler, 100. At Carlogh Sir Christopher Saint Laurence 150. Sir Francis Shane, 100. Sir Tilbot Dillon, 100. Sir Edward Fitz Garret, 100. Sir Henrie Harington, 100. Sir Ri|chard Greame, 100. At the Nasse Sir Laurence Esmond, 150. In Ophalia Sir George Bour|cher, 100. Sir Edwird Harbert, 100. Sir Henrie Warren, 100. In Leax Fort, Sir Francis Rush, 150. To be placed by the Counsell at Dublin, Sir Henrie Power vnder his Lieute|nant, himselfe being at Kinsale, 150. Sir Samuel Bagnol, 150. Sir William Warren, 100. Captaine Guest, 150 Captaine Cawfeild, 150. At Kildare the Earle of Kildare, 100. Cap|taine Ocarrol in his Countrie, 100. At Kelles the Lord of Dunsany, 150. In Westmeath the Lord of Deluin, 150. Captaine Mac Henry, 100. At Ardee Sir Garret Meere, 100. Captaine N. N. 150.

Foote 3150.

horse left in Cònnaght.

The Earle of Clanrickard, 50. Captaine Wayman, 12.

horse, 62.

Foote left in Connaght.

Sir Oliuer Lambert Gouernour, 150. The Earle of Clanrickard, 150. Sir Thomas Bourk 150. Captaine Clare, 150. Captaine Thomas Bourk, 100. Captaine Malbye, 150. Cap|taine Tybbot ne Long, 100. Captaine Dauy Bourke, 100. A Company void for the Iud|ges pay, 100.

Foote 1150.

Totall of horse 587. Totall of Foote 9100.

The Lyst of the Army with his Lordship at Kinsale.

The old Mounster Lyst.

Sir George Carew Lord President, 50. Sir Anthony Cooke, 50. Captaine Fleming, 25. 127 Captaine William Taffe, 50.

horse 175.

Foote of the old Lyst.

The Lord President, 150. The Earle of Thomond, 150. Lord Barry, 100. Lord Audley, 150. Sir Charles Wilmot, 150. Master Treasurer, 100. Captaine Roger Har|uey, 150. Captaine Thomas Spencer, 150. Captaine George Flower, 100. Captaine William Saxey. 100. Captaine Garret Dillon, 100. Captaine Nuse, 100. Sir Richard Percy 150. Sir Francis Barkeley, 100. Captaine Power, 100. A Company for the Earle of Des|monds vse, 100.

Foote 1950.

New Companies sent into Mounster lately, which arriued and were put into pay the fourth of September past.

The Lord President added to his Company, 50. The Earle of Thomond added to his Company, 50. Sir George Thorneton, 100. Captaine Skipwith, 100. Captaine Mor|ris, 100. Captaine Kemish, 100, Captaine North, 100. Captaine Owslye, 100. Captaine Fisher, 100. Captaine Yorke, 100. Captaine Hart, 100. Captaine Lisle, 100. Captaine Rauenseroft, 100. Cap.

Rich. Hansard, 100. Captaine George Greame, 100. Captaine Yel|uerton, 100. Captaine Panton, 100. Captaine Cullom, 100. Captaine Hobby, 100. Cap|taine Gowen Haruy, 100. Captaine Coote, 100.

Foote 2000.

horse brought from the North and the Pale to Kinsale.

The Lord Deputies troope, 100. Sir Henrie Dauers, 100. Master Marshall, 50. Sir Christopher Saint Laurence, 25. Sir Henrie Harrington, 25. Sir Edward Harbert, 12. Sir William Warren, 25. Sir Richard Greame, 50. Sir Oliuer Saint Iohns, 25. Sir Francis Rush, 12. Captaine George Greame, 12.

horse 436.

Foote that Sir Iohn Barkeley brought from the borders of Connaght to Kinsale.

Sir Iohn Barkley, 200. Sir Arthur Sauage, 150. Sir Oliuer Saint Iohns, 200. Sir Iohn Dow|dall, 100. Captaine Kingsmill, 100. Captaine George Blount, 100. Captaine Bosteck, 100.

Foote 950.

Foote brought out of the Pale by Master Marshall, and from the Northerne Garrisons by Sir Henry Dauers to Kinsale.

The Lord Deputies Guard, 200. Master Marshall, 150. Sir Beniamin Berry, 150. Sir William Fortescue, 150. Sir Iames Fitz-piers, 150. Sir Thomas Loftus, 100. Sir Henrie Fol|lyet, 150. Captaine Edward Blany, 150. Captaine Iosias Bodley, 150. Captaine Rotheram, 150. Captaine Thomas Roper, 150. Captaine Roe, 150. Captaine Treuer, 100. Captaine Ralph Constable, 100.

Foote 2000.

At Kinsale, horse 611. Foote 6900.

Totall of the whole Army in Ireland, horse 1198. Foote 16000.

Of the sixe thousand nine hundred foote at Kinsale in Mounster, one Company of one hundred was conuerted to the Earle of Desmonds vse (who was then kept in Eng|land), and some were placed vpon the borders of the Prouince, to bee a stay to the Countrie. And all the old Bands called out of the North, the Pale, and Connaght were very deficient in number, hauing been long worne out in skirmishes, [...] and sick|nesses, without any supplies lately sent out of England, though much and often desi|red. These sixe thousand nine hundred foote were distributed into Regiments, com|manded by Colonels, as shall appeare at the increase of the List the next moneth.

The seuen and twentieth day, our Artillerie and prouisions sent from Dublin, were landed at Oyster Hauen, our munition was brought into the Campe, and the front of the quarter that faced the Towne, and both the [...] of our [...] were more 148 strongly fortified, and the Campe was round about intrenched, and all those workes perfected, which could not bee done the day before, by reason of the foule wea|ther.

Now the Spaniards held the Castle of Rincorane from their first landing, and be|cause it commanded the Harbour of Kinsale, so that our shipping could not safely land our prouisions neere the Campe, it was thought fit to make the taking thereof our first worke. To which purpose Sir Iohn Barkeley, Sir William Godolphin, and Cap|taine Iosias Bodley Trench-Master, were sent to chuse a fit place to plant our Artillerie against the Castle. The 28 day two Coluerings which had not been long vsed, were made fit, and the next day they were mounted. The Spaniards were in the towne foure thousand strong, and wee had not many more in the Campe by Pole, though our Lyst were more. That night the Spaniards issued out of the Towne by water, to relieue the Castle, but Captaine Buttons ship did beate them backe. The thirtieth day the two Cu-

luerings began to batter the Castle, but one of them brake in the caue|ning.

In the meane time the Spaniards gaue an Alarum to our Campe, and drew a demy Canon out of the Towne, wherewith they plaied into the Camp, killed two with the first shot, neere the Lord Deputies tent, shot through the next tent of the pay-Master, (wherein we his Lordships Secretaries did lie) brake a barrell of the Pay-Masters mo|ney, with two barrels of the Lord Deputies beare in the next Cabin, and all the shot were made, fell in the Lord Deputies quarter, and neere his owne tent.

This night the Spaniards attempted againe to relieue the Castle, but Sir Richard Porcy hauing the guard, with the Lord Presidents Regiment vnder his command, did repulse them. The one and thirtieth day the coluering battered the Castle, and that morning another culuering, and a canon, being planted, they plaied without intermissi|on, which while we were busily attending, 500 of their principall Spaniards came out of Kinsale (with shew to go to relieue Rincorran by land) and drew toward a guard we kept betweene Rincorran and the Towne (leauing a great grosse for their seconds, vn|der the walles), vnder that colour to giue a safe passage for their boats to the Castle. Whereupon diuers broken Companies out of the Regiments in the Campe (being all in armes) drew voluntarily that way, and Sir Oliuer Saint Iohns sent out Captaine Roe his Lieutenant Colonel and Sir Arthur Sauages Lieuienant with one hundred men, and seeing them likely to draw on a round skirmish, hee himselfe tooke thirtie shot of his owne Companie, and went vpto them, where he found Captaine Roe and those with him, skirmishing with the enemies shot, being two hundred, and hauing a|nother grosse lying neere the Towne to second them. And seeing the Spaniards come vp close with their Pikes to giue a charge, he ioyned with Captaine Roe, and incoun|tring them, did beate them backe to their seconds, making them to retire hastily, the Spaniards then playing vpon our men with shot from euery house in that part of the Towne. In this charge Sir Oliuer Saint Iohn receiued many pushes of the Pike on his Target, and with one of them was slightly hurt in the thigh, but hee killed a Leader and a common souldier with his owne hand. The Lord audley comming vp with his Regiment, was shot through the thigh. Sir Garret Haruy was hurt in the hand, and had his horse killed vnder him, Captaine Buttlers Lieutenant was slaine, and foure other of our part. Sir Arthur Sauages Lieutenant was shot through the body, and fourteene other of our part weee hurt. The enemie left ten dead in the place, besides their hurt men, which we apparantly saw to be many, and the next day heard to be seuentie, by one who saw them brought to the house, where their hurt men lay, and who repor|ted, that eight of them died that night. Likewise in this skitmish Iuan Hortesse del Con|treres was taken prisoner, who had been Serieant Maior of the Forces in Britain, and our men got from them diuers good Rapiers, and very good Armes.

All this while our 3 pieces battered the Castle; till six of the clock at night, when those of the Castle did beate a Drumme, which the Lord President (whom the Lord Depu|tie had left there, when himselfe in the euening returned to take care of the Camp) ad|mitted to come vnto him. With the Drum came an Irish man borne at Corke, and 149 these in the name of the rest, prayed that with their Armes, Bagge and Baggage, they might depart to Kinsale. This the Lord President refused, and said hee would not conclude with any but the Commander of the Castle, neither had commission to ac|cept any composition, but yeelding to her Maiesties mercie. Presently they sent ano|ther Drumme,

and a Serieant with him, but the Lord President refused to speake with them. At their returne the Commander himselfe, being an Alfiero (or Ensigne) cal|led Bartholomeo de Clarizo (for the Captaine had his legge broken) came vnto the Lord President, but insisting on the condition to depart with Armes, Bag and Baggage to Kinsale, his offer was refused. After he was put safe into the Castle, wee began afresh the battery, and they more hotly then euer before bestowed their vollies of shot on vs. But the first of Nouember at two of the clocke in the morning, when they found how the Castle was weakened by the fury of our battery, they did againe beare a Drumme for a parley, but we refusing it, many of them attempted to escape vnder the rocke close to the water side, which our men perceiuing, drew close vp to the Castle, and hindered their escape. The first of Nouember earely in the morning, the Lord President came to the Campe, and made relation of that nights proceedings to the Lord Deputie, where it was determined, that if they would render the Castle and their Armes, vpon promise of life to the Spaniards onely, and promise to send them safe in|to Spaine, they should be receiued to mercy, which was concluded, because the spee|die taking of the Castle was of importance to the more easie furnishing vs with all prouisions from that harbour, and of reputation to our side, as also because we could not enter the breach without losse of good men (which we esteemed pretious, be|ing no more by Pole in the Campe, then the Spaniards in the Towne besieged by vs, by reason our Companies were very deficient in the numbers of the List, hauing not been supplied out of England of a long time), and because this noble dealing with the Spaniards in the Castle, might induce those in Kinsale, to leaue the Towne vpon like composition, when they felt the misery, whereunto wee hoped ere long to bring them. About one hower of the day the Alfiero sent word to the Lord President (by that time returned) that he would quit all their Armes, and render the place, so as they might be suffered thus vnarmed to goe into Kinsale, which being refused, hee intreated that himselfe alone might hold his Armes, and bee put into Kinsale, which being also refused, he resolutely resolued to burie himselfe in the Castle. His Com|pany seeing him desperately bent not to yeeld, did threaten to cast him out of the breach, so as they might be receiued to mercy. So as at last he consented to yeeld, and that all his people should be disarmed in the Castle (which was committed to Cap|taine Roger Haruy then Captaine of the Guards, to see it done), that the Alfiero himself should weare his sword till hee came to the Lord President, to whom he should ren|der it vp. And this being done, they were all brought prisoners into the Campe, and immediatly sent from thence to Corke. The Spanish thus yeelded, were in number fourescore and sixe, and foure women (whose names I haue, but omit them for breultie), besides a great multitude of Irish Churles, Women and Chil|dren, but not any Swordmen; for those being skilfull in the waies, had all esca|ped, one Dermot Mac Carty only excepted, who was a Pensioner to the King of Spaine, and heretofore a follower to Florence [263] Mac Carty. Also some thirtie Spaniards had been slaine in the defence of this Castle, which was now yeelded to vs, those in Kinsale, not making one shot at our men the while, but standing as men ama|sed.

The second of Nouember, finding how much we had to doe, in taking Rincorran Castle with our weake prouisions, it was concluded, that all attempts against Kinsale Towne were in vaine, till wee were bet-

[263] Florence

ter furnished for such a businesse, which not|withstanding we made daily countenance to take in hand. This day we drew our Or|dinance from the Castle into our Camps. The third day of Nouember the Spanish Serieant Maior in Britauny, taken in a skirmish, and the Alfero yeelding at Rincorran, obtained licence to write to Don Iean de l' Aguyla, and one of our Drums had licence to carry their letters, who staied in the towne all the following night.

150 And this day his Lordship receiued letters of supplies sent out of England, where|upon he wrote to the Counsell at Dublin, and to Sir Arthur Chichester, to make stay of certaine Companies, which lately hee had directed to bee brought out of the North and the Pale, to the Campe at Kinsale. Touching the said supplies, her Maiestie writ to the Lord Deputie this letter following.

Elizabeth Regina.

RIght trusty and well beloued, Wee greet you well. Vpon such aduertisements as Wee haue receiued from diuers places, of a Fleete dispatched from Spaine, with a good number of men of warre to bee landed in that Our Realme, in assistance of Our Rebels there, We haue thought good to send from hence some further for|ces for increase of Our Army there, to enable you the better to make head against them, if they shall fortune to land. Wherefore We haue caused to be leauied here the number of two thousand men, and appointed them to be embarked by the twentieth day of this moneth of October (aboue the other two thousand lately sent vnto you.) For this two thousand now leauied, because We cannot certainely iudge here, whe|ther you shall finde most commodious for Our seruice, either to vse them for the fil|ling vp of decaied Bands there, or to retaine them in Companies, or to employ some of them for filling vp the decares of other Companies, and to retaine other some in Bands. We haue thought good to leaue the disposition of them to your discretion, with the aduice of our Councell, and onely to authorize you hereby, that forasmuch as any part of them which you shall retaine in seuerall Bands, will be aboue the num|ber of Our Establishment, for the payment whereof, neither you nor Our Treasurer haue any warrant, that you may giue warrantto Our Treasurer for the paiment of the whole or any part of the said two thousand, which you shall find necessarie to re|taine in Our pay in Bands seuerall, aboue the number of Our Establishment, or any other former Warrant limited, the said paiment to be made in lending and apparrell, as other Our souldiers there are paied, and to begin from the day of their landing there. Since the writing of thus much to you, concerning the two thousand prepa|ring, Wee haue receiued aduertisements of the landing of the Spaniards at Kin|sale, whereupon we haue added a further supplie of three thousand men more, to be sent to you. And for that it may be, We shall haue cause to increase or alter the num|bers of Our Armie, as Our seruice shall require, We doe therefore giue you warrant, to giue order from time to time for the paiment of all such numbers of men there, ei|ther horse or foote, aboue the number limited by Our Establishment, as you shall bee from Our priuy Councell here, or sixe of them (whereof our Treasurer of England, and Our principall Secretarie to be two) authorized to retaine in Our pay, as Our ser|uice shall require. Giuen vnder Our Signet at Our Mannor of Richmond, the fourth day of October, in the fortie thee yeere of Our Raigne.

Postscript. Of al these numbers two thousand shal be imbarked in Our own ships by the fourteenth of this October at Rochester, because they shal be secured in their trans|portation. Two thousand

more shall bee sent by the twentieth of this moneth to Bristow and Barstable, and the fifth odde thousand shall be sent to Loughsoyles so as Out leauie is now in all fiue thousand men.

The same day his Lordship receiued another letter from the Queene, of her owne hand, and signed below, not aboue (as the vsually signed), as followeth.

SInce the braine-sicke humour of vnaduised assault hath seized on the hearts of Out causelesse foes, We doubt not but their gaine will be their baine, and glory their shame, that euer they had the thought thereof. And that your humour agrees so fightly with Ours, Wee thinke it most fortunately happened in your Rule, to shew the better whose you are, and what you be, as your owne hand writ hath told Vs of 151 late, and doe beseech the Almightie power of the Highest, so to guide your hands, that nothing light in vaine, but to prosper your heede, that nothing be left behind, that might auaile your praise, and that your selfe in venturing too farre, make not the foe a prey of you. Tell Our Army from Vs, that they make full account, that euery hundred of them will beate a thousand, and euery thousand theirs doubled. I am the bolder to pronounce it in his name, that euer hath protected my righteous cause, in which I blesse them all. And putting you in the first place, I end, scribling in hast,

Your louing Soueraigne E. R.

The same day his Lordship receiued letters from the Lords in England, signifying that renne shippes of warre set sayle from Rochester, with the first wind after the eight of October last, to attend the Coast of Mounster, wherein were sent two thousand foot for the Army in Mounster, vnder Captaines appointed. That two thousand more were then leuied to bee sent to the Army, by the way of Bristow and Barstable, which were left to his Lordship, to bee disposed in supplies or Companies, as hee thought fit. That one thousand foote more were sent to supplie Loughfoyle Garrison. That two hundred horse were sent to his Lordship for the Army, and fifty horse to Lough|foyle. That they had sent his Lordship, besides the former twenty last of powder, thirty last more. That they had sent large prouisions of victuals. And that they greatly commended the Lord Presidents prouidence, that he had made his souldiers former ly liue of their pay in money, and so preserued the former store of victuals in Moun|ster, for this time, without which the Army could not haue kept the field till the new prouisions ariued. The last part of their LPS. letter followeth in these words: Here|unto we must adde this, as that whereof our selues haue been a good while both hea|rers and obseruers. That no Prince can apprehend with better acceptation your Lordships proceeding in that Kingdome, then her Maiestie doth, in so much as she vsed often this speech, that she would not wish her Army there, nor the safetie of her people in better hands then in yours. In whom (and so in other Principall Officers of her State and Army) as she doth obserue, that all difficulties are well entertained with alacritie and resolution; so we must let your Lordship know, that when her Maie|stie had read a priuate letter of yours to mee the principall Secretarie, written from kilkenny with your owne hand, assoone as you had heard the newes of a forraigne enemie, it pleased her Maiestie to cause it bee read to vs all, as being written in a stile, wherein shee discerned both the strong powers of your owne minde (in promising to your selfe all happy successe against such an enemie) and the liuely affections you beare to her person (for which you desire to bee made a Sacrifice), wherein although you haue not deceiued her former expectation, yet her Maiestie would haue you know, that

shee doth not doubt, but you shall liue to doe her many more seruices, after you haue made the Prouince of Mounster serue for a Sepulcher to these new Conquerours. Of the foure thousand men which now her Maiestie sendeth into Mounster, wee send onely two thousand vnder Captaines, the rest wee leaue to conductors, to be vsed as you shall please, when they arriue, and to displace any whom wee doe send, if you thinke them not sufficient. Now therefore till wee heare further from you, wee haue no more to say, but that wee account our selues all in one ship with you; that wee will all concurre to aduance by our Mi|nisterie, whatsoeuer her Maiestie shall resolue to doe for you, all of vs hauing one ende and one desire, to inable you as her Maiesties principall instrument, to free that Kingdome from the malicious attempts of forraine power, and to redeeme it out of the in ward misery by intestine rebellion.

The fifth of Nouember foure barkes with munition and victuals that were sent from Dublin, arriued in Kinsale harbor, and vpon certaine intelligence, that Tyrone 152 was comming vp with a great Army to ioyne with the Spaniard, it was resolued by the Counsell of States, and the Colonels of Councell at warre, that the next day the Camp should be fortified against Tyrone, on the North side furthest from the towne|ward, and that the next day following, the Lord President with two Regiments of foote, consisting of two thousand one hundred men in Lyst, and with three hundred twentie fiue horse, should draw to the borders of the Prouince, to stop, or at least hin|der Tyrones passage. To which purpose the Lord Barry, and the Lord Bourke, with the forces of the Countrie„ had direction to attend the Lord President.

The sixth day the Campe was accordingly fortified, and the seuenth in the mor|ning, the Lord President with the said horse and foote left the Campe, at which time it was concluded by both Counsels, that wee could attempt nothing against the towne, vntill either the Lord President returned, or the new Forces and prouisions promised from England arriued, it being iudged a great worke for vs in the meane time, to continue our lying before the Towne, since the Spaniards in the Towne were more in number, then we who besieged them.

The same seuenth day his Lordship and the Counsell here wrote to the Lords in England this following letter.

IT may please your Lordships. The first and second of this present moneth, we re|ceiued her Maiesties and your Lordships most comfortable letters, of the fourth and sixth of the last, and for the speciall care, it pleaseth you to take of vs doe yeeld (as we haue iust cause) our most humble and heartiest thankes, protesting that we will labour to deserue the same and the continuance which it pleaseth your Lordships to promise thereof, with the vttermost of our endeuours and seruices, euen to the sacri|ficing of our liues. And in the meane time humbly pray your Lordships both to ac|cept in good part and fauourably to report vnto her Maiestie, what hitherto we haue been able to performe, though nothing to that we did affect, if our meanes had answe|red our desires, or that little we expected to come fome Dublin, which we sent for vp|on the Spaniards first landing here, had by a more fauourable wind arriued sooner, as we hoped. Wee beseech your Lordships giue vs leaue to referre you for your infor|mation in that point to the Iournall which herewithall we send, for thereby wee con|ceiue will best appeare, both what wee haue done, and were enabled to doe, since the returne of Master Marshall and other Officers and Commanders, sent of purpose in|to the Pale, and the parts Northwards, to draw the forces

thereabouts the more spee|dily hither to vs, and to hasten hither such other prouisions, as [...] here we should haue need off. And with your Lordships fauour, license vs to adde, that wee can hardly proceede any further, till our supplies of men and munitions come; for we finde it a worke of great difficulty and assured losse of men, and expence of al pro|uisions of warre, to vndertake with these meanes we haue to force so many men out of any place, although it were not greatly otherwise fortified but by the bodies of men onely, whereas this Towne of Kinsale hath a good wall, and many strong Castles in it.

Wee doe looke howerly for Tyrone, esteemed to be comming with a great Armie of horse and foote, selected out of all the rebels in Ireland, and from all others that he can seduce to his partie. At his comming these Prouincials will discouer themselues either against vs or neutrals (as they are) for better wee doe not expect from them. Except out supplies doe come before his arriuall, wee shall hardly bee Masters of the field, but rather driuen (wee feare) to discontinue our siege; yet if her Maiesties ship|ping, prouisions, and supplies, doe arriue in any time, we hope to giue her (ere it bee long) a good account of this place; though wee desire your Lordships to consider the difficulties we haue to contend with in this Countrie and season of the yeere, be|sides the force and opposition of the enemie. I the President doe acknowledge the re|ceit of such an intelligence, concerning Captaine A. as it pleaseth your Lordships to remember, and since that time kept very good spiall vpon him, and haue had the 153 sight of all his papers, yet cannot find any thing giues me cause to suspect him; and therefore we all thinke it fit, seeing his Company is returned hither among other, to make vse of his seruice here, for which we find him very fit, vntill there may be some apt occasion to dispose of him elsewhere, without giuing him discontentment, vnlesse we had more particular and certaine ground to charge him with, which wee must re|ceiue from thence: yet in the meane time hee shall bee so narrowly looked vnto, as if hee haue the will (which wee doubt not), hee shall not haue meanes to hurt much.

The same seuenth day his Lordship vnderstanding from Master Secretary by his letter dated the nineteenth of the last moneth, and receiued the second of this moneth, that he found her Maiesty inclined to make one Gouernour ouer all Vlster, and especi|ally to like of Sir Arthur Chichester for that great charge, whereupon hee purposed to proceed therein, if his Lordship would explane himselfe; how hee would haue that matter carried.

His Lordship wrote his minde plainely therein, aduising that Sir Arthur Chi|chester should bee made Gouernour of all Vlster, by what name it should please her Maiesty to giue him, whereby hee might direct all the parts of that Prouince, and be resident where he should thinke fittest for the seruice, commanding in chiese where he came. The managing of the warre to be in generall left to himselfe, except he re|ceiued particular directions vpon speciall occasions from England, or from the Lord Deputy, adding that from him the Lords might be more speedily enformed, of what is done, or fit to be required for the making of that warre, whom of all other Com|manders he thought fittest for that charge, praying that the Lords there would aduise him and Sir Henry Dockwra, to hold a good correspondency for her Maiesties seruice, since hee conceiued the warre was to bee chiefly made by their two ioining together. For the Scots, that any number not exceeding foure thousand might in his conceit fitly be entertained, and left to the disposall of Sir Arthur Chichester, whose iudgement

vpon the state of things there, was fittest to be followed, for hee could best chuse apt places to lodge them, till Sir Henry Dockwra and he might draw into the field, when those Scots should ioyne with them, and would be of very great vse to spoile, which is the best seruice can be done vpon the Irish. Concluding that he had written to Sir Ar|thur Chichester, that he should send into England to him the Secretary; his opinion in this businesse, which (no doubt) hee would presently doe. But this proiect of appoin|ting a Gouernour in Vl-ster, tooke no effect by reason that Ty-rone with most of his Forces were defeated shortly after in Mounster.

Master Secretary at the same time had sent his Lordship spanish newes, which in this his answere he confessed were very likely, yet thought it would bee very hard for them to make ready foure thousand men more before Christmas. He signified that they here were all of opinion, that the necessity of the Spanish forces already in Ire|land, being more then was expected, both by losse at Sea, and since their com-ming hi|ther, and by the failing of the Irish hitherto to ioine with them, their supplies would be hastened sooner then was deter-mined: for so they were aduertised by all the Prisoners taken, and by such as did come vnto vs from them. His Lordship acknowledged him|selfe very much bound vnto Master Secretary for the good dis-patch he procured with this last passage, and not the least that her Maiesty was pleased to allow of their enter|tainement of the Irish, yet beseeched him to beleeue that by this course they had pre|uented Ty-rone of a great many men, that otherwise would and must haue serued him for en-tertainement, hauing no other meanes to liue, and yet hitherto all was done within the compasse of the lyst; and the White Knight was one of them, that before the comming of this approbation was prouided for, so carefull was hee to giue him good contentment.

For their outcries in the Pale, he an-swered that he did not maruel, for by that which he had obserued, he did iudge that the word Pale had cost the Queen a mil-lion, and yet so il were they disposed, and so backward euen in their own defence, as they now suffred Ty|rone with a few horse, about the number of 60 to burne and prey them at his pleasure, 154 though they were able of themselues to haue beaten him and all his forces, and besides had the assistance of Companies in the Queenes pay, being three thousand or two thousand at least, yet if he would consider, that foure thou-sand Spaniards (for so the prisoner that we tooke deliuered them to be vpon his salua-tion, with whom all our prisoners relation and our intelligence did concurre) are pos-sessed of a Towneful of strong houses, and walled about, and helped with many ad-uantages of ground, (though commanded by some places), hee might easily conceiue, that it must bee no small army can force them, since our approches this winter were so difficult, that the very trenches we made were continually filled with water, and the decay of our men was so great, by contin-uall labour, sicknesse, sword, and bullet. And therefore we had no reason to keepe a great body of men in the Pale to guard it, till this dangerous war were fiuished. But to preuent this clamour of the Pale it was meerely vnpossible, though it would please her Maiesty to keepe there ten thousand in her pay, when they would not stirre, nor raise the crie, but suffer themselues to bee so vsed, out of the ma|lice of their owne hearts; that they might haue some colour of complaint, being the worst sort of people in all the Kingdome, though he protested he had been as carefull of them, as if they had been his Kindred or speciall friends, knowing well their humor to be so clamerous.

For her Maiesties expence, he besought him to beleeue, that no man did looke vp|on it with more griefe then himselfe, who reaped no commoditie by it, onely be|ing a painefull and faithfull distributer thereof, according to the necessitie of her own seruice: but if he did not from his soule desire, and with all his wits and endeuour seeke to abridge it, and to end both her warre and charge, then he desired no mercy of God, nor fauour from her. And if he were not bound thereto by his publike duty, yet he protested, that his priuate estate would vrge him thereunto: which he found vna|ble any longer to continue the expence, at which he was forced to liue, growing grea|ter by the mixed coyne, as hee euer thought it would fall very heauy vpon him, by which reason he might value his entertainement to be lesse by the halfe, then it was in the time of the old standard. For whatsoeuer we bought with this new coyne, it was raised to the double price.

Whereas it seemed Master Secretarie had been informed, that all they which of late submitted themselues to her Maiesties mercy and protection, were now againe re|uolted to the Rebels: he answered, that it was true, that some of them had made their peace with Tyrone, and in truth, except wee could haue giuen order for their defence against him, he did neuer expect other from them, and especially since the arriuall of this forraine force, hee did thinke none in Ireland so sure, but euen here in Mounster they would do the like, if our Armie did not hang ouer them, yea, he was sure that the Lord President was of the same opinion. But hee was not moued to preserue any thing which the world (to his disaduantage) might call his, by neglecting that which he knew fittest to be preserued for her Maiesty and her seruice. Touching these sub|mitties while they were in rebellion, he did spoile waste and kill many of them, when they were receiued to mercy, he made many of them kill others in rebellion, and leese their liues for the Queenes seruice, and now they were againe reuoulted hee doubted not, but either to ruine them againe, or to force them to submission, vpon what con|ditions he listed, if God pleased to send vs an happy end of this war with the forraigne enemy. For the atchieuement whereof he hoped hee should heare (by the grace of the eternall God) that they would aduenture as far, and in as good a fashion, as might be expected from this Army, vpon the arriuall of the supplies of men and munition. Till when hee protested, that wee were at a stand, because that hee was most sure, that without good numbers of men, and store of al sorts of munition, this Towne so man|ned as it was, could not be forced.

He added, that hitherto (God bethanked) we had in all our endeuours prospered against this proud enemy, and that there neuer was Armie better disposed then this, nor Comma ders that continually shewed more sound iudgement and braue resolution then ours had done. In particular, that Sir Oliuer S. Iohns had had great honour giuen 155 him by the whole Army, for that which he did in their sight, for he found no man come off, from the skirmish (mentioned in the Iournall) which spake not of what hee had extraordinarily performed with his owne hand, and that in a farre greater mea|sure then was therein related. That at the same time the Lord Audley was hurt, fighting very gallantly, and if it should please her Maiesty to take notice thereof, it would be a great comfort to them, and incouragement to the rest. That he hoped God would en|able vs shortly, to send him relations of better seruice. In the meane time and euer he praied the eternall God to preserue her Maiesty and her Kingdomes,

and send them her poore seruants peace and quietnes.

He added what he could wish it had pleased her Maiesty to haue left the horse to his disposall, or at the least to haue bestowed them on some Englishmen, for as 100 are conferred, though he hold the Commander a worthy Gentleman, and faithfull to her Maiesties seruice, yet he was Irish, and in short time would make those horse Irish, so as he accompted to haue receiued onely one hundred to serue his purpose. For he did very much build on those horse, not onely to be his chiefe strength at this time, but to haue stood hereafter when her Maiesty did lessen the army, to bee imploied for the absolute finishing of this warre. And to this purpost now (in all likelihood) he should not be able, to make vse of them, which he confessed did not a little trouble him.

He added, that although there were but foure thousand Spaniards already landed, and they had no horse, yet there was no doubt but they would auayle themselues of great assistance in this Countrey, and that with a number much about this of naturall Spaniards, their King had made the long continued great warre in the Low-Coun|tries. Besides, he besought him to remember, that about two hundred Spaniards held a Fort lately built at Croyden in Britany, till Sir Iohn Norreis lost very neere one thou|sand fiue hundred men before it. That (God bethanked) we had plucked one hundred fitfy Spaniards by the eares out of Rincorran, and wee hoped (by the grace of God) to doe the like by them in Kinsale, yet except God should please extraordinarily to worke for vs, this was not likely to be done without great losse of men, and expence of all prouisions to that purpose. For now they beganne to worke very hard about fortifying of the Towne, finding (as themselues said) that they had other men to deale with, then they expected; etc.

The eight of Nouember certaine ships to the number of thirteene, were discried to passe by Kinsale to the Westward, but it was not knowne whether they were Eng|lish or Spaniards. The tenth day we had newes that the Earle of Thomond was landed with one thousand foots, left to the Lord Deputies disposall, and with an hundred horse, appointed in England to be commanded by the said Earle; and these were the thirteene ships discouered to passe Westward.

By this time the Spaniards had gotten knowledge of the Lord Presidents depar|ture from the Campe with good part of our forces, and thereupon supposing vs to be much weakened, (as in deed we were, and Inferiour in bodies of men to them in the Towne), they drew out this day about noone most part of their forces, and soone af|ter sent some sixty shot and Pykes to the foot of the hill, close by our Campe, leauing their trenches very well lined for their seconds: some of ours were presently drawne out to entertaine skirmish with those that came vp, and another strong party was sent but towards Ryncorran, who from the bushy hill plaied in flanckes vpon their tren|ches, and did beate them from the same; so as they that were first sent out close to out Campes being beaten backe by our shot, and thinking to find the seconds they left be|hind them, were disappointed by their quitting of the Trenches, and by that meanes driuen to follow the rest to the succour of the Towne. Our men following with much fury, hurt and killed diuers, amongst whom they brought off the body of a Sergiant, and possessed the enemies trenches, the which the enemies (being reinforced) made ma|ny attempts to regaine, but were repulsed and beaten backe into the Towne. Wee heard by diuers, that Don Iean committed the Sergiant Maior, who

commanded then in chiefe, presently after the fight, and threatned to take his head, commended highly the valour of our men, and cried shame vpon the cowardise of his owne, who he said 156 had beene the terrour of all Nations; but now had lost that reputation, and hee gaue straight commandement vpon paine of death, which hee caused to bee set vp on the Towne gates, that from thenceforth no man should come off from any seruice, vntill hee should be fetched off by his Officer, though his powder were spent or his Peece broken, but make good his place with his Sword. Captaine Soto one of their best Commanders, was that day slaine, (for whom they made very great mone), and some twenty more, besides those we hurt, which could not but be many. On our side, onely some ten were hurt, and three killed; among whom Master Hopton a Gentleman of the Lord Deputies band, was sore hurt, and in few daies died thereof. If this skirmish had not beene readily and resolutely answered on our part, the Spaniards had then discoue|red the smalnes of our numbers, and would no doubt haue so plied vs with continuall sallies; as we should hardly haue beene able to continue the siege.

The eleuenth day we had newes, that the one hundred horse and the thousand foot embarked at Bastable, (both which were left to the Lord Deputies disposall, the horse to be made new troopes, the foot to be dispersed for supplies, or to raise new Compa|nies as his Lordship should thinke fit) were arriued at Waterford.

The twelfth day Sir Richard Leuison Admirall of the Queenes Fleet sent into Ire|land, and Sir Amias Preston Vice-Admirall, were arriued with tenne ships of warre at Corke, wherein we had two thousand foot all vnder Captaines appointed in England, besides other prouisions of artillery and munition, and his Lordship directed the Ad|mirall with all speed to bring the Fleet into the Harbour of Kinsale.

The thirteenth day his Lordship wrote to Master Secretary this following letter:

SIR hearing that our last packet is not yet gone from Corke, by reason of the con|trariety of the wind, I haue so good occasion to make this addition to our former dispatch, that I haue receiued letters from my Lord of Thomond, Sr Anthony Cooke, and others from diuers places, that all the supplies appointed for this Prouince, are safely arriued at Waterford, Yoghall, Corke, and Castle Hauen, with no losse (that I can heare of) but of one victular, although the weather hath beene extreme tempestuous; and this last euening I was enformed but by a rumour, that the Queenes shippes were discoue|red about the Hauen of Corke, whereupon I presently dispatched to Sir Richard Leuy|son to put into the Hauen of Kinsale, for otherwise it would be long ere we shal be able to auaile our selues of such artillery and munition as he brought for vs. From my Lord President I heard, that the Rebels are drawne downe very strong, whereupon I haue directed Sir Christopher S. Laurence, (that was comming to the Campe with most of the forces of the Pale) to repaire speedily to my Lord President, and I meane to send vnto him all the horse that is now come out of England, which I hope will be forces sufficient to stop any power the Rebels can make, specially since Tyrone (as I heare) himselfe will not be with them, except they doe steale by, which will be heard to pre|uent. If they come to force their passage, I am confident that against so many horse as the Lord President shall haue, they will neuer put themselues vpon the plaine. For although they are as dangerous an enemy as any are in the World, when wee are dri|uen to seeke them in their strength, or passe their fastnesse, yet are they the worst and weakest to

force their owne way, either vpon straights or plaines, so that except they steale their passage, (which I feare most) I make no doubt but my Lord President will giue a very good accompt of them. We here in the Campe, since our last letters, haue not had much to doe, only the enemy one day drew out (I thinke) most of his whole force, vpon opinion that the greatest part of our Army was gone from vs to meet the Rebels, and began a round fight with vs, close to our trenches: but we entertained them so well, that we waited on them home, to the wals of the Towne, and made them leaue some of their dead bodies behind them, although we saw them carry many off with them. They haue made within lesse them Caliuer shot of our trenches, very good fights, euen from thence close to the Towne, so that our men did follow them with great disaduantage, yet we did beat them from one trench to another, til I had much a|doe to make our souldiers come off. The greatest losse of our side fell to my share, for I 157 had one of my Company killed, and a very gallant Gentleman that serued in that Band, called Mr. Hopton, hurt (I feare) to death, and I think there was not aboue 2 or 3 more that were killed in the Campe ouer our heads, while wee were in the skirmish. Then we made them so good a Muster, that they haue thought good to checke vs no more, but within the Towne and without they doe worke very hard, and haue raised Rauelings and Mounts, and wee on the contrary side keepe very good watch; for if wee should receiue but one blow of the Spanish Fencer, all Ireland would take heart with it; and we haue no great reason to be very secure, for beleeue me vpon my Honor, I thinke the besieged are more in numbers, then we that are the besiegers at this time. They doe continually taste vs, but they find vs so well at our warde, that they still goe away with the vennies. And now, if the Queenes ships be come, we will cast at all, and I hope in God, ere it be long, winne a faire game for the Queene, whose money wee play. If any without consideration of the iust circumstances of our present busines, to serue any priuate purpose, taxe mee for being too negligent of other parts of this Kingdom, and too large in my demands, I beseech you Sir to beleeue, that I had good ground, both for my precipitate drawing hither, and for the prouisions I haue craued to strengthen my selfe by all meanes, while I am about this worke. For the first, it was not my opinion onely, but my Lord Presidents, that if I did not suddenly make head to this force, most of this Prouince would haue reuolted; and if wee had suffered the force of Spaine to haue been Masters of the field but sixe dayes, as easily they might haue been, if we had not sought well to preuent it, I assure my se fe, that al the Townes of this Prouince would haue reuolted, and the current of that fortune would haue run so violently through all Ireland, that it would haue been too late o haue stopped it. For the second, the difficulties of a winters siege, in this Countrie (where by reason of the great numbers of the besieged, we are forced to keep strong and continual guards) will soone waste a greater Army then ours, if God doe not mightily blesse vs: for the weather is so extreme, that many times we bring our Sentinels dead from the stations, and I protest euen our chiefe Commanders (whose diligence I cannot but mightily commend) doe many of them looke like spirits, with toyle and watching, vnto the which we are with good reason moued, since there be many examples, that where an enemy can sally out with two or three thousand men, they haue defeated Armies, that haue been treble our number. But now besides these ordinary difficulties, which in al winter sieges doe waste, or make vnprofitable the greatest part of an Army, when wee are to make

our neerest approches to force them, we cannot doe it without great losse, for although the Towne be weake against the Canon, yet can we plant the Canon no where, but they haue places that do absolutely command it, so that the towne is weak to defend it self, yet exceeding strong to offend, which is the best part that art can adde to any fortification, and this is so well prouided by nature, that from one hill they beat into any ground that wee can lodge in neere them. All these difficulties, and many more, I doe not alleage, as being any waies diffident of the great fauour that God is determined to shew her Maiestie in this action, but that you may in some measure guesse, that wee are not so improuident in her Maiesties cause, as to require an army and charge of greater proportion then is fit for such a taske, the which when wee haue performed with that happinesse, that I hope the eternall God will blosse vs with all, I will then say and proue it vnto you at large, A Domine factum est hoc, and mirahilc est [...] nostris. Sir, if I should write all vnto you, that I haue a desire to let you know, both for the publike and my priuate, I should not end my letter before the time that I hope we shall beate the Spaniards, but hauing been vp most of this night, it groweth now about foure a clocke in the morning, at which time I lightly chuse to visit our Guards my selfe, and am now going about that businesse, in a morning as cold as a stone, and as darke as pitch, and I pray Sir think whether this be a life that I take much delight in, who heretofore in England, when I haue had a suite to the Queene, could not lie in a tent in the Summer, nor watch at night till she had supped: but by God Sir, I will doe for Queene Elizabeth that which I will not doe for my selfe, and willingly, and be you my pledge that I will faithfully serue her against all the World, or any in 158 the World, or else I beseech God now I am going out, that I may neuer returne aliue to my House of Turffe, in the which I write this at her Maieistes Campe before Kin|sale; This thirteenth of November 1601.

The thirteenth day our Fleet recouered the mouth of Kinsale Harbour, but could not get in, the wind being strong against them. The foureteenth day the Fleete with much difficulty warped in; and recouered the Harbour, whence the Admirall and Vice-Admirall came to the Lord Deputy at the Campe. This night and the next day the two thousand foot, sent vnder Captaines in the Queenes shippes, were landed, and came to the Campe. And the fifteenth day in the afternoone, the Lord Deputy went aboard the shippes, whence returning to the Campe, the Enemy discerned him riding in the head of a troop of horse, and made a shot out of the Town at him, which grazed so neere him, that it did beat the earth in his face. In these ships were sent vnto vs not onely artillery and munition, but also speciall Officers to attend the same, as fiue Ca|noneers, two Blackesmiths, two Wheele-wrights, and two Carpenters. This day the Lord Deputy was aduertised, that according to his former direction, Sir Christopher St Laurence was come out of the Pale, and the Earle of Clanrickard out of Connaght, to the Lord Presidents campe, to whom his Lordship wrote, that if the Rebels should slip by him, he should be carefull to come vp with his Forces to our campe, so as hee might arriue there to ioine with vs, before the Rebels came vp so farre. The Queenes ships after they had saluted the Lord Deputy at his going aboard with thundering peales of Ordinance, had direction the next day to beat vpon a Castle in the Iland, called Castle Nyparke, which the Lord Deputy was resolued to make his next worke, and to beat the Spaniards out of it, and so to inuest the Towne on that side. This some of the ships performed, and brake the top

of the Castle, but finding that they did it no greater hurt, and that the weather was extreame stormy, they ceased shooting. This day his Lordship gaue direction, that the hundred horse and one thousand foot, which first landed at Castle Hauen, and now were arriued from thence in the Harbour of Kin|sale, should be conducted to Corke, to refresh themselues, for being beaten at Sea, and now landed in extreame weather, and in a Winter Campe, where they had no meanes to be refreshed, they beganne to die, and would haue beene lost or made vnseruicea|ble, if this course had not beene taken to hearten them. This day and for many daies after, diuers Spaniards ranne from the Towne to vs, by whom we vnderstood that in the tenth daies skirmish, the aboue named Captaine Soto, a man of speciall accompt, was slaine.

The seuenteenth day the weather continued stormy, so as neither that day nor the next we could land our Ordinance, or doe any thing of moment, yet because this was the day of her Maiesties Coronation, which his Lordship purposed to solemnize with some extraordinary attempt, if the weather would haue suffered vs to looke a|broad, wee sent at night when the storme was some what appeased, the Seriant Maior and Captaine Bodley with some foure hundred foot, to discouer the ground about Ca|stle N. parke, and to see whether it might be carried with the Pickaxe, which was ac|cordingly attempted; but the engine we had gotten to defend our men; while they were to worke, being not so strong as it should haue beene, they within the Castle ha|uing store of very great stones on the top, rumbled them downe so fast, as they broke it, so that our men returned with the losse of two men, and proceeded no further in that course.

The eighteenth day the Lord Deputy called a Counsel both of the Counsell of Ire|land, and of al the Colonels and chiefe Officers of the field, and propounded to them, that since it had pleased her Maiesty so graciously to supply vs with the matter and prouisions for the warre, it was our parts to adulse of such a forme, as might bee most likely to bring forth an effect, not vnworthy her Princely care. First our strength and meanes to attempt the place or continue the siege, were thorowly considered, and next the numbers and commodities of the enemy in the Towne, and of their succours a|broad. The commodities and incommodities of proceeding with expedition, or by keeping them from all relife, were thorowly disputed, and in the end it was conclu|ded, that the soundest course were to vse all meanes to inuest them as speedily as we 159 might, by possessing our selues of al they held without the Towne, and next to mount our artillery in such places, where it might annoy them most, and by breaking downe their Houses, to expose them to the same extremities of cold and raine, as we were ex|posed to in the Campe, by which meanes they might be reduced to a greater weake|nesse, and then be forced with much lesse hazard, since when it comes to the point of entering of a breach, there is little or no difference betweene a strong Towne and a weake, for the besieged in either, doe wholly trust to their new and sudden workes, which the enemy within had as good opportunity to doe in this place as in any other, and had yet (of our knowledge) so many hands to fight, as that the aduantage would chiefly haue beene his.

The nineteenth day A Demy Cannon was vnshipped, assoone as it was calme, and placed on this side of the water, which plaied most part of the day vpon the Castle Nyparke, being a great reliefe to the besieged, and brake many places, but made no breach that was assaultable. In the night they of the Towne attempted to releeue the Castle by boates, but were re-

pelled by Captaine Tolkerne and Captaine Ward, who lay with their Pinnaces betweene the Iland and the Towne.

Hitherto nothing could possibly bee attempted against the Towne, more then had beene done. For considering that the numbers of the defendants not onely equalled, but by all report, exceeded the number of the besiegers, (yea exceeded them farre, af|ter the Lord President was sent from the Campe to meete Tyrone with two thousand one hundred foot and three hundred and twenty horse), and considering that if wee had vndertaken the carrying of approaches, with a purpose to batter, the whole Ar|my must either haue been tired with watching night and day, without shelter, in tem|pestuous weather, or disgracefully haue forsaken the worke, or (to say the best) incur|red the hazard of fight in places of disaduantage, with an expert enemy. And conside|ring that the Countrey stood vpon such tickle tearmes, and so generally ill affected to our side, that almost the least blow, which in the doubtfull euent of warre might haue lighted vpon vs, would haue driuen them headlong into a generall reuolt. And fur|ther, that our Army consisted for a third part (at the least) of Irish, who being not fit to make good an entrenched campe, and much lesse fit to giue vpon a breach, would with|out question, either presently haue quitted vs, or turned their weapons against vs, if the Spaniards had had any hand ouer vs; and considering that in al sound iudgement, this little army, (which was to be the soule of that body that should oppose it selfe a|gainst these inuaders and rebels), was by all possible meanes to bee preserued as much as might be, and not at all ventured, but with manifest assurance to preuaile. These things with other like circumstances considered, what could there be more done, du|ring the time that we wanted our supplies and seconds? but to assure our Campe with carefull watches against sallies or surprises of the Enemy, and to inuest them from suc|cours or reliefe, not omitting in the meane time to prouide whatsoeuer might be need|full, for the businesse in hand, the meeting with all inconueniences, and the taking of all aduantages vpon the Enemies guardes without the Towne; for which purpose di|uers skirmishes were made with very good successe on our part.

The Lyst of the Army at Kinsale the twentieth of Nouember.

The foot of the Lyst the seuen and twenty of October, are 6900.

The Companies drawne since that Lyst from other parts of the Kingdome to Kin|sale Campe.

Sir Francis Rush 150. Captaine Masterson 150. Captaine Thomas Butler 100. Sir Ri|chard Greame 100. Captaine Toby Cawfield 150. Sir Christopher S. Laurence 150. Sir Hen|ry Harrington 100. Sir Samuell Bagnoll 150. Sir Edward Harbert 100. Sir William Warren 100. Sir Edward Fitzgarret 100. Sir Tybbot Dillon 100. Sir Garret Moore 100. Captaine Lyonell Guest 150. Captaine Malby 150. The Earle of Clanrickard 150. Sir Thomas Bourke 150. Captaine Clare 150. Captaine Thomas Bourke 100. Captaine Laurence Esmond 150. Sir George Bourcher 100. Foot 2650.

160 Companies sent in the Queenes ships vnder Captaines, viz.

Captaine Sheffeild, 100. Captaine Norton, 100. Captaine Henry Fortescue, 100. Cap|taine Bret, 100. Captaine Lower, 100. Captaine Chatterton, 100. Captaine Dorington, 100. Captaine Crompton, 100. Captaine Gilbert, 100. Captaine Wade, 100. Sir Anthonic Cooke, 150. Sir Alexander Clifford, 150. Captaine Lane, 100. Captaine Wadnol, 100. Cap|taine Blandel, 100. Captaine May, 100. Captaine Wynn, 100. Captaine Kenricke, 100. Captaine Butler, 100.

Foote 2000.

Of the one thousand foote landed at Castle-hauen with the Earle of Thomond, and the one thousand foote landed at Waterford with Sir Anthony Cooke, hauing no Cap|taines, but being left to the Lord Deputies disposall, one thousand three hundred fifty were distributed among the Captaines, to supply the deficient numbers in their seue|rall Companies, and the rest were diuided into these following Companies increa|sing the Lyst.

Sir Garret Haruye, 150. Captaine Henrie Barkeley, 150. Captaine Roberts, 150. Cap|taine Boyse, 100. Captaine Henslo for Pioners, 100.

Foote 650

Totall of foote, 12200.

Hereof in the old list taken out for a dead Company kept for the Earle of Des|mond, 100.

Take now out absent Sir George Thorton in Garrison at Kilmallock, Capt. Gawen Har|uye in Garrison at Limricke, and Captaine Treuer (reckoned before, but not comming hither, who staied about the Newry, as I remember,) 300.

So the Totall of foote is 11800.

Of these not distributed into Regiments.

For attendance of the Munition, Sir George Bourcher, Master of the Ordinance, 100. For Pioners, Captaine Hensloe, 100.

Foote, 200

Foote distributed into eleuen Regiments vnder command of the Lord Deputy, Lord President, and nine Colonels.

Vnder the Lord Deputie commanded by his Lieutenant Sir Beniamin Berry, 1400. Vnder the Lord President, 1100. Vnder the Earle of Clanrickard, 1000. Vnder the Earle of Thomond, 1000. Vnder the Lord Audley, 900. Sir Richard Percy, 950. Sir Richard Moryson, 1100. Sir Charles Willmot, 1000. Sir Oliuer Saint Iohns, 1050. Sir Henry Follyet, 1050. Sir Christopher Saint Laurence, 1050.

Foote, 11600.

Totall of foote, 11800.

Out of these Regiments was raised a squadron volante (or flying Regiment) which onely was to answere Alarums, and to be freed of al watches, and to the same Sir Hen|rie Power was appointed Colonel, and Captaine Bostock his Lieutenant. The seuerall Companies of this squadron are these.

Out of the Lord Deputies Regiment, Sir Richard Wingfield Marshall, 150. Sir Iohn Barkeley Serieant Maior, 200.

Out of the Lord Presidents Regiment, Captaine Saxey, 100.

Out of the Lord Audleys Regiment, the Treasurers Lieutenant, 100.

Out of Sir Charles Willmots Regiment, Captaine Nuse, 100.

Out of Sir Henry Follyots Regiment, Captaine Iosias Bodley, 150.

Out of Sir Oliuer Saint Iohns Regiment, Captaine Bostock, 100.

Out of the Earle of Clanrickards Regiment, Captaine Laurence Esmond, 150.

Foote 1050.

horse in the Army at Kinsale.

Take out of the List made the seuen and twenty of October, Sir Edward Harbert, 12: and Captaine George Greame twelue, and thirtie of Master Marshals (otherwhere im|ployed, and now absent from the Campe), and the whole Lyst is fiue hundred fiftie seuen.

161 horse called since that time from other parts in the Kingdome to the Campe at Kinsale.

The Earle of Kildare, 50. Sir Oliuer Lambert, 25. Sir Garret More, 25.

horse, 100.

horse newly sent ouer and landed at Castle-hauen, and at Waterford.

The Lord President added to his troope, 50. The Earle of Thomond a troope

newly erected, 100. Sir William Godolphin (who commanded the Lord Deputies troope) had newly erected to his owne vse, 50.

horse, 200.

Totall of horse, 857.

The twentieth of Nouember his Lordship vnderstood by letters from the Lords in England, that one thousand foote and fiftie horse were sent, and already shipped for Loughfoyle. The same day the demy-Cannon planted the day before, did againe bat|ter Castle Nyparke, together with another Cannon this day landed, and planted by it: and with some Ordinance also out of the ships, though they serued to small purpose. About noone one hundred men were sent with Captaine Yorke and Captaine Smith, to view the breach, and though they found it not assaultable, yet the Spaniards with|in being no longer able to indure the furie of the shot, hung out a signe of parly vpon the first shew of those men, and offered to yeeld themselues and the Castle, vpon pro|mise of their liues onely, which being accepted, they were brought presently to the Campe, being in number sixtcene that were left aliue.

Before the Castle was yeelded, the Spaniards in the Towne made diuers shot at Captaine Tolkernes Pinnace with a piece of Ordinance which they mounted a day or two before close to the Gate of the Towne, but did no hurt at all vnto the Pinnace, the same warping neerer to the other side vnder the hill, and at last riding safely without danger of the shot.

The same day a platforme was made vpon a ground of aduantage, being a strong Rath, betweene the Towne and the Camp, that commanded one part of the Towne, that vnder the fauour thereof, we might the better make our neerer approches, though at that time we could hardly worke, by reason of the extreame frost, and a demi Can|non was mounted vpon it, with which some shot were made at the Towne. A senti|nell taken in the euening affirmed, that the first piece shot off, went through the house in which Don Iean lay, and did otherwise great hurt. The one and twentieth the priso|ners taken in Castle Nyparke, and some runawaies, were sent to Corke, with directions to the Maior, to send them and the former prisoners by the first ship into England, kee|ping (of them) still at Corke onely the Serieant Maior (taken in skirmish), and the two Commanders of the Castles of Rincorran and Nyparke. This day the Cannon and demi-Cannon, planted vpon the platforme, did play into the Towne. And this day the Lord Deputy went ouer into the Hand, to view how from thence the Towne might be best annoied and inuested. And the Spaniards this day put out of the towne great numbers of Irish women, and children, which came to the Campe, and were suffered to passe into the Countrie to their friends.

The two and twentieth day, one Iames Grace an Irishman, obtaining the Lord De|puties Protection, escaped out of the Towne, and gaue his Lordship this intelligence following. Six Irish Gentlemen horsemen came into the towne of Kinsale on Sunday the fifteenth of Nouember, and one Owen Conde came the same day, and they are all readie to goe out againe, and Father Archer with them, to put out the Countrie, if the Bishop will suffer him. Don Iean sayes priuately, that the Lord Deputy was borne in a happy hower, for he will haue the Towne, vnlesse they be relieued from the North. They haue nothing but ruske and water. They haue but foure pieces of Artillery, one small piece is at the Churchyard, one great and a small in Iames Meaghes Garden, and the other biggest of all is at the Watergate, to play vpon the shipping, and all foure are mounted. The Spaniards were fiue thousand by report at their setting out from Spaine, they

landed at Kinsals three thousand fiue hundred, they are yet 3000, there are 162 two hundred sicke and hurt in the hospitals, they lost 100 at Rincorran, and 17 and a boy at Castle Nyparke. They had nine slaine when they offered to relieue the Ca|stle, and fiue when Captaine Soto was slaine. They had foure and thirty Colours a|broad when they shot into the Lord Deputies Campe, and that was all they had, and they had then two pieces, a great and a small, and that day all the Townesmen were put out at the Gates, that they might doe no hurt with the Munition. They fill the old Abbey at the West gate with earth, that they may mount a great piece there, which they make account wilcomma d the ground where the English battery is plan|ted at the North Gate, where the Mount is raised, yet it is not likely they will mount any Ordinance there, but rather keep it as a hold. They haue store of powder and mu|nition, which lies at Iohn Fitz Edmonds Castle, but they meane to remoue it presently, and put it in a seller within the towne. Their treasure lies at the house where Captaine Bostock lay. They are much affraid the Lord Deputie will place some Ordinance at Castle Nyparke, or thereabouts, which will much annoy them: but most of all they feare the placing of it at a place neere the water side (where some were sent to seeke rods, not farre from the place where the skirmish was, when they sallyed), for which caule they raised their mount, but especially filled vp the old Abbey; from whence it is best commanded. Don Iean lies at Phillip Roches. A shot made from the Eng|lish on Friday at night, hit the house where Don Iean lay. The Townesmen will stay no longer there, for feare of the shot, and then the Spaniards will be in great distresse. One went from Don Iean to Tyrone about nine daies agoe to hasten his comming, the man was blind of one eye.

The same day the Lord Deputy receiued from her Maiestie direction, that foras|much as the County of Clare was of ancient time within the Gouernement or precinct of the Prouince of Mounster, vntill of late it was annexed to the Prouince of Connaght, which her Maiestie vnderstood was vpon some vntrue surmise made by Commissio|ners for Connaght, to the grieuance and dislike of her subiects of that Countie. That the Lord Deputie and the Counsell there, should speedily consider of this informati|on, and if they found it not euidently an hinderance to her seruice, then they speedily should giue order, that by reuocation of the former Commissioners and letters Pa|tents for gouernement of these seuerall Prouinces, and by granting new Commissi|oners of like authoritie and effect, and by all other wayes requisite in Law, the said Countie of Clare should bee reunited and annexed vnto the Prouince of Mounster, and be reduced vnder the order and gouernement of the Lord Pre|sident and Councell of Mounster, which her Maiestie was perswaded would bee for the aduancement of her seruice, and the good liking of her louing subiects in those parts.

The same two and twentieth day foure Pieces were planted by the Cannon and demy Cannon, which altogether played into the Towne, one of which shot killed foure men in the Market place, and strucke off a Captaines leg, called Don Iohn de Saint Iohn, who after died of that hurt, we likewise planted three Culuerings in the Iland beyond the water, in which the foresaid Castle Nypark stands, and from whence we heard, that Don Iohn feared annoiance.

The three and twentieth these did beate vpon the old Towne with good effect. And the same day our other sixe Pieces on the North-East side plaied vpon the Towne, and so continued till night, in which time

(in all mens iudgements, and by report of the prisoners we tooke) they did great hurt to the Towne. This day while the Lord Deputie, the Marshall and Serieant Maior were viewing the ground where the approches were intended, a priuate souldier of Sir Iohn Barkleys, in their sight, and in the face of the Spanish guards, attempting to steale a Spanish sentenel (as hee had stolne diuers before) this sentenel being seconded by foure, that he saw not, he fought with them all fiue, whereof one was the Serieant Maior, whom he had almost taken; and when he found he could doe no good vpon them all he came off without other hurt, then the cutting of his hand a little, with the breaking of a thrust, which one of them made at him, and he hurt the Serieant Maior.

163 The night following, we began certaine neere approches on the North-East side of the Towne on a hill, which by the naturall situation thereof, was free from sudden sallies, by reason of a Valley betweene it and the Towne, so as it might bee speedily seconded from the Campe. There with much expedition was raised a Fort (and Ar|tillery planted, to play into the Towne), which with three or foure Companies was easily gardable; for in this businesse there seemed nothing more to bee respected, then how to approch and infest the enemy in such sort, as neither our old, nor our new men might be ouerspent, or ouer-harried with watches and works (the time of the yeere and extremitie of the weather considered) nor the enemy might take any aduan+tage to surprise our works by their sallying, without ingaging themselues in fight with our whole Army. For making those approches, the Lord Deputy drew out one thou|sand foote, continuing the worke all night; and although the ground were extreme hard, by reason of the Frost, and the night very light, yet that night they brought the worke to very good perfection. The enemy played all the night vpon them with great vollyes, but hurt onely three men, either in the trenches, or in diuers sallyes they made (in the one whereof a squadron of our new men did beat them back to the Gates.)

This day the Lord President aduertised, that Odonnell, by aduantage of a Frost (so great as seldome had been seene in Ireland), had passed a Mountaine, and so had stolne by him into Mounster, whereupon he purposed to returne with the forces hee had, to strengthen the Campe. And in the euening Sir Richard Leuison, by the Lord Deputies direction, drew the Admirall and Vice-Admirall in betweene the Iland and Kinsale, whence the foure and twentieth day they shot into the Towne.

The fiue and twentieth day all the Artillery still played vpon the Towne: but the shot from the ships doing little hurt, saue onely vpon the base Towne, the Lord Deputie gaue direction to spend few shot more, except it were on the high Towne. This night direction was giuen to make a platforme for the Artillery vpon the tren|ches, which was made the three and twentieth at night. Somewhat after midnight the Spaniards made a sudden salley, with purpose to force the trench, but were soone beaten backe by Sir Francis Barkeley, who commanded the watch that night in that place.

The sixe and twentieth the Lord President with the two Regiments of foote, and with his horse he had led out against Odonnell, together with a Connaght Regiment vn|der the Earle of Clanrickard, and a Regiment of the Pale vnder Sir Christopher Saint Laurence (which vpon the way were commanded to ioyne with the Lord President), came to the Campe; and these foure Regiments were that night quartered by them|selues, vpon the Westside of Kinsale, to inuest the Towne more closely, and to keepe Odonnell and the Spaniards

from ioyning together, which quarter or lesser Campe was commanded by the Earle of Thomond: for the Lord President remained euer neere the Lord Deputy in the great Campe, and so did the Earle of Clanrickard. This day the three Culuerings were brought from the Iland beyond the water on the East|side, and were planted on a hill, in a point of land neere the water on this side of the Hauen, lying to the East of our Fort newly built there, to which hill the Towne lay neere and very open. In the meane time the Spaniards from the Towne, played vpon our ships with a Demy-Cannon, and shot our Admirall twise, and our Vice-admirall once, while they rode (as aforesaid) close by the Towne, but our ships within few shot exchanged, did dismount their Demi-Cannon, so as they could make no more shot with it, and at the same shot hurt their chiefe Gunner.

The seuen and twentieth day betimes in the morning, our three pieces planted the day before on the point of the hill neere the water side, played vpon the Towne, and did great hurt to the enemy, by reason they were planted so neere the Towne, but the eight and twentieth day falling out extreame windie and rainy, wee were en|forced to cease our battery, and spent the rest of the day in drawing downe to that place, some other pieces, formerly planted vpon the first platforme.

160 The foresaid eight and twenty in the morning, we sent a Trumpet to summon Kin|sale, who was not suffered to enter the Towne, but receiued his answere at the gate, that they held the Town first for Chhist, and next for the King of Spaine, and so would defend it Contratanti. Vpon his returne with this answere, the Lord Deputy com|manded to make battery with all our Artillery, (planted all on the East side of the Towne), which was presently performed, and continuing till towards night, brake downe great part of the East gate. In the meane time the Spaniards being retired in great numbers into their trenches on the West side, to escape the fury of our Ordi|nance on the East side, Sir Christopher S. Laurence was commanded to draw out from our new Campe, on the West side, and to giue vpon them in their trenches, which he performed, and did beat them out of the Trenches, following them to the very gates of the Towne, killing many, and hurting more of them, and so returned without losse of a man on our side, hauing onely some few hurt. The nine and twentieth all our Artil|lery plaied vpon the Town, and brake downe most part of the Easterne gate, and some part of a new worke the Enemy had made before the gate. This day two Spaniards wrote from Kinsale to some of their friends prisoners in our Campe, whom they stiled poore Souldiers, when we knew them to be men of accompt, and withall sent them such money as they wanted, yet vnder the title of Almes, as if they had neither mony of their owne, nor were of credit to be trusted for any.

The last day of Nouember Sir Richard Wingfield the Marshall tooke some fifty shot, and went to the wall of the Towne, to view the fittest place for vs to make a breach, the Spaniasds made a light skirmish with them, and hurt some few. The Marshall when he had well viewed the wall, drew the shot off, and iudging the wall, close to the Easterne gate on the right hand, to be fittest for the making of a breach, he gaue present order that our artillery should beat vpon that place, which was done without inter|mission, and therewith we brake downe before night a great part of the wall, which the Enemy in the night attempted to make vp againe, but was beaten from it by our Guards, who plaied vpon them with small shot most part of the night. In the euening a Spaniard

ranne away from Kinsale to our campe, who reported to the Lord Deputy that our Artillery had killed diuers Captaines and Officers in the Towne, besides ma|ny priuate souldiers.

The first of December it was resolued in Counsell of State and by the Counsell of Warre, (namely the chiefe Commanders and Colonels) that some foote should bee drawne out of the campe, to giue the Spaniard a brauado, and to view if the breach we had made were assaultable, and also to cause the Spaniards to shew themseues, that our Artillery might the better play vpon them. To this purpose two thousand foot, commanded by Sir Iohn Barkeley the Sergiant Maior, and Captaine Edward Blany, were presently put in Armes, and drawne neere the wals of the Towne, who entertai|ned a very hot skirmish with the Spaniards, who were lodged in a trench close to the breach without the Towne. During this skirmish, our Artillery plaied vpon those that shewed themselues, either in the breach or in the trench, and killed many of them, besides such as were killed and hurt by our small shot.

Among the rest on Captaine Moryson a Spaniard, (of whom as one of the pled|ges vpon the composition, we shal haue cause to speake hereafter) walked crosse the breach, animating his men, and though Sr Richard Wingfield our Marshall caused ma|ny both great and smal shot to be made at him, with promise of 20 pound to him that should hit him, or beat him off, (whereupon many great shot did beat the durt in his face, and stories about his eares); yet all the skirmish he continued walking in this braue manner, without receiuing any hurt. Many thinke them best souldiers, who are often and dangerously hurt, but it is an errour: for wounds are badges of honour, yet may befall the coward assoone as the valiant man; and I haue knowne most aduenm|rous men who neuer receiued wound. Pardon this my digression, not warrantable in a iournall, I will onely adde, that braue souldiers (for the starres haue a kinde of power in our birth) are by some secret influence preserued, when others intruding themselues into that course of life, or driuen to it by necessity of estate, fall at the 165 first allarum: And to speake theologically, God preserues vs, but stil in our waies, so as he who without calling rushes into another way then his own, hath no warrant of di|uine protection. After an howers fight, when we had taken full view of the breach, and found it not assaultable, our men were drawne off, with little or no dammage on our part, onely three of our men were hurt, and Captaine Guests horse was kil|led vnder him, which Captaine first had killed two Spaniards with his owne hand.

The same day it was resolued in counsell, to plant a Fort on a Rath on the West side of the Towne, to lodge therein some foote, for seconds to the guard of our artille|ry, intended to be planted neere the same. And to this purpose, in the night follow|ing, the Marshall, the Sergiant Maior, Captaine Edward Blany, and Captaine Iosias Bodley Trenchmaster, (the Lord Deputy being almost all night present with them), drew out fiue and twenty of each company, and intrenching themselues on the said hill, not halfe Calliuers shot from the Towne, beganne to cast vp a small Fort. And though the Spaniards perceiued not their purpose, yet many of them lying in a trench they possessed close to the West gate, did play very hotly all night on our men, guar|ding the Pyoners, and ours did no lesse on them, so that diuers were hurt and killed on both sides. But the second day of December, about nine in the morning, when a great myst beganne to breake, and they discouered our worke a yard high, then from the said Trenches, and more from the Castles, and high places in the

Towne, they plied vs all the day with small shot. Notwithstanding which annoyance, our men brought the work to very good perfection before night. In the meane time, a Serieant to Captaine Blany, drew out some seuen or eight shot, and suddenly fell into a Trench which some Spaniards possessed, close by the Towne, of whom the Serieant killed two, and each of the rest one, with their owne hands. But when not content therewith, they attempted another Trench, something distant from the first, the Serieant in go|ing on was shot through the body, and two of his Company were hurt in bringing him off, and so returned with this and no more losse.

This night the Trenches where the Cannon was planted on the East side of the Towne, were manned with the Lord Deputies guard, (commanded by Captaine Iames Blount) with Sir Thomas Bourkes Company and Sir Beniamin Berries company, (both commanded by their Lieftenants), by Captaine Rotherams company, (com|manded by himselfe) by Captaine Hobbies company (commanded by himselfe) Cap|taine Nuses (commanded by his Lieftenant) and by Captaine Roger Haruy his compa|ny, (himselfe commanding in chiefe as Captaine of the watch there that night for as euery Colonell watched each third night, so euery Captaine watched in one place or other each second night). Also this night the Fort on the West side neere the Towne, betweene the two Campes, which was cast vp the day before, was manned by Cap|taine Flower (commanding in chiefe) and his company by Captaine Spencer and his company, by Captaine Dillon and his company, and by the companies of Sir Arthur Sauage, Sir Iohn Dowdall; Captain Masterson, and Sir William Warren, (commanded by their Liefetenants) together with certaine squadrons out of the Earle of Thomonds quarter in our second campe, which stood in guard without the Trenches. Now with|in an hower after night, and some two houres before the Moone rose, it being very darke and rainy, the Spaniard impatient of the Forts building, the day before so close to the Townes West gate, and resoluing to attempt brauely on our Ordinance, plan|ted on the East side, made a braue sally with some two thousand men, and first gaue slightly towards the Trenches on the West side, but presently with a grosse and their chiefe strength fell vpon the Trenches, in which the Artillery lay on the East side, con|tinuing their resolution to force it with exceeding fury, hauing brought with them Tooles of diuers sorts, to pull downe the Gabbyons and the Trenches, as also Spykes, to cloy the Ordinance. The allarum being taken in the campe, the Marshall and Serieant Maior, Sir Richard Moryson, Sir William Fortescue, Sir Francis Rushe, and Captaine Roc, fallied presently with some sixe hundred men towards the Can|non, and Sir Beniamin Berry with some one hundred men fell directly towards the 166 Port of the Towne next to the Campe, and the Lord Deputy sent out Sir Oliuer Saint Iohns with seconds. Vpon the Marshals arriuall and charge, the enemy brake, and our men did execution vpon them. Sir Bentamin Berry fell directly vpon the enemies se|conds, whom he charged and brake, killing many of them, and taking the Comman|der of that body, being an ancient Captaine, of great estimation with the enemy. At the same time the enemy gaue vpon our trenches and Fort built the day before on the West side, and continued the attempt long with great fury, till Captaine Flower in heate and without direction, sallying out of the Fort, to follow part of their forces discomfited, the enemie entered the Fort before he could returne, and possessed them|selues of our trenches. Yet still our men continued the fight, and Sir William

Godolphin gaue many braue charges with his horse, to countenance our men, till the Earle of Clanrickard was sent to second them on this part, with Captaine Skipwith, Captaine Clare, Captaine Boise, Captaine Thomas Bourke, and some threescore men (for the rest of the Regiment was not aduanced so farre.) Then his Lordship and the rest charged the enemies grosse, being without the Fort, and brake them, and did execution vpon them falling towards the towne, and so returning thence, entred the West Fort again, with little resistance, for the enemie abandoned it. This Fort his LP. and his Com|pany made good, till he was relieued from the Lord Deputie. In this salley in all the enemy left in the field aboue one hundred and twenty dead bodies, besides such as were killed neere the Towne, and could not next day bee discerned by vs. And wee tooke thirteene prisoners, among whom was a Captaine Reformado (as they terme them, for honour of antiquitic) who was taken by Henslo, Captaine of our Pioners, and a Serieant, and a Drumme. After we heard by some of the Towne, that they left dead aboue two hundred of their best men, among whom were two Captaines, two Alferoes, and the Serieant Maior (being the second Commander to Don Iean), and Don Carloes, and that more then two hundred of them were hurt. On our part Cap|taine Flower, Captaine Skipwith, and the Earle of Clanrickards Lieutenant were hurt, and Captaine Spencer, and Captaine Dillon, and Captaine Flowers Lieutenant, were killed in the West Fort, who staying in the Fort when Captaine Fllower sallied, were there found dead in the place which they were commanded to make good, and with their faces to the enemie, in as honourable manner as could be expected from any souldier. The enemy sallying on our Fort guarding our Cannon, cloyed a demy|culuering of ours, which being a little crased, was left without the Fort, but the next morning it was made seruiceable againe. Some of them were killed vpon the cannon, and vpon the powder, and the trenches about the cannon were in some places filled with dead bodies; for in that particular attempt they left seuenty two bodies dead in the place, and those of their best men, whereof some were found ha|uing spikes and hammers to cloy the cannon. And in generall among the dead bodies many were found to haue spels, caracters, and hallowed meddals, which they woare as preseruations against death, and most of them when they were stripped, were seene to haue scarres of Venus warfare. Wee tooke some fortie shouels, and as many mat|tocks, and much Armes, left in the field, which tooles were so massie, as they had great aduantage of vs therein, and the sight of them would haue put her Maiesties Mini|sters of the Ordinance to shame, who for priuate gaine sent sale ware to vs, vnfit to be vsed. In defending this fort of the cannon, Captaine Rotheram and Iames [...] Ensigne, woon great reputation by their valour, and the courage they gaue to others. Because the Earle of Clanrickards Company had watched the night before this, Sir Henry Follyot was sent with his Regiment to guard the Westerne fort till mor|ning.

Some hower before this skirmish, the Lord Deputie was aduertised by one Don|nogh O Driscoll, that sixe Spanish ships were put into Castle Hauen, and that six more were sent with them from the Groyne, but in the way were scattered from these by tem|pest, and that since it was not knowne what became of them. That in these six ships arriued, were two thousand Spaniards, with great store of Ordinance and Munition, and that by their report twentie thousand more were comming presently after them. 167 The third of December, by reason of rany weather, nothing could be done, onely vp|on rela-

tion of a French runnaway, that the enemy purposed to sally againe, some of our men were for a short time drawne to Armes, but in vaine.

The fourth day we receiued a confirmation of the Spaniards arriual at Castlehauen, whereupon it was resolued in Counsel, that our first camp should be more strongly for|tified, and that al our horse should be drawne into it, and that the quarter or lesser camp on the West side (consisting now onely of three Regiments, namely, of the Earle of Thomond, Sir Richard Percy, and Sir Christopher Saint Laurence) should rise and sit downe farther off, towards the South-gate, hauing another Regiment added to streng|then it, drawne out of the first campe on the North side of the Towne, where the Lord Deputy lodged, the lot whereof fell to Sir Charles Wilmott. That our trenches and Fort on the East side for the guarding of the cannon, should be committed to the con|tinuall guard of Captaine Blany, and our Fort at the West gate to Captaine Ghest. And that our battery should cease, till those stormes of new Spanish supplies and the Irish Rebels drawing neere were ouer.

A Drumme was sent to the Towne, to offer Don Iean liberty to bury his dead, which message he receiued with due respect, but prayed vs to burie them, with promise to do the like for any of ours happening to fall in his power. And because our Drum, accor|ding to his direction, expostulated with Don Iean, that howsoeuer the Spanish priso|ners were well vsed by vs, yet his Lordship heard, that one of our men taken in the last salley, after he was hurt, so long as he gaue himselfe out to be an Irish man, was kept in the hospitall, but after being discouered to be an Englishman, was drawne out, and killed. For this cause Don Iean sent backe with him a Spanish Drum to the Lord De|puty, intreating buriall for his dead, with the foresaid promise to doe the like for ours; and for the expostulation, denying any such thing done to his knowledge, with pro|testation to punish it highly, if hee could discouer any such thing to haue been done. The first, his Lordship promised to doe as a Christian like act, though he knew the in|equalitie of the offer, hauing so many of their bodies presently in his power. For the second, his Lordship rested satisfied, yet his Lp did further expostulate with the Drum, that vpon our summons of the Towne, after martiall manner, they were not content to returne a resolute answere, but added scandalous words, terming vs meschini. To which he answered, protesting that the speech was ill deliuered by an harquebuzier, who vndertooke to interpret it, but could not doe it rightly. His Lordship also ex|cepted to a kind of challenge sent by Don Iean, that the question betweene England and Spaine should be tried by combat betweene them two, this triall being in neither of their powers by commission, nor in Don Ieans will, though hee had the power, besides that the Councell of Trent forbad the Romanists to fight in Campo Stec|tuto (or combat in the field) so as this message was rather quarelsome then ho|nourable, which otherwise his Lordship protested to bee most willing to accept, with thankes for the noble offer. Lastly, his Lordship remembred, that at our first setting downe, he sent a Drum to Don Iean, with this message; That whereas his Lordship vnderstood certaine Ladies and women to bee in the Towne, he offered them before the playing of our Artillerie free leaue to depart, or remaining there still, to command any prouision for themselues which our campe afforded. And that Don Iean made an vnciuill answere, That he would not be his Baud. To these exceptions hee answe|red with a Spanish shrug of the shouldier, as hauing no knowledge nor commission, to satisfie his Lordship

therein. So his Lordship protested, that all the courtesie offe|red hitherto by him, proceeded out of that honourable respect which vseth to passe be|tweene honourable enemies, and because he would euer be true to his owne Honour, whatsoeuer others were to theirs. But in case it were conceiued to proceede of any re|spect of the greatnes or power of the Spanish Nation, or his owne feare, that he would hereafter shew how much he disdained such ill interpretations of courtesie. And so his Lordship dismissed the Drum.

This night the Spaniards attempted something by boats against our Sentinels, but were soone beaten backe againe. The fifth day Sir Richard Leuison, though the wind 168 hindered the going out of Kinsale Harbour, yet with towing, got out the Warspite, the Defiance, the Swiftsure, the Marline, one Merchant, and a Caruill, and with them went to seeke the Spanish Fleete newly arriued at Castlehauen.

The same day the foure Regiments aboue named, did remoue to the new camping place, as was determined the day before.

The sixth day at ten in the morning, our Fleete arriued at Castle hauen, and before foure in the after-noone one Spanish ship was sunke, the Spanish Admirall with nine foote water in hold droue to the shore vpon the rocks, the Vice-admirall with two o|thers droue likewise a ground, most of the Spaniards quitting their ships. Our Fleete was forced to stay there the next day by contrary winds, and the Spaniards hauing landed some Ordinance, plaied vpon our ships all the day, but the night following they warped out; and the day after returned to Kinsale.

The sixt day likewise, a Scottish Barke bringing soldiers from Spaine, and being one of the Fleet newly ariued at Castlehauen, but seuered from them at sea by storme, came into the Harbour of Kinsale, and put the Spaniards, being fourescore, into our hands, who were brought to the campe, and examined before the Lord Deputie. Dauid High of Lieth, Master and Owner of the Vnicorne examined, laid vpon oath: That he went from Waterford sixe weekes agoe with goods of Waterford for Rochel, and so for Burde|aux, but was driuen through foule weather and a leake into the Groyne, where within an hower after hee was at Anchor, his ship was arrested, and himselfe taken by the Gouernour called Conde, but after they had vnladen the Barke, and taken away the sailes, he was set at libertie. That Siriago with a part of the Spanish Fleete sent for Ire|land, was then there, and ready to embarke againe for Ireland, hauing about one thou|sand foure hundred land souldiers, placed in nine ships, whereof this examinate was one, the Admirall in which Syriago was, being a Netherlander of one hundred fifty tunne, or therabout, the Vice-admirall a Flemming of one hundred twenty tunne, or there abouts, beside three French ships, and three Scots, and a Fliboat. That they haue great prouisions of Powder, Pioners tooles, and twelue or 14 great Pieces mounted for the field. That the seuen and twentieth of the last, they set saile at Groine, and had their directions (as farre as this examinate vnderstands) for Kinsale. That before their departure from the Groyne, one Iordan Roche of Kinsale, bound for Burdeaux, and from thence for South-Spaine, comming to an anchor at the Groyne, was there taken, and forced in the Kings name to be a Pilot on this coast, his ship being sent on her voiage; by whom they vnderstood, that the Castles of Ryncoran and Nyparke were taken, which hee heard also by the report of a French man hee met at sea. That aboard his ship there was imbarked about fourescore Spaniards, and fiue or sixe wo|men, about fiue and twentie tunne of Bread, and sixe Butts of

wine, whereof the most part was spent in beuerage: but other munitions then the souldiers weapons they brought none aboard. That Brittingdona is at Lisbone, ready to transport two thousand souldiers more for Ireland, so soone as hee can get shipping. That Don Diego de Brochero in his returne for Ireland, landed at Lisbone, and from thence posted to the Court, and after his arriuall, a present dispatch was made, to hasten these sup|plies for Ireland. That in Spaine they make no doubt but Ireland is already won, and from thence the common bruite is, they will for England, then for Scotland, and af|ter will set vpon the Turk, That the fifth of December, they made the land betweene Corke and Kinsale, and the winde being scant, turned all that day and night to come in, and by seuen of the clocke this morning came into the Harbour, and at ope|ning of the day perceiued our Fleete, which by the Spaniards was conceiued to be their Fleete: but by him (as hee saith) knowne to bee her Maiesties, and that of purpose hee came to put the Spaniards into our hands. That before his ship came to anchor, hee got a boat; and discouered to Sir Amyas Preston the Spani|ards hee had aboard. Whereupon Sir Amyas Preston manned out his boates, and towed in the ship, whereunto the Spaniards made no resistance. Lastlie, that he heard at the Groyne, that the Adilantado, being then at Port Saint Marie, did 169 daily expect the comming offoure thousand Italians, but for what purpose hee knew not.

The Spaniards then examined on oath, said, That there is in the Fleete with Siriago not aboue one thousand, diuers of them taken out of the Gaoles, and very poore and naked, whereof one whole Companie of Portingals was taken out of prison. That the Admirall is laden with Bisket, Powder, and Match, and two cannons for battery. That the whole Fleete consists of tenne saile, whereof the Admirall and Vice-admirall are hulkes of three hundred tonnes, as they esteemed them, the rest small barkes of diuers Nations. That Siriago commands the Fleete, and Captaine Alonzo del Campo com|mands the foote in chiefe, being a Captaine of the Terceres, who hath an old Compa|ny, and Sanedra hath another old Company, but is himself a young souldier. That they heard nothing that Kinsale was besieged. That Brittendona was at Lisbone, and that they were gathering supplies, but knew not if they will be ready before the Spring or no. That the Adilantado was in South-Spaine, and that a Regiment of three thou|sand Italians was to come for Ireland. That the whole Fleete was bound for Kinsale, and they thought the Queenes Fleete was their ships of Spaine. That all the shipping was to be gathered together at Lisbone, against the Spring, and foure thousand Italians were comming for England.

This sixth day of December, all the Ordinance was drawne from the Easterne and Westerne platformes, into the first Camp on the Northside of the Towne, where the Lord Deputy lodged, that we might the better attend the seruice of the field, hauing our Artillery commodiously placed, since we were aduertised, that Odonnel was ioy|ned with those Spaniards which landed lately at Castle-Haeuen, and that hee, together with Tyrone, assisted by all the Rebels force in Ireland, were drawing vp towards Kin|sale to relieue it, and were come within few miles of the campe. Of all these newes the Spaniards in Kinsale had knowledge, and thereupon tooke heart againe, when they were otherwise ready to yeeld vpon reasonable composition. For this respect, it was thought enough for vs to keepe the ground we held, against all these enemies, till wee should be further supplied out of England, since vpon the least defeate or disaster be|falling vs, the

whole Kingdome would haue been hazarded (if not lost), by reason of the peoples inclination to a generall reuolt.

We fortified the foresaid campe on the West (or South-West) side, where the Earle of Thomond lay with foure Regiments, and it was resolued, that two smal forts should be cast vp, and manned, betweene that campe and the water side Southward (the said forts and campes, each one flancking the other), thereby so to inuest the Towne, as all succour from the countrie might be cut off from it. Further it was resolued, that the ditches of the Lord Deputies campe should bee deepned, and the trenches highthned, and that the backe part furthest from the Towne, lying open hitherto should now bee closed, and made defensable against Tyrones forces, as the side towards the Towne was made against the Spaniards, if they both at one time should giue vpon vs. And that all the Forts should be barricadoed, and by all possible art all the accesses to the towne betweene our two campes be stopped.

The seuenth day the Lord Deputy aduertised Master Secretary in England, of all these particulars, adding that we daily heard very hot Alarums of Tyrones purpose, to relieue the Towne, who strengthened with the aboue named forces, was now lodged in Woods, and in accessable strengths, very neere to our campe, so as hee hindered vs from forage for our horse, and from the helpes wee formerly had out of the country, for sustentation of our Army. And that his neighbourhood on the one side, and the Spaniards in Kinsale on the other, kept vs at a bay, from proceeding in our aproches and battery. Besides that our last supplies were in this short time incredibly wasted, the new men dying by dozens each night, through the hardnes of the winter siege, whereunto they were not inured. Yet his Lordship still made good his first hope of victory, though it were deferred, and that which hee thought to haue attempted with safety to the State, and ease to the Army, was now to be done with hazard to the State 170 (inseperable from great actions) and greater painefulnes to the souldier (to bee indu|red with patience.)

The eight day our Artillery was placed in the seuerall places of our North side Campe, for the best defence thereof, and a Fort on the West side by the other Campe, (according to the aboue mentioned resolution) was cast vp, and almost finished, where towards night we had a slight skirmish with the Spaniards, in which we had an Anci|ent and some few men hurt. In the euening the Rebels horse were discouered, about [Note: Tyrones Forces shew themselues.] two miles off, and after supper all our men were drawne into Armes, vpon notice gi|uen vs by the scouts, that the Rebels drew nigh, but after a small time, all sauing the watch were dismissed to rest.

This night Sir Richard Leuyson returned from Castle Hauen, with the Queenes ships into the Harbour of Kinsale, and came to the Campe, to giue the Lord Deputy ac|compt of the good seruice done there. The nine ten and eleuen daies, we spent in buil|ding the two Sconces, (or Forts) as was formerly resolued in the sixth daies Counsell. They were built on the West side of the Towne, betweene the Earle of Thomonds quarter and the water Southward, and to inuest the Towne round about, we cast vp trenches betweene the Forts and the Earle of Thomonds quarter, being thirty score in length, the Forts and the Campe slancking each other, and we cast vp Trenches from that side to the Lord Deputies Campe, to stop the passage of Cowes, horses, or any reliefe to the Towne. The Spaniards made two or three light sallies to view our works on the West side, as they did likewise the twelfth day, but they

were beaten back with ease, and no losse on our part. The thirteenth day we drew three peeces of Artillery from the Lord Deputies campe, and planted them on the West side neere the other campe, to play vpon an Abby, which flancked that part where wee intended to make a new breach. The same day the Spaniards taken in the Scots ship, were sent for Eng|land.

And Sir Oliuer S. Iohns was dispatched for England, and by him the Lord Deputy and the Counsell wrote this following Letter to the Lords in England.

IT may please your Lordships: How we haue proceeded in the great businesse wee haue in hand here, since ourlast dispatch vnto your Lordships of the seuenth of the last moneth, wee haue thought fit to set downe by way of iournall inclosed, humbly praying leaue to referre your Lordships thereunto, to auoid needlesse repetition; and if the seruices we haue hitherto performed, shall happily fall short of that which your Lordships in this time haue expected, and our selues (wee acknowledge) hoped, wee haue made collection of the sundry difficulties and oppositions that we haue incoun|tred, since the first newes of these Spaniards discouery vpon this Coast, to the end it might appeare vnto your Lordships plainely by the view thereof, (as wee are confi|dent it will), that nothing hath beene wanting in our endeuours, to bring this worke to the desired conclusion, but that a more slow proceeding hath beene inauoydably occasioned, by the slow and vntimely comming to vs of those meanes and prouisi|ons, without which it is impossible to be effectually actiue, and the arising of new ac|cidents and impediments in the meane time, which made our worke more difficult, and therefore will not (we hope) be imputed any fault of ours. Since the arriuall of the Queenes shippes, the forces, altillery, and other prouisions out of England, we haue so annoied this Towne with battery in all parts thereof, as the breach was almost assaul|table, and the Houses in the Towne much beaten downe, to the great weakening of the defendants, in so much as we were not without hope to be offered it by composi|tion, or within a little more time to haue entered it by force, though that was held a course of much hazard and losse, in regard they within are very strong in bodies of men, which we know to be most certaine. The Spaniard finding how hardly he was laid to, importuned Tyrone and Odonnell with their forces to come to releeue him, they both are accordingly come, and encamped not farre from the Towne. And now one thousand more Spaniards are arriued at Castle Hauen, with great store of munition and artillery, and report that a greater force is comming after, which doth so bewitch this 171 people, as we make accompt all the Countrey will now goe out, as most of them haue done already, as in our former letters we signified that we feared. Odonnels forces are said to be foure thousand, and to be ioined with the Spaniards that landed at Castle Hauen, and Tyrones (as we heare generally) to be as many more, and since his passage through the Countrey hither, Tyrrell with many other Lemster Rebels, (as it is said) are ioined with him, and comming also hither. By these meanes wee are induced to leaue our battery for a time, and to strengthen our Campes, that we may be able to in|dure all their sury, as wee hope we shall, and keepe the Towne still be sieged, and so in|uested, as wee are not out of hope in the end to carry it, notwithstanding all that they can doe. Yet since it is now most apparent, that the King of Spaine meanes to make this place the seate of the Warre, not onely for the gaining of this Kingdome, but from time to time to push for England, if he should get this, (for so some that we haue taken and examined, doe confesse), and that the whole

strength of the Irish are drawne and drawing hither, to set vp their rest, to get that liberty (as they call it) that they haue so long sought for. We must earnestly intreat your Lordships to supply vs, and that speedily, of all things necessary for so great a Warre, as this is like to be. We hold it a matter of necessity that foure thousand foote more be sent vs presently; without stay|ing one for another to come together, but as they can be leuied and shipped away, and we desire good choice may be made both of the Men and Armes, for in both the last were much defectiue, those vnder Captaines were but ill bodies of men, and the sup|plies had very ill armes and weapons: Wee conceiue it will be fittest for the seruice, that I the Deputy haue liberty to put so many of them vnder Captaines, as cannot at the first bee vsed for supplies, for though our chiefe meaning is to fill vp the bands al|ready here, if so many be wanting at their comming hither, that her Maiesty may not vnnecessarily be charged with new bands, when the old be not full, but much defici|ent, yet a great part of our companies being extreame sicke, through the exceeding mi|sery of this Winters siege, (so as at this present there is but one third part of the last men that came ouer seruiceable, and able to doe duties, whereof happily a great part may recouer), it cannot therefore be determined, vntill they be here, what number will bee necessary for supplies, and what companies fit to bee raised, for that must grow out of a view here of such as continue still sicke, or are growne deficient by death, or running away, whereof of late there are very many, notwithstanding the seuere cour|ses we haue taken, by executing some for a terrour to the rest, by making Proclama|tions vpon paine of death, that none should depart the campe without licence, by gi|uing direction to the Port Townes that they should be staied and apprehended: and lastly, by sending speciall men to Corke, Yoghall, Waterford, and Wexford, to see the same duly put in execution, for which purpose they haue commission for martiall law, all which is well knowne to euery priuate man in the campe, and yet they steale away daily in such numbers, as besides those that by deuises doe get passages, there are at this present taken betweene this and Waterford, at the least two hundred ready to be returned; though we confesse the misery they indure is such, as iustly deserueth some compassion, for diuers times some are found dead, standing centinell, or being vpon their guard, that when they went thither were very well and lusty, so grieuous is a Winters siege, in such a Countrey: For the sicke and hurt men we haue taken the best course we can deuise, for at Corke we haue prouided a guesthouse for them, where they are most carefully looked vnto, and haue their lendings deliuered in money, to buy them what the market doth affoord, with an increase of what is held fit for them, al|lowed out of the surplusage of the entertainement for the Preachers and Cannoneers, (which we conceaue your Lordships haue heretofore heard of). And for those that are sicke or sickely at the campe, because we much desire to keepe them well (if it were possible), we take this course. First their owne meanes is allowed them very duly, Sir Robert Gardner being appointed a Commissioner for that purpose, that the souldier in all things may haue his right, with proclamation that whosoeuer found him selfe in a|ny want, should repaire to him; and secondly, out of a generall contribution from the Officers and Captaines of the Army, there is fifty pound a weeke collected for them, 172 and bestowed in prouiding warme broth, meate, and lodging, so as a maruellous great number are thereby releeued. And yet all this doth not serue, but that a great many are still vnseruiceable which we haue here noted at

the greater length that it might ap|peare vnto your Lordships that it proceeds not from want of care or prouidence in vs, but from keeping the field in such a season, where humane wit cannot preuent their decay. We must further earnestly intreat your Lordships, that the Fleete may remaine vpon this Coast during the warre with the Spaniards, and to furnish vs with victuals, munition and money, for Easterly winds are rare at this time of the yeere, and with|out euery of these, this action cannot bee maintained, but that the Army will breake, and come to nothing. Neither will this Countrey now affoord vs any thing, no not so much as meat for our horses; and therefore wee must likewise bee humble suters, that two thousand quarters of Oates may speedily be sent vs, without which vndoub|tedly our horses will be starued. The particulars of our wants, both of munition and victuals, are set downe by the Master of the Ordinance, and the Victualer for this Pro|uince, and we haue made choice of Sir Oliuer S. Iohns, to sollicite your Lordships for a speedy and fauourable dispatch, as also to giue satisfaction in all things where|in it may please your Lordships to require a more particular information, in regard he is well acquainted with all things that haue passed here, otherwise as we were vnwil|ling to haue spared him, so wee found him very vnwilling to leaue the seruice at this time, had not I the Deputy inioined him to vndertake this businesse, knowing hee could best satisfie your Lordships in any particular that you might doubt off. Wee haue also held it very fit humbly to signifie to your Lordships, that where wee heard from the Counsell of Dublyn, and otherwise, of her Maiesties purpose to send some Scots, that it would now very much aduance the seruice, for if foure thousand Scots (which we thinke a conuenient number) might speedily be landed there, to ioine with the English at Loughfoyle and Carickfergus, while Tyrone keepes here with the Forces of that Countrey, they would no doubt in short time make so great a spoile there, as hee should neuer be able to subsist, to maintaine a warre any more, and a great part both of the English forces and of them, after hauing swept those Countries bare, which they might quickely doe, might draw hither to our assistance, with great part of the prey, which would aboundantly releeue both them and vs with victuall, and so stop the passages behind him, as hee should neuer bee able to returne; but that the warre both of Spaine and Ireland might haue an end together here, whereof wee cannot but wish your Lordships to haue due consideration, and humbly pray you to excuse vs, for making thus farre bold, which nothing should haue led vs vnto, but zeale and affe|ction to the seruice. Lastly, whereas the Enemies Fleet at Lysbone, vnder the conduct of Bretandona, is (by intelligence from Spaine) assuredly intended for these parts, to bring supplies to Kinsale within a moneth or sixe weekes: And whereas we find the great importance of this seruice depending on the countenance of her Maiesties Fleet, to haue the same with vs as well to guard the Harbour and repell the enemies landing, as also to guard our Magazins of munition and victuals, which must be kept in ships; we hauing no other conueniency to keepe them: We haue made humbly bold to stay the Fleet commanded by Sir Richard Leuison, and doe in like sort beseech your Lord|ships to victuall them for three moneths longer, with all possible speed; for they are now victualled onely till the twentieth of Ianuary. And because so great a quantity of victuals as will serue them for that time, can hardly be so soone prouided; we hum|bly desire that this supply of their victuals may be sent vnto them in parts, as it can be made ready: And because

this Fleet, by the opinion of the best experienced in Sea ser|uices, (whom we for our parts doe beleeue), must necessarily be diuided, and yet is too small to serue in two parts, we humbly pray that some such addition of ships, as in your wisdoms shal be thought meet, may be sent hither, to forbid the enemy to plant in other places, as Baltimore and Berre Hauen, where it is very probable they meane to plant: by which diuision of the Fleet better seruice may be expected, then otherwise can possibly be performed. For it is no doubt, but many opportunies will be offered to fight with the Enemy, which otherwise cannot be looked for. This wee humbly 173 submit to your Lordships fauourable consideration, not forgetting (as earnestly as wee may) to recommend to your Lordships good fauour Sir Richard Leuison, Ad|mirall of this Fleete, who hath shewed himselfe a most worthy Gentleman, both in performing of that seruice vpon the Spanish ships at Castle-hauen (which in our I our|nall is expressed), as also in being himselfe painefull, carefull, wise, and valiant in the whole course of all affaires; which your Lordships committed to his charge, and that in such measure, as we thinke a more sufficient and gallant Gentleman could not haud beene chosen for such an imployment. And so wee most humbly take leaue, etc.

By the same dispatch the Lord Deputy wrote this following letter to Master Se|cretary in England.

SIr, I know that all great actions are accompanied with many difficulties, neither are they strange to me, that haue put on a minde to indure any thing for such a Mi|stresse, in such a quarrell. And with chearefulnesse shall I suffer the extremitie of hard|nesse, and aduenture, if it shal please her Maiesty so graciously to interpret our labours, as to beleeue (as it is true) that our difficulties arise out of themselues, and not from any defect of our Counsels or endeauors. For my selfe, I protest that I doe faithfully pro|pound vnto my selfe, whatsoeuer I presume are her Maiesties chiefe ends, to make a speedy, safe, and honourable conclusion of this warre, which to no priuate man would be more vnsupportable then to my selfe, were I not vpheld by my dutie and affection to her seruice. I doe conceiue that it is apparant, that the King of Spaine is resolued to make a powerfull warre with England, and that he hath chosen this Countrie to be the seate thereof, where we that are her Maiesties Ministers here, must either marre, or giue way to this foundation. If he bee resolued to send continuall supplies, and to fortifie in seuerall places, the warre is likely to grow long and difficult. For first, it is hard to force a warlike Nation out of any strength, without great numbers, royall prouisions, and long time, and how hard our supplies of either, can bee spared, or sent in time so farre, I feare the estate doth already feele too much. The necessitie of making head to an enemie (who hauing the hearts of all this people, shal haue all their helpes, if they durst), doth draw our Army to indure all the incommodities of a miserable Winters siege, wherein, without all preuention, the greatest part of our strength will decay, be|fore we be readie (in our chiefe designe of forcing the Towne) to vse it. And if other|wise we should vse in this worke more then aduised haste, we might easily hazard the losse of this Kingdome; for little disasters to vs will bee conceiued ouerthrowes, and beleeue Sir, that nothing containes euen the best of this Countrie inhabitants, but the prosperitie and reputation of our Army; so that, although it may please God to enable vs to cut off the thread of this warre, sooner then wee see reason to presume of, yet because we haue iust reason to expect a growing enemie, and in so great a cause, it must please her Maiestie, either to bend and

maintaine her Royall power this way, or by some attempt in his owne Countries, to diuert his purpose for this; for otherwise if he persist in his purpose for Ireland, if he once grow of power to breake the bankes of our opposition, he will suddenly (and not by degrees) ouerflow all. Hitherto it hath pleased God to prosper vs, in all we haue vndertaken, or hath been vndertaken a|gainst vs; wee haue wonne whatsoeuer the enemy was possessed off without the Towne; we haue taken aboue two hundred Spanish prisoners; there are (as wee are certainely enformed) aboue one thousand dead and killed of them in the Towne, the which we haue now as throughly inuested as may be: but on the other side the whole force of Tyrone and Odonnell, with all the strength of the Rebels of Ireland, do lie with|in sixe miles of vs, and to their assistance they haue the Spanish supplyes, and (that which is worst) their munition and prouisions; the whole Prouince either is ioyned with them, or stand neutrals; and what vse soeuer the enemie maketh of them, I am sure wee receiue by them no manner of assistance. Notwithstanding all this, I hope wee shall giue a good account of the besieged; but wee haue reason to pro|ceede with great caution, hauing a desperate enemie before vs, and so manie 174 that are ingaged in the same fortune behind vs. For Tyrone and O Donnell haue quit their owne Countries, to recouer them here, or else to loose all. Now Sir, to enable vs in this great warre, you must continually supply vs with munition and victuals. It is true, how incredible soeuer you thinke it, that of two thousand men you send vs, you must account that we make vse of little more then fiue hundred, and yet wee can well iustifie, that there is nothing omitted that humane wit can prouide, for the pre|seruation of such as we haue. I haue (much against his will and my owne) sent ouer Sir Oliuer Saint Iohns, because I presume he can satisfie you in many things, which by writing we can hardly doe. Once more I thought good to remember you, that I pro|test before the eternall God, that it grieueth me to see her Maiesty so ill serued in her Musters, from the abuses whereof (as I haue done heretofore) I do vtterly disclaime, as not being in my power to reforme; for all the Ministers in that kind, are but ciphers or false numbers, and it is beyond my power to discend into euery particular care, in such an actiue time, wherein I spend all my meditations in making onely of the warre; and wherein how much of the weight of euery mans burthen doth lie vpon my shoul|ders, I doe better feele, then I can expresse, or make you beleeue. I will discontinue the consideration of any thing that belongs to my owne priuate, and haue now onely desired this bearer to negociate for mee as a publike person, and of publike matter, and I beseech God to send mee the height of my ambition, which is, with the consci|ence of hauing done her Maiestie the seruice I desire, to inioy a quiet, priuate life; and that her Maiestie may neuer more haue need of men of our profession.

Yours Sir most assured to doe you seruice Mountioy.

The foureteenth day was so rainy, and so tempestious in winds, as wee could not stirre out, to proceede any thing in our businesses. The fifteenth our Artillerie, planted by the Campe on the West-side, did play vpon the toppes of the Castles in the Towne, where the enemies shot were placed, that from thence they might annoy our men, working in the trenches, and in the platforme, and attending our Artillerie. Our pieces brake downe many of these Castles, and killed many of their shot lodged in them. Likewise in the night, while our men were making new approches, our Or|dinance plaied vpon the Towne, and many volleys of small shot

were exchanged be|tweene vs and the enemy.

The sixteenth day the same Ordinance plaied in like sort vpon the Castles in the Towne, and did much hurt to the men there lodged. The seuenteenth day was very tempestious with raine, and especially wind, and so continued all night, for which cause our Artillery plaied but seldom vpon the towne. And this night the Spaniards sallyed, and brake downe a platforme, which we had begun the day before, with pur|pose to plant our Artillery there; whereupon a slight skirmish fell betweene vs and them, but with little or no hurt on either side. The eighteenth day our Artillerie con|tinued to play vpon the Towne. And this day his Lordship intercepted this follow|ing letter, which he commanded me to translate out of Spanish into English.

To the Prince Oneale, and Lord O Donnell.

I Thought your Excellencies would haue come at Don Ricardo his going, since hee had order from you to say, that vpon the Spaniards comming to you (from Castle-Hauen), you would doe me that fauour. And so I beseech you now you will doe it, and come as speedily and well appointed as may bee. For I assure you, that the ene|mies are tired, and are very few, and they cannot guard the third part of their tren|ches, which shall not auaile them, for resisting their first furie, all is ended. The manner of your comming, your Excellencies know better to take there, then I to giue it here; for I will giue them well to doe this way, being alwaies watching to giue the blow all that I can, and with some resolution, that your Excellencies fighting as they doe al|waies, 175 I hope in God the victorie shall be ours without doubt, because the cause is his. And I more desire the victory for the interest of your Excellencies, then my owne. And so there is nothing to be done, but to bring your squadrons, come well appoin|ted and close withall, and being mingled with the enemies, their Forts wil doe as much harme to them, as to vs. I commend my selfe to Don Ricardo. The Lord keepe your Excellencies.

From Kinsale the eight and twentieth (the new stile, being the eighteenth after the old stile) of December, 1601 . Though you be not well fitted, I beseech your Excellencies to dislodge, and come toward the enemy, for expedition imports. It is needfull that we all be on horsebacke [...], and the greater haste the better.

Signed by Don I can del Aguyla.

The nineteenth day was so extreme rainy, as we could doe little or nothing. The twentieth in the morning being very faire, our Ordinance plaied, and brake downe good part of the wall of the Towne. And to the end we might sharpen Tyrone (whose lying so neere did more annoy vs, by keeping reliefe from vs, then hee was like to hurt vs by any attempt); or if Tyrones force came not vp sooner, that wee might proceede more roundly, this day another great breach was made beneath the Platforme, and though many shot were made to hinder vs, yet by the next morning the worke was brought to good perfection. The night was stormy, with great lightning and terri|ble thunder; to the wonder of all, considering the season of the yeere and this night came certaine intelligence, that Tyrone, drawne on by Don Ieans importunity, determi|ned presently to set vp his rest for the reliefe of the Towne, and that the next night he would lodge within a mile and halfe of our Campe.

The one and twentieth ourscouts confirmed the same, and towards night Tyrone [Note: Tyrone shewes him|selfe horse and foote.] shewed himselfe with all his horse and foote, vpon a hill within a mile of vs in the way to Corkes. Whereupon two Regiments of our foote, and most of our horse

being drawne out of the Campe, made towards them: but when they saw our men reso|lutely come forward, they fell back to a Fastnesse of wood and water, where they en|camped.

This night being light with continuall flashings of lightning, the Spaniards sallied againe, and gaue vpon a trench, newly made beneath our Canon, but were the soo|ner repelled, because wee kept very strong Guards, ond euery man was ready to be in Armes, by reason of Tyrones being so neere vnto vs.

The two and twentieth Tyrones horse and foote often shewed themselues from an Hill, beyond which they incamped in a Wood, yet our Artillery still plaied vpon the Towne, breaking downe the Wall, and some Turrets, from whence the Spaniards shot annoyed our men. Many intelligences confirmed, that Tyrone on the one side, and the Spaniards on the other, had a purpose to force our Campe.

This night the Spaniards sallied, and gaue vpon a trench close to the West|side of the Towne, which the Serieant that kept it did quit: but Sir Christopher Saint Laurence appointed to second him, came vp with some foote, and did heat the Spa|niards into the Towne, before they could doe any great hurt, saue onely a little de|facing it. Our Artillery still plaied vpon the Towne, that they might see wee went on with our businesse, as if wee cared not for Tyrones comming, but it was withall carried on in such a fashion, as wee had no meaning to make a breach, because wee thought it not fit to offer to enter, and so put all to hazard, vntill wee might better discouer what Tyrone meant to doe, whose strength was assured to bee very great, and wee found by letters of Don Ieans, which wee had intercepted, that hee had aduised Tyrone to set vpon our Camps, telling him that it could not bee chosen, but our men were much decayed by the Winters siege, and so, that wee should hardly bee able to maintaine so much ground, as wee had taken when our strength was greater, if wee were well put to, on the one side by them, and on the other side by him, which hee would not faile for his part to doe reso|lutely. And it was most true, that our men dailie died by dozens, so as the 176 sicke and runnawaies considered, wee were growne as weake as at our first setting downe, before our supplies of foure thousand foote.

The strength of our Regiments the three and twentieth of December.

The Lord Deputies Regiment had able men, 715. The Lord Presidents Regi|ment able men, 556. The Earle of Clanrickards Regiment able men, 529. The Earle of Thomonds Regiment, 572. The Lord Audley his Aegiment, 370. Sir Richard Percies Regiment, 544. Sir Richard Morysons Regiment, 541. Sir Oliuer Saint Iohns his Re|giment, 515. Sir Charles Wilmotts Regiment, 454. Sir Henry Follyots Regiment, 595. Sir Christopher Saint Laurences Regiment of Irish, 747. Sir Henrie Powers Squadron volant (or flying Regiment) drawne out of the former Regiments, after the making of the Lyst in Nouember last, 449.

The Totall of Foote able men besides runawaies, and hurt, and sicke, lying aswell in the Campe, as at Corke, 6595.

This euening one of the chiefe Commanders in Tyrones Army, hauing some obli|gations to the Lord President, sent a messenger to him for a bottle of Vsquebagh, and [Note: Tyrone re|dues to as|sayle our Campe.] by a letter wished him, that the English Army should that night bee well vpon their guard, for Tyrone meant to giue vpon one Campe, and the Spaniards vpon the other, meaning to spare no mans life but the Lord Deputies and his. Don Iean de l' Aguila after confessed to the Lord President, that notwith-

standing our sentinels; he and Ty|rone the night following, had three messengers the one from the other. All the night was cleare with lightning (as in the former nights were great lightnings with thunder) to the astonishment of many, in respect of the season of the yeere. And I haue heard by many horsemen of good credit, and namely by Captaine pikeman, Cornet to the Lord Deputies troope, a Gentleman of good estimation in the Army, that this night our horsemen set to watch, to their seeming did see Lampes burne at the points of their staues or speares in the middest of these lightning flashes. Tyrones guides mis|sed the way, so as hee came not vpto our Campe by night, as the Spaniards ready in Armes howerly expected, but earely about the breake of the next day.

The foure and twentieth of December, some halfe hower before day, the Lord Deputie in his house sitting at Counsell with the Lord President and Master Mar|shall, as thinking the intended enterprise of the enemie by some accident to bee bro|ken, suddenly one of the Lord Presidents horsemen called him at the dore, and told him, that Tyrones Army was come vp very neere to our Campe. And Sir Richard Greame, hauing the Scout that night, when hee discouered that Tyrone with his forces was on foote marching towards the Campe, presently aduertised the Lord Deputy thereof, and his Lordship being alwaies in readinesse to intertaine them (seldome go|ing to bed by night), and at this time (as I said) setting in Counsell, when he heard that they were aduanced within three quarters of a mile to our Campe, caused all our men to draw into Armes in the quarter, and himselfe with the Marshall attending him, ad|uanced towards our scouts, whence he sent the Marshall Sir Richard Wingfeild, to take view of the enemy, and hee brought him word, that they were in the same place for|merly aduertised. Vpon his returne the Lord Deputie left for defence of the great Campe on the Northside, his Lordships owne Regiment, vnder his Lieutenant Sir Beniamin Berry, the Lord Presidents Regiment (who was in his Lordships absence to command both Camps in chiefe), the Earle of Clanrickards Regiment the Lord Aud|lie his Regiment, and Sir Richard Moryson his Regiment. This done, the Lord Depu|putie sent a Corporall of the field vnto our lesser Campe (or quarter) commanded by the Earle of Thomond, and gaue order there for disposing the foure Regiments of the Earle of Thomond, Sir Richard Percy, Sir Charles Wilmot, and Sir Christopher Saint Laurence, and directed how to set all the Companies in their seuerall guards. In for|mer notes I finde Sir Richard Percies Regiment quartered in the Earle of Thomonds 177 Campe, but here I find it reckoned among them of the greater Campe, and the Earle of Clanrickards Regiment in this lesser Campe, whereof I remember not the certaintie, but am sure, how soeuer they had been changed, that the Regiments for number, were at this time thus disposed in the two Campes. By this time the Marshall, with some [Note: The defeate of Tyrones forces.] foure hundred horse, and Sir Henrie Powers. Regiment (being to answere Alarums, and so drawne out at this time, as they had been for three nights before on like occasi|on) was aduanced within twenty score of the enemie, the ground rising so high be|tweene them and our men, as they could not see one the other.

It was now the breake of day, whereas mid-night was the time appointed for the Rebels to meete with Don Isans forces, the Spaniard being to set vpon our lesser Campe (or the Earle of Thomonds Quarter), and Tyrrell leading the Rebels

Vant|guard (in which were the Spaniards lately landed at Castle-Hauen), and Tyrone leading their Battaile, and O, Donnell their Reare, being all to set vpon our chiefe Campe, con|ceiuing themselues of sufficient strength to force both our Campes at one instant, and to make no great worke of it.

The Lord Deputy, with the Lord President in his company, being come vp to our forces, led out against Tyrone, and resoluing there to giue him battaile, comman|ded Sir Iohn Barkeley Serieant Maior to draw out of the Campe the two Regiments of Sir Oliuer Saint Iohns and Sir Henry Follyot: Vpon their comming vp, the enemy finding vs resolued to fight, retyred himselfe ouer a Foard, and the Marshall seeing them disordered in their retrait, sent word thereof by Sir Froncis Rush to the Lord De|putie desiring leaue to fight, and his Lordship by Sir Samuel Bagnol gaue him leaue to order that seruice according as hee in his discretion, should find the disposition of the enemie, and therewith sent backe Sir George Carew Lord President with three troopes of horse, to the great Campe, to command both Camps in chiefe, and to make head against the Spaniards, if they should sally out of the Towne.

But the Spaniards still expecting the comming vp of the Rebels, according to their mutuall proiect, and neuer imagining that wee with our small forces, could draw out sufficient bands to meete and beate the Rebels, contained themselues within the towne walles, till (as by the sequell shall appeare) their sailies could little profit them.

After the said message sent to the Marshall, presently the Earle of Clanrickard came vp, and exceedingly importuned the Marshall to fight. Whereupon the Marshall drew a Squadron of foote with their Drumme to the Foard, and willed Sir Richard Greame with his horse to march directly to the Foard. Then the enemy retired hasti|ly with horse and foote ouer a boggy ground to firme land, hoping to keepe that bog|gie passage against vs: Then the Marshall directed Sir Henry Dauers (commanding the horse vnder him), with his horse, and Sir Henrie Power with his Regiment of foot to aduance, who presently came ouer the foresaid Foard vnto him. The Lord Depu|ty being vpon the hill with two Regiments of foote, commanded the Serieant Maior there attending him, to second our men with those foote. So the Marshall hauing the Earle of Clanrickard, and Sir Henrie Dauers with him, aduanced with some hundred horse; and began with a hundred Harqubufiers (led by Lieutenant Cowel a valiant Gentleman, marked by a red cap he wore, to be a special instrume t in this fight) to giue occasion of skirmish on the Bog side, which the rebels with some loose shot entertai|ned, their three Batallions standing firme on the one side of the Bog, and our Fort on the otherside. In this skirmish our foot were put vp hard to our horse, which the Mar|shall perceiuing, put forth more shot, which made the Rebels retire towards their Bat|taile. Then the Moshiall finding a way through a Foard, to the ground where the Re|bels stood, he possessed the same with some foote, and presently he passed ouer with the Earle of Clanrickard, Sir Richard Greames, Captaine Tasse, and Captaine Fleming, and their horse, and offered to charge one of the Rebels Battailes of one thousand eight hundred men: but finding them stand firme, our horse wheeled about. Now Sir Henrie Dauers with the rest of the horse, Sir William Godolphin with the Lord De|puties, and Captaine Minshall with the Lord Presidents troopes (kept by the Lord 178 Deputie to answere all accidents), and our Serieant Maior with two Regiments (sent by the Lord Deputy to sec-

ond the Regiment of Sir Henrie Power, being with the Marshall,) came all vp, whereupon the Marshall with the horse charged home vpon the Reare of the Battaile, and the Irish not vsed to fight in plaine ground, and some|thing amazed with the blowing vp of a Gun-powder bagge (they hauing vpon the like fright defeated the English of old at Blackwater), but most discouraged to see their horse flie (being all Chiefes of Septs and Gentlemen, to the number of fiue or sixe hundred), were suddenly routed, and our men followed the execution. The o|ther two Battailes that stood stil, now finding this routed, made haste to succour them. Whereupon the Lord Deputy sent instantly Captaine Francis Roe with Sir Oliuer Saint Iohns Regiment (of which he was Lieutenant Colonell), to charge on the Flanck of the Vanguard, which presently retired disorderly, being followed by our foote and horse: but the Spaniards landed at Castle-Hauen, marching there, and being not so good of foote as the Irish, drew out by themselues, yet were by Sir William Godol|phin leading the Lord Deputies troope, soone broken, and most of them killed, the rest (with their chiefe Commander Don Alonzo Del Campo) being taken prisoners, name|ly, two Captaines, seuen Alfieroes, and forty souldiers, whereof some were of good qualitie. In the meane time many of the light footed Irish of the Van escaped, as did likewise almost all the Rere, by aduantage of this execution done vpon the Spaniards and the maine Battaile, (of which body farre greater then either of the other, all were killed), but onely some sixty or there abouts.

Thus the Irish horse first leauing the foote, then two of the Battalions being rou|ted, they all fell to flie for life, our men doing execution vpon many in the place. On our part Sir Richard Greames Cornet was killed, Sir Henry Dauers, Sir William Godolphin, Captaine Henry Crofts Scout-master were slightly hurt, onely sixe souldiers hurt, but many of our horses killed, and more hurt. The Irish Rebels left one thousand two hundred bodies dead in the field, besides those that were killed in two miles chase: we tooke nine of their Ensignes, all their Drummes and Powder, and got more then two thousand Armes. And had not our men been greedy of the Spaniards spoile, being very rich, had not our foote been tired with continuall watchings long before, in this hard winters siege. Had not our horse especially been spent by ill kee|ping and want of all meate for many daies before, (by reason of Tyrones neere|nesse, so as the day before this battaile it had been resolued in Counsell to send the horse from the Campe for want of meanes to feede them, and if Tyrone had laine still, and not suffered himselfe to bee drawne to the plaine ground by the Spaniards importunitie, all our horse must needs haue been sent away or starued.) Had not these impediments been, wee had then cut the throates of all the re|bels there assembled; for they neuer made head against them that followed the exe|cution, nor scarce euer looked behind them, but euery man shifted for himselfe, ca|sting of his Armes, and running for life. In so much as Tyrone after confessed him|selfe to be ouerthrowne by a sixth part of his number, which he ascribed (as wee must and doe) to Gods great worke, beyond mans capacitie, and withall acknowledged that he lost aboue one thousand in the field, besides some eight hundred hurt. This we vnderstood by the faithfull report of one, who came from him some few daies af|ter, and told the L. Deputy moreouer, that he tormented himself exceedingly for this his ouerthrow.

After the battell, the Lord Deputy in the middest of the dead bodies, caused thanks to be giuen to God for this victory,

and there presently knighted the Earle of Clauric|kard in the field, who had many faire escapes, his garments being often peirced with shot and other weapons, and with his owne hand killed aboue twenty Irish kerne, and cried out to spare no Rebell. The captiue Spanish Commander Alonzo del Campo, a|uowed that the Rebels were sixe thousand foot and 500 horse, whereas the Lord De|puty had but some one thousand two hundred foote, and lesse then foure hundred horse. So before noone his Lordship returned to the campe, where commanding vol|lias of shot for ioy of the victory, the Spaniards perhaps mistaking the cause, and 179 dreaming of the Rebels approach, presently sallied out, but were soone beaten into the Towne, especially when they saw our triumph, and perceiued our horsemen from the hill on the West side, to waue the Colours we had taken in the battell, and among the rest, especially the Spanish Colours, (for such most of them were, the Rebels in woods not vsing that martiall brauery). The same day an old written Booke was shewed to the Lord Deputy, wherein was a Prophesie, naming the soard and hill where this bat|tell was giuen, and foretelling a great ouerthrow to befall the Irish in that place.

A note giuen by one of Tyrones followers, of his losse at this ouerthrow.

Tirlogh Ohagan Sonne to Art Ohagan, Commander of fiue hundred, slaine himselfe with all his company, except twenty, whereof eleuen were hurt, and of them seuen di|ed the eighteenth day, after their returne.

Kedagh Mac Donnell, Captaine of three hundred, slaine with all his men, except threescore; whereof there were hurt fiue and twenty.

Donnell Groome mac Donnell, Captaine of a hundred, slaine himselfe and his whole company.

Rory mac Donnell, Captaine of a hundred, slaine himselfe and his company.

Fiue of the Clancans, Captaines of fiue hundred, themselues slaine and their compa|nies, except threescore and eighteene, whereof eighteene were hurt.

[...] sonnes had followers in number three hundred, vnder the leading of Captaine Mulmore oheagarty, all slaine with the said Mulmore, sauing one and thirty, whereof twenty were hurt. Colle Duff mac Donnell, Captaine of one hundred, lost with all his company.

Three of the Neales, Captaines of three hundred, sent by Cormack mac Barron, all lost sauing eighteene, whereof there were nine hurt.

Captaines slaine fourteene. Souldiers slaine 1995. Souldiers hurt 76.

The fiue and twentieth day (being our Christmas day) the Spaniards in the after|noone made a flight sally, but finding vs ready to entertaine them, presently they [...] backe, yet to hinder our making a trench, which wo then beganne; and which they found would doe them much hurt, they sallied againe strongly at nine of the clocke in the night, and maintained the fight till eleuen, wherein the Ensignes to Cap|taine Roper and Captaine Ghest, with diuers others on our part were hurt hard by their wall but in short space after, they were beaten into the Towne with many of theirs hurt, and so we perfected that worke. The sixe and twentieth in the night, the Spani|ards made another sally at the West gate (as formerly) vpon a new trench wee kept close to the Towne, and that so hotly, as they inforced our men to quit it, hauing the Liefetenant of the guard and ten more of them shot. But when the Spaniards made vpto our lower Four, they were presented with a volly of shot in their teeth, which killed fearre, and hurt eight of them, and so they drew into the Towne.

The seuen and twentieth the Lord

Deputy dispatched Sir Henry Dauers into Eng|land, with the following letters (touching the happy ouerthrow of Tyrone), from his Lordship and the Counsell here, to the Lords in England.

IT may please your Lordships. In the last dispatch sent by Sir Oliuer S. Iohns, which longere this time we hope is safely deliuered vnto your hands, there was at large re|uealed vnto you all our proceedings at the siege, and also the estate wee were then in, hauing before vs in the Towne the spanish forces, and at our backes Tyrone and Odon|nell, with the [...] Army; since whose departure they dislodged from the place where they then in camped, and lay in campe within lesse then two miles of vs, in the way to|wards Corke whereby the passage from our Campe to Corke was blocked vp, so as no prouisions for our reliefe from thence could come vnto vs, which vnto the Army was agreat annoyance, and we in a manner were no better then besieged. The Enemies proud in their strength, resolued to set vp their rests, accounting vs in their opinion lost men, vnable to resist so great a power, and therefore by a generall consent, they 180 determined on all parts to giue vpon our campe, as well out of the Towne by the Spa|niards, as by the Irish on the other side, and according to that resolution, on Christmas euen before day, Tyrone with his Army rose, and with all his forces of horse and foote, by breake of day presented himselfe in order of battell: but it pleased God in his good|nesse to giue vs a gracious victory, with a handfull of men in respect of his Army, the particulars whereof being too long to insert in a letter, we humbly referre your Lord|ships to the relation sent with these, wherein the same is at large and particularly related, in which ouerthrow we gained many Spanish letters of great consequence, the most effectuall of which we send vnto your Lordships herewith, together with a briefe ab|stract of those which we reserue here, as vnwilling to trouble your Lordships with those of lesse monent. By view of which intelligence and aduices, and the relation of such Spanish Prisoners of account, and vnderstanding, as wee haue had conference with all, the second and further preparation of the forraigne enemy, is more appa|rantly discouered, then at the dispatching away of Sir Oliuer S. Iohns: And therefore we may not cease humbly to importuue your Lordships, in regard of these threatned supplies by sea and land, and that the great and speedy vse we haue of the men; muni|tion, victuals, and treasure, which we formerly moued your Lordships for, in the let|ters sent by the said Sir Oliuer S. Iohns, will admit no long delaies, that your Lordships will not onely be pleased to supply vs presently therewith, but that those proportions may be inlarged in euery point, as in your wisdomes (vpon due regard had to the in|telligences sent herewith) shall be thought meet: for in our vnderstanding (we being now by the occasions aforesaid inabled to know more of the enemies dsignes, then we did before) all of euery kind that was by vs formerly written for, will be too little. And further, in as much as the chiefe strength of our Army consisteth in our horse troopes, who in this seruice were the principall meanes and instruments of the ouer|throw giuen the enemy, as wel in giuing the first charge, as in doing and following the execution: for the preseruation of them in strength, we humbly pray your Lordships that the two thousand quarters of Oates formerly written for, may presently be dis|patched hither; and in regard the whole Countrie is so harried and wasted, that it can|not yeeld vs any reliefe, and that without corne our horses (as they beginne) must dai|ly weaken more and more, and so our army be in hazard to perish; for timely preuen|tion

thereof, we humbly pray your Lordships, that an addition of Oates may be gi|uen to the said proportion, and although not at once, yet from time to time sent hither, as conueniency of shipping will giue leaue: for we dare assure your Lordships, if for want of them our horses had not beene growne so feeble, there had few of the enemies horse or foot escaped. And that your Lordships will be further pleased to send away with the best expedition the munition and habiliments of warre already written for, and to send the same with all possible haste, according to the demands sent herewith, and subscribed by the Master of the Ordinance, without which all other charges and prouisions are to no purpose. We also pray your Lordships that you will be pleased to haue consideration to send hither a compitent Fleete to guard the Coast, for we are of opinion, and so gather by the collections we haue probably made, that the King of Spaine his Fleete will be great, which being granted, the ships we haue here will not be enough to supply all occasions, considering how they must be dispersed, both to de|fend the Coast, and to prohibit the sending and arriuall of their seconds, as also to an|swere all other seruices, wherein shipping is necessary to be imploied. And for as much as the ending and deuersion of this warre resteth chiefly in the weakening and disin|abling of Tyrone, (whose reputation by this last ouerthrow, is both with the for|raigne enemy, and his owne followers, very much blemished); and for that it may be apparantly conceiued, that the Spaniard will no longer maintaine a tedious and char|gable warre in this remote Kingdome, then he hath a strong and powerfull party, and safe meanes of landing therein: To disinable him from this assurance and hopes here, in our vnderstanding, the sending of foure thousand Scots into Vlster, would doe ex|cellent seruice, and they being once ioined with her Maiesties forces at Loughfoyle and Carickfergus, would either absolutely banish Tyrone from thence, by possessing all the 181 holds and places of strength in Vlster, or else constraine him to make his defence at home, and keepe him from giuing any helpe to the Spaniards, and so bee vtterly reie|cted from hauing either credit or aides hereafter from them. The same time the Lord Deputy wrote to Master Secretary this following letter.

SIR we haue written to the Lords both of our estate and desires, and doe wish that it may please them to conceiue that the materials be great that must stop the breach that the King of Spaine hath already made in this Countrey, and a slender opposition will not resist, but be carried away with an inundation, if he send supplies. We haue al|ready miraculously ouercome one dangerous brunt, and God hath giuen the Queene the greatest victory that euer shee obtained in this Countrey, but beleeue me Sir that there is no one place that is defended with good men, but will goe neere to breake the Army that doth force it, though it be carried. We haue forced two places already held by the Spaniard, and now he remaines possessed and fortified in foure seuerall places more, with great store of munition, artillery and victuals There is supply of horse and foot certainly comming vnto them, some say in great numbers. We haue indured, (I dare boldly say) the most miserable siege for extremity of weather and labour, that in this age hath beene heard of. If it please God to inable vs to effect this, it is impossi|ble for this army to vndertake, in this season, and those places, as it is now or wil be di|minished, any present seruice without rest. Beleeue me Sir, you must make peace, or prouide for a chargeable warre; for there is nothing that carries these places without roiall prouisions. If her Maiesty thinke her owne occasions, and not vs her poore

Mi|nisters, to be the cause of this huge expence, I shall willingly indure the purgatory I line in, and sacrifice my time, my life and my liuing, to doe her the best seruice I can; but if you find that shee conceiueth the worse of me, because I am the Cooke to dresse her diet here so chargably, I beseech you Sir (if I may euer deserue your loue) vse your vttermost power to rid me speedily of my office, and I dare presume that I haue made no euill way for my successour to tread after me. I would faine write much vnto you, but with wet and heat in the last ouerthrow, I haue taken some cold, and my head doth make me write in great paine. I beseech you Sir pardon me, and esteeme me your ho|nest poore friend, that am resolued to be so euer. I was glad to send Sir Henry Dauers ouer with this good newes, who (I assure you) hath taken exceeding paines, and lost some of his blood in this last seruice, and besides some necessity of his owne, hath long desired such an opportunity to come ouer for a time. And so Sir I beseech God to send vs peace, for I am weary of the warre.

From before Kinsale the seuen and twenty of December 1601 . Yours Sir most assured to doe you seruice, Mountioy.

The 28 day of December, the Lord Deputy was aduertised that Syrriago a principall Commander of the Spaniards, landed in the West parts, hauing receiued newes of Ty|rones ouerthrow, was suddenly gone for Spaine, without acquainting any of the Spaniards therewith, and that hee carried with him in the same shippe Hugh Odonnell. And thus was the old prophesie fully accomplished, which often before wee had heard, namely, that Mounster should be the destruction of the three great Northerne Hughes. For Hugh Mac Guyer Lord of Fermanagh, and the first Robinhood of this great rebellion, was long since killed neere the Citie of Corke, and Hugh Tyrone, and Hugh O Donnell were ouerthrowne at Kinsale, whereof Hugh O Donnell is now fled for Spaine, whence he neuer returned; and Hugh Tyrone drew faintly his last breath in the North, without hope of better liuing, then as a Wood-kerne here, or as a fugitiue abroad. Likewise Hugh Mostian, a famous Rebell at this time fled with O Donnell into Spaine.

The nine and twentieth day his Lordship had aduertisements from diuers places, that Tyrone in his flight out of Mounster passing the Blackwater, lost many of his carria|ges, and had some hundred and fortie of his men drowned, feare making them so ha|sty, 182 as they could not attend the passing of their owne fellowes, much lesse the fall of the waters.

The last of December Don Iean Generall of the Spaniards, offered a Parley, sending his Drumme Maior out of the Towne with an Alfiero, bringing a sealed letter from [Note: The Spani|ard parlies.] him to the Lord Deputy, by which he required, (as by the same sent in the next dis|patch by Sir Richard Moryson to the Lords in England appeareth) that some gentle|man of speciall trust and sufficiency, might bee sent from the Lord Deputy into the Towne, for whose pledge a Spanish gentleman of like quality should be sent by Don Iean into the campe, and vpon conference he would acquaint the said gentleman with the conditions vpon which he stood. This granted, the Lord Deputy chose Sir Willi|am Godolphin to be imploied in this important negotiation, and sent him into the town to conferre with Don Iohn, as hee likewise sent Don Pedro Henrico to remaine in the Campe.

His first conference with Sir William Godolphin tended to this. That hauing found the Lord Deputy (whom he tearmed Viceroy) though a sharpe and powerfull, yet an honourable enemy; and the Irish not onely weake and barbarous, but (as hee

feared) persidious friends, hee was so farre in his affection reconciled to the one, and distasted with the other, as he was thereby induced to make an ouerture of such a composition as might be safe and profitable for the state of England, with least preiudice to the Crown of Spaine, by deliuering into the Viceroyes power the towne of Kinsale, with all other places held by the Spaniards in Ireland, so as they might depart vpon honourable rearmes, fitting men of warre not forced by necessity to receiue conditions, but wil|lingly induced for iust respects to relinquish a people by whom their King and Ma|ster had beene notoriously abused, if not betraied. That if the Viceroy liked to inter|taine this parley, he would please to vnderstand him rightly, and make such propositi|ons as were sutable to men resolued rather to bury themselues aliue, then to giue way to any accord that should taste of dishonour, being confident of their present strength and the royall seconds of Spaine, did not the former respects leade them to disingage their King of this enterprize. Sir William Godolphin directed onely to receiue his de|mands, returned to the Campe, and related them to the Lord Deputy and Counsell. The answer sent backe by him was this; That howsoeuer the Lord Deputy had lately defeated the Irish, and well vnderstood their weakenesse and the vnresistable difficulties that pressed them, how ere they laboured to couer the same, yet knowing that her sa|cred Maiesty his Mistresse, would in her mercifull disposition repute her victory ble|mished by voluntary effusion of Christian blood, he was content to intertaine this of|fer of agreement, so it were vpon honourable tearmes, fitting the aduantage her Maie|sty had against them.

In the next conference the Lord Deputy required for the first Article, that Don Iean should leaue his treasure, munition, and artillery, and the Queenes naturall subiects to be disposed at her Maiesties pleasure. But Don Iean vowed rather to indure the last of miseries, then to be guilty of so foule a treason against his King, and the reputation of his prosession, though he were vnable to subsist, much more now when he had not onely meanes to sustaine the warre, but hope by patience and constancy to attaine the best ends of his busines. Adding, that he tooke it so ill to be misunderstood, in hauing an Article of this nature propounded to him, as if it were once more mentioned, the Viceroy should from thenceforth vse the aduantage of his Sword, and not the benefit of his former proffers. Hee further said, that the Viceroy had cause rather to iudge two hundred thousand duckets well disbursed by the Queene, to haue the Spaniards quit their possession of Baltimore alone, to say nothing of Kinsale, Castle Hauen, and Beere Hauen, which with all them perishing, yet Baltimore might easily be kept for the arriuall of the Spanish Fleets and all seconds that his Master so deepely ingaged should please to send, which might draw on a more powerfull inuasion, this first being vnder|taken vpon false grounds, at the instance of a base and barbarous people, who hauing discouered their owne weakenes, had armed his King and Master to relie on his owne strength, being tied in honour to releeue his people thus ingaged. This (said hee) I 181 speake in case the Viceroy were able to force Kinsale, as I assure my selfe hee cannot, I hauing vpon my honour two thousand able fighting men old souldiers, besides the sicke daily recouering, now better inured to the climate, and induring of all hardnesse, besides our conuenient meanes of foode, such as we Spaniards can well liue vpon, and our store of munition most importing, with confident assurance shortly to haue new supplies of all things. Adding that he preserued his strength, to be able

to front vs in a breach, which their hearts not failing, they had hands and brests to stop against treb|ble our forces, though he would giue the Viceroy that right, that his men were passing good, yet spent and tired with a Winters siege, obstinately continued beyond his ex|pectation, but with such caution and so good guard, as he hauing watched all aduanta|ges, could neuer make a salley without losse to his part, wherein hee acknowledged himselfe much deceiued, that grounding vpon some errour in our approches, he had promised himselfe the defeate of one thousand men at least, and at one blow: but (said he) when we meete in the breach, I am confident vpon good reasons, to lay fiue hun|dred of your best men on the earth, which losse will make a great hole in your Armie, that hath already suffered such extremity.

Lastly he concluded, that the King his Master sent him to assist the two Counts O Neale and O Donnel, and he presuming on their promises to ioyne their forces with his within few daies, had first long expected them in vaine, and sustained the Vice|royes Army, and at last had seene them drawne to the greatest head they could make, lodged neere Kinsale, reinforced with Companies of Spaniards, euery hower promi|sing him reliefe; and at last broken with a handfull of men, and blowne asunder into diuers parts of the World, O Donnell into Spaine, O Neale into the furthest North: so as now finding no such Counts in rerum Natura (to vse his very words) with whom he was commanded to ioine, he had moued this accord, the rather to disingage the King his Master from assisting a people so weake, as he must beare all the burthen of the war, and so perfidious, as perhaps in requitall of his fauour, they might at last bee wonne to betray him.

Relation of this conference being made to the Lord Deputy and Counsell, they considered, that the treasure that Don Iean brought, was at first but one hundred thou|sand Ducates, whereof the greatest part could not but be spent in paying his souldiers 4 moneths, and other occasions of expence, for which and other good reasons, they concluded not to stand vpo the first article, especially since many strong reasons made the agreement, as it was honorable, so to seeme very profitable to the State of England; namely, that our Army was wasted and tired with the winters siege. That it was dange|rous to attempt a breach defended with so many able men. That if wee should lodge in the breach, yet they hauing many strong Castles in the Towne, so much time might be spent ere we could carry it, as our Fleete for want of victuals might bee forced to leaue vs. That at this time our Army was onely prouided for sixe dayes. That we had not munition or Artillerie to make any more then one batterie in one place at once, fiue of our pieces being crased. That vpon any disaster befalling vs, the Irish were like to reuolt. That besides the taking of Kinsale, the other places held by the Spani|ards, as Baltymore, Custle hauen, and Beare-hauen, would haue made a long and dange|rous warre, with infinite charge to the State of England, they being strongly fortified, and well stored with all prouisions of warre, and our Army being so tired, as it could not attempt them, without being first refreshed, and then being supplied with all ne|cessaries, to the vnsupportable charge of our Sate, must haue been carried by Sea to those places, vnaccessable by land. Lastly, that in this time the King of Spaine could not but send them powerfull seconds, being thus farre ingaged in his Honour. Be|sides that by this long warre wee should bee hindred from prosecution of the Rebels, who were now so broken, as in short time they must needes be brought to absolute subiection.

After many goings to and fro, certaine

Articles were agreed vpon the second of Ia|nuary towards the end of the yeere 1601, according to the English, who end and begin the yeere at our Lady day in Lent, but the Articles beare date the twelfth of Ianuarie 184 1602 after the new stile, and according to the Spanish manner, to begin the yeere the first day of the same moneth. The Lord Deputy gaue me the said Articles in English to be faire written, that the coppy thereof being signed by both the Generals, might be sent into England. And likewise his Lordship commanded me to translate the same Articles into the Lattin and Italian tongues, that two coppies of each being signed by the Generals, one of each might remaine with the Lord Deputy, and the others be sent [Note: The condi|tions of the Spaniards yeelding Kinsale and other places.] to the King of Spaine. These Articles follow word by word in English, as they were signed by the Lord Deputy and the Spanish Generall.

Mountioy.

IN the Towne of Kinsale, in the Kingdome of Ireland, the twelfth of the moneth of Ianuary 1602, betweene the noble Lords, the Lord Mountioy, Lord Deputy and Ge|nerall in the Kingdome of Ireland, for her Maiesty the Queene of England, and Don Iean de l'Aguyla, Captaine and Campe-Master Generall and Gouernour of the Army of his Maiesty the King of Spaine, the said Lord Deputy being encamped and besie|ging the said Towne, and the said Don Iean within it, for iust respects and to auoide shedding of blood, these conditions following were made betweene the said Lords Generals and their Campes, with the Articles which follow.

1 First, that the said Don Iean de l'Aguyla shall quit the places which he holds in this Kingdome, as well of the Towne of Kinsale, as those which are held by the souldiers vnder his command in Caste-Hauen, Baltimore, and the Castle at Beere-Hauen, and o|ther parts, to the said Lord Deputy (or to whom he shall appoint), giuing him safe transportation, and sufficient for the said people of ships and victuals, with the which the said Don Iean with them may goe for Spaine, if he can at one time, if not, in two shippings.

2 Item, that the souldiers at this present being vnder the command of Don Iean in this Kingdome, shall not beare Armes against her Maiesty the Queene of England, wheresoeuer supplies shall come from Spaine, till the said souldiers bee vnshipped in some of the Ports of Spaine, being dispatched assoone as may be by the Lord Deputy, as he promiseth vpon his faith and honour.

3 For the accomplishment whereof, the Lord Deputy offereth to giue free pasport to the said Don Iean and his Army, as well Spaniards as other Nations whatsoeuer, that are vnder his command, and that hee may depart with all the things hee hath, Armes, Munition, Money, Ensignes displaied, Artillery, and other whatsoeuer proui|sions of warre, and any kind of stuffe, as well that which is in Castle-Hauen, as Kinsale, and other parts.

4 Item, That they shall haue ships and victuals sufficient for their money, accor|ding and at the prices which here they vse to giue, that all the people and the said things may be shipped, if it be possible at one time, if not, at two, and that to be within the time aboue named.

5 Item, that if by contrary winds, or by any other occasions there shall arriue at any Port of these Kingdomes of Ireland or England, any ships of these, in which these men goe, they be intreated as friends, and may ride safely in the Harbour, and bee vi|ctualed for their money, and haue moreouer things which they shall need, to furnish them to their voiage.

6 Item, during the time that they shall

stay for shipping, victuals shall be giuen to Don Ieans people at iust and reasonable rates.

7 Item, that of both parts shall be cessation of Armes and security, that no wrong be offered to any one.

8 Item, that the ships in which they shall goe for Spaine, may passe safely by any other ships whatsoeuer of her Maiesties the Queene of England; and so shal the ships of the said Queene and her subiects, by those that shall goe from hence: and the said ships being arriued in Spaine, shall returne so soone as they haue vnshipped their men, with|out any impediment giuen them by his Maiesty the King of Spaine, or any other per|son 185 in his name, but rather they shall shew them fauour, and helpe them if they neede anything, and for securitie of this, that they shall giue into the Lord Deputies hands three Captaines, such as he shall chuse.

9. For the securitie of the performance of these articles, Don Iean offereth, that he will confirme and sweare to accomplish this agreement, and likewise some of the chiefe Captaines of his charge shal sweare and confirme the same, in a seuerall writing.

10. Item, that Don Iean in person shall abide in this Kingdome, where the Lord Deputy shall appoint, till the last shipping, vpon his Lordships word; and if it happen that his people be shipped all at once, the said Don Iean shall goe in the same Fleete, without any impediment giuen him, but rather the Lord Deputie shall giue him a good ship, in which he may goe; and if his said men be sent in two shippings, then he shall goe in the last.

11. And in like sort the said Lord Deputy shall sweare and confirme, and giue his word on the behalfe of her Maiestie the Queene and his owne, to keepe and accom|plish this agreement, and ioyntly the Lord President, the Marshall of the Campe, and the other of the Counsell of State, and the Earles of Thomond and Clanrickard, shall sweare and confirme the same in a seuerall writing.

I promise and sweare to accomplish and keep these articles of agreement, and promise the same likewise on the behalfe of his Maiestie the Catholique King my Master.

Don Iean de l' Aguila.

Geo. Carew, Clanrickard, Thomond, R. Wingfeild, Geo. Bourcher, Ro. Gardner, Ric. Leuison,

The Date of this writing is after the new stile. Don Iean de l' Aguila.

Fynes Moryson,

This agreement being asigned by hands, promised by honourable words, and con|firmed [Note: The siege of Kinsale rai|sed.] by solemne oathes on both parts, the Lord Deputie raised the siege vpon the ninth of Ianuarie, and his Lordship with Don Iean de l' Aguila, and some of the chiefe Spanish Captaines in his Company, rode that day to Corke, whether our Army mar|ched the same day, the grosse of the Spaniards remaining at Kinsale. After the Lord Deputy dispersed the Army through the Townes of Mounster to be lodged, namely, at Corke, Waterford, Youghall, Rosse, Callan, Cashell, Thomastowne, Kilkenny, Dungaruen, and Clommell. The tenth of Ianuary his Lordship gaue order to the victualer to prouide a moneths Bisquit for three thousand fiue hundred Spaniards, after a pound and a halfe each day for a man, and to prouide for them as much beefe and beare proporti|onably, as could be gotten with speede. His Lordship gaue order, that the shipping should bee vnladen in the Ports, and made ready to transport the Spaniards into Spaine. The eleuenth of Ianuary his Lordship receiued letters dated the two and twentieth of Nouember, from the Lords in England, aduertising that the

Earle of Des|mond was there lately dead, and therefore requiring that the Company of foote kept in his name, and for his maintenance, should be discharged, reseruing that part of in|tertainement, which out of the same was allotted to the Lord Bishop of Cashell, and to the reliefe of the Earle of Desmonds sisters. Further aduertising, that eighteene hun|dred quarters of Oates were sent into Mounster for the horse troopes, which would, with the transportation cost her Maiesty fifteene shillings the quarter, and were to bee issued to the troopes at the same rate.

The same day his Lordship receiued letters, dated the foure and twentieth of De|cember from the Lords in England as followeth.

AFter our right hearty commendations to your Lordship, we haue now at last (af|ter long and great expectation) receiued your letters by Sir Oliuer S. Iohns, who arriued yesternight at the Court, by whom although her Maiestie hath not receiued so much satisfaction as was hoped for, vpon the former probabilities contained in 186 your dispatches, yet his relation hath made a great alteration of that anxiety, in which her Maiesty remained, by those reports which haue been brought to this place, to which in respect of your long and vnexpected silence (from those parts) wee could no way giue contradiction, hauing not receiued (before now) any particular aduertise|ment, since the arriuall of Sir Thomas Sauage, and therefore no way able to make any iudgement of your estate, which was thus described. First, that the Irish rebels lodged close by you; that your Campe was full of all misery and penury (to the great slander of this Kingdome); lastly, that there were six thousand Spaniards landed, of which last particular my Lord of Ormonds man was the relator. For preuention of which vncer|tainty hereafter, we are commanded in her Maiesties name to require you, from hence forward to aduertise vs frequently from time to time of your proceedings, to the in|tent that her Maiestie may still haue meanes to prouide for your support, which you may not looke to receiue from hence in the time you shall vse them, except wee may be daily informed before-hand from you, of all such particular circumstances as fall out in that place. To come therefore now to this present dispatch, wee haue perused your Iournals, both of the seruices done, and of the difficulties which haue interrup|ted your proceedings hitherto, whereunto wee meane to make no other replie then this; That wee that know your iudgement and affection to her Maiesties seruice, so well as we [...], must say thus much, that wee are no more doubtfull, that you haue done as much as you could, then you haue reason (we hope) by the course that is ta|ken with you from hence, not to beleeue and know, that her Maiesty hath in no sort neglected you. For demonstration whereof, you shall first vnderstand, that before the arriuall of Sir Oliuer Saint Iohns, her Maiestie had giuen order for foure thousand men to be sent into Mounster, with such supplies of munition and victuals, as her Maiestie thought fit prouisionally to send, though (for lacke of aduertisement) wee could not make any other particular iudgement, what were too much, or too little. Only this we know, that if that body of Spanish forces (which are now in that Kingdome) shall not be defeated before the like body of an army (or a greater) arriue, her Maiesty shall be put to such a warre in the end, as howsoeuer this State may vndergo the excessiue charges of continuall leauies and transportation (which you wil well consider to be of intolerable burthen to this Kingdome, all circumstances considered), yet such will be the extreme difficulties to maintaine such an Army in that Realme, where it must fight against forraigne Armies, and

an vniuersall rebellion, and in a climate full of con|tagion, and in a Kingdome vtterly wasted, as we do wel foresee, that it wil draw with it more pernicious consequents, then euer this State was subiect to. For whosoeuer shall now behold the beginning of this malitious designe of the King of Spaine, must well conclude, although he hath now begun his action vpon a false ground to find a pow|erfull party in that Kingdome at his first discent (wherin he hath bin in some measure deceiued), yet seeing he is now so deepely ingaged, and so well findeth his errour, that he will value his honour at too high a rate, to suffer such a worke to dissolue in the first foundation. In consideration whereof her Maiesty like a prouident Prince, resolueth presently to send a strong Fleet to his owne coast, to preuent his new reinforcement, not doubting, if such a disaster should happen, that these forces should remaine so long vnremoued by you in Ireland (which we cannot beleeue) that her Maiesties Fleet shall yet be in great possibilitie to defeate the new supplies by the way; for which pur|pose her Maiestie perceiuing how dangerous a thing it is for the Fleete in Ireland, to lie off at Sea in this Winter weather (which they must doe, if it be intended that they shall hinder a descent), and how superfluous a thing it is to maintaine such a Fleet on|ly to lie in Harbours, her Maiestie is pleased to reuoke the greatest part of her Royall ships hither, and to adde to them a great proportion, and send them all to the Coast of Spaine, leauing still such a competent number of ships there, as may sufficiently blocke vp the Harbour, and giue securitie and countenance to transportation. To which end we haue written a letter in her Maiesties name to reuoke Sir Richard Leuison, and to leaue Sir Amias Preston with the charge of those ships contained in this note, to whom we haue giuen directions in all things to apply himselfe to those courses which 187 you shall thinke most expedient for that seruice. You shall also vnderstand, that we haue now directed Sir Henrie Dockwra to send eight hundred men by pole to Knock|fergus to Sir Arthur Chichester, and commanded him to make them vp one thousand, and so with all speede the said Sir Arthur himselfe to march vp with a thousand of the best men to your reinforcement in Mounster. And thus hauing for the present little else to write vnto you, till we heare further, we doe conclude with our best wishes vn|to you of all happy and speedy successe. And so remaine etc. at the Court at white|hall, the foure und twentieth of December, 1601.

The same eleuenth day of Ianuary, his Lordship receiued other letters from the Lords, dated the seuen and twentieth of December, signifying, that whereas his Lord|ship had often moued on the behalfe of the Captaines, that they might receiue their full pay, without deduction of the souldiers apparrell, which they themselues would prouide, now her Maiestie was pleased to condescend thereunto. I remember not whether his Lordship had moued this since, or before the new mixed coyne was cur|tant, but sure this was great aduantage to her Maiestie at this time, hauing paied siluer for the apparrell and being to make the full pay in mixed money.

The same eleuenth day of Ianuary his Lordship receiued from the Lords in Eng|land letters dated the fiue and twentieth of Nouember, signifying, that a proportion of victuals was prouided at Plimoth, for which he should send foure Merchants ships of the Queenes Fleere at Kinsaile. And requiring to bee aduertised vpon what termes the Spaniards had yeelded, which were then sent ouer for England, that they might be disposed accordingly.

By the old date of this letter and another aboue mentioned of the two and

twenti|eth of Nouember, receiued all on the eleuenth of Ianuary, it may appeare how necessa|rie it is to haue the Magazins in Ireland well stored, and how dangerous it is, that the Army should depend on sudden prouisions.

The same day his Lordship receiued letters from the Lords in England, that her Ma|iestie had made a leauy of foure thousand foote, whereof two thousand were now at the Ports to be imbarked for Mounster, namely, one thousand one hundred commit|ted to the charge of eleuen Captaines, and nine hundred vnder the conduct of some of the said Captaines left to his Lordships disposall.

The fourteenth his Lordship lying at the Bishop of Corkes house, receiued this fol|lowing letter from Don Iean, lying in the Towne of Corke, translated out of Spanish.

Most Excellent Lord, SInce they carried me to the Citie of Corke, certaine Merchants haue told me, they thinke they should find ships to carry me and my folke into Spaine, if your excel|lency would giue them license and pasport, of which I humbly beseech your highnes, as also that of your great beniguitie, your excellency will haue pitie of these his priso|ners, who here do expect the great mercie, which so great a Prince as your Excellency, vseth towards his seruants and prisoners. These poore prisoners suffer extreme wants, both with hunger and cold; for there is no sustenance giuen them at all, nor find they any almes. I beseech your Excellency will bee pleased to haue compassion of them. There is one dead of hunger, and others are ready to die of it. God keepe your Excel|lency the yeeres which we his seruants wish his Excellency.

From Corke the foure and twentieth of Ianuary 1602 (stile nouo and as they write.) Your Excellencies seruant Don I can del' Aguila.

The Spanish prisoners were these: Taken at Rincorran Castle, men and women, 90. Taken at Castle Nyparke 16. Taken in the sallye the second of December, 13. Taken at Tyrones ouer throw the foure and twentieth of December, aswell principall as ordi|nary men one and forty prisoners, in all one hundred sixtie; besides the runnawaies during the siege were thirty, and these together with many of the said prisoners, had been sent into England, and the rest (of whom Don lean writes) were still prisoners as [...].

188 The foure and twentieth of Ianuary, the Lord Deputy and Councell here wrote to the Lords in England this letter following.

MAy it please your Lordships, wee haue receiued your letters of the foure and twentieth of December, the eleuenth of Ianuary, which were the first that wee receiued out of England, since the arriuall of Sir Richard Leuison with our munition and supplies. And although we haue vpon euery important reuolution of our busi|nesse, dispatched vnto your Lordships both our estate and desires, yet we humbly de|sire your Lordships pardon, for the omission of our dutie to enforme you more often of our present estate, the chiefe cause thereof being, the respect and feare wee haue to possesse you with such falsehoods, as it seemeth they doe, which vndertake more libe|rally to aduertise your Lordships of the estate of our affaires; for in no place doe all intelligences come apparrelled (euen to them that are neerest vnto them) in more de|ceiueable mists, vntill time and great obseruation discouereth the truth. So that if we should write vnto your Lordships often, according to our best informations, wee should present to your Reuerent iudgements such ridiculous contrarieties, as would giue you occasion to confound your determinations, and to condemne vs. But in ge|nerall,

we beseech your Lordships to remember, that as wee haue in all our dispaches declared our hopes to ouercome all difficulties, (out of the confidence of our good cause and alacritie to serue her Maiestie), so we haue continually propounded, how great and difficult a warre it was, in which we were ingaged, in that (without Gods mi|raculous preseruation) the Army in a winters siege would so decay, as it must haue pleased your Lordships continually to supply it with men, victuals, and munition. Also we propounded, that we held it a matter of no small danger and great difficulty, to force such and so many men in a place of the least aduantage. That wee expected no lesse then a generall reuolt, and a powerfull combination of the Rebels against vs. Lastly againe we humbly desire your Lordships to remember, that we haue promised nothing but the vttermost of our faithfull Counsels and endeauours, to accomplish in that seruice her Maiesties purpose. And therefore we are most heartily sorry, that by our faithfull and sincere Counsels, and our extreame induring in the execution thereof (howsoeuer the euent were not so speedily happy as we desired and laboured for), yet it was not our happinesse, that her Maiestie should receiue so much satisfacti- by Sir Oliuer Saint Iohns, as wee hoped to haue giuen her vpon the former probabili|ties. Yet when it shall please your Lordships throughly to consider our difficulties, by the true relation thereof, with all materiall circumstances, we presume it will ap|peare, that we could haue done no more, and we must only attribute it vnto God, that we haue done so much. By Sir Henrie Dauers your Lordships haue been acquainted at large with all our proceedings vntill that present. Since which time the effects of that victory (which it pleased God of his infinite goodnesse to giue vs against the trai|tors vpon Christmas Eue) haue appeared by great and vnexpected good thereof insu|suing: for the Rebels are broken and dispersed; O Donnel, Redmond Bourke, and Hugh Mostyon (all Archrebels) haue imbarked themselues with Sirriage for Spaine, and that without Tyrones knowledge, and contrary to his aduise and will, they hauing only left behind them in Mounster (with the Prouinciall Rebels) Tyrrell and a small force with him, being dispersed by smal companies in Carbery, Beere, Desmond, Kerry, and the County of Lymrick. Tyrone in great feare, and with a speedy march hasted out of the Prouince of Mounster, loosing vpon euery Foard many of his Foote, but especially in passing the Riuers of Broadwater, of May in Connolagh, and at the Abbey Owney, in O Malryans Country. At which Foards, the waters being high (as we are informed), he lost aboue two hundred men, and all the way as he went, the wearied foote cast away their Armes, which those of the Country gathered vp, and with all tooke some of their heads, but not so many as they might haue done, if they had regarded their du|ties as they ought. Their tired horses were slaine by their riders. Their hurt men which escaped at the ouerthrow, and were carried away vpon garrons, died vpon the way, and foure principall Gentlemen (whereof wee vnderstand Tyrone himselfe was 189 one, and Mac Mahown another, the rest are not knowne yet) were caried in litters Since his departure from O mulryans Country, we heare nothing of him, but we assure your Lordships, that the dismay in which they were and still are, is incredible. Vpon New|yeeres Eue, Don Iean sent a letter vnto me the Deputy, the copy whereof is here within sent vnto your Lordships. The next day Sir William Godolphin was sent with instru|ctions, to receiue from Don Iean the points, whereof hee desired to treate, whose dis|creete carriage in so weighty a cause (wherein hee performed as much, as

in discretion and iudgement could be required) was such, as (without doing the Gentleman wrong) we may not omit to recommend him to your honourable fauours, he being (as by ex|perience we may truly report) wise, valiant, and of many extraordinary good parts. The copy of the articles agreed vpon betweene vs and Don Iean, subscribed by ei|ther part, your Lordships with these shall likewise receiue, hoping that in the same we haue done nothing, but that which shall be agreeable to your Lordships, and which (as we suppose) our present estate (duly considered) vehemently vrged vs to imbrace. Now our great care is to hasten these Spaniards away, who are (as Don Iean affirmes) no lesse by pole then three thousand fiue hundred. The defect of shipping is our chiafe want. They and wee are in equall paine, for they are no lesse desirous to bee gone, then we are to send them away. The contempt and scorne in which the Spani|ards hold the Irish, and the distaste which the Irish haue of them, are not to bee belee|ued by any, but those who are present to see their behauiours, and heare their speeches; insomuch as we may probably opniecture, that by such time as Don Iean with his sor|ces is arriued in Spaine, it will be a difficult thing for the Irish hereafter to procure aides out of Spaine. The copy of the contract for the rates which Don Iean must pay for tun|nage, and for victuals, for his men in their returne, your Lordships with these shall al|so receiue. The ninth of this moneth wee dissolued the Campe, and brought hither with vs Don Iean, who remaines hostage for the performance of the Couenants be|tweene vs.

The day following, Capt. Roger Haruy and Capt. Flower were dispatched Westward, to receiue from the Spaniards the Castles of Castle-hauen, of Baltimore, and of Beere-ha|uen. The winning of which places in our iudgements (although Kinsale had been taken by force) would haue been more difficult vnto vs then that of Kinsale, aswell in respect of the incommodities which wee should haue found in keeping a strong and fur|nished Army in so remote places, as in respect of the naturall strength of those places, and espetially of Baltimore, which with a little Art would bee made of great strength. Since our comming to Corke, I the Deputie, to ease her Maiesties great and vnsuppor|table charger, haue discharged two thousand foote in List, wherein, without all re|spects of fauour I cast those, who had the weakest Companies. And assoone as wee may bee better secured, that the Spaniards purpose to forbeare any further attempt for this Realme (which in a few moneths will appeare) as many as possibly can be spared, shall bee in like sort cashered. To suppresse the present Rebellon in Moun|ster, I the Deputy haue designed foure thousand foot, and three hundred twenty fiue horse, which being layed in such conuenient places as wee intend to lay them, our hope is, that in short time this Rebellion will bee extinguished. But vntill wee bee better assured from the attempts of Spaine for this Kingdome, the remain|der of the Armie is dispersed into the remote places of the Prouince Eastward of Corke, and I the Deputy doe purpose to remaine here, vntill I may be more secured, that there will be no cause to draw the Army backe into these parts. Paul Iuie the In|giner (with the best expedition that may be), shall bee sent to the parts of Baltymore and Beer-hauen, to chuse-out fit grounds to fortifie. The like must be done at Kinsale, and for the better holding of the Cities of this Prouince in due obedience (of whose assurance, in case the Spaniards had preuailed, wee had cause to doubt) wee thinke it (vnder your Lordships reformation) very expedient, that in euery of them, Cittadels were raised, which guarded with

a few men, and hauing some Pieces of Artillerie, will euerhave power to command them. There places being thus strengthened, there is no Port forgotten, that may be fit for the Spaniards acommodating in any enterprise 190 from hence vpon England; for all which lie in Desmond, Kerry, or Connaght, haue too large a Sea to passe for England, which is subiect to infinite inconueniences. And as for the coast within Saint Georges Channell, the dangers of it are so infinite, as there is no feare of those Ports. Notwithstanding it hath pleased God to giue vs this hap|pie successe, in freeing this Realme of the Spanish Army vnder Don Iean, yet fearing that some seconds vnder another Commander may be employed hither, we humbly beseech your Lordships, that you will bee pleased to send the victuals for which wee wrote by Sir Oliuer Saint Iohns. If the Spanish supplies come, we shall haue cause to expend them in this Prouince. If they come not, then our cares shall bee such, as they shall be preserued, and dispensed to the best vse for her Maiesties seruice. The like sute we make for the munitions for which wee then wrote. But for the supplies required of vs in the dispatch wee made by Sir Henrie Dauers, your Lordships may please to make stay of them, till a further occasion to use them. Onely of one thousand there|of we haue great neede, for the reinforcing of the Companies which are weake; and therefore we desire that fiue hundred of them may land here at Corke, and the other fiue hundred at Waterford, and that the rest may be in readinesse, if we haue any new occasion to send for them, till which time we are vnwilling to charge her Maiesty, or trouble your Lordships or to draw any new forces into these parts, which hath made vs giue direction, that Sir Arthur Chichester with the one thousand men which your Lordships haue commanded him to leade hither, shal stay about the Newry, and make the warre there, aswell defending the Pale, as annoying Tyrone: for Sir Arthur being there, shall be neere enough to vs, if there should fall out any occasion to draw those men hither. Sir Richard Moryson is made the bearer of these our letters, who we haue chosen to satisfie your Lordships in such things, wherein happily you may doubt. In particular, wee haue acquainted him with the dates of all our letters, which wee haue sent your Lordships since the landing of the Spaniards; so as hee can informe your Lordships of his owne knowledge, that we all or I the Deputy haue written thus of|ten, namely, the three and twentieth of September, the first, third, and foure and twentieth of October; the seuenth, and the thirteenth of Nouember; the seuenth, twelfth, and seuen and twentieth of December, and this present dispatch by himself. If any of these haue miscaried, or found so slow passage, as your Lordships expectations were not satisfied in such time, as for the seruice had been fit, we beseech you be plea|sed to consider, that the like may happen to such of yours as are sent hither. And this may appeare by your Lordships letters which we last receiued. For the eleuenth of Ia|nuarie (as is noted in the beginning of this letter) we receiued your Lordships of the foure and twentieth of December, and with it another of the seuen and twentieth of that moneth touching the apparrell, a third of the two and twentieth of December, yea a fourth of the two and twentieth of Nouember. Wee haue licensed Captaine Iosias Bodley to passe into England, vpon some priuate businesse importing him, and haue addressed him to your Lordships, to receiue your pleasure. If you resolue vpon any fortifications in this Kingdome, the Gentleman is very will experienced, and pra|ctised in that Art, and one whom in all our workes wee haue

principally emploied, which he hath with great hazard, labour, and sufficiency discharged. We find all men here to imbrace with much gladnesse her Maiesties resolution, to leaue the apparrel|ling of the souldier, being much better contented to haue full pay, without detaining of any summes for their clothes, and we hope it will be a meane to make the Captains keepe their companies strong. And as your Lordships haue directed, vpon notice of the decease of the Earle of Desmond, the company allowed for him, is discharged, saue what hath pleased you to continue to his sister, to the Archbishop of Casbell, and 10. Power: Order is also taken that the Oates sent ouer hither, shall be issued at as high rates as we can, but it hath neuer beene hitherto seene, that the price exceeded ten shil|lings the quarter, and we thinke they cannot be issued at a higher rate, for the souldi|er cannot liue paying any more, but will rather suffer his horse to starue, which would be greater inconueniency to the seruice, then if the oates had not come at all, though that way also they must haue starued, if the siege had continued. The Spaniards ship|ped 191 from hence to Plymoth, where either such as had runneaway from the Spaniards, or such as were in Ryncorren and Castle Nyparke, and yeelded vpon promise of their liues onely; and so much I the Deputy signified by my letters to the Gentlemen of the parts where they should land, of purpose to be made knowne to your Lordships, and that they might accordingly be suffred to passe into France, or some other Coun|trey, which was as much as they desired. And so, etc.

From Corke this foureteenth of January 1601.

The Lord President was desirous to goe ouer with this dispatch of pleasing newes to the Court, but the Lord Deputy was loth to spare him, till the Spaniards were gone, and because the relation of this businesse much concerned his Lordships ho|nour, he thought it necessary to chuse a messenger, as in other parts fit for the busines, so especially sound to him in affection. And for such he chose Sir Richard Moryson, who had beene very inward with him, till the death of the Earle of Essex, at which time his Lordship began to grow something strange towards him, in regard that Mr Se|cretary had conceiued some displeasure against him, about a passage of his dependan|cy on the said Earle; yet his LordP euer professed to continue his loue to him, and pro|mised at some fit time, to make his peace with Master Secretary. To which purpose his Lordship chose this occasion, concurring with his owne ends. Onely his Lordship aduised Sir Richard Moryson, to entreat the L. Presidents approbation of his carrying this packet, to the said end so much importing him, to which the Lord President very nobly gaue his consent, and so hee was dispatched with the Lord Deputies and the Lord Presidents letters to Master Secretary of especiall recommendations on his be|halfe.

Among his instructions, he was directed, at his first arriuall, to repaire to Sir Oliuer Saint Iohns, to learne of him the present estate of the Lord Deputies affaires in Court, and that after, they both should communicate their proceeding one with the other. To an imaginary question, why there was no vse made of the first breach at the North East gate of Kinsale, hee was directed to answere, that the first battery was chiesly in|tended to annoy the Spaniards, by beating downe the houses, and to take from them the vse of some places, whence they might annoy vs. That when by beating downe the gate, we had made a breach, we found it not yet to be attempted, but made neerer approaches, whereupon the Spaniards made their strong salley, both vpon our appro|ches and vpon our Can-

nou, and the next day wee had intelligence that Tyrone, Odon|nell, and all the Rebels, were encamped so neere vs, as if wee had ingaged our selues in that worke, and in the garding of our Cannon so far out of the Campe, they might in three houres haue fallen vpon vs on all sides, with great aduantage, which made vs draw the Cannon into the Campe, and to leaue that worke, chusing rather to inuest them close on the West side, which before lay open, so as they might easily that way receiue succours from the rebels, and ioine with their forces. Further the reasons were set downe, which moued the Lord Deputy and the Counsell, to make composition with Den Iean, namely, our weakenesse, and the enemies strength, since our Army by sickenesse, runawayes, and death, was fallen to be almost as weake, as at the first sitting downe, whereas the Spaniards were more now then three thousand men by Pole: the sufferings of a Winters siege, falling more vpon vs in the field, then vpon them in the Towne. Besides, if we had taken Kinsale by force, our Army could not possibly haue marched into the Westerne parts, possessed by other Spaniards, till it had beene refre|shed, and till we had new supplies of victuals, and munition, which could not easily arriue, Easterly winds in Winter being very rare vpon this Coast. Besides that ere we could haue forced the Spaniards in the West, in all likelihood new spanish supplies would haue arriued, and the taking of those remote places, would haue beene more difficult and dangerous, then that of Kinsale, and the King of Spaine would haue bin in|gaged in a long war, which by this composition is like to be ended. Besides our Army consisted much of Irish, vnfit for such seruice, as the entring of a breach, so as therein we must of necessity haue vsed our old English companies, where in all probability we must haue lost great part, (they being esteemed by the Spaniards themselues as gal|lant 192 fellowes as euer they met, and such as in truth the losse of them would be forma|ny yeeres vnrepairable). And if wee had beene repulsed with any blow giuen vs, we had reason to doubt, that all the Irish (yea those of our Army) would haue turned their swords against vs; yea, if the breach had beene entered, the Towne of Kinsale being built all of stone, the Spaniards in the houses would haue made vs new worke, no lesse difficult then the former. Moreouer, sixe of our Peeces for battery were crased, so as wee could not make any more then one breach, and the Spaniards hauing so many hands, and so large scope of ground within, might easily haue stopped one gap against vs And if we could haue made diuers breaches, yet we had not powder and bullets sufficient for that purpose, and for the small shot: besides that our men were so wasted, as they could not guard diuers batteries, neither had wee sufficient ingineers for that purpose: So that, howsoeuer we stood vpon tearmes, that Don Iean should leaue his munitions and treasure to her Maiesty, yet finding him make obstinate opposition thereunto, we were forced for the aboue named reasons, and many like, to make this present composition.

Likewise among the instructions, diuers reasons were set downe, mouing Don Iean to make the said composition, namely, the malice he and the Spaniards generally had conceiued against the Irish, in whose aid they too late discouered no confidence could Iudicially bee placed. And for that they comming to succour Tyrone and Odonnell, could neuer see any such men, saying, that they were not In rerum naturas, (that is, ex|istent). Also for that Don Iean, hauing instructions to keepe the field, and not to de|fend Kinsale, now since the ouerthrow of the Irish, had no hope to be able to come in|to the field. Moreouer, that his best men in this long siege were

spent, in continuall watches, and his new men grew weake, with feeding onely vpon ruske. Further his de|sire to disingage the King his Master, from a warre wherein he had little probability to preuaile, in respect of the small or no assistance, which he conceiued might be expe|cted from the Irish. Also for that the treasure he brought, being at the first but one hundred thousand duckets, was in great part exhausted, by paying the souldiers sixe pence per diem, and the Commanders their entertainements, so as by the remainder he had no hope to worke any reuolt among the Irish, or to giue satisfaction to the coue|tous humours of those already in rebellion.

The nine and twentieth of Ianuary, the Lord Deputy and Counfell here, wrote to the Lords in England this following letter.

MAy it please your Lordships. Since our last dispatch by Sir Richard Moryson, here hath no extraordinary matter happened, that might giue vs iust cause now so soone to write againe, were it not, that it pleased your Lordships in your last, to blame our slacknesse, that of late we wrote too seldome, and to command from hence a more frequent aduertisement of our proceedings, which for your Lordships satis|faction we are most carefull to performe. The chiefe point to which of late wee haue applied our selues, hath beene the dispatching away of the Spaniards into their Coun|trey, because till we haue freed the Countrey of them, we may not safely leaue this Prouince, to follow such seruices in other parts, as we desire next to vndertake, and we doe the more earnestly labour to end this, for that wee more and more obserue such a setled hatred against this people, both in Don Iean and the Spanish in generall, as wee gather vpon many good grounds, that if they could be returned before any new sup|plies come from Spaine, the King would be easily induced to forbeare any further to ingage himselfe in this businesse, and for that they wihall doe protest, to vse their best endeauours to that effect, which we hold to be vnfained. But the winds continuing hitherto Westerly, and for the most part somewhat to the southward, and withall ve|ry much stormy, neither such of them as had shipping, and for a good space lay aboard to take the first occasion to be gone, can by any meanes get out of the Harbour, nor such shipping of ours as are to come from the Easterly parts, for transportation of the rest, can find the meanes to come about hither, nor three other ships that haue beene long ready to goe to the Westward, to take in those at Castle Hauen, Baltimore, and 193 Beerehauen, can by any industry worke thither for that purpose, though we know they haue with all care and earnestnesse endeuoured it. So as now we grow more doubtfull then before, that other forces from Spaine will arriue here, ere these get home, and ther|fore cannot but wish, that for the preuention thereof, her Maiestie will bee pleased to continue her resolution, for the sending of her Fleete to Sea, with as much expedition as may be, and that the Tramontana, and the Moone, being ships of small burthen, and so fittest for the seruice on this coast, may presently bee sent hither, and the ra|ther, for that here will bee none left but onely the Swiftsure vnder the command of Sir Amias Preston (the two Merchants ships, appointed by your Lordships to stay here, being, the one sent away with Sir Richard Leuison, and the other imploied for the transporting of these Spaniards, by reason we had not other ships for that purpose.) And vpon the same grounds, wee most humbly pray your Lordships, to send away the one thousand foote for supplies, and what else we desired in our former letters, that we may not bee vnprouided for the worst that may happen, although that wee are in good hope, ere it bee long,

to haue good reason to ease her Maiesties charge in this Countrie, without any danger to her seruice here. We are further humbly to beseech your Lordships, to procure vs her Maiesties Warrant, to passe vnto Neale Garue O Don|nell the Country of Tyreconnell, in such sort as we promised the same vnto him vnder our hands, now almost a yeere agoe, so warranted by direction from her Maiesty. He thinkes the time long till hee hath his grant, and in his late letter to me the Deputy, protests that he will doe no more seruice, vntill he haue seene me, or that his grant bee performed; for which though I haue blamed him, as I iustly might, that being an vn|fit fashion of writing for any subiect, yet the rudenesse of his education, and his for|wardnesse and abilitie to doe seruice considered, we cannot but acknowledge, that we hold it very meete, that we should performe vnto him what we promised, which to doe, we want warrant from her Maiesty; and therefore desire to haue it with your Lordships next dispatch, for we know he wil earnestly call vpon it. We doe not heare of any head of importance or strength, that remaines gathered together of the Rebels, so that we hope, that if no more Spanish succours doe arriue, their force will quickly come to nothing. But because we cannot assure the subiects, what further assistance the Rebels shall receiue out of Spaine, and for that if the King send any more, wee pre|sume he will doe it in a farre greater measure then heretofore, as hauing experience not to trust in the force of the Rebels, and therefore reason to relie vpon his owne strength. Wee most humbly desire your Lordships for a while to continue your honoura|ble cares of our affaires, and to enable vs to withstand whatsoeuer shall bee attempted by the forraigne enemy, and what you send, we will imploy with all sinceritie and our best endeauours, to the aduancement of the seruice which her Maiestie doth require and expect from vs. And so, etc.

The last of Ianuary, the Lord Deputie was aduertised by one comming out of the West parts, that he was at Beerhauen the thirteenth of that moneth, where the Spani|ards were in number sixtie, and Oswylliuan had some three hundred Irish, and the Spa|niards not knowing of Don Ieans composition with his Lordship, did build a Fort there with trees and earth, neere the Castle, and planted three smal pieces of Ordinance therein, whereof the greatest carried nine pound of powder. That hee came from thence to Baltimore, where hee found one hundred Spaniards, which did not fortifie, but hearing of Don Ieans composition, and hauing two ships with them, had shipped their Ordinance, and were ready to goe to Sea.

About this time one Richard Owen came from Tyrone, to mediate with the Lord Deputy her Maiesties mercy towards him; whereupon his Lordship gaue leaue to a Gentleman in the Pale of Tyrones old acquaintance, to parlee with him, according to the following instructions, dated the fourth of February.

When you speake with him, you shall tell him, that you vnderstand, that Richard Owen came from him to the Lord Deputy, with commission from him to tell his Lordship, that he desired to be receiued into the Queenes mercy, if his life might bee secured.

194 Whereupon you finding in him such conformity, (out of your ancient loue, which in former time you bare him), were glad of the alteration; and therefore, as his friend did now vndertake this long iourney, to perswade him to those courses, which might best answer his duty to his Prince, and repaire his estate, which in your opinion is des|perate.

If you find him desirous to bee receitied to mercy, you shall giue him hope of it,

and promise him furtherance for the effecting of it, vpon these conditions. That he shall in token of his penitency, and according to the duty of a Rebell to his naturall Prince, first vnder his hand write a letter of submission to the Lord Deputy, humbly crauing in the same her Maiesties mercy, with promise to redeeme his errours past by his future seruice. That likewise hee shall write a publike submission to her Maiesty, imploring at her hands forgiuenesse of his faults, and likewise promise amendement of his life, with a willing desire to doe her fome acceptable seruice, in recompence of his transgression, in the same protesting, to serue her Maiesty against all men, either of Ireland, or forraigners, that shall endeauour the disturbance of this Countrey.

That he shall put into her Maiesties hands his eldest sonne, for the assurance of his future loyalty, and foure principall gentlemen of his blood, as hee formerly promi|sed.

That hee shall at his charge, find workemen to build such Forts in the County of Tyrone, and in such places, as the Lord Deputy shall thinke fit.

That he shall permit throughout Tyrone her Maiesties Officers of Iustice, as the She|riffes, and others, to haue free liberty to execute their Offices, as is accustomed in other Prouinces and Counties of the Realme, and answere all other duties formerly agreed vpon.

That he shall onely vndertake for himselfe, and his pledges to lie for no more, then those that dwell vpon that land onely, that is contained in his Letters Pattents, not any way vndertaking for the rest of Tyrone, as Turlogh Brassiloes sonnes, Mac Mahound, O Cane, Macgenis, Macguire, the two Clandeboyes, and all of the East side of the Ban. That if any of his neighbours shall continue in rebellion, none of their people shall be har|boured in Tyrone, and likewise that none of Tyrone shall (by his consent or knowledge) succour any Rebell, or giue assistance to them; and if any such offender shall happen to be discouered, either by himselfe, or any other her Maiesties Officers, vpon know|ledge thereof, that hee shall doe his best endeuour to prosecute the parties offending, and either take them, whereby they may be tried by the lawes of the Realme, or kill them, if they may not otherwise bee had, and shall assist her Maiesties Officers, in ta|king to her vse the goods and chattels of the offenders and their retinues. That he shall not onely truely pay all her Maiesties rents and duties, from this time forward, due vn|to her out of Tyrone, but also pay the arrerages, that for many yeeres haue beene by him detained.

That in respect of the great charges that he hath put her Maiesty vnto, (although it be not the thousand part of her disbursements), In nomine pene (which in all such great offences is accustomed) towards the victualing of her Maiesties garrisons, he shall pay two thousand Cowes within sixe moneths. That the County of Tyrone may bee li|mited, and no more by him to be possessed, then is contained in his Letters Pattents: That the territory of Tyrone may be diuided into shires, and haue gaoles as he hath for|merly desired. That he put at liberty the sonnes of Shane O Neale, and all other priso|ners English and Irish. These things you shall onely propound as from your selfe, yet as conceiuing that they will be demanded at his hands, if he be receiued, and to draw as large an ouerture from him, of what he will agree vnto, as you can perswade him, telling him, that the greater assurance he doth giue the state of his loyalty, the greater will be his safety, for we shall conster his good meaning by his free offer there|of, and after we shall haue the lesse reason to be lealous of him.

The fifteenth of February the Lord

Deputy and Counsell here, wrote to the Lords in England this following letter.

195 MAy it please your Lordships. The foureteenth of this last moneth we disparched Sir Richard Moryson, with our letters to your Lordships from this place, and the nine and twentieth we wrote againe by Captaine Butler, yet to this day the wind nath continued still so Westerly, as since the departure of Sir Richard, no shipping is [...] to vs, either out of England from your Lordships, (as we desired) or from Waterford, Wexford, and those parts, (as we directed), to carry away the Spaniards hence, nor yet vntil sunday the seuenth hereof, could those ships stirre, that lay ready at Kinsale, to be sent to Baltimore, Castle Hauen, and Beere Hauen: but now they are gone, we hope that the seruice to be done by them, (which is the possessing of the Castles, and sending a|way the Spaniards in them), will be presently accomplished, although the wind hath serued them so scantly, as wee feare they will hardly recouer all the places whereunto they are directed. There is onely one Scottish ship gone from Kinsale for Spaine, which carried one hundred sixety Spaniards with part of the Artillery, but there lies now ready at the Harbour for the first wind, so much shipping as will carry away one thousand fiue hundred more, so as there will bee yet remaining in Kinsale aboue one thousand Spaniards, which with the first shipping that comes from the other Ports, shall be imbarked. Don Iean staies to goe last. It appeareth by some letters intercepted, which wee send herewithall vnto your Lordships, that the King of Spaine purposeth to send a larger supply hither with all expedition. Don Iean assures vs to doe his best, to stay them, and if he arriue first in Spaine, he makes no doubt to disswade their com|ming; but if they should come before his departure, he promiseth to returne them, ac|cording to his couenant in the contract, if they doe not come vnder the command of some other, that hath a commission a part from his from the King. The Irish haue of late receiued letters from Odonnell, to encourage the Rebels to perseuer in their rebel|lion, assuring them of present aide from Spaine, in the meane time, the best of them all doe but temporize, being ready to assist them, when they come, especially if they come in any strength, as it is to bee thought in all reason they will, hauing found their first errour. Her Maiesty must therefore be pleased to be at some charge to erect for|tifications at Beere Hauen, Kinsale, and this place, the commodities and weakenesse of these places; being as well knowne to the Spaniards as to vs, and further with all speed to erect Cittadels at Lymbrick, Corke, and Waterford, though it bee onely to assure the Townes from reuolt. It appeareth by the King of Spaines letter, (and so by the Duke of [...]), that his heart is very much set vpon the enterprize of Ireland, and there|fore it is not vnlike, but that he may send more supplies, after or before Don Ieans arri|uall in Spaine, either vnder him or some other Commander, which if hee doe, it is also likely the same will be sent shortly. For preuention thereof (if in your Lordships wis|dome it shall be thought meet), we doe humbly beseech, that the foure thousand sup|plies heretofore desired, and by your Lordships intended, may bee presently sent hi|ther, whereof two thousand to be erected into companies, and their Captaines to be named here, and the other 2000 for supplies of the Army, which is exceeding weake; for our men die daily in greater numbers then they died in the camp, the infection be|ing greater, and by some thought a kinde of plague, (for the people in the Townes die in farre greater numbers then the souldiers), though we hope the contrary: And wee doe further

desire, that her Maiesty will be pleased to hasten her Fleete to the Coast of Spaine, which comming timely, will in our opinions hinder any enterprize for Ireland, but least that shoule faile, we renew our former motion, that the Tramontama and the Moone, may be returned to serue vpon the Coast of Mounster, that the proportions of munition and victuals desired in our former letters, may speedily be dispatched hither and that victualers without impediment may come from all places to releeue vs, for already a very great dearth is begun and a famine must ensue, the rates of all things being incredible, and the new money much repined at, notwithstanding we do our vttermost endeuors to aduance it. But in a matter of so great importance, we humbly desire your Lordships to giue vs leaue to deliuer our opinions freely, hauing so assu|red ground for it, that if the King of Spaine continue his war in this Country, it will be 196 hard to preserue her Maiesties army and Kingdom, without the altering of the currant mony, so general is the dislike thereof, and so insolently do they begin already to refuse it: but if there come no forraine aide, her Maiesty (as we think) may securely continue it as it is; for all we that are of the Army, whom it most concerneth (in regard we liue wholly vpon our entertainement), will (God willing) indure it, for the aduancement of the seruice, though we are sensible of our losse, by the excessiue enhauncing of the prices of all things that wee are to lieu vpon, which cannot bee holpen so long as this new coyne continues currant. Of Tyrone since his ouerthrow and departure, we he|therto haue heard little, neither doe we thinke hee will be able to doe any great harme, without the aide of new supplies from Spaine. And so wee humbly take leaue, etc. From Corke, etc.

The same fifteenth-day the Lord Deputy wrote to Master Secretary in England this letter following.

SIr, this strange continuance of the windes in the West and the South, makes mee looke backe into the danger, that both her Maiesties Army and Kingdome haue passed for if Sir Richard Leuison with her Maiesties Fleete had not taken the oppor|tunitie of that winde, which did no more then bring him hether, and giue the rest of the supplies (with great difficultie) their passage from other ports to vs, no doubt by these contrary windes (from that time to this day continuing) all the affaires of her Maiestie here had been in an extreame hazard. And when I consider; first, that in all likeli|hood we could expect no lesse then a powerful supply out of Spaine, and that the grea|ter, the more the King should find himself ingaged, and his Army stand in need of se|conding, except he might be in time aduertised of this ouerture we haue made here, to disimbarke himself fairely of an enterprize, which I presume his Ministers here do be|leeue, and will perswade him to be vnfit any longer to imbrace. Then, that the winds haue been such, as haue onely serued to carry him the danger of his men here, and not the peace which they haue made (for since Syriago his departure, which was presently after the ouerthrow, Don Iean del' Aguyla was neuer able to send away any dispatch, which we may hope to be arriued in Spainé.) And lastly, that we haue credible intelli|gence of the Kings resolution and forwardnesse, to send his men here strong and spee|dy succours. When I consider these things, I cannot but feare a heauy warre to bee towards vs, which (as I doe constantly beleeue) had been preuented, if it had pleased God to send vs a winde in any time to haue sent away these Spaniards, or at the least the assured relation of their estates. Thus the continuance of contrary winds in these parts, doth make me apprehend the extreame perils, wherewith her Maiesty shall bee driuen to

make the warre in this Country with extreame charge, if the Spaniards per|seuer in their purpose: for without huge Magazins, great waste and continuall charge of shipping and land carriages, such a warre cannot be made, and I am perswaded that her Maiesty were as good giue ouer at the first the defence of this country, as to intend a war, without making those prouisions for it. Now as my loue to her and to her seruice doth make me as sensible (I wil boldly protest), as any man liuing of whatsoeur bur|the the state doth feele, so the same loue shuld make me suffer with alacrity the waight of my vneasie charge, and the dangerous waies wherein I walke, if I did not perceiue the poore Asse to be the worse liked, that he doth carry so much treasure from her cofers, howsoeuer he doe vnwillingly beare it away, and feeleth nothing but the heauy bur|then thereof. This, and some inclination that I haue found, to measure my labours by the successe, not by my endeauours, haue (I confesse) more discouraged me, then all the difficulties I euer passed, or may expect: And sauing the thankefulnes, which I cannot chuse but yeeld vnto God, for the successe which it hath pleased him of late to giue me, I protest I was neuer accompanied with more vnquiet thoughts, then since my last comming to Corke, where I continue in a most noysome Towne, full of infe|ction, seeing no end of my labours, nor finding any measure of them, and yet fearing that they are valued of so little merit, as they are rather likely to draw on dislike-Wherefore as in my owne heart I doe vtterly distaste this vnhappy profession, with no 197 further ambition then to set downe in quietnesse vnder mine owne Vine, with the conscience of hauing beene no vnprofitable seruant to her Maiesty, so Sir (I vow be|fore God) I will acknowledge it an euerlasting bond, if you will be a meane, to procure me that harmelesse fortune, that I may (as aboue all things I desire) serue her Maiesty henceforward, with as pure, as I will euer doe with faithfull deuotion, and make my selfe ready for another World, for I thanke God I doe hate this. Blame me not (I be|seech you Sir) for apprehending my fortune with so much discomfort, since I doe not onely perceiue what enemies I haue, that are ingenious and industrious to vrge all my proceeding to my disaduantage, but find that their malice did take such effect with her Maiesty, as to moue her to be vnsatisfied with my endeuours, wherein my owne con|science cannot acknowledge any thing omitted within my power, or belonging to my duty, whatsoeuer the successe had beene. Sir as I neuer deserued any ill of them by deed, (except it be by doing her Maiesty better seruice then they can or will doe), nor by word, (for I doe not thinke or speake of them, but when these tokens of their good will doe force mee vnto it), so I protest, I doe as much scorne their malice, as the barking of so many whelpes, and would be little troubled with it. But when I thinke that their false euidence doth sway the opinion of my supreame Iudge, in the title of her fauour and my desert, and doe remember how doubtfull the fortune of the warre is, I cannot but feare, that one disaster shall be put into the ballence against all my la|bours and endeauours; and therewithall conclude and confesse, that I couet no mor|tall fortune more, then to bee fairely rid of the part which I play on so dangerous a stags, before these serpents may find any aduantage to hisse at me. Whereas otherwise if I had beene secure of her Maiesties fauour against these Vipers tongues, I should with confidence and alacrity goe towards the greatest dangers that can rise against me: but as God hath hitherto stopped their mouths, so I hope, for her Maiesties good, (if not for mine) he will continue his fau-

our, who prosper me in all things, as I doe sin|cerely intend her seruice, etc.

The eighteenth day the Lord Deputy receiued letters from the Lords in England; signifying that besides the two thousand last sent, the greatest part vnder Captaines; the rest left to his Lordships disposall, now vpon a second leauy two thousand more were appointed to bee embarked the sixe and twentieth of the last moneth, all which were left to his Lordships disposall, excepting one Company giuen to Captaine Tho|mas Dutton, vpon his Lordships letters of speciall recommendation.

The same day his Lordship receiued from the Queene this following letter.

Elizabeth Regina.

RIght trusty and wellbeloued, we greet you well; The report which your letters by Dauers haue brought vs, of the successe it hath pleased God to giue you against our Rebels, and the Spaniards combined with them, was receiued by vs with such con|tentment, as so great and happy an accident could affoord: Wherefore although we (as euer we haue done in all other happinesse which hath befallen vs), ascribe the highest praise and thankes to his diuine Maiesty; yet forasmuch as wee doe accompt that they who are the seruants of our State in like actions, are made participant, (in a second de|gree) of his fauour bestowed vpon vs, by their vertue and industry, wee cannot but hold them worthy of thankes from vs, as they haue receiued honour from him. A|mong whom, you being there the chiefe, (not onely as chiefly put in trust by vs, but as we plainely perceiue, in vigilancy, in labour, and in valour, in this late action), wee could not forbeare to let you see, how sensible we are of this your merit. It is true, that before this good successe vpon the Rebels, wee were in daily attention, to haue heard of some quicker attempt vpon the Towne (then any was made), both in respect that your owne Letters tended to such sence, and especially because protraction of time brought with it apparant dangers, as well of accesse of new supplies from our forraine enemies, as of defection of a people, so vnconstant of disposition, and so rebellious to gouernement, as those of that nation euer haue beene. But wee that time hauing vn|derstood by those iournals (which were committed to St Iohns and Dauers), some rea|sons 198 which haue moued you to the course you haue taken, rather then to haue vsed speed in attempting, seeing all assaults are accompanied with losse, and euery losse (in such a time) multiplied in rumour, and wholly conuerted by practice, to the preiudice of the cause in question, which is maintained (now as things doe stand), by the repu|tation of your army, wee doe now conceiue that all your workes haue had their foun|dation vpon such reasons as you thought most aduantagious for our seruice. It remai|neth therefore now (and so we desire it may be made knowne to our Army, that haue serued vnder you, in such manner as you shall thinke best to expresse it), that as we doe know they haue indured many incommodities in this siege, (which wee would haue beene glad they could haue auoided, hauing made so good proofe of their valour and loyalty, as they haue done at this time, so as we rather seeke to preserue them, as the best treasure of a Prince, then to suffer them to wast, if otherwise our Kingdome could haue beene kept from danger of forraigne conquest, and intestine rebellion), so we ex|pect it at the hands of the better sort of our seruitors there, that it shall well be infused into the minds of the rest, that whatsoeuer either our owne directions or expending of treasure could doe, (for preuention of those difficulties, which follow all armies, and are inseperable where the warre is made in a climate so il tempered for a winters siege) hath beene royally and prouidently

afforded them. A matter of much more charge and vncertainty, because all our care and direction haue attended the winds and wea|thers curtesie To conclude with answere to your demands for further supplies of men. Although wee hope that the time is so neere of the finall conclusion of your happy successe against the remnant of the strangers in that poore Towne, being pres|sed with so many wants, and with the dispaire which our late victory will adde here|vnto, as that hardly any supplies sent from vs can come, before it haue taken effect; yet because you may perceiue how much wee attribute to your iudgement in any thing which for our affaires is there desired, we haue (as by our Counsell hath beene signified vnto you) giuen order for foure thousand men to be sent thither out of hand, with the full proportion of munition which you desire. In which kind of prouisions we find so great consumptions, as we must require you to take some better order with them that haue the distribution thereof. For if it bee obserued what quantities haue beene daily sent ouer, and yet what daily wants are pretended, the expence will bee found insupportable, and so much the rather, because all men know, that whatsoeuer the Irish Companies receiue, (except now in this action) is continually conuerted for money to the vse of the Rebels. Giuen vnder our Signet, at our Pallace at White-Hall, the 44 yeere of our Raigne, the twelfth of Ianuary 1601.

In the beginning of this Letter, aboue the Queenes hand signed, these following words were ouerwritten by the Queenes owne hand, viz. Though for feare of worse end, you did desire (as we confesse we once thought to direct) to end this worke, before either Enemy or Rebell could increase the perill of our honour, yet wee hope that no such aduenture shall bee more made, but that their confusion bee ere now lighted on their owne heads. And let Clanrickard and Thomond know, that we doe most thanke|fully accept their endeauours. For your selfe, we can but acknowledge your diligence, and dangerous aduenture, and cherish and iudge of you, as your carefull Soue|raigne.

The twentieth of February, twenty Spanish Captaines with 1374 common Soul|diers, being before imbarked at Kinsale, in six English ships, sailed for Spaine. The se|uen and twenty day the Lord Deputy and Counsell here, wrote to the Lords in Eng|land this following letter.

MAy it please your Loedships, since our last dispatch the fifteenth hereof, 1400 of the Spaniards, that had lien aboard their shipping in the Harbour of Kinsale, to take aduantage of the first fauourable wind for Spaine, found the meanes to set forth with a very scant wind vpon Sunday last, the twentieth of this present, so as now wee haue ridde our selues of aboue 1600 by Pole, reckonining those which wee sent from Corke into England, being some two hundred, and these last numbers were 199 truly mustered by one of our owne Commissaries. If our shipping could get about from Waterford, Wexford, and those Easterne Ports, (from whence onely two haue yet recouered Kinsale, though all the rest haue beene a good time ready, and some of them at Sea), we doubt not within foure or fiue daies wee should be able to dispatch away all the rest, though there remaine yet as great a number (the certainty whereof we doe not know). Captaine Haruy, who was sent into the Westerne parts to ship away the Spaniards that were there, and to take possession of the places, is for certaine posses|sed of Castle Hauen, and vpon Friday last set forwards towards Baltimore, whereof by this time we make account he is possessed also, and that hee is busie sending away the Spaniards with the first wind, though we haue not yet heard from him since his being there. On

Friday last being the eighteenth, we receiued two packets from your Lord|ships, the one of the twelfth, the other of the 16 of the last moneth, and at the same time there came into this Harbour, fiue companies of foot, (whereof foure were vnder Captaines, namely, Dauys, Holcroft, Bradbery, and Barker, and the other one hundred vnder the conduct of the three last). Good store of shipping came likewise in with vi|ctuals that day and the next, and on Sunday there arriued at Kinsale (about the time that the Spaniards left that Port) two Barkes laden with munition and artillery, wor|king tooles, and such other things as we had written for, and your Lordships most carefully had prouided, so as we haue iust cause, with all thankefulnesse, to acknow|ledge that it hath pleased her Maiesty and your Lordships to supply vs as roially and plentifully as we desired; and that as your Lordships well note for our speciall com|fort, your prouidence and care of vs was such, as things necessary were in readinesse for our supplies, before you had notice from vs that we had need of them. Wee are resolued, now that all those prouisions are come, to keepe a good force in the West parts of this Prouince, which will both settle those that hitherto haue stood waue|ring, and may besides prosecute those that haue shewed themselues worst affected, while such places as are needfull may be fortified: For since (as wee signified by our last, vpon the intercepting of certaine Spanish letters) there is great likelihood, that a new supply from Spaine will come speedily and strongly, if at all, it behoueth vs to be in readinesse to intertaine them, by making the places knowne to them very strong, and to curbe the Townes by Cittadels, to be erected; otherwise they will reuolt, and fall to the Spanish party, when they shall see them come strongly and well prepared. And for those foure thousand men which wee perceiue your Lordships had appointed for vs, we humbly leaue it to your Lordships consideration, vpon the sight of these letters out of Spaine which we send, whether you shall thinke fit to send them to vs presently, or else haue them there in such readinesse, as if any further supplies should arriue out of Spaine, we might in time make vse of them here. The Companies that are come, are men well chosen and well appointed, their Armes good, and for ought yet we find, the men neither changed, nor the armes or apparell embezelled, and yet they haue beene very strictly both viewed and mustered, before Commissioners specially appointed; and the like course we meane to take with the rest of them, if they doe come as your Lordships haue appointed, which yet wee leaue wholly to your Lordships, who can best iudge what number is meetest for vs, by the intelligence we send you, but especially by such as your Lordships receiue from Spaine. And as for those that in the conduction of the other men, abused themselues to her Maiesties so great losse, we will doe the best to find out the truth and ground thereof, and informe you (as your Lordships haue directed), and further will most carefully performe what else your Lordships in these letters haue commanded. But where your Lordships conceiue an omission in me the Deputy, that so many armes are lost here, I humbly answere, that being not able to looke vnto these things my selfe, I gaue commission to Master Marshall, Sir Robert Gardener, and Sir Oliuer S. Iohns, to take the particular care and charge thereof, who being now not here, cannot relate what they haue done, onely we remember wee haue heard it alleadged, when the Captaines were charged with the Armes of their Companies, that their answere was, that some of the Souldiers ranne away with them, and some others assaying to make escape, were stripped both of their 200 apparel and

armes (which our selues saw to be true in many that were found and returned naked to the Campe), and the truth is, such as were not lost that way, nor spoiled and broken in the seruice, (as it cannot be denied but some were), some part were put ouer with the supplies to other Companies, (which were very few), and the rest could not be recouered from the cashered Captaines, who being in entertainement but a short time, had nothing due, whereout it might be defalked, but must answere it before your Lordships there in England, for from hence they went soone after they were dischar|ged. The Captaines last come, (as others did before them), desire that their warrants of entry might beare date that day that your Lordships apointed them to be at the wa|ter side, to receiue their Companies; and we acknowledge, we thinke in reason, they are to haue it so, or else their imprest to be remitted, otherwise they haue nothing to beare the charge of themselues and Officers from that time to their landing here, which is often times sixe weekes, or a month, in which time their imprest is vsually spent; and if afterward it be defalked from them, they must all be so long without intertainment, and so vnable to liue. Wee humbly desire to know your Lordships pleasure herein, as we did formerly vpon the like occasion, but hitherto haue receiued no answer from your Lordships: We are further to signifie vnto your Lordships, that the Victualer issues (as he saith by direction); but one pound and a halfe of beefe per diem, to a soul|dier, which is too little for him to liue vpon, and yet the rate in the victualing nothing abated, which is intollerable for him to beare, and likewise the Victualer thinkes that he may not issue the Oates at a lower rate then 15 s. the quarter, which is seuen shil|lings six pence the barrell, being so high a rate, as the horseman out of his entertaine|ment cannot allow so much for his horse, but by that meanes both the horse will be starued, and the Oates will perish before they be spent. In time of plenty, the ordina|ry rate of Oates in Ireland, was but at twelue pence the barrell, yet they are now well content to pay six shillings a barrell, which is at the highest rate the Souldier can giue. Of these particulars wee humbly pray redresse from your Lordships. And so, etc. From Corke, etc.

The first of March the Lord Deputy by letters from the Lords in England was re|quired, to send ouer a Lieftenant, being one of the late cast Companies, but still remai|ning in Ireland, to the end he might answer before their Lordships certaine complaints made against him: For whereas many Officers in the late leuies of men, had receiued in the Country able and sufficient men, as wel to serue vnder themselues, as to be conducted ouer to be disposed by the Lord Deputy, whereof they had for diuers sums of money dismissed many at the Sea side, pretending that they were lame, or sicke, and that they had taken better men in their place, neither of these pretences being true. Their Lordships purposed to inflict some exemplary punishment for this great of|fence, and therefore required this Lieftenant to be sent ouer, who was accused among and aboue the rest.

The eight of March Sir Oliuer S. Iohns, (who was sent into England from Kinsale with newes of the good successe in the taking of Rincoran and Nyparke Castles, and the happy repulse of the Spaniards sallying vpon our Cannon), returned backe to Corke, and brought from the Queene this following letter.

Elizabeth Regina.

RIght trusty and welbeloued, we greet you well. By the genlemans relation whom last you sent vnto vs, and by your Letters, we receiued (with much contentment) the newes of the rendition of Kinsale, and

other places held by the Spaniards in that Kingdome: wherein although by comparing the same with those reports which were brought vs by diuers, that they were not onely in misery for victuall, but in penury of men, as not being fiue hundred strong, we conceiued that you might haue giuen them stricter lawes in their composition, (and so doe now perceiue how easie a matter it is, for those that are neerer hand to the matters of warre then we are, to be mistaken), yet vpon those considerations which we haue obserued in your iournall last sent ouer, 201 containing many important circumstances, which did leade you to that course, amongst which no one hath so much moued vs, as that assault would haue shed the blood of our subiects, which is dearer to vs then any reuenge or glory), we doe ac|count it both in the successe, one of the most acceptable accidents that hath befallen vs, and in your carriage thereof discerne it to haue beene guided with as many parts of an able and prouident Minister, as any we haue vsed in seruice of like nature. And therefore hold it both iust and necessary for vs to yeeld you this testimony of our gra|cious acceptation of your endeauours, which haue beene accompanied with so much paine and perill. It remaineth now, seeing the state of all things there, and your owne desires doe require it, that wee speake something of those things which are fit to be thought of for the time to come, whereof seeing this euent hath both already begun, and is very like to worke great alteration to our aduantage. That which we could wish you to aime at, is in sum (next to the safety of the Kingdome) to giue all possible ease to our State, by diminishing that great consumption of treasure, which of late yeeres wee haue sustained. And yet how to direct precisely by what meanes and parcels in euery particular the same is to be done, is very hard for vs at this present, especially vn|till we shall receiue from you and our Counsell there further light, by the informati|on of the state of all things now after these successes, together with your owne opinion thereupon, onely as it is apparant to vs already by your letter, that in your own iudge|ment, hauing due sence of the infinite inconueniencies which daily are multiplied vp|pon this Kingdome by that occasion, you did immediatly after the rendition, both cast some part of our Army there, and stay the supplies comming from hence, so in that course we doubt not, but you doe and will continue, as farre forth as things may beare it, in taking care that our Army be not weakened by holding more small garri|sons then are necessary. And this we may with very good reason say, out of obseruati|on of that which hath passed of latter yeeres, and agreeable to your owne opinion. That one charge there is very great to vs, and yet without any manner of ground of safety, if there were cause of aduenture, and that is the entertainement of great num|bers of Irish, wherein we will note vnto you these two considerations: First that when things there, were at most hazard for vs, your owne spirit was doubtfull of the seruice which might be reaped by them. Secondly that heretofore, when they haue beene v|sed, it hath not beene seene, that either they were entertained at the same rate of pay with our owne Nation, or so mixed in common with them in regiments, but euer kept more apart, both in companies seuerall, and vsed in places and in seruices proper for them, which course although this extraordinary danger of our Kingdome hath giuen occasion to dispence with, yet doubt we not but in your owne conceit you will thinke it meet, with all conuenient speed to reforme, and giue beginning to it, by such de|grees of dimunition, and in such measure, as you shall find to be most for the good of our seruice.

For the matter which hath beene

moued to you from the Arch-trairor, we com|mend your handling of the offer, in that you haue kept the dignity of the place you hold, and therein ours, and yet we doe not mislike, that you did not so desperately re|iect him, as to conclude him thereby from opening the further scope of his desires. And though till the next ouerture, we haue little more to write vnto you, yet we may say thus much in generality, that the monstrousnesse of his fact, stained with so many and deepe spots of offences of seuerall natures and degrees, (though none more odi|ous then his ingratitude); and the quicke sence we haue alwaies of the biemishing of our honour, doth not permit vs to hold any other way with him, then the plaine way of perdition. And therefore doe aduise you to all courses, that may winne vs glory vpon him, and if our Armes must be accompanied with any part of mercy, rather to imploy the same in receiuing the secondary members and Vriaghts from him, by whom that life which is left him standeth, then to make so much account of so vile an head, as to thinke him worthy to be recouered; but rather that abandoned of God and men, he may be left to feele the iust reward of his foule demerits. Notwithstan|ding, we will not mislike to heare from you againe what you haue further discouered, 202 and guide our further resolution according to occasions. Hereupon we haue thought good to returne this gentleman Sir Oliuer S. Iohns to you, with thus much of our mind vpon your late letters, and with such other matters as from our Counsell he may haue in charge to impart vnto you, being one, of whose good discretion and affection to our seruice we are very well perswaded, to the end that vpon his arriuall, (by which time much will be seene of the euent of your late happy successe) you may enter into some solid consideration of the forme of gouernement hereafter to be held, of the proportions of our army to be continued, and of all things that may be likely to settle that State in safety from forraigne attempts, and in a better obedience to vs then here|tofore. When you haue debated and resolued what seemeth good to you there, vp|pon all such points, we can be then contented that you send backe this gentleman he|ther againe, instructed therewith. And because it will be also needfull for the furthe|rance of our resolutions here, to haue good vnderstanding of the ciuill parts of that gouernement, as well as of the martiall, and that sute hath beene made vnto vs for Sir Robert Gardener our chiefe Iustice there, to be licensed to come hither, we shall like well that you send them both, to the end that vpon their report of your conceipts there, we may enter into more particular consideration of all things incident, which vpon their arriuall wee shall be better able to doe. Giuen vnder our Signet, at our Pallace of West minster, the eight day of February 1601. in the foure and fortieth yeere of our raigne.

The same day Sir Oliuer S. Iohns brought from the Lords in England this following letter to the Lord Deputy.

AFter our hearty commendations to your good Lordship, we haue had (in most of our late dispatches) so little cause to fill our papers with any thing, but with com|mendations of your Lordships wise proceedings, and congratulations for her Maie|sties happy successe vnder you, as at this time (if any other) we intended not to mixe this acknowledgement of our extraordinary contentment for your late victory a|gainst the Spaniards, with any other particular directions, especially seeing the change you haue made in that Countrey, by freeing the same from forraigne power, (howso|euer infested still with an intestine rebellion), must (in all mens knowledge, that are acquainted with the affaires of State) haue brought so many changes,

as we can hardly tell what aduice or direction to offer of new, vntill we may receiue from thence some further light of the present State of that Kingdome from you, whose owne eye and iudgement is neerest, and ablest to performe the same. In which consideration, seeing it hath pleased her Maiesty by her owne letters, not onely to giue you notice of her royall and gracious acceptation of your so noble endeuours, but to direct your Lord|ship also to send ouer hether Sir Robert Gardener, and this gentleman Sir Oliuer S. Iohns, with relation of all particulars fit for her knowledge, we will in expectation hereof for|beare to enlarge our letter any further, then with our best wishes to your Lordship of all perfect health and happinesse, as those that will euer be found, etc.

The same eight day Don Iean and the remaine of the Spaniards at Kinsale, were all embarked ready to be gone. The next morning the Lord Deputy left Corke, and ta|king his iourney towards Dublyn, arriued that night at Yoghall.

And because the stormy weather and contrary winds, kept the Spaniards still in the Port at Kinsale, his Lordship was forced to stay in that Towne some few daies, from whence he wrote to Master Secretary into England, vpon the twelfth of March, aduertising him thereof: And further giuing him notice, that the other Spaniards which were at Beere-Hauen, Castle-Hauen, and Baltimore, now were gone for Spaine. That Don Iean had sent to Corke the pledges promised in the eight article of the agree|ment. That fiue English Companies were lately arriued at Waterford: And lastly, pray|ing to be excused to the rest of the Lords of her Maiesties Counsell, that hee forbare to write vnto them, till he came to Waterford, where within few daies he hoped to meete the Earle of Ormond, and some other of the Counsell, and vpon conference with them, to bee better able to satisfie their Lordships in some things concerning the present 203 State of this Kingdome, according to her Maiesties pleasure lately signified to him by her letters. The pledges aboue mentioned were to lie for the safe returne of our ships, wherein the Spaniards were embarked.

These pledges were principall Commanders, and among them was one Captaine Moryson, (of whose bold seruice mention is made in the sally vpon the second of De|cember). This gentleman was inuited by the Lord Deputy to accompany him to Dublin, the rest of his fellowes still remaining at Corke, whether hee was to returne vn|to them, and they together to be shipped for Spaine, vpon the safe returne of our ships. In which iourney to Dublyn, and during this Gentlemans aboad there, I had familiar conference with him for names sake, and vnderstood from him, that his Family in Spaine was discended of an English Gentleman, who followed the Emperour Charles the fifth in his warres, and after by his bounty was seated in Spaine, where at this day the chiefe of his name had good reuenues.

The Lord Deputy being come to Waterford, did write, together with the rest of the Counsell, vpon the eighteenth of March, this following letter to the Lords in England.

IT may please your Lordships: The eighth hereof, wee receiued by Sir Oliuer S. Iohns at Corke, the dispatch which it pleased your Lordships to make by him, and may not omit with all humble thankefulnesse to acknowledge the great comfort and contentment we haue taken, in that it appeareth both thereby, and by the relation of Sir Oliuer, that her Maiesty and your Lordships haue most graciously and fauourably accepted and allowed our poore endeauours. We are most carefull (as you haue dire|cted) to send Sir

Robert Gardener and him vnto your Lordships, so soone as I the De|puty can get to Dublyn, where Sir Robert Gardener now is, and shall haue considered and debated with the Counsell there the businesse, wherein your Lordships looke to be thorowly informed. In the meane space, because that will aske some time, wee haue thought fit to acquaint your Lordships, how things stand here since our last dis|patch. The Spaniards for certaine are all gone from Beere-Hauen, Castle-Hauen, and Bal|timore, and that day that Sir Oliuer S. Iohns did arriue at Corke, we heard that all the Spa|niards at Kinsale, and last of all Don Iean himselfe, were shipped, and in readinesse to set saile, but since we heare that vntill Saturday the thirteenth hereof, they could not get forth the Harbour, and were that night beaten backe. On Sunday they were ready to set out againe, since which time we haue not heard from thence, more then that they lay aboard in the mouth of the Harbour, and our men were possessed of the Towne, and we haue obserued the wind since that time to be good for them, so as wee are in good hope they are all gone. The pledges, according to agreement were come to Corke, being three Captaines of long continuance, so as we haue cause to thinke Don Iean hath dealt sincerely with vs, and are not out of hope, to be no more troubled with any Spaniards: yet to be prouided for the worst that may happen, so long as the Spa|nish Cloud hangs ouer vs, wee haue deuided both the victuals and great part of the munition into sundry Harbours, along the Sea Coast of this Prouince, the more rea|dy to answere all occasions, as may more fully appeare by the notes wee send here|within: If by this meanes her Maiesties charge grow great, (as wee cannot but ac|knowledge it will), and the seruice North ward goe on slowlier then it would otherwise, if we might apply our selues wholly that way, we beseech your Lordships fauourably to consider the necessities that leade vs thereunto, least leauing any place vnprouided for, the facilitie should inuite a comming thither, and in that regard wee haue giuen out an intention, to fortifie in all the seuerall places of Beer-hauen, Castle-ha|uen, Baltimore, and the Creekes and passages along that Coast. Whereas these Spaniards being gone, as now God be thanked they are, we haue no meaning so to doe, in regard we haue no answere from your Lordships touching that point, and thereby conceiue, that her Maiesty wil not vndergo so great a charge, though we continue stil of this opi|nion, that it were the safest course to fortifie in those places: and if the Spaniards should come againe, without strong Forts and Cittadels vpon the chiefe townes, (whom our late experience shewed vs apparantly to be wauering), we can neither haue safetie for 204 retreate, if any diaster should befall vs, nor commoditie for victuals and munition, but that altogether would be in danger, and the whole hazarded or loste at an instant; which point we hold our selues bound in dutie to prouide for; and therefore if her Maiestie do not like to make Cittadels in these Townes and Cities, which we noted to be fit in our former letters, we hold it of very great necessitie that the harbors of Corke and Kin|sale be yet wel fortified, which we haue already begun to do at Kinsale, and haue viewed the mouth of the Harbour of Corke, where by raising one good Fort at the entry, and another vpon an Iland in that Riuer, the Harbour will very aptly be secured, and all victuals and munition for our vse most commodiously defended against all enemies, which we hold a matter of very great importance. And if these workes shall be erect|ed, ten Culuerings, and ten demy-culuerings of Iron, mounted vpon vnshod wheeles, for platformes to bee placed in the Forts, to bee made in those two Har-

bours must forth with be sent (with bullets for them), either to Corke, or to Kinsale. Our whole store of victuals being diuided into sundry parts of this Prouince, (as by this note ap|peareth), we are in doubt wee shall want when wee enter into a prosecution North|ward, vnlesse your Lordships be pleased to continue that course for our supplies, that we confesse you haue most prouidently hitherto afforded vs: for where some con|ceine, and (as it seemeth) haue informed, that we may be furnished here with victuals, it is to vs most strange, and past all beleefe, and to make it more apparant vnto your Lordships, it may please you to consider, that it is impossible to make an end of this warre without wasting and spoiling of the Countrie. This (as we must doe still) wee haue of long time very earnestly laboured, and effected in as great a measure as we can possibly deuise, and then how can it in reason be thought, that wee can starue the Re|bell, and yet preserue victuals in the country for the souldier? so as we must conclude, that if we faile once of our victualing out of England, vpon hope to haue it found in this Realme, by any mans vnderstanding, the Army will either be starued, or driuen to breake vpon a sudden, when it will not be in our power to helpe it, and this wee be|seech your Lordships to beleeue, if we haue made any vse of our experience here. Yet if there be any possibilitie thereof, when wee haue conferred what may bee prouided out of the Pale, and quietest parts of Mounster, wee will further certifie your Lord|ships. And besides we doe apparantly foresee, now that the apparrelling of the soul|dier is left vnto the Captaine (which yet best contents all parties), that if the exchan|ging of the new coyne be not Royally kept vp, the souldier will be in worse case then before. For all things here are already growne so deare and scarse, since the new coine went currant, as clothes are both excessiuely deare here, and in any quantity not to be had for money, but must necessarily bee prouided in England, and brought hither, which cannot be, if the exchange faile neuer so little; for then will the souldier be vn|clothed, which rather then he will indure, he will runne away, though he be sure to be hanged, and this we feare will be likewise a meane for the breaking of the Army. The decaies by sicknesse and otherwise are already so great, notwithstanding all that wee can doe (and yet we haue not been wanting in our prouidency), as wee most humbly craue to haue supplies sent from time to time (till the rebellion be broken, which if no forraigne forces arriue, we hope will be in short time), not vnder Captaines but Con|ductors, for we find by experience that the Captaines that are sent hither with their Companies (conceiuing that they shall not stand long) either by negligence or cor|ruption, loose their men, so that when they are turned ouer to supply others, scarse ten of a hundred can be had of them, where at the first comming ouer with the Condu|ctors, we can better call them to a strict account, and finde the men, to fill vp other Companies, by disposing them to such as we know will best preserue them, so as they neede not reinforce their Companies with the Irish, as they will when they cannot come by English, by which meanes the Companies (wee confesse) are full of Irish, which till our supplies come cannot well be holpen. And whereas I the Deputie haue euer bin (as my dutie is) most desirous to diminish her Maiesties Lyst, and to that end, not onely haue taken all occasions by the death of Captaines to extinguish their entertainement, but also haue meerely discharged aboue fiue thousand since Nouem|ber 205 1600. Now the Captaines and men thus discharged, thinking their fortunes ouer|throwne by me, had

neuer consideration of the necessitie imposed vpo me to do it, but onely looking vpon their owne losse, and (as they esteeme it) disgrace, they become so many enemies to me, and many of them clamorous against me and my proceedings And whereas by some of your Lps letters it pleased you to let me know, that your sending many Captaines proceedeth from my recommending of many vnto you. I do hum|bly assure your Lps., that almost all which came ouer were strangers to me; and if the rest haue had letters from me, I wrote them at their request, onely to testifie that they had behaued the selues no otherwise then honestly here, which was the least I could afford them, when I was forced to take away their Companies. But if her Maiestie expect an abatement of her Lyst, I beseech your Lps. to consider my hard condition. For if I discharge such as you send ouer, I doe not onely become odious vnto them, but of|fend many of your Lordships, by whose fauour they obtained that charge. And if I discharge such old Captaines as I found here, and of whose sufficiency I haue since had continuall experience, by their often aduenturing their bloud and liues, I should not onely returne vnto her Maiestie importunate sutors, armed with good iustice to craue reward but my selfe should incurre the same and more iust dislike of them and their friends. But that which for her Maiesties seruice grieueth me most, is that I should thereby disinable my selfe, hereafter to doe her Maiestie that seruice, which heretofore I haue done, and next vnto God must attribute to their valour and sufficiency. For touching the Irish by whose discharge I meane to make no small abatement, I haue heretofore laboured by vnsensible degrees to deminish that charge, and I will chuse a fit time fully to effect it, the sudden doing whereof might cause rather an increase then decrease of her Maiesties charge. We haue lately recommended some of the incorpo|rate Townes here to your Lordships, and may happily haue occasion to doe the like, to draw them (if it might bee) to a more affectionate furtherance of the seruice, at the least to hold them with some contentment, though indeed they haue not affoarded vs that helpe that they both might and ought. Yet our meaning was not thereby to presse your Lordships to any inlargement of their Franchises, for which happily they will thereupon be sutors; for we confesse truly to your Lordships, that we think these Corporate Townes in generall, haue already too great and too many priuiledges, and immunities, vnlesse they better knew (or would more readily endeuour) to deserue them, which we thought meete at this time to giue your Lordships a taste of, least they might otherwise make that vse of our letters that we intended not, Further, we desire that your Lordships will perswade her Maiestie to resolue presently to make Cittadels in the chiefest of these Townes, without which we shal neuer bring them to performe their duties. And so etc.

Don Iean (whether with or without authoritie giuen him from Spaine, I know not), had often discoursed with the Lord Deputy, during their abode together at Corke, that it was no vnlikely or difficult worke to make Peace betweene England and Spaine, yea, he went so farre, as to vrge the Lord Deputy to deale therein. But his Lordship onely made answere, that he knew her Maiestie to be graciously inclined, to hold good ami|ty with all Christian Princes, yet as she was confident in her owne power, so she was in all things iealous of her Honor, and especially in that point, wherein her Royall mea|ning had not bin intertained with the like, by the State of Spaine, whence we had recei|ued such ill measure in all our late treaties to that purpose, as all men were discouraged to be any more made instruments therein. Where-

upon Don Iean sware vnto his Lord|ship, that as he left the State of Spaine affected, vpon his knowledge it was then a thing easie to effect, and a thing much desired of them, to haue firme Peace betweene England and Spaine. And he further added that if vpon his arriuall in Spaine, finding things to stand in the same condition, he did (at the returne of our ships thence) giue his Lordship any inckling thereof, then vpon his reputation his Lordship dealing with the State of England in that matter, should loose no honour thereby. The Lord Deputie hitherto had done no more then answere Don Ieans proposition in ciuill tearmes; wherein hee had spoken no more; then any priuate man might lawfully 206 haue done, if he had licence to confer with him; yet lest he might be thought to haue exceeded his Commission in this nice discourse, and hauing good reasons to imagine, that as God many times doth worke by vnlikely, yea, by contrary meanes, so hee and Don Iean out of then Commission to make warre one vpon the other, might proue Commissioners for making a Peace, his Lordship aduertised thus much to Master Se|cretary in England, praying to haue further warrant and instructions, if it were thought fit hee should further proceede therein. But by Don Ieans silence from Spaine, this ouerture passed as a dreame, and tooke no effect as long as the Queene li|ued.

The foure and twentieth day of March, being the last day (after the English wri|ting) of the yeere 1601, the Lord Deputie and Counsell being at Kilkenny, and inter|tained by the Earle of Ormond in his house, wrote this following letter to the Lords in England.

IT may please your Lordships, hauing certaine intelligence since our comming to this place, that Don Iean with all the rest of the Spaniards, departed from Kinsale on Tuesday the 16 hereof, and that the wind since that time hath serued them so well, as we assure our selues by this they are neere the Coast of Spaine, wee thought fit here|by to giue your Lordships notice therof, that you may know we are free now of them all. Since our being here, there hath been brought in a notorious rebell, one William Mac Hubbard, lately taken in Vpperossery, who of late hath done great spoiles and mur|ders in these parts, more then any other, so as we haue caused him to bee executed in this Towne, to the great terror of many. About the same time that he was executed, a sonne of Garret Mac Mortaghes, named Moris Mac Garret, died of a hurt lately giuen him in fight, who was a most dangerous young man, like to trouble all the Countrie. The death of these two Rebels, as also of a notorious Rebell by birth of Mounster, lately slaine (called Dermot Mac Awlye, who was an inward man, and a great practising instrument with Tyrone) will greatly quiet all these parts, and your Lordships can hardly thinke what a great change wee finde already by their so happy and timely cutting off. And as for Sir Fynneen O Dryscoll, O Donneuan, and the two sonnes of Sir Owen Mac Carty, they and their followers since their comming in are growne very odious to the rebels of those parts, and are so well diuided in factions among them|selues, as they are failen to preying and killing one another, which we conceiue will much auaile to the quieting of these parts. I the Deputy am this day going towards Dublin, from whence your LPs shall heare from me, according to the directions giuen me by your Lordships. And I the President am returning into Mounster, to attend my charge there. We haue been much importuned by the Army in generall, touch|ing an abatement of halfe a pound of beefe vpon euery flesh day from euery particu|lar souldier, and of two hearings euery fish fish day, and the horse

troopes likewise find themselues grieued, that the victualer chargeth them with two shillings sixe pence in|crease in the issuing of euery barrell of Oates, without any other warrant then a pri|uat letter from M. Wade Clerke of the Counsel, which although we conceiue M. Wade hath signified ouer vpon some such purpose of your Lordp2, or other good ground, yet inregard of the importunities of the Captaines, and to preuent a generall mutiny of the Army, in regard the souldiers are weak, and much infeebled by the late siege of Kinsale, and that the prises of all things are increased aboue all measure, by reason of the new standard coyne, and that the Country is generally much harryed and wasted, and thereby great scarcitie and wants grow here, wee hold it meete, and accordingly gaue direction to the Commissary of the victuals, to issue Oates (as formerly) at sixe shillings the barrell, and allow the souldier two pound of beefe, and eight herings a dav, according as it was formerly accustomed, till your Lordships resolution were re|turned in that behalfe, which we humbly pray and expect. And so hauing no other matter at this time worthy the presenting to your Lordships, wee most humbly take leaue, etc.

197 The Lord President hauing accompanied the Lord Deputie to Kilkenny, did from thence returne to his charge in the Prouince of Mounster. At Kilkenny the Lord De|putie began to feele himselfe sickly, hauing formerly complained of some distemper (a likely effect of his watchings and cold taken, during the hard winter-siege at Kin|sale),), and his Lordships sicknesse so grew vpon him, as the next day he was carried in a horselitter, and so all the iourney, till he came to Dublin, where hee ariiued the eight and twentieth of March, in the beginning of the yeere 1602, and his distemper stil con|tinuing, applied himselfe to take Phisicke. I will conclude the Acts of the yeere past with this following abstract of her Maiesties charge in the Realme of Ireland, from the first of Aprill 1601, to the nine and twentieth of March, 1602.

The Totall of all charges as well in the Establishment, as by other warrants extra|ordinary, two hundred eighty three thousand sixe hundred seuenty three pound nine|teene shillings eleuen pence halfe farthing.

Viz. In the new coyne mixed ready money, two hundred fifteene thousand eight hundred fifty pound nineteene shillings foure pence halfe penny.

In apparrell for the souldiers, prouided in England with siluer money, sixtie seuen thousand eight hundred twenty three pound sixe pence halfe penny halfe farthing.

Checqued by the Muster-Master, in money fifteene thousand one hundred fortie nine pound six shillings; in apparrell, twenty two thousand foure hundred fifty seuen pound sixe shillings two pence halfe penny.

So her Maiesties whole charge is in the yeere 1601, two hundred fortie six thousand eightie seuen pound seuen shillings eight pence halfe penny halfe farthing.

Besides the concordatums, billes impressed vpon accounts here, the leauies and transporting of forces (paied in England), the paiment of works, and the charges of the Office of the Ordinance, for Powder, Bullets, andc,

The third Booke.

2

6.9 CHAP. I.

Of the prosecution of the warre by the Lord Mountioy, Lord Deputy, against the rebels, in the yeere 1602.

IN the beginning of the yeere 1602 for the latter part of March, and good part of Aprill, the Lord Deputies indis|position of body aboue mentioned, did still continue, and his Lordship for a short time attended nothing, but the re|couery of his health. Onely on the one and thirtieth of March, hee signified to the Lords in England, that from the sixteenth of March, when the Spaniards set sayle from Kin|sale, the winde had continued so fauourable, as he nothing doubted but they were arriued in Spaine. And his Lordship aduertised the state of his weake health, and prayed to bee excused, that he could not as yet consider with the Counsell here, about the dispatch of Sir Robert Gardner, and Sir Oliuer S. Iohns, with the relation of this Kingdomes pre|sent estate, according to the directions he had formerly receiued to that purpose, which he was carefull to do so soone as health would permit him. Adding that in the meane time the forces were so disposed, as they might bee most actiue in the prosecution of Tyrone, and his broken partakers. And the Lord Deputy hauing intelligence, that after 208 the knowledge of his and Don Ieans agreement, the preparations of seconds in Spaine were diuerted, and so not fearing any interruptions by forraigne forces, was bold to giue the Lords in England confidence of his future endeauours in his charge, whereof he hoped to giue her Maiestie a good account, God pleasing to restore his health, so as he might proceede with that speede and alacritie which he intended.

The third of Aprill his Lordship receiued letters from the Lords in England, signi|fying; That they concurred with him in griefe, that by contrarie windes staying the Spaniards transporting, his Lordship was forced to stay in Mounster, and slacke the opportunitie of prosecuting Tyrone at his first returne and flight out of Mounster, when he was in such plight, as hee could faine no hopes of safety to himselfe, lying in some fastnesse or other, and often changing his aboade, for feare of some attempt a|gainst his person set at a price, and still hauing neither Powder nor Leade, but making infinite meanes into Scotland to be furnished therewith, so as if the Northerne Garri|sons were not weake for want of supplies, and if some forces could haue been spared to strengthen them, in all probability they might haue ruined Tyrone ere this. That our ships transporting the Spaniards, were well vsed in Spaine, and vpon their arriuall, the ships prepared at the Groyne for Ireland were presently vnfurnished, so as her Maie|sties Fleete, and some ships of the Low Countries lying this Summer on the Coast of Spaine, they conceiued all Spanish aides for Ireland would for the present be diuerted. That for Cittadels to be built in the Townes and Ports, her Maiesty in general allow|ed thereof, leauing the choise of most fit places, and the manner of building to his Lordship, as also to certifie an estimate of the charge, and the best meanes to raise it o|therwise, then out of her Maiesties coffers. That her Maiestie commended the dis|creete intercepting of the Spanish letters, by which the Kings earnestnesse to follow that enterprise appeared, but no doubt by the English Fleete prepared for that coast would be diuerted. That no supplies should be expected out of

England, where the leauyes had been so burthensome, as for the present it was fit to forbeare them. That in all grants to the submitting rebels, they required his Lordship to haue care, that they were not so absolute, as they should not be in awe of the State, or bee able to ty|rannise ouer their neighbours, and particularly that any treason of the Pattentees should forfeit all the grant. That Irish Companies should not bee imployed neere their owne home, especially in any great numbers, neither should haue any pay for ap|parrell, there being no reason that their pay should bee equall to that of the English. Lastly, to the end the Submitties might not abuse her Maiesties mercy to their tem|porising ends, as they had often done, by reuolts into rebellion after submissions and Protections, their Lordships required, that as euery chiefe rebell was taken in, so they should be disarmed.

But this last point was not effected for this consideration, that by that meanes eue|ry chiefe Lord vpon submission should leaue his Country without defence, and open to be spoiled, both by neighbouring rebels, and theeuish subiects. It is true, that after all the warre fully ended, a generall disarming had been requisite, but the euent will shew, how that was after neglected in the proper time (when the first act was, casting the English forces), which now was pressed, when there was no possibilitie to ef|fect it.

The Lyst of the forces in Aprill, 1602.

Colonels of the Army, 14.

The Earle of Clanrickard. The Earle of Thomond. The Lord Audley. Sir Henry Dock|wra. Sir Samuel Bagnol. Sir Christopher Saint Laurence. Sir Arthur Chichester. Sir Richard Moryson. Sir Charles Willmot. Sir Richard Percy. Sir Oliuer Saint Iohn. Sir Henric Power. Sir Henry Follyot. Sir Beniamin Berry.

The forces in Mounster of horse.

The Lord President, 100. The Earle of Thomond, 100. Sir Charles Willmott, 25. Sir Anthony Cooke, 50. Captaine Taffe, 50.

horse 325.

209 Foote in Mounster.

The Lord President, 200. The Earle of Thomond, 200. The Lord Barry, 100. The Lord Audley, 150. Sir Charles Willmott, 150. Sir George Cary, Treasurer, 100. Sir George Thorne|ton, 100. Sir Garret Haruie, 150. Sir Richard Perey, 150. Sir Francis Barkely, 150. Sir Iohn Dowdall, 100. Sir Samuel Bagnol, 150. Sir Anthony Cooke, 100. Sir Alexander Clifford, 100. Sir Arthur Sauage, 150. The Earle of Desmond, 100. The White Knight, 100. Captaine Roger Haruy, 150. Captaine Flower, 150. Captaine Saxey, 100. Captaine Slingshye, 100. Captaine Skipwith, 100. Captaine Hobby, 100 Captaine Francis Kinsmell, 150 Captaine Power, 100. Captaine George Kinsmell, 100. Captaine Cullom, 100. Captaine Bostock, 100 Captaine Gawen Haruie, 100. Captaine Coote, 100. Captaine Stafford, 100. Captaine Ow|slye, 100. Captaine Blundell, 100. Captaine Dorrington, 100. Captaine Sidley, 100. Cap|taine Boys, 100. Captaine Holcroft, 100.

Foote, 4400.

horse in Connaght.

The Earle of Clanricard, 50. Sir Oliuer Lambert, 25. Sir Oliuer Saint Iohns, 25. Cap|taine Wayeman Marshall, 12.

horse, 112.

Foote in Connaght.

Sir Oliuer Lambert Gouernour, 150. Earle of Clanrickard, 150. Sir Thomas Bourke, 150. Sir Oliuer Saint Iohns, 200. Captaine Tibbot Bourke, called Tibot ne long, 100. Captaine Malby, 150. Captaine Thomas Bourke, 100. Captaine Ghest, 150. Captaine Rotheram, 150. Captaine May, 100. Voide for the Iudges pay, 100. Captaine Clare 150.

Foote, 1650.

The forces lying Southward vpon Lemster in Garrisons.

horse at Ophaly Leax and Kilkenny.

Earle of Kildare, 25. Sir Edward Harbert. 12. Master Marshall, 20. Captaine Piggot, 12. The Earle of Ormond, 50.

horse, 119.

Foote at Ophaly Leax and Kilkenny.

The Earle of Kildare, 150. Sir George Bourcher, 100. Sir Edward Harbert, 100. Sir Hen|rie Warren, 100. Captaine O Carroll, 100. Sir Henry Power, 150. Sir Francis Rush, 150 Sir Thomas Loftus, 100. The Earle of Ormond, 150.

Foote, 1100.

The forces lying Northward vpon Lemster in Garrisons.

Foote in West-Meath, Kelles, Liscanon in the Brenny, Dundalke, and Moyry.

Lord of Deluin, 150. Sir Francis Shane, 150. Captaine Thomas Roper, 150. The Lord Dunsany, 150 Captaine Esmond, 150. Sir William Warren, 100. Sir Henrie Harrington, 100. Captaine Ferdinand Freckleton, 100. Captaine Richard Hansard, 100.

Foote, 1200.

horse in Kelles, and Liscanon in the Brenny.

The Earle of Kildare, 25. Sir Henry Harington, 25. Lord Dunsany 50.

horse, 100.

Out of Mounster forces were drawne into Connaght one thousand foote, and fiftie horse, and the abouesaid forces of Connaght are one hundred twelue horse, and one thousand sixe hundred fifty foote. Hereof were left to guard Galloway and Athlone, foote two hundred. Left in Garrison at the Abbey of Boyle one thousand foote, and sixtie two horse, which serued to further our new plantation at Ballishannon, (for there a Garrison was newly planted, and Sir Henrie Follyot was made Gouer|nour thereof.) The rest of the horse and foote were laid at the Annaly, and might fitly ioyne with the Garrisons disposed Southward and Northward vpon Lemster, vpon all occasions of seruice, as more especially they might concurre in stopping the Rebels for passing either on the South or North-side into Lemster. As likewise the Garrisons Southward might answere one another, and these Northward answere one another, vpon all occasions of seruice.

210 Garrysons in the North.

Foote at Mount Norreys.

Hauing drawne out sixe hundred foote, and one hundred horse for the Army, left to keepe the Fort, Captaine Atherton, 150.

Foote at Armagh.

Hauing drawne out for the Army seuen hundred fifty foote, and one hundred twenty fiue horse, left to keepe the Abbey Sir Henry Dauers his Company 150, him|selfe commanding the horse in the Army.

Foote at Blackwater.

Hauing drawne out for the Army one hundred foote, left to keepe the Fort Cap|taine Thomas Williams, 150.

horse and Foote at the Newrie.

Hauing drawne out three hundred foote for the Army, left to keepe the Towne, Sir Francis Stafford, 50 horse. Sir Francis Stafford, 200 foote.

In Garrison Totall of horse, 50. Foote, 650.

The Forces at Loughfoyle lay thus in Garrisons, out of which Sir Henrie Dockwra was to draw a competent force into the field, for the Summer seruice, and to meete the Lord Deputy in Tyrone.

Foote.

At Derry Sir Henry Dockwra, 200. Captaine Orme, 100. Captaine Flood, 150. At Dunn|man, Captaine Atkinson, 150. At Dunalong, Captaine Badbye, 150. At Ainogh, Captaine Sidney, 100. At Culmore, Captaine Alford, 100. At Ramul-

lan, Captaine Bingley, 150. At Bert, Captaine Winsore, 150. At Kilmatren, Captaine Vaughan, 100. At Cargan, Captaine Hart, 100. At Liffer, Captaine Willys, 150. Captaine Pinner, 100. Captaine Brookes, 100. Captaine coach, 150. Captaine Leygh, 100.

At Dunagall, Asheraw, and Ballishannon.

Sir Irhn Bolles, 150. Captaine Diggs, 100. Captaine Gore, 150. Captaine Stafford, 100. Captaine Wood, 150. Captaine Orell, 150. Captaine Basset, 100. Captaine Dutton, 100.

In all 3000 Foote.

horse at Aynagh, Dunalong and Liffer, Sir Henry Dockwra, 100. At Ballishannon, Sir Iohn Bolles, 50.

In all 150 horse.

Besides Irish foote, 300; and Irish horse, 100.

The Forces in Garrison at Carickfergus, out of which Sir Arthur Chichester was to draw a competent strength to come by water, and meete the Lord Deputie in Tyrone.

Foote.

Sir Arthur Chichester, Gouernour, 200. Sir Foulke Conway, 150. Captaine Sackfeild, 100. Captaine Norton, 100. Captaine Billings, 150. Captaine Phillips, 150.

Foote 850.

horse at Carickfergus.

Sir Arthur Chichester Gouernour, 25. Captaine Iohn Iephson, 100.

horse 125.

Foote in Lecale.

Sir Richard Moryson vnder his Lieutenant 150, himselfe commanding a Regiment in the Armie.

The Lord Deputies Army in the field for this Summers seruice.

horse.

The Lord Deputie, 100. Sir William Godolphin, 50. Sir Garret Moore, 50. Sir Richard 211 Greame, 50. Sir Samuel Bagnol, 50. Sir Henrie Dauers, 100. Master Marshall, 30. Sir Chri|stopher S. Laurence, 25. Sir Francis Rush, 12. Captaine Fleming, 25. Captaine George Greame, 14.

horse in the Army, 506.

Foote.

Lord Deputies Guard, 200. Sir Iohn Barkeley, 200. Sir Beniamin Berry, 150. Sir Henry Folliot, 150. Sir William Fortescue, 150. Sir Iames Peirse, 150. Sir Garret Moore, [...]. Sir Christopher S. Laurence, 150. Sir Edward Fitz Garret, 100. Sir Tibbot Dillon, 100. Ma|ster Marshall, 150. Capt. Iosias Bodley, 150. Capt. Toby Gawfeild, 150. Captaine Richard Hansard, 100. Capt. Edward Blany, 150. Capt. Fran. Roe, 150 Capt. Ralph Counstable, 100. Capt. Fisher, 100. Captaine Iohn Roberts, 100. Capt. George Blount, 150. Captaine Iames Blount, 100. Captaine Hensto for pioners, 200. Captaine Masterson, 150. Cap|taine Henrie Barkley, 150. Captaine Morrys, 100. Captaine Anthony Earsfeild, 100. Cap|taine Treuer, 100.

Foote in the Army, 3650.

Totall of horse by the List, 1487. Foote by the List, 16950.

The forces being thus disposed for the Summers seruice, and the Lord Deputie hauing recouered his health, his first care was to obey her Maiesties directions, in dis|patching for England Sir Robert Gardener, and Sir Oliuer S. Iohns with a relation of the present state of this Kingdome. By them, besides instructions of the present state, his Lordship sent this following letter to the Lords in England, dated the fifth of May, 1602.

MAy it please your Lordships, although you haue good reason to guesse at the difficulties of the warre of Ireland, both by the long continuance, and the excee|ding charge thereof before my time (vnder which the rebels strength did euer

grow), as by the slow progresse (though still to the better) that it hath made (I must confesse) vnder my gouernement; yet since I doe conceiue, that none but we that are personall actors therein (especially in these times, wherein the fashion and force of this people is so much altered from that it was wont to bee), can thorowly apprehend with how many impediments, crosses and oppositions we vndertake and proceede in all things. I humbly desire your Lordships to giue mee leaue, for your satisfaction and the dis|charge of my duty, to open vnto you some of the causes (which I doe better feele then I can expresse) that haue hindred so speedy a conclusion of this warre, as her Maiesty, out of her great prouidence, and large proportion of expence, might happily expect. At my first arriuall, I found the rebels more in number, then at any time they had bin since the conquest, and those so farre from being naked people, as before times, that they were generally better armed then we, knew better the vse of their weapons then our men, and euen exceeded vs in that discipline, which was fittest for the aduantage of the naturall strength of the Country, for that they, being very many, and expert shot, and excelling in footmanship all other Nations, did by that meanes make better vse of those strengths, both for offence and defence, then could haue bin made of any squadrons of pikes, or artificiall fortisications of Townes. In regard whereof, I presu|med that mans wit could hardly find out any other course to ouercome them, but by famine, which was to be wrought by seueral Garrisons planted in fit places, and altered vpon good occasions. These plantations could not be made but by Armies, which must first settle them, and after remoue them, as the strength of the enemy required; the time for those plantations (not only of most conueniency, but almost of necessity) was to be in the Summe, and that for many eminent reasons, but especially in that meanes might bee prouided for horse to liue in the winter, without which those Garrisons would proue of little effect. Now I beseech your Lordships to remember, that I receiued this charge the eight and twentieth of February, in the yeere 1599, at which time I found the rebels in number, and Armes (as I haue said) growne to the very height of pride and confidence, by a continued line of their successe and our mis|fortunes; 212 of the subiects, the worst assisting them openly, and almost the best lea|ning to their fortune, out of a despaire of ours; the Army discouraged in them|selues, and (beleeue mee my Lords, for you will hardly beleeue) much contemned by the Rebels. None of our Garrisons had stirred abroad, but they returned bea|ten, the enemie being so farre Master of the field, that Tyrone had measured the whole length of Ireland, and was comming backe vnfought with. And with mee they began the warre at the very suburbs of Dublin. At that time the choice of the whole Army, and euen of euerie Company (that was left behind) was drawne into Mounster by the Earle of Ormond; how beit I being desirous to loose no time nor opportunitie, presently gathered together that poore remnant, being the refuse of the rest, with a purpose to haue fought with the Traitor in his returne, betweene Fercale and the Ennye: but hee hastening his iournies vpon some intelligence of my designe, and I being the longer staied (by the difference of the Councels opinion) from mine intent, it fell out, that I came too late to trie that faire for|tune with him. The rest of the Spring I was enforced to attend the drawing of diuers Captaines and Companies from remote and diuided Garrisons, that were to be imploied for Loughfoyle and Ballishannon; for by your Lordships appointment, I was to send one thousand other souldiers from these parts,

and to cast three thou|sand more, in consideration of so many sent thither out of England, and to re|duce the List from sixteene thousand to fourteene thousand, which at that time was a proportion too little to vndertake the warre with all; I was further to vi|ctuall the Forts of Leax and Ophalye, in those times accounted great and dange|rous seruices. And about the fifth of May, 1600, I drew towards the North, chiefely to diuert Tyrone and his Northerne forces, from giuing opposition to the Plantation at Loughfoyle, but withall purposing, if I found meanes for victuals and carriages, to haue left a Garrison at Armagh. The first I did thorowly effect, for I gaue way to those of Loughfoyle to land, and settle quietly, drew Tyrone with his chiefe forces vpon my selfe, and in all the fights I had with him, made him know, that his fortune began to turne, and brake those bounds of his circuit, whence hee was wont to affront our greatest Armies; for in that which was last before this called a Northerne iourney, when the Army consisted almost of double numbers of horse and Foote, they were by the Traytor forced and arrested within the confines of the Pale. At my returne, I finding by obseruation in my iourney (wherewith the whole Counsell did concurre in opinion), that the Garrison of Loughfoyle would doe little hurt to Tyrone, except there were forces left at, or about Armagh, since they might easily flie out of their reach, and should enioy betweene Dungannoa and the Pale, one of the largest and most fertill Countries of Ireland, wee became sutors to your Lordships in Iune 1600, that with more men, and more proui|sions you would enable vs to that Plantation, and in the meane time I intended the seruice in Ofalie and Leax, the strength of the rebellion in Lemster, and most dange|rous Rebels of Ireland. And whereas the last time the Army passed through Leax (being one of the greatest that hath been at any time together in this Kingdome), it was encountred and almost distressed by the onely Natiues of that Countrie, it plea|sed God, that in all our conflicts, which were many, we so preuailed against them, as though all the Rebels in Lemster were then gathered together, yet by killing Owny mac Rory, with many of the best men of both Countries, and by vtterly spoiling them (that were exceeding rich in all meanes for life), they haue neuer since been able to make head any otherwise, then to liue dispersed in little numbers as Woodkernes, and daily are consumed and weare away. And further, in that yeere we recouered all the Earle of Ormonds pledges. Vpon the arriuall of the supplies sent by your Lordships, al|though the time of the yeere were farre spent, and indeede ouer-farre to plant Garri|sons to any great purpose, for the next ensuing winter, and that, at that instant we were ill prouided both of victuall and money, yet we set forward, and the fifteenth day of September came to Dundalke, and incamping two miles from thence, within halfe a mile of the entrance of the Moyry, we found that pace (by which we were to passe), be|ing 213 naturally one of the most difficult passages of Ireland, fortified with good art, and with admirable industry, (the enemy hauing raised from mountaine to mountaine, from wood to wood, and from bogge to bogge, long trauerses, with huge and high Flanckers of great stones, mingled with Turffe, and staked on both sides with palla|des watled), and possessed with one of the greatest Armies that euer they were able to make But that which was our maine impediment, was the extreamity of the weather, and great raine, which made the Riuers vnpassable, how be it in the end the waters somewhat falling, after we had indured more then credible hardnesse, and giuen ma|ny, and those violent assaults on their trenches, we wanne

our passage, and immediat|ly planted a garrison within eight small miles of Armagh, now called Mount Nerreys, for at Armagh the grasse was so consumed, that we could not haue liued there with our horses, while the place should haue beene made tenable, and this other garrison was thought ncessary to be possessed, though Armagh it selfe had beene planted, and in the meane time of little lesse effect. And so far did we stretch out our victuals, and improue our time, and all other prouisions, that hauing Tyrones Army continually within little more then musket shot of vs, within two daies we made this Fort guardable, and left therein all our baggage, that with all our meanes for carriage, and euen with many of our owne horses, wee might from the Newry conuay as much victuals thither, as might be, which we performed in so short a time, and yet in so good time, that wee were forced to fast two daies in our returne. This garrison could not bee to such effect as it should bee, because wee had not victuals enough to leaue a compitent pro|portion for a sufficient number of men, neither could there any horse be left for want of meanes for them. Neuerthelesse, that Winter there was great good seruice done by those of that Fort, commanded by Captaine Edward Blaney, a very worthy and painefull Gentleman.

I doe not repeate the manner of our fights, nor the number of them, both be|fore, and after in our returne, wherein the Rebell seldome scaped without a blow; and namely in the pace of Carlingsord, where hee receiued a notable ouer|throw: Neither set I downe any thing in this, to amplifie our owne doings or endea|uours, but to giue your Lordships an account, how this season was lost from making such plantations, as by taking their effect in the Winter, should in short time haue bro|ken the heart of the Rebellion, and to let it appeare vnto your Lordships, by the ma|ny difficulties and oppositions wee found in onely bending this way, how vnpossible it had beene for vs at the same time, with the numbers we had, to haue planted in other places, which had beene as necessary as this, to haue made a sudden end of the warre. And among other considerations, your Lordships may bee pleased to conceiue that albeit the Lyst of the Forces here in Ireland, being vnitely considered, may appeare to bee sufficiently great, yet diuiding the same into his parts, as three thou|sand in Mounster, three thousand at Loughfoyle, one thousand for Knockefergus, and almost two thousand in Connaght, the remainder (whereof I haue beene one|ly able to preuaile my selfe, and wherewith I haue sustained the burthen of the Warre, both in Lemster and the North), can hardly beare such deminution, as [...] Armies are subiect vnto, in their deficient men, with so many subdiuisions, as I am necessarily constrained to make, for the guarding of important places (as with the Earle of Ormond, in Leaxe, Ophalia, and diuers other parts) to defend the subiect from the incursions of Rebels, and yet leaue me a competent Army to trie a for|tune with all the Rebels of the North, which wee must bee prepared for, seeing no such diuersion can be expected from the foresaid Garrisons, as is able to hinder the light footed Kerne (hauing fled their Creaghts into their fastnesses) from ioyning their vtmost strength from the [...] partes of their associates, in lesse then three daies warning. Whereas wee on the contrary, in case of present vse, can hope for no manner of assistance from our disioyned troopes, within the com|passe of as many weekes. And besides these impediments, and many other, I did nei|ther then nor at any time since, meete with any more hurtfull to my proceedings, [...] 214 the restraint of our extraordinaries, and the want of al such kind of necessaries, as your Lord-

ships were perswaded were onely fit for a more royall warre; whereas the sub|stance of extraordinaries, growing chiefly by huge prouisions of carriages, to conuay victuals, and waste therein, by large proportions of Pyoners, and other Workemens tooles, with diuers other sorts of engins, and enginers, for fortification, and passages ouer Riuers, and other places otherwise vnpassable, by materials for the same, rewards for spials and other seruices, I will boldly affirme what I presume I can proue to your Lordships, that there is no warre in the World, that to be effectually followed, doth require a more liberall expence for prouision of all these things, then this, and of all other extraordinaries, sauing the charge of great Artillery, whereof also in some mea|sure, though in a farre lesse then other places, we haue great vse. And of many (per|chance more forcible) to present vnto your Lordships oriely these two reasons: An Army is no where arrested with so many Riuers and vnpassable Marshes; as here: Secondly, where the warre is to be made to best effect, we find no meanes of victuals, or any other necessary prouision, but what we bring with vs. To redeeme the losse of this opportunity for plantation to so good effect as it should haue been, I vndertooke with an Army no greater then a reasonable garrison, to make the warre of Lemster, in the depth of Winter. And first I fell into the Glinnes, the fastest Countrey of Ire|land, and till now of all the parts of Lemster, onely vntouched, where I first spoiled all the Countrey, and made Donnell Spantgah, whom before I had receiued to her Maie|sties mercy, to ioine with me therein, and after forced Phelim Mac Feogh, and all the Tooles, (the most pestilent infestors of the Pale) to submission, who haue since shewed more apparance of good subiects, then euer I knew or heard of any of these Rebels. After going vp and downe as farre as Athlone, I fell into Fercale, forced Tyrrill out of an exceeding great strength, and banished him, and in effect all the Oconnors, out of Ophaly into the North. Returning towards the North, I spoiled all the Ferny, with a iourney where I was present, and wherein (besides many other) were killed two of Euer Mac Cooleys sonnes. I wasted the Fuse by Sir Richard Moryson, planted a garrison aboue twenty miles from the Pale in the Brenny by Sir Oliuer Lambert, and returning to Drogheda, by the generall aduice of the Counsell, I tooke in Turlogh mac Henry, Lord of the Fuse, and Euer mac Cooly Farmer of the Ferny, Sir Ohy Ohanlon a Nor|therne Lord, and many of the Macmahowns and Orellies, who all besides their greatest oathes, gaue vs such as were thought their best pledges for their loyalty. And to loose no part of this beginning yeere 1601, hauing setled the new Submitties of Lemster, and the borders of the North, with as great assurance as I could, I drew againe into the North, before the generall hosting for that yeere could be in readinesse, and cleared and assured the passage of the Moyry, by cutting downe most part of the Woods, and building a Fort there: Then I went into Lecayle, wholly possessed by Mac Gennis, and tooke in all the Castles in those parts: From thence I went to Armagh, and there placed a garrison. And albeit at this time the continuall rumours wee heard of pre|parations in Spaine, made vs proceede somewhat more irresolutely in our maine course of plantation and making the warre in Tyrone it selfe, yet we went forward with an intent, to draw Sir Arthur Chichester by Loughsidney into Tyrone: to plant a garrison at the Blackwater: to force a passage somewhat beneath it to meet him, and by building a Fort and Bridge vpon the passage, to haue made Dungannon it selfe the Center, whe|ther without any great difficulty the Garrisons of Loughfoyle, Armagh, Knock-

fergus, Mount Norreys, and ell other of the North, might at all times meet together, to beate and absolutely to banish the Arch-traitor out of his owne Country: and in the perfor|ming thereof, to haue spoiled all the Rebels corne sauing such as should be within the command of those Garrisons, whom (with the countenance of the Army in the Har|uest time) wee resolued to enable to make large prouisions thereof, for themselues and their horses. And so farre had wee proceeded in this course, that wee had forced Tyrone from the Blackwater, where hee lay with his Army, and had fortified and en|reached there with great art: we had cleared the passage intended to Dungannon (the 215 making of the bridge onely excepted, which wee meant to supply with a floate), and spoiled most part of their standing Corne. About which time the assured newes was come vnto vs of the ariuing of the Spaniards, which first staying, and after cleane diuerting our course, we were driuen by their comming, to bend our counsels, to de|fend her Maiesties Kingdome from forraigne inuasion, that before were busie to re|couer it from inward rebellion, and to that end to breake off our worke, and to leaue the further prosecution of that businesse (the places already possessed onely preser|ued.) By this continued time, wherein the Army from the first was led on in action, induring all seasons, and more fights then (I thinke) euer Army did in so short time, your Lordships must not wonder, if to make head against the Spaniards, wee drew vp weake Companies: for besides deficients by sicknesse, and death, there were many Companies that had thirtie and fortie hurt men in them. Yet vpon any vncertainty (how probable soeuer), I was loth to loose to her Maiestie the chiefe benefit of one whole yeeres seruice, till I was fully assured of their landing, and therefore first drew my selfe onely with a few horse into Mounster, and neuer sent for the forces, till the ve|ry last pinch of necessitie. And thus haue your Lordships also the reasons, how this second yeere was lost, without laying the new foundation for rooting out of the Re|bels, though God be thanked it was wonne in defending her Kingdome from a pow|erfull and ambitious Inuader, to his dishonour, and I hope also to the more sound and sudden subuersion of the Rebels. I will speake nothing of the seruice at Kinsale, since to my great comfort I doe finde her Maiestie and your Lordships so well satisfied therein, but so behoofefull for the publike good I conceiued it, to make a cleane rid|dance of them out of this Countrie, and as much as I might to assure in them the per|formance of their departure, that it was necessarie to keepe the Army in those parts vntill we were quit of them. And to giue them the lesse aduantage, if they had pur|posed falsely, I presently conueyed the Cannon into an Iland that doth absolutely command the Hauen of Kinsale, with a sufficient guard, and beginning a fortification there at that instant to maintaine it, I tooke order they should haue no more victuals sold vnto them, then I presumed would but serue them from day to day, and for their prouision of bread, in effect they spent on their owne stoare. So that I could haue been able at any time to inuest them againe, on as ill or worse conditions then I left them. But before the wind and other prouisions serued for their departure, he Win|ter was so farre spent, that wee could not in the fittest time returne the Companies to their Garrisons, nor otherwise could wee haue done it, because the places were not stored with victuals, nor any prouision for horse. And yet those little remnants that were left to defend those places, did many excellent seruiees, and now I hope your Lordships shall daily heare of more, the whole forces being returned. What course we

haue thought on for this next Summer, I will not trouble your Lordships with the repetition thereof, being set downe and deliuered to Sir Oliuer S. Iohns. Onely this I beseech your Lordships to giue me leaue to remember you of, out of a publike durie how much soeuer it may seeme to taste of my priuate ends, that you continually en|ioyne me, and I as much endeuour, to decrease the List, yet you still send ouer new Captaines, and command me to bestow Companies on such, as giue them vp in Eng|land, to others recommended by them, vnto whome (to deale plainely) most of them doe sell them. And euen of late I haue receiued your Lordships letters for the increase of some particular mens Companies. When I cast the Captaines which your Lordships send ouer, I procure their hate, and many of your Lordships dis|pleasures, besides their owne friends that fauour them. If I doe not increase such as you commend, I doe incurre the like. If I cast those Companies and Captaines, that in so many trials I doe know to bee best able to doe her Maie|stie seruice heere, I shall dispaire, or at least bee diffident hereafter, of doing any good, and yet haue they most reason to condemne me of iniustice, and to impor|tune your Lordships to be otherwise relieued, that haue spent most of them their Mouds, and all of them their continuall labours, euen in mine aie for the reco|uerie 216 and defending of this Kingdome. I humbly desire your Lordships, since heretofore it was my fortune to be hated of few, that you will preserue mee from becomming odious, by doing that which is fittest for the seruice. For I haue alreadie tasted of their spleene, whom (God knoweth) against my will I haue been forced to cashere, though I haue delt more fauourably with some of them, whom being loth to harme, I haue rather commended, when my onely fault was, that I did not punish them. And since I hope, God will so blesse our worke, that ere it bee long, wee shall much diminish the number of our labou|rers, if in that great cashering; there be not meanes to preserue the best Captaines, I would bee loth to bee the man, that should vndertake the conclusion of the warre. And now I doe humbly desire your Lordships to pardon mee, if out of my great care to satisfie you in all things, I haue troubled you with so long, and (I feare mee) so vnworthy a letter of your Lordships reading, etc.

Instructions being giuen to Sir Robert Gardiner, and Sir Oliner Saint Iohns, where|by they might satisfie her Maiestie in all points, touching the present state of her affaires in this Kingdome. The Lord Deputie with some Commanders, di|uers voluntarie Gentlemen, and his seruants attending him, rode to Dundalke. And whilest hee there attended the comming vp of the forces, and the arriuing of victuals, with other necessaries that might enable him to take the field, his Lordship on the thirtieth of May, receiued from her Maiestie this letter follow|ing.

Elizabeth Regina.

RIght trusty and welbeloued, Wee greet you well. Whereas the paiment of our Army in that Kingdome hath been of late yeeres made partly in money by certaine weekely lendings, and partly in apparrell, which course of paiment was instituted vpon good considerations, to preuent the fraud which diuers Captaines of euill disposition did exercise vpon their Companies. Notwithstanding we haue [...] by your letters, and by the reports of some persons (who haue had credence from you to deliuer the same to our Counsell here), that such manner of paiment hath not wrought that effect which was expected, in causing our Compa|nies to bee kept fuller, and yet is, by reason of the late alteration of the standard of our monies there, more chargeable to Vs, then the paiment in

readie moneys would bee; We haue therefore thought good to cease that manner of payment from henceforth, and to reuiue the old manner of payment in money, after the rate of eight pence by the day of the new standard to each souldier, which course Our pleasure is, shall begin to take place from the first day of this moneth of A|prill, and to be continued by your Warrants to Our Treasurer directed; and shall be made from time to time by way of imprests to each Captaine for himselfe and his Companie, at your disaretion, according to the state of their Companies, or to the necessitie of Our seruice, vntill the dayes of full paies, which Wee are plea|sed shall bee made twise in euerie yeere, viz. at the Feasts of Saint Michael the Arch-Angell, and the Annuntiation of the Virgin Marie. At which times Our pleasure is, that all our Armie shall be fully and clearely paid of their whole wages, all defalcati|ons due vpon them, being formerly deducted. And for that purpose Wee will prouide, that against that time, there shall bee in Our Treasurers hands money sufficient to make full paids. And whereas by your latter letters, written since our Concell signified vnto you, that Wee were pleased to restore this kinde of pay; you doe require, that for the establishing thereof with contentment of our Army, two things may bee [...] obserued. The one, that Our Treasurer may haue money in his hands sufficient from time to time for performance of this pay|ment. The other that the Exchange bee duely maintained on this side, without 217 which you alleadge, that there will arise inconueniencies intollerable to the army; we are pleased for your satisfaction herein to assure you, that in both these I oints wee will take such order, that neither our Treasurer there shall want monies of the new standard for payments necessary in that Realme, nor the bankes here, sterling monies, to make good the exchange, according as it is established by our Proclamations. Al|though in this point we cannot omit to let you know, that we see no cause or such ve|hemeni complaints, as your letters doe import, of default in the exchange, for that vp|pon examination we doe find, that of three or foure and fifty thousand pounds retur|ned in this last yeere, there is not vnpaied at this present aboue sixe thousand pounds, which considering our excessiue charges in that yeere, ought not to giue to any much cause of offence. These two points like as we are pleased to obserue, in such manner as we haue written, to the end that thereby our Army and subiects may perceiue how great our care is, that they should receiue contentment in things due vnto them. So on the otherside, for that a straight obseruation of the same on our part, without a good correspondency of yours and theirs, to remedy some inconueniencies which thereby may be cast vpon vs, may proue very burthen some to vs, wee are to admo|nish you of the obseruation of two other points necessary on your part and theirs to be obserued. The first is, that whereas heretofore, when this manner of paiment in money onely, which now is receiued, was in vse, through the corrupt disposition of some Captaines, and for want of good discipline in our forces, great frauds were com|mitted, as well to vs, in not keeping the full numbers by vs allowed, as also to the soul|diers, in detaining their wages or part thereof from them, which deceits without good caution now to be vsed, may be againe renewed. We doe therefore expect, that you shall establish so good a course of discipline for the ordering of our Bands in this point, as that wee shall not be hereafter abused in decaies of our numbers, as hereto|fore we haue beene which you shall neuer so well preuent nor alien mens minds from like frauds, as by insticting notorious and ex-

emplary punishments vpon Captaines and Officers when their faults in this kind shall appeare to be notorious, not onely by casting them out of our pay, but by degrading, and other notes of ignominy, which in military discipline are vsed to be iustly done to men, who by their shamelesse acti|ons doe not onely bring shame to their profession, but to the publike seruices nota|ble impediments, and in a manner an euident treachery. And as this first change of payment in apparell to be paid in money, had his first motion from you our Deputy, and the principall Captaines and Officers of the Army, in which you now note perill, if the exchange bee not maintained. As it is true that that must be supported by vs, and shal be, so we know none must preuent the Captaines taking of pay for their sol|diers apparell, and not bestowing it, but your selfe, of whose care and iudgement we haue great reason to assure our selues, both for your loue to our seruice, and your own Honor. The second point which we recommend vnto you, is the due execution of our former Proclamations, touching this matter of the exchange, and the assistance of the Master of our exchange, and his Ministers therein, to the end that all frauds, discoue|red of late to haue been vsed hy Merchants, who abuse our Princely intention there|in for their priuate gaine may be remedied, and therein chiefly that the vse of all mo|nies descried may be taken away from the people of that Countrey, and withall ster|ling money, may bee brought into our Exchange, vpon such conditions as our Proclamations containe. For that wee doe find that our intent in the erection of this new Coyne, can no way so soone take place, as by withdrawing all other monies from them, whereby the Rebels may exercise trafficke with forraigne Nations, and by them be relieued, wherefore you may adde to the remedies in our said Proclamations men|tioned, any other good meanes that in your indgements shall be thought meete to be be vsed, and publish the same by Proclamation in our name, or aduertise vs of your conceit, to the end you may haue warrant fro vs, to do that which we shal think meet to be done therein Further we haue thought good to admonish you, that forasmuch as the winter apparell already deliuered to the souldier, wil not bee run out vntill the 218 fourteenth day of May (inclusiue). And that it is likely, seeing you know already that we purposed to take away the deliuery of apparell, you haue furnished the Compa|nies in Lieu thereof with some money by way of imprests, whereby it may fall out, that we shall be double charged. Therefore you our Deputy shall take order with our Treasurer, that vpon the halfe yeeres full pay, to be ended at Michaelmas next, defal|cation be made of so much, as any Companies shall haue receiued betweene the first of Aprill and the fifteenth of May aboue their weekely lendings, if so much shall be then ouer paied to any Company. Giuen vnder our signet, at our Mannor of Greene|wich, the eight and twentieth of Aprill, in the foure and fortieth yeere of our Raigne.

In the beginning of Iune, the Lord Deputy hauing gathered the forces together, [Note: The Lord Deputy en|ters into Tyrone.] tooke the field, and marched vp to Blackewater, to the passage, which he had the last yeere discouered to be most conuenient to carry her Maiesties Forces that way into the heart of Tyrone. At this passage, lying some fiue miles Eastward from the fort of Blackewater, his Lordship incamped on the South side of the Riuer, hauing a small pace or skirt of wood betweene him and the Riuer, of which pace he had the yeere be|fore cut downe many trees, so as at this time the passage was soone cleered. Hence his Lordship sent Sir Richard Moryson with his Regiment, to possesse the North side

of the Riuer, for securing of the Armies passage against any attempt of the Rebels. Thus the Queenes forces being entered into Tyrone, there incamped, and his Lordship spent some time in causing a bridge to be built ouer the Riuer, and a fort adioining, to guard the passage, which of his owne Christian name was called Charlemount, and left Cap|taine Toby Cawfield, (with his Company being one hundred and fifty) to command the same. From the Campe the Countrey was plaine and open to Dungannon, being distant some sixe miles, and while these workes were in hand, we might see the Towne of Dungannon and Tyrones chiefe House there seated, to be set on fier, whereby it was apparant, that Tyrone with his forces meant to flie and quit those parts: So as the Lord Deputy sent Sr Richard Moryson with his regiment to possesse Dungannon, whether his Lordship soone after marched with the rest of the forces.

By this time Sir Henry Dockwra Gouernour of the Forces about Loughfoyle, hauing planted many garrisous in those parts, had lately planted a garrison at Omy, (being some twelue miles distant from Dungannon), whence he came with his forces, and met the Lord Deputy at Dungannon. Thus the Lord Deputy hauing driuen the Archtrai|tor out of his owne Countrey, as high as the Castle Row vpon the Ban, sent out some parties to spoile and prey the Countrey as farre as Eniskillin vpon Lough Erne. Then he tooke some of Tyrones strongest Ilands, namely, one wherein he had a strong Fort, where we recouered three peeces of her Maiesties artillery, and another Iland called Magherlowni, which next Dungannon was the chiefe place of his aboade, and Magazins for his warre.

From Dungannon the Lord Deputy sent Sir Richard Moryson with fiue hundred foot, to meet Sir Arthur Chichester, who came with his forces from Carickfergus, and was to passe Loughsidney, and land within few miles of Dungannon, where they being met, did according to the Lord Deputies direction, begin to raise a Fort. In the meane time the Lord Deputy hauing vtterly banished all Tirones partakers out of those parts, marched fiue miles from Dungannon to Loughsidney, where Sir Arthur Chichester lay with his forces, and his Lordship encamped there, till he had made the Fort defencible to containe aboue one thousand foot, and one hundred horse, which were to be victu|aled from Carickfergus by the way of the said Lough. This Fort of his Lordships Bar|rony, he called Mountioy, and made Sir Bentamin Berry (his Lieftenant, and now one of the Colonels of the Army) Gouernour of the same for the present seruice, which be|ing done, the command of the Fort was left to Captaine Francis Roe. Likewise for the present seruice Sir Arthur Chichester commanded in chiefe the forces to be left there, which he might draw out vpon all occasions of seruice, as out of all other garrisons in those parts towards Carickfergus.

While his Lordship encamped here vpon Loughsidney, hee receiued the eighth of 219 Iuly letters from her Maiesty, signifying by her owne hand, that shee was glad of his recouery of that sickenesse which did surprize him, after his many cares and labours both of body and mind in the siege of Kinsale, commending much his prouidence, that notwithstanding his owne state of body, he did set on foot such preparations for the summers prosecution, as nothing should be wanting when the time should serue. That how soeuer her sensible feeling of her subiects burthens, caused her daily to call vpon him and all other Ministers for the speedy and carefull easing thereof, yet hee should wrong both her and himselfe in beleeuing, that thereby any errours were im|puted to him-

selfe, whose endeauours in that Kingdome had much improued her opi|nion of him, and should rather conceiue that thereby shee would giue him more occa|sion to call all others to a seuere accompt, who in places vnder him neglected her ser|uice, and for priuate gaine sought to prolong the warre, all other iudgement of her valuation of his seruices making him guilty of his owne griefe, and being farre from her disposition towards him. That since this Summer, hee meant to lay the Axe to the roote of the tree, by prosecuting the Arch-traitor, who had nothing to beare him vp but false rumours of Spanlsh aides: This Summer (if euer any) was the time to end the warre, since by supplies sent to the States, shee had stopped the currant of the Spa|niards progresse in the siege of Ostend, and had also set a chargeable Fleet to Sea, to at|tend vpon the Coast of Spaine, and preuent the arriuall of any his forces in Ireland. That the reducing the Arch-traitor by her Sword, being the onely agreeable satisfa|ction shee could receiue for the mischiefes fallen vpon her louing subiects, by his ini|quities, shee conceiued the most ready meanes for effecting the same, was to draw from him the chiefe Captaines of Countries. To which purpose her pleasure was, that the Lord Deputy should receiue to her mercy such of them, as truely and humby sought it, wherein without prescribing him any particular course, who best knew all circumstances, onely shee gaue this caution, to prouide against former mischiefes, that whereas commonly the Rebels, fearing to be spoiled, were wont to contract vn|der-hand with the Arch-traitor, to submit themselues, thereby for the present to saue their Countrie, and to giue succours to the Rebels Creaghts vnder hand, and af|ter the returne of the Army to reuolt againe; now hee should consider the inward motiues of their crauing mercy, and where hee could not ruine them without spen|ding more time and charge, then the maine action would permit, there to deale with them in a more easie manner, otherwise to giue more sharpe impositions in the con|ditions of their submissions, and by wasting their goods, to make their obedience more durable. That shee iudged one condition necessarie, not to pardon any, but vpon seruice done, not onely vpon those whom particularly they hated, but vpon any other as they should bee directed. That as an argument of her confidence in him, she gaue him power of warre and peace; onely one thing she professed to see no cause to leaue vnexempted, namely the pardoning of the Arch Traitor, a Monster of ingratitude to her, and the roote of miserie to her people, thinking all other mercy then the proscrip|tion of him to all manner of prosecution, meerely incompatible with her iustice, and therfore commanding not to receiue him vpon any conditions, but vpon simple sub|mission to mercy for al things (life only excepted), and to make this her pleasure known to all his complices, perswaded by him that hee may bee pardoned at his pleasure, and so fearing to leaue him, least after they should bee left to his superioritie and reuenge.

Concerning fortifications against forraigne inuasion, her Maiesty gaue allowance to repaire the Fort at Waterferd, and to build Forts in the Harbours of Corke and Kin|stle, and to build a Fort at Galloway, and at Carlingford, (but this last was not effected, his Lordship lesse fearing the discent of forraine forces within Saint Georges Channel), and further to build such small fortifications, as hee the Lord Deputy should thinke meere, aswell for the present planting of Garrisons in Tyrone as otherwhere, imploy|ing therein Captaine Bodley, or Captaine Hansard, being with the Army, or Paul Yuye, being in Mounster, or any whom his Lordship knew fit to ouersee and contriue these

works. Concerning Neale Garue, who held part of Odonnels Country as yet by a custo|dium, her Maiestie gaue warrant to passe the same to him by letters Patents; yet in 220 reguard of his tickle disposition, to make such restrictions therein, as hee the Lord Deputy and the Counsell here should thinke meete, and to pretend the same to bee done by her Maiesties speciall direction.

The Lord of Deluin, vpon succours giuen to the Rebels, and conferences had with Tyrone, at his comming out of the North into Mounster, in the doubtfull time of the siege of Kinsale, had since been imprisoned in the Castle of Dublin, and now her Maie|sties pleasure was, that hee should bee called to his triall before some of the Counsell (tho it came to no effect, he dying in prison before the time prefixed for his calling to answer), there being matter enough to charge him with vnderhand fauouring the re|bels, howsoeuer peraduenture there would be found no plaine matter to question him for his life (wherein her Maiestie professed no Prince on earth lesse allowed any pro|ceeding, where the proofes were not more cleare then day light) and so her Maiestie, howsoeuer being disposed to forbeare seuerity, yet resoluing to vse correction of so ill an instrument.

The same eight day of Iuly the Lord Deputie receiued letters from the Lords in England, wherein after congratulating his Lordships recouery, as one to whom (both in respect of her Maiesties seruice, wherein almighty God had extraordinarily blessed him, and for their own particular affection) they wished both health and honor. Their Lordships at large signified, that the grounds, of the Summer seruice were so well lai|ed, as no man coul disallow them. That supplies of men were sent, and those with|out Captaines. That for the victuals required, her Maiestie thought it an vnsupporta|ble charge to prouide one yeeres victual for fourteene thoulsand men, yet they had so reconciled the demaund and the prouision, as the demaund being for one yeere, and the whole numbers by pole, the prouision was answerable to the numbers, but not for the whole time, experience teaching, that the defects in the numbers would sup|ply the abridgement in the time, besides the help of many garrisons taking half victu|als and halfe money, and that Beeues might be bought in euery Country with mixed money (whereas the victuals in England were prouided with sterling money.) That concerning fortifications he knew her Maiesties pleasure, praying him to commit that worke to such discreete and honest persons, as her Maiestie might neither bee put to vnnecessarie charges, nor deceiued in the disbursements. That more then fortie thousand pounds had beene paied to Merchants in London for billes of ex|change, granted by the Treasurer to Irish Merchants, for satisfying their debts due in London before the alteration of the standard, which absurd course hee could neuer haue held, if hee had giuen no Merchant any bill of exchange for any more money then hee could bring good proofe to haue disbursed, or to owe for Merchandize brought into the Kingdome. That whereas vpon his Lordships mo|tion, and the Captaines good liking, her Maiesty had beene pleased to commit the ap|parelling of the souldier to them, against which resolution now many reasons were produced, their Lordships found further impediment, in that three hundred pound imprest to each Captaine before hand was required, and their sufficiency for the grea|ter part to answere such a summe, was so doubted, as it was thought her Maiesties mo|ny should runne a hazard, whereas formerly the Contractors gaue her Maiesty time, and besides put in good suretics to answere all desects. Besides that, it was feared the Captaines

would either let the Souldier goe naked, or fill their Companies with Irish, who would require no apparell; requiring to know his Lordships iudgement, whe|ther the old course were fitter to be co tinued then this. Lastly, that they conceiued the King of Spaine, had not fully abandoned his purposes for Ireland, yet were aduertised that her Maiesties Fleetlying vpon that Coast, made him for the present rather apply his Counsell to stand vpon defence, esteeming it dangerous to put to Sea while her Maiesties ships were so ready to attend him: so as they hoped his Lordship should not be interrupted by any forraigne power, although no certainety could be giuen of such actions of Princes, who hauing many designes, and for them many preparations, may change minds at their pleasures.

In the same Campe, and the same eighth of Iuly, the Lord Deputy receiued the fol|lowing 221 letter from Master Secretary Cecyll, betweene whom a firme combination of loue (or at least) so firme as to such great persons is incident, had long beene practised, and now within few moneths had beene finally confirmed.

MY Lord, if I were now to beginne the frame of our friendship, I should be curi|ous to fasten it with all the ten nailes that belong to Architecture, because in the beginning men are curious to obserue Minutissima: but I that know how straight the knots are tied of our affections, by the mutuall offices of loue and confidence, doe not tie my selfe to these complements, which are held of great consequence, but in vulgar and light friendships. Let that argument serue therefore for excuse of my long silence, because I iudge you by my own affections. To speak of the subiect of the general dis|patch in this my priuate letter, were but impertinent, seeing I haue ioined in the same; and yet seeing I write there as a Counsellour, and here as a friend, that hath bound him|selfe by election, and not by compulsion, I will tell you my opinion sincerely of those, things which are most material in the same: first my Lord I do assure you, that it is not in the compasse of my iudgement how to maintaine that Army, at that height it is at, longer then the time of prosecution, without extreame preiudice of this estate, where|of though you are not the efficient cause, or Sine qua non, yet I must confesse, I had ra|ther that lot might light vpon any other then vpon you, because I would be loth your returne should not succeed a diminution thereof, whereby you might receiue the thanks for that effect, by which this State feeleth victory more then by any other con|sequence whatsoeuer. For this purpose, I must confesse, I haue endeauoured to pre|pare her Maiesties mind to giue you the power of compounding with Rebels, both because you draw the Sword which would best cut out the conditions of submission, and because for a while they shall rather hope for, then feele any forraigne succours: For the Traitor himselfe, what you haue you see, and therefore I know that must be your warrant, yet will I priuately say this vnto you, that if her Maiesty had not the preiudice in her owne thoughts, that he will insult when it comes to the vpshot, and so her opening her selfe in offer of a pardon, would returne vnto her a double scorne, I am confidently perswaded, that when you haue made triall, and shall make it ap|peare, that there is no other impediment, then her Maiesties acceptation, you shall re|ceiue sufficient warrant for conclusion. In the meane time, lest you should say, you are put to doe that which is tender to handle, because my word can be no warrant, or for that which is impossible to effect, (which is, that he will trust his life in your hands by a personall submission), first you haue warrant to trie it for receiuing him vpon con|dition of his life, so as therein you may fashion your owne

course as you list. Second|ly, for the point of his not daring to trust the State for his personall comming in, all other things but that may be digested, and that doubt sent ouer hither, whereby her Maiesty shall yet haue the honour of refusall, (if God doe so dispose her heart), and not he, which her Maiesty seeketh to auoid. For the preparation in Spaine, I can say no more then I haue done, in the ioint dispatch, onely the continuance of her Maiesties Fleete vpon the Coast; and this breaking out of Byrones conspiracy, in which Spaine hath giuen the French King occasion of offence, may hinder any present inualions, and so giue you more time, then when Don Iean arriued it was resolued. And thus haue I now of the publike affaires deliuered you as much, as I know to be worthy of aduertisement. My Lord, being somewhat troubled with a paine in my eies, I presu|med to write the ordinary matters of my letter in a borrowed hand, reseruing that which was of more priuatenesse to my owne selfe. To assure you of the Queenes acceptation of your seruices, and of the abolition of her former exceptions, I vow be|fore God, that my heart doth giue me that warrant, out of my poore iudgement of her dispusition, (more then vpon sudden speeches sometime when the first apparition of new charge and likelihood to continue doth present it selfe), that I might say, Dormito securus: When I can by any occasion, I bring Sir Oliuer Saint Iohns to her Maiesty, because hee may see how her Maiesties affections moue, to whose re|port of her language now, to him I doe referre mee. But to come to the point, my Lord this I say, the way to doe your Lordship good, is to increase your 222 merit, and that cannot be done without increasing your meanes. For the supplies of meanes therefore to prosecute, I labour (as far as I haue credit) to procure you them. For the way to make an end by peace, I think no man seekes more then my selfe to in|able you, by perswading her Maiesty to giue you that power; wherein when lack of ar|guments happens, to worke her Maiesties mind (which in her Princely indignation a|gainst that Arch traytor is full of obstruction), I doe fall to the binding argument (which of all things most concludeth), and that is this: That in short time the sword cannot end the warre, and long time the State of England can not wel indure it. What in the first is granted, I leaue to the things themselues. But for the second kind, I con|fesse that in Tirones case you haue nothing that can produce good effect, except there be more morter sent you to fasten the foundation, which is yet to bee laid vpon drie stone. For although I know that by this warrant you may safely giue care, and can cause him to be delt with, yet that which you can doe for him by this way, will bee by him contemned. In which respect, as I know your Lordship hath wisdome enough to conceale the latitude of your Commission, so beleeue me (out of my iudgement) that if the Queene may once perceiue, that it is only in her, that he comes not to rea|sonable conditions, and if shee were sure that shee should not be scorned, by offering that which he would not accept, then such is her Princely iudgement, and such are the minds of vs all, that are sworne to giue her Maiestie true Counsell, as I doubt not, but by our humble importunitie vpon your aduertisements what you find would bee ac|cepted, her Maiestie would bee readily induced to doe that, which is so much for her Maiesties seruice, being a matter, which if my prayers to God could haue otherwise brought to paste in her mind at this time, I know full well how much it had bin more aduantagious, then to haue it sent after occasion, and fittest opportunitie. And so much (my Lord) for my Comment vpon the text of her Maiesties

owne letter. For your returne therefore I remaine as I was, that it could bee of no other consequence to her Maiestie, then for the greatest good of her seruice, and to your selfe infinite comfort and honour. Of which it is superfluous to speake, till time giue mee more light, and giue you more opportunitie in this present action, to send mee more grounds. Then will I not faile to speak like an honest man, that will neither halt nor practise with you. In confidence whereof, worthy Lord, beleeue me, that I can be to any subiect liuing, I will bee to you, in which I must confesse I am more fixed, be|cause I see your moderation, which all that follow you there haue not; and therefore in all great things beleeue mee by my selfe, as I will doe you. For if you had not the facultie of distinction of euery ones humour, that together with their generall and honest affections to you, haue also (as most flesh and bloud hath) their owne pri|uate ends (in which they are not euer so iuditious as to consider, whether all that is good for them, be good simul and semper for you), I should bee often iealous, that they would shew mee to you in many colours of opennesse or priuacy, as their appetite serues more or lesse. Of our French newes, I haue intreated Sir Oliuer Saint Iohn to bee my Referendary, being of opinion, that Byrone and Auuergne are both executed by this time, though I know it not. Their practise doubtlesse was to haue ioyned with Spaine by Sanoy, for some greatnesse not fit for subiects, but whether so sarre as to execute any thing against the Kings person (as adfaciendum pe|pulum it is diuulged), I cannot confidently speake as yet, because mee thinkes his owne creature could not bee such a monster in that kind.

For Spaine I must still say, that I conclude they will assaile Ireland againe, and that they would haue beene there ere this time, but for her Maiesties Fleete, which shee hath now returned to tarrie out till October. To say where they will land, were a strange speculation: but I doe assure you for my owne part, that I cannot bee diuerted from my opinion, that they will againe come into Mounster. I send you not the newes of Sir Richard Leuisons taking of the Car|ricke at Lisbone, because it came but to day by France, but surely I hope it is true, and the Flemmings haue surely taken one. God send you all happinesse and long life to doe her Maiestie seruice; of whom I aske no more requitall 223 then that if you out-liue me, you remember, that Will Cecyll was sonne to a father and mother that loued you. The chiefe cause why the Queene is so perempto|ry towards the Traitor, is that she hath heard, that after Blount went to him, he brag|ged that he was wooed. Now I know not how true that was, but Sir Robert Gardner seemed to thinke, that the Traitor in that point was belied. Sir Oliuer S. Iohn is very dis|creete, and worthy your extraordinary fauours; he knowes well what is fit for euery man.

Your affectionate friend to doe you seruice Ro. Cecyll.

After the building of Mountioy Fort, the Lord Deputy purposed to follow Tyrone through his greatest Fastnesse, till he should vtterly ruine him, or driue him that way to the Sea: but by reason this degree of prosecution required long time, and already the victuals were wasted, which his Lordship could with any conueniency bring with him, and because the further the Traitor should be followed, his Lordship should bee the further from any meanes to relieue his Forces, he was inforced to alter his resoluti|on, and imbrace the following course of it selfe as good as the former. First, he dismis|sed Sir Henry Dockwra, to gather and prouide for some good numbers of men at the Omy, and to prepare within twenty daies, to draw as farre as Dungeuen in Ocanes

coun|trie, sufficiently inabled with meanes to prosecute, and fall vpon Tyrone that way. Se|condly, his LP gaue order to Sir Arthur Chichester, to doe the like by Toome. And last|ly he himselfe purposed to returne within 20 daies limited, to make the warre vpon Ti|rone by the way of Killetro, lying next vpon the border of Tyrones Countrie. In the meane time, on all sides they put vp as much victuals as they could, to such places as were most fit for the subsisting of these seuerall forces, during this prosecution. His LP was confident, that the Garrison of the Omy vnder Sir Henrie Dockwra, and the Garrison of Mountioy vpon Loughsidney, (where were left 850 foot, and 100 horse) vn|der Sir Arthur Chichesters command, would restraine Tirone from the Plaines into the Fastnesses (where now he was) for the twenty daies aboue limited. In the meane time, his Lordship with the Army intended to lie in such places, as without great conuoyes he might put vp victuals for this purpose, meaning to imploy the time in assuring or wasting all the Countries betwixt Blackwater and the Pale. And with this purpose he marched back towards Monaghan, and in the way taking some Ilands and strong pla|ces, though in those and all the former seruices we had not lost fiue men of the Armie, yet we had the disaster, by a casuall shot out of one of the Ilands, to leese Sir Iohn Bark|ley, a worthy Gentleman, and Serieant Maior of the Army, and in another slight skir|mish to leese Capt. Willis. Vpon the death of Sir Iohn Barkley, his LP made Sir Henry Da|uers Serieant Maior in his place, and comming into Monaghan, his LP on the 19 of Iuly aduertised the Lords in England of the former seruices, as also that hee had directed Sir Henry Dockwra, and Sir Arthur Chichester, that in case any new Spanish forces should land in Ireland, they should draw vnto him with their principall forces, yet leaue the Garrisons defensible, as bridles to the submitted late rebels, and a diuersion to the rest remaining in rebellion. That howsoeuer the numbers of those Garrisons seemed to threaten the continuance of her Maiesties charge, yet it was the most sure way to les|sen the Army, and end the warre in short time, which onely forraigne inuasion could hinder, in which case, it would be no longer the warre of Ireland, but the warre of Eng|land in Ireland, and would require as royall supplies, as if a part of England were inua|ded by so mighty a Prince. That the Garrisons vpon Tirone were left so strong in numbers, as that euery of them a part, might without apparant hazard, not onely withstand all the Force, wherewith Tyrone was able in any one place to make head against them, but bee stirring with some parties to seeke out him and his Creaghts in their Fastnesses, and to keepe them from feeding, or stirring vpon the Plaine, which must necessarily vndoe the rebels, and this effect of the Summers seruice would appeare in the next winter. For if in the meane time it were not his Lordships hap; according to his earnest endeuour, to get Tyrones head, which was a worke of difficultie, not to be hoped in so short a time, yet he was confident to cut off, 224 so many of his members, as he should not bee able to continue in any one place, but should bee forced to flie from bush to bush like a Wood-kerne, as now hee did, so long as the Army kept the field, which being dissolued, hee would soone grow to strength againe, except the Garrisons were kept strong, so as he might not dare to ap|peare himselfe, or to feede his Creaghts vpon the Plaine, which could not be perfor|med without hauing great store of victuals to maintaine the Garrisons. That for the matter of fortifications, whereas their Lordships noted the summes demanded to bee excessiue, this demand proceeded from a zeale to secure the Kingdome speed-

ily, and by entring into a Royall charge at once, to cut off her Maiesties continuing charge, which being now aboue three hundred thousand pound yeerely, it seemed good husbandry, if by bestowing one hundred thousand pound at once, especially in the new mixed coyne, her Maiesty might both secure the Kingdome against forraigne inuasion, and so bridle the Townes and Countrie, as halfe the said yeerely charge might be presently saued, and yet the Army might be drawne stronger into the field then now it could bee: for it would be lesse charge to her Maiestie, to keepe twenty men in a Castle costing fiue hundred pound the building, then to keepe one hundred men in a Fort built for one hundred pound, yet that hee would conforme him|selfe to her Maiesties pleasure in that point, imploying the money allowed to the best he possibly could. That whereas hee the Deputie had moued, that the Captaines might prouide clothes for their companies, now vpon better consideration hee thought the old course of clothing them by the Merchants was of necessitie to be continued. That touching Neale Garue, his Lordship found him to bee of nature fierie and violent, and with all extremely both proud and couetous, and as Sir Henrie Dockwra had very well described him to their Lordships, to bee in his desires and de|maunds most vnreasonable, and almost intollerable, so as he that must containe him within any fitting bounds, especially whe he shuld be denied any thing that he affects, was enioyned to doe any thing that he did not like, must be of an infinite patience; for at such times he vsed to breake out in a fashion most hardly to bee indured, although his Lordship professed, that he tooke it rather to bee want of breeding, and of know|ledge to discerne, when he hath good vsage and when hard (for through that defect he still thought himselfe wronged, and out of that conceit grew to that distemper), then any want of good affection to the State. For Sir Henry Dockwra did acknowledge, that vpon all occasions of seruice, that had not appeared euidently to preiudice him in him particular, he shewed himselfe forward, and very ready to the hazarding of his owne person very often. In which respect his Lordship holding him worth the cherishing, (being besides well followed by all his Country, so as her Maiesties seruice receiued very great furtherance both by him and them), was therefore resolued, according to her Maiesties warrant lately receiued, to passe him the grant of his Country.

His Lordship further wrote, that he receiued many aduertisements, that the Spa|niards were ready to returne into Ireland, which though he for his part beleeued not in regard their Lordships thought the contrary, yet the people here by many letters from their friends in Spaine were made confident, that they would make a new and strong inuasion, before Michaelmas day at the furthest. That in this regard he made haste to draw the warre to some good end, no way so well to bee done, as by planting strong Garrisons vpon Tirone, and by drawing from him his strongest partakers, to which purpose he had sent Sir Henrie Folliot to gouerne the Garrison lately planted at Ballishannon, who had instructions to receiue Mac Guyre to mercy, vpon condition he would be content to haue his Country diuided betweene O Connor Roe and himselfe, and would deliuer to her Maiesties vse the Castle of Eniskillin with the Ordinance therein. His Lp further signified, that when the Garrison of Ballishannon had effected the intended seruice, he would leaue it as a Warde, this same and all other fortificati|ons being so made, as one smal Fort of very good strength was first framed guardable by a few, to which was added a greater Fort of lesse strength and charge, like to

a bawne or yard, wherein many vpon occasion might be lodged, so as if at any time one Com|pany were found sufficient, the rest being drawne away, the losse of the bigger Fort, (being commanded by the lesser) would be of little moment, and yet might bee 225 kept fit to receiue greater numbers, if it were thought fit to send them againe at any time. Adding that if the Queene would be pleased to build a little Castle in euery one of the lesser Forts, it would greatly lessen her Maiesties charge in the numbers of men, and yet be sufficient perpetually to bridle the Irish.

The nine and twentieth of Iuly, the Lord Deputie being in Monaghan, receiued let|ters from Sir George Carew, Lord President of Mounster, by the hands of Sir Samuel Bagnol whom the Lord Deputie had sent into Mounster to bring from thence fifteene hundred foote, which accordingly hee had performed. These letters aduertised cer|taine expectation of the Spaniards present inuading Mounster, with great forces able to keepe the field, without any support from the Irish Rebels, which expectation was grounded vpon the confessions of many comming out of Spaine, and by diuers letters sent from thence by the Irish, but especially was confirmed by the arriuall of a Spa|nish ship at Ardea, bringing a good proportion of munition to Oswillyuan Beare, Cap|taine Tyrrell, and other Rebels in Mounster, together with a good summe of money, to be distributed among them, for their incouragement to hold out in rebellion, till the Spanish succours should arriue. And the Lord President signified his feare of a ge|nerall defection, vpon the Spaniards first arriuall, which hee gathered from the confi|dence of all the Rebels in that Prouince, who hauing before sought for mercy in all humblenesse, and with promise to merit it by seruice, now since the Spanish ship ar|riued, were growne proud (calling the King of Spaine their King, and their ceasing from rebellion, to be the betraying of their King and of the Catholike cause), yea, sell nothing from this insolency, though they had bin some times beaten by him, many of their chiefe men killed, and had lost the strong Castle of Dunboy. And the twentieth of Iuly, the Lord President aduertised new intelligences of Spanish forces in great num|bers, lying ready at the Groyne either to bee sent for Ireland, or the Low Countries, whereof 2000 being horse, there was no probabilitie that they should bee sent by sea for the Low Countries, since they might more conueniently bee raised in these parts. Wherefore hee resolutely beleeuing they were intended for Ireland, desired [...] for speede of intelligences, a running Post might againe be established betwene Corke and Dublin.

The Lord Deputie by this time had planted a Garrison in Monaghan, wherein hee left for the present Sir Christopher S. Laurence with his 25 horse, and 150 foote, and vn|der him Captaine Esmond with his foote one hundred fifty. This Garrison lay fitly to secure the Pale from Northerne incursions, and to prosecute those Rebels which were like to stand out longest. This done, his Lordship tooke, burned, and spoiled all the Ilands in those parts of greatest strength placing wards in some of them. And finding Mac Mahown chiefe of Monaghan to stand vpod proud termes (though otherwise making sute to bee receiued to mercy), his Lordship spoiled and ransacked all that Countrie, and by example thereof, brought many Chiefes of adioyning Countries to submit to mercy, with as good shew of dutie and obedience as could bee desired, and more strict othes and pledges then had formerly been required. So as now, from the Bann to the Dartcy (including all Tyrone) and from thence to Dublin, the whole Coun|try was

cleared, and the chiefe Lords more assured, then they were euer before. His Lordship placed Connor Roe Mac Guyre (to whom her Maiesty had lately giuen the Chiefery of Fermannagh) in the principall house of Mac Mahown, Chiefe of Monag|han, lying within two miles of Fermannagh, so as he might from thence easily plant and settle himselfe in his owne Country, and so bee able to doe her Maiesty many good seruices in those parts.

This done his Lordship returned to the Newry, meaning there for a short time to refresh his wearied forces. The 29 of Iuly, his Lordship and the Counsell with him, made to the Lords in England a relation of the past seruices (which for breuity I omit), and wrote further as followeth. Vpon such bruites as we heare of a new inuasion out of Spaine, (the L. President in a manner assuring vs that they will in that Prouince in|uade presently with a strong Army of 15000 foot and 2000 horse) we are much distra|cted what next to do; for if we should draw that way, to prouide to entertaine them, 226 wee should loose the aduantage of this prosecution, and spend another yeere vn|profitably, which wee grieue to thinke vpon, and yet perhaps misse of their place of landing. If we proceede, as we yet intend to draw this warre to a speedy end (which is that which we acknowledge we do more effect), we shall bee the lesse able to make that defensiue stoppe to their inuasion, that wee might, if we attended that businesse onely. We do therefore most humbly and earnestly desire to be directed from your Lordships (who in likelihood best know the Spaniards intentions) which of these courses we should most apply our selues vnto, otherwise we are resolued, whatsoeuer befall, to prosecute the warre Northward with all earnestnesse, out of the desire wee haue to draw the warre to an end, and ease her Maiestie of that excessiue charge, which to our exceeding griefe we obserue her to be at, which we doubt not to effect to her great contentment, and ease her Maiestie speedily of a great part of her charge, if we be not interrupted by the Spaniard; for besides the good hold we haue gotten of those, that haue a ready submitted themselues, which by all arguments of sound and sincere meaning in them, we tooke to be better and more assured then any that was ta|ken heretofore, since her Maiestie and her Ancesters enioyed this Kingdome, especial|ly with the holds that we haue planted among them, wee haue set downe such a plot for the prosecution of the rest, vpon all hands at one instant, so soone as wee take the field next, which is agreed vpon the tenth of the next moneth, (till which time wee haue thought fit to refresh this Army ouertoiled and wearied out with continuall wor|king vpon the Forts, that we haue made, and with exceeding great marches, which we were driuen to, for lacke of meanes to carrie victuals with vs for a longer time), as we are very confident we shall in short time ruine or subdue all these rebels. For we haue left no man in all the North that is able to make any very great resistance, or that hath not made meanes to bee receiued to mercy, O Rourke onely excepted, who hitherto hath been furthest off from feeling the furie of our prosecution. Tyrone is alreadie beaten out of his Countrie, and liues in a part of O Canes, a place of incredible fast|nesse, where though it be impossible to doe him any great hurt, so long as hee shall bee able to keepe any force about him, the wales to him, being vnaccessible with an Army, yet by lying about him, as we meane to doe, we shall in short time put him to his vttermost extremitie, and if not light vpon his person, yet force him to flie the Kingdome. In the meane time we can assure your Lordships thus much, that from O Caues Country, where now he liueth, which is to the Northward of his owne

Coun|trie of Tyrone, we haue left none to giue vs opposition, nor of late haue seene any but dead carcases, meerely starued for want of meate, of which kinde wee found many in diuers places as wee passed. The forces which last wee drew out of Mounster, being fifteene hundred foote, aboue the Mounster Lyst, (which the Lord President desired to retaine there onely till hee had ended his businesse at Donboy) are now vnder the command of Sir Samuel Bagnol, (presently vpon their arriuall to the borders) directed by the Annely to prosecute O Rourke, where most fitly he may ioyne with the forces of Connaght, and shall bee met withall by those of Ballishannon, commanded by Sir Henrie Folliot. All those will helpe vs greatly to pen vp the Northerne Rebels on that side, when wee next attempt them (as by the tenth of August wee meane to doe) from Loughfoyle and Carickfergus, which Sir Arthur Chithester from thence is now very well enabled for, by the meanes of the Garrisons we last planted at Tyrone, and vpon Lough Sidney, both being on that side of the Lough, that lies next vpon Ti|rene. And as those forces on Connaght side, lie very fitly to assist vs, for the speedie dispatch of the worke, so are they very ready to intertaine the Spaniards, if they should land in Connaght, and not much vnfit for Mounster, if they should arriue there. Wee haue directed them therefore seuerally to applie and bend their endea|uours to answere these sundrie occasions. And this in our prouidence is the best course that we can thinke vpon; for by the same, if Spaniards come not, wee shall goe on verie roundly with our businesse, and wee hope (by the grace of God) performe it to your great contentment, and if they come (which is the worst), they will be able to make some good defensiue warre, till wee with the rest shall draw 227 vnto them, and then we cannot hope to doe any more, vntill your Lordships supply vs royally out of England. For if the Spaniard come so strong in horse and foote, as is reported, and as it must needs be thought he will, (finding the errour that the last time he committed), it may not be expected at our hands with all the Forces wee can draw to head, leauing some Forts guarded, (as we must needs doe, to bridle and keepe in awe the Countrey, and to keep our former labours from being vtterly ouerthrowne), that wee shall be able of our selues to put them from any place that they haue a minde to hold, but must rather giue them way, till we be better furnished. Wee are therefore humbly to desire your Lordships, if the Spaniards arriue, or if you expect them cer|tainely, then to thinke vpon vs fauourably, and to supply our wants, and that speedi|ly, especially men, munition, and victuals, for this Kingdome will not be able to af|foord vs any thing for such a warre, as then wee must make, which your Lordships cannot but know farre better then wee can expresse, for as wee haue noted heretofore (which we beseech you giue vs leaue still to remember you of, it will not then be any longer the warre of Ireland, but the warre of England in Ireland, to the infinite danger and comber of them both, though for our parts wee will most cheerefully vndergoe the toyle and hazard thereof, as it becommeth vs. To conclude, wee must acquaint your Lordships with a very great abuse crept in amongst the Ministers of the victu|als, which doth maruellously preiudice her Maiesties seruice here: Wee can neuer know from any of them when the victuals arriue in any part, whether it be part of an old contract, or of a new, nor indeed whether it be for her Maiesty or for themselues: by that meanes we can neuer find how we are prouided for, nor what we may further expect, and that which worse is, the Rebels get of the best victuall that is sent hither, and yet wee cannot call the

victualer to account thereof, for he affirmes stiftely, that he is warranted by your Lordships to sell it for his benefit, and so as hee sell it to the sub|iect, (how ill affected soeuer), it is no fault of his, if the Rebell afterward get it. It is in vaine for vs by our extreame toile to spoile the Rebels corne, and wast their Coun|trey, (the best way yet found to bring them to obedience), if they can get that English victuals for their money, which we verily thinke was prouided for those that serue her Maiesty here, and the best of it too, when the poore souldier hath that which is not worth the eating. Thus much wee haue of late discouered, which wee leaue to your Lordships consideration, not doubting, but it will please you to prouide remedy, and so, etc.

The Victualers aboue mentioned, had obtained of the Lords liberty to sell some victuals, vpon pretence (as it seemes) that the same would grow musty, and must either be sold or lost, but they abused this liberty so farre, as the best victuals were sold to the Irish Subiects, and by them, to those that were in actuall rebellion, while they made bold to vtter their musty prouisions to the Queenes Army.

The seuenth of August the Lord Deputy wrote to Sir Arthur Chichester as likewise to Sir Henry Dockwrae, to make all things in readines against his taking the field, which he purposed to doe within three daies, and his Lordship proiected with them, in case Tyrone should goe into Fermanagh, how to turne their faces vpon him that way, or otherwise to draw into Cormacke mac Barons Countrey, for since her Maiesty would not be induced to shew any mercy to Tyrone himselfe, the onely way to end the warre was to force Cormacke, either presently by feare of his Countries spoiling, or in short time by planting a garrison at the Cloher, to submit himselfe. Some few daies after his Lordship receiued from her Maiesty this following Letter.

Elizabeth Regina.

RIght trusty and wellbeloued, We greet you well. Although We haue heard no|thing from you directly since Our last dispatch, yet We impute it to no neglect of yours, hauing so great cause to iudge the best of your actions, when euery dispatch from other parts of Our Kingdome, reports of great honour in the successe of Our Army vnder you, a matter specially appearing by those letters, which We haue seene 228 directed to our Treasurer at Warres in Ireland, containing the discourse of your Mar|ches, and abiding in the heart of Tyrone, and the recouery of that Iland, and that Ordi|nance of Ours, which had beene fouly lost before. In which respect Wee value the same so much the more acceptably. We haue also thought good at this time to adde this further, that We are glad to find that you are ioined with Dockwra and Chichester, because that is the thing which hath beene long wished, often attempted, but neuer before effected, (being indeed the true consequence of Our Plantation, with great ex|pence both at Loughfoyle and in other parts of Vlster). So as when Wee perceiue that now the time is come, when you may make an vniuersall prosecution, and when We find that your owne words giue such hope, that this vngratefull Traitor shall neuer be able to hold vp his head againe, if the Spaniard doe not arriue, Wee thought it fit to touch these two things following. First to assure you, that Wee haue sent a Fleete to the Coast of Spaine, notwithstanding Our former Fleet returned with the Caricke, there to attend his Coast, and all such Fleetes as shall be prepared to annoy Vs. Next We doe require you, euen whilest the Iron is hot, so to strike, as this may not onely proue a good Summers iourney, but may deserue the title of that action, which is the warres

conclusion. For furtherance whereof, We haue spared no charge, euen now againe to send a Magazine of victuall, and other necessaries, to those places, by which you may best maintaine those garrisons, with which you resolue to bridle those Re|bels. We haue heard likewise from Carew our President of Mounster, that he hath ta|ken the Castle was held by the Rebels at Beere Hauen, and defended with the Spanish Ordinance. In that Prouince We find by him, that there is constant expectation of Spanish succours, for which reason, and considering what promises the King of Spaine doth make them, and with what importunity they begge it at his hands, besides one other crast they vse, to hide from him all feare, which might diuert him from that en|terprize, agreeing amongst themselues, how great soeuer their miseries be, to conceale the same from him and his Ministers, as appeareth well by a letter of Odonnels owne hand intercepted of late, by which he writes to a Rebell called O Connor Kerry, desi|ring him to aduertise him of the state of Ireland, but in no sort to deliuer any bad re|port of their losses, because he would be loth that the Spaniard should know it.

We doe require you very earnestly to be very wary in taking the submissions of these Rebels, who euer make profit of their comming in. Some let slip of purpose by the Archtraitor, others when they haue compounded for their owne peace, are noto|riously knowne to fill their Countries with more Cattle then euer they had in seuen yeeres before, which is a matter that most notoriously discouereth, that the great bor|dering Traitors, (whose Countries are sought to be laied wast) doe find a safe prote|ction for their goods vnder them. A matter whereof we speake in no other sort, then by way of caution, knowing that no rule is so generall, either to leaue or take, which may not change, in respect of circumstances. Giuen vnder our Signet. At our Man|nor of Greenewich the fifteenth day of Iuly, in the foure and fortieth of Our Raigne.

To this letter, in the Margent, were added these words in her Maiesties owne hand: We con you many laudes for hauing so neerely approched the villanous Rebell, and see no reason why so great forces should not end his daies, whose wickednesse hath cut off so many, and should iudge my selfe mad, if we should not change your autho|rity for his life, and so we doe by this. Since neither Spaniard, nor other accident, is like to alter this minde, as she that should blush to receiue such indignity after so roy|all prosecution. We haue forgotten to praise your humility, that after hauing beene a Queenes Kitchin maide, you haue not disdained to bee a Traitors skullion. God blesse you with perseuerance.

Your Soueraigne, E. R.

At the same time his Lordship receiued this following letter from Master Secre|tarie.

MY very good Lord; it must not seeme strange to you, to find this marginall co|tation in her Maiesties letter, whereby the last authority (in pardoning Tyrone) is 229 so absolutely retrenched. For first, as her Maiesty (in these cases) may well (out of ex|perience of gouernement) assume more to her royall prudence then any of her Coun|sell: so (God in Heauen doth know) that euen in these great causes, shee is pleased to proceed more absolutely then euer, according as shee pleaseth to approue her will, by the Rules of her owne Princely iudgement. So as if you consider how little good the last authority (which was giuen you to pardon no more but his life) could haue effected, you will easily imagine that wee thought it to little purpose here, to of|fend by contestation against this letter, when in both the directions the difference was of so little consequence. Lastly, the

change that is, proceeded meerely from the hopes which your owne letters to the Treasurer haue giuen, of our opinion so to ruine him as he should neuer be able againe to stand; whereof it is true, that her Maiesty hath ta|ken so good and comfortable hold, the same being so iust and agreeable to the difficul|ty of her owne nature to forgiue that offender, as although in effect shee had done little more then nothing before, yet shee thinkes any mercy to him to bee much. It remaineth therefore that I resort to explane my selfe in my former aduice, when I and some others wished you, though you had warrant to conclude for no more then life onely, that you should notwithstanding (seeing you had warrant sufficient to heare from him), in no case forbeare to discouer what were his highest, or what would be his lowest; for this was our intent, as faithfull Counsellors, if you found the State to be such, as (without his submission to be a Subiect) all others comming in would be idle, and that to offer him nothing but life, (which he hath already, and will keepe too long, I feare mee) were the way to lacke that good, which by yeelding to more, might haue been effected, that then and in such case, you should not forestall him so peremp|torily in your dealing with him, as to repell those ouertures which hee would make: for though you were not to conclude for more then you had warrant, yet when you might send ouer what it was, and what your opinion was thereupon, it might be, that when her Maiesty should see what might haue come, shee would be content (for the good of her Kingdome) to descend from the greatnesse of her owne heart, full of iust indignation against him. These things I touched, out of the infinite caution, where|vnto the experience of my misfortune to be misiudged presseth mee more violently, then any other, whereby I would secure my selfe against any doubts, that I would pra|ctice vpon you in any thing, for any respect whatsoeuer, which might be pernitious to you, to whom I haue professed all honest friendship. For I protest vnto you, howsoe|uer it may be some mens Phylosophy, to conclude that all priuate considerations must be extinguished, when there is question of the good of a mans Countrey, (be|cause it challengeth a part, before Wife, Children, or Friends), yet doe I not thinke it intended by that great rule, that any honest man ought to betray an honest trust of a worthy friend, for any respect whatsoeuer, vnlesse he knew that friend who is confi|dent in him, false or wicked to his Countrey, to which he owes so much duty. For that distinction makes great oddes in the question: Of this letter therefore when you shall examine the circumstances, you would quickely discerne, how little it ought to trouble you, for if you had already treated, you had warrant for it, if you haue con|cluded (according to the authority of that warrant), the new restraint comes too late, if not, then is your Lordship to obey this direction, and in obeying it, to content your Soueraigne, as then aduised, whereby you are iustified to the world whatsoeuer come, because you haue obeyed, and if that successe succeed not, which was hoped for by a moderate measure of grace (following an orderly and sharpe prosecution and neuer o|therwise to be but at great length), you may then resort to her Maiesties own self, for as|much as you shal come short of that, to which you might haue arriued, if you had not bin restrained. For proofe wherof it wil be very fit, that you do write of the conditions particularly, which is all that either you or we can say, where we are all bound, first, to giue aduice according to our conscience, and then to yeeld obedience. I do conclude, that it was (for his own particular) a good speech of the Cardinal Granuella, who when he found the

Emperour grow more resolute daily against his Counsel, said, He wished that from thence forward his counsell might neuer bee followed; for said he, if it bee 230 bad and not receiued, I am glad for my Countrey, if good and not followed, yet it must value me to my Master. And so much for that matter: Only this I haue thought conuenient for both our particulars, seeing it is impossible that this dispatch can come so soone to you, as the Queene may expect, that the Secretary receiue it from me, and you from him, for our discharge, lest her Maiesty should suspect, that out of zeale to the cause, (howsoeuer we dare not contest), yet that I haue delaied to send it, or you pretend to haue beene longer without it, then you haue beene, to which purpose I haue written to him, to take care of the sending it to you with expedition, and to ad|uertise me both of his receipt from me, and yours from him. And thus for this time I commit your Lordship to Gods protection. From the Court at Greenewich this sixteenth of Iuly 1602.

Postscript. Pardon me for vsing another hand, which I hope you will beare with, being of no other subiect then an honest Secretary may set downe: because I am not sure whether you can perfectly reade her Maiesties hand, I send you the same in a cop|py, the latter part whereof, being suteable with the former stile of fauour, that was wont to passe betweene you, grew by the occasion of your owne Postscript, when you wrote to the Treasurer: that you had beene a good while in Oneales Kitchin, which you meant to warme so well, as he should keep the worse fiers euer after. God knowes I doe asmuch desire to heare of your successe, as euer I did to heare of any thing, be|cause vpon it iudgement may be made, which is likely to follow, your comming or tarrying. In which bee assured that I will doe you all the right to which religion, honour, and affection can tie me. In the meane time take this comfort, that her Maie|sty doth feelingly apprehend your vertue, and begins now to speake and write in her wonted stile, and therefore I grow daily more confident, that wee shall spend some yeeres together in her seruice. For my selfe I will now giue ouer professions, and so doe you, for neither of our hearts haue euer beene accusable for basenes to our friend, though in our kind we haue seuerall tastes of ingratitude, onely take this still for assu|rance, that I am your affectionate friend to command, Robert Cecyll.

Likewise at the same time the Lord Deputy receiued this following letter from the Lords in England.

AFter our very hearty commendations to your Lordship. Although her Maiesty hath by her letter taken notice of your Lordships wise and happy proceedings, by a letter which hath beene sent from Dublyn by the Treasurer, vpon your taking of the Iland in Tyrone, yet wee are moued to expresse our simpathy with your good for|tune, both out of duty to the publike, and particular affection to your selfe, whom God hath made so happy an instrument of her Maiesties seruice. Wee haue likewise heard from the President of Mounster of his taking in of Beere-Hauen, whereby we had well hoped that Prouince would haue proued lesse troublesome then yet we can hope, first because there are many prouinciall Rebels out, next because the hollownes of those that are reputed subiects, appeareth many waies, (though not so visible to all), which is onely maintained by the assurance they haue of succours from Spaine, whereof (as we haue often said) wee can make no other iudgement, then that what he is able to doe, he hath a will to doe, and what he hath not done, hath onely beene hin|dered by the remaining of her Maiesties Fleete vpon his Coast, and which shee re|solueth to

maintaine till Winter be well come on, so as: seeing here is done as much as her Maiesty can doe, and that many difficulties at home with himselfe, and actions of others abroad, may make suspention if not diuertion from that Spanish inuasion. We thinke your Lordship shall doe well, to take time while it serueth in Vlster, seeing we perceiue you haue now so ordred the matter, as if he should land in the North, you are neere him, and if in the South, you haue meanes now to draw most of the Forces of the Kingdome to make head against him. So as wee haue little else to say for the pre|sent, but to commend your proceedings, and expect the successe: Although we find your Lordship had very good reason to draw away Sir Samuell Bagnoll with those ex|traordinary Companies, which you were content to spare till the taking of the Castle 231 of Donboy, yet we haue thought it very conuenient, because it is worth your Lord|ships knowledge, to let your vnderstand, that if the Spaniards shall attempt to land in Ireland with an Army, all our intelligences doe confirme, that it will be in Mounster, or vpon the neerer parts of Conuaght, and if this Summer at all, it will be betweene this and Bartholmewtide. In which respect, we thought it good to remember your Lord|ship, to haue care for a moneth or two, to send some forces to strengthen that Pro|uince, aboue the Lyst, whereby at their first discent her Maiesties forces may keepe some such reputation, as the Prouincials, whose eye will onely be vpon the Army, may not grow too insolent, nor the Gouernour there bee forced to leaue the field. For which purpose we thinke it not amisse, that you should presently send some horse, though you spare the fewer foote, considering the weakenesse of those numbers that are there, to answere any such occasion: For the North, although wee doubt not but Odonnell is fed with the same hope that the Mounster Rebels are, yet we doe not ex|pect any great forces to land in those parts more Northerly then the Towne of Gal|loway at the furthest. Wee haue now no more wherewith to hold you at this time, then with the recommendation of all your actions to Gods protection. From the Court at Greenewich, this eighteenth of Iuly 1602.

The Army being refreshed with these few daies rest, the Lord Deputy had deter|mined to leaue the Newry, and take the field againe vpon the tenth of August: but vpon intelligence that Tyrone purposed to send Brian mac Carty backe into Killultagh to disturbe those parts, and so to diuert the prosecution of Tyrone as much as they could, his Lordship directed Sir Arthur Chichester from Masserine, and Sir Hen|ry Dauers from the Newry, to draw part of the forces into that Countrey, and there to inuest the Fort of Enishlaghlin, being the onely hold the Rebels had in those parts, in which (for the strength thereof), all the goods of such as were fled into Tyrone, were left.

This resolution the Lord Deputy signified to Sir Henry Dockwra, who expected to meete his Lordship in Tyrone about this time, according to their former purpose And withall aduertised him, that he had sent such a part of the Army to Charlemount, and the other Forts neere to the Blackewater, as would be (in a manner) to as good pur|pose, for any seruice Sir Henry Dockwra should thinke fit to attempt vpon Tyrone, or for the stopping of him from passing with his Creaghts from the fastnesse wherein he how lay, as if his Lordship were there present with the whole forces. For his Lord|ships troope of horse, being lodged at Charlemount, with more then a thousand foote in Lyst, and Sir Henry Dauers his troope of horse, being lodged at Armagh, with some seuen hundred foote more in the Forts adioyning,

a party of two hundred horse, and a thousand foure hundred foote might be drawne by Sir Henry Dockwra from thence, vpon any sudden occasion, and these forces, together with the Companies at Mount Norreys, and at Mountioy Forts, were able to doe great matters vpon Tyrone, if hee could discouer his purposes by any good espiall, yet his Lordship offered himselfe with those forces he had left, to draw presently vp into Tyrone, if Sir Henry Dockwra thought it needfull, rather then any thing fit for the seruice should bee omitted. And whereas Sir Henry Dockwra seemed to doubt of Henry Oge his second, his Lord|ship was so confident of his sound meaning, as he gaue assurance on his part, that hee would not onely not doe any thing to giue the State offence, but would aduertise any thing he could learne to further the seruice, and rather then faile, would draw his whole force vpon Tyrone, to which also his Lordship had by his letters earnestly per|swaded him. And touching Ocanes submission, his Lordship wrote to Sir H. Dock|wra, that he would be glad to see him, when he came into Tyrone, which should be pre|sently after the businesse at Enishlaghlan was dispatched, and then he would be willing to giue him all reasonable contentment. Lastly, his Lordship aduised Sir Henry Dock|wra, so to carry his businesse, as hee might be ready to performe his directions, if the Spaniards should againe land in Ireland, as a strong rumour went, that they shortly intended.

232 The tenth of August the Lord Deputy wrote this following letter to Master Se|cretary Cecyll.

SIR I vnderstand from Sir Oliuer Lambert, that the fortification at Galloway is al|most finished, and that there will be needfull for that place, to haue foure Demy-Cannons, and foure whole Culuerings, (but I thinke it will be well, if they be all Cul|uerings, and of Iron), which he thinkes will make it of very great vse against the Spa|niards, if they happen to land there, as he suspecteth: For that and other such great workes, I thinke we must necessarily haue some good great Ordinance, and therefore beseech you Sir to be a meane, that wee may be speedily supplied with a score of Iron Peeces, well furnished; and fitted to be placed there, and elsewhere in Mounster, to the most aduantage of the seruice, whereby I am very confident that this whole Coun|trey will much the better be secured, and her Maiesty greatly eased in her continuing charge, though her present charge seemes thereby much increased. I protest I doe apply with all carefulnesse my best endeauours, so to husband this businesse, as her Maiesty in a very short time shall find abatement of her charge here, to her owne con|tentment, if I be not interrupted by the Spaniards; and if they doe come, I doubt not but these greater workes will keepe the Townes (neere which they stand) in so great awe, as they will not suddenly nor easily fall to their party, as otherwise in all likeli|hood they would, so as they shew themselues any thing strong before any of them, and then will it manifestly appeare, that this cost was bestowed to great good pur|pose: for the keeping of one Towne from reuolting, will very well counteruaile the whole charge, that her Maiesty shall be at, in planting of all those fortifications, and yet will they afterwards bee such bridles to the Countries all about them, as they shall neuer bee able to rebell againe. I conceiue that by the placing of a Constable and a conuenient Ward in such of them as shall be thought fittest to be maintained, her Ma|iesty shall be better and cheaper serued, then by laying of Companies or parts of Companies in them, that must vpon occasions be remoued. For when one man onely hath the charge thereof; who knowes that he must

be accomptable for it, he will no doubt haue much the greater care, and may more commodiously be fitted with all things necessary: but then must I in treat you Sir, to take order that these places be not bestowed there at Court, vpon such as will be sutors for them, (of which kind I make accompt there will be many, since I partly know some of them already), for I shall thereby be disabled to doe her Maiesty the seruice I affect, and become meerely an vn|profitable Officer for her, in as much as it will be here soone obserued, that when these places are not left to my disposall, who should best know both how euery man de|serues, and for what each mans seruing here is fittest, it will be to little purpose for any of them to make me an eye witnes of their well deseruing, when it is not in my power to reward them, but will rather vse meanes to her Maiesty, or the Lords, hoping to get that they aime at, by a much easier and shorter course, which I confesse to you Sir I doe with some greefe obserue, in the recommending of many hither for Captaines places, when some haue giuen ouer their charge here, by which meanes I can neither lessen the Queeries charge, as I would, by cashing of their Companies, nor preferre others thereunto, whom I see daily to haue very well deserued it, and by this meanes comes in, both selling of Companies, (a thing which I would otherwise neuer suffer), and the placing of such Captaines, as those which we found here at the beginning of this warre, whose insufficiency had almost lost this Kingdome. I beseech you Sir conceiue, that I haue iust cause to be greeued, that must draw vpon my selfe the hatred of a great many, that I should discharge in the great cash that I intend, who will euer hold me the ouerthrow of them, and all their fortunes, especially if I be not able to be|stow vpon some of the worthiest of them, such other places in this Kingdome, as haue fallen within the gift of my Predecessors here. Although (God is my witnes) this doth nothing so much greeue mee, as that I shall thereby bee disabled to serue her Maiesty as I would, to make a speedy end of the warre, that might be both safe and durable, by leauing such in all places, as I know to be best able to serue her, and 233 such as if they did not imploy their time in her continuall seruice, might more iustly then any other, with their presence importune her for rewards of their former seruices. And so Sir, etc.

At the same time the Lord Deputy wrote this following letter to her Maiestie.

May it please your Sacred Maiestie, I Haue receiued to my inestimable comfort, your gracious letters of the fifteenth of Iuly, for none of my indeuours doe satisfie mee in doing you seruice, vntill I finde them approued by your Maiestie; and when I haue done all that I can, the vttermost effects of my labours doe appeare so little to my owne zeale to doe more, that I am often ashamed to present them vnto your faire and royall eyes, which is the onely cause that I doe not more often presume to present your Maiestie with the account of my proceedings, led on with a hope and restlesse desire; to improue them vnto some such degree, as might bee more worthy of your knowledge. And where|as it pleaseth your Maiestie to restraine mee from hearkening vnto the Arch-Tray|tor Tyrone, were it not in respect of my desire to cut off suddenly the chargea|ble thread of this warre, there could nothing come more welcome vnto me, then to bee his continuall Scourge, and as (by the fauour of God) he is already brought to a verie low ebbe, so vtterly to cut him off, or cast him out of this Countrie. And although I haue great reason to presume, that if hee bee not assisted by any forraigne power, the ruine of his estate is certaine, yet how, as a Vagabond Woodkerne, hee may preserue his life, and how long, I know not; and yet therein I humbly

desire your Maiestie to beleeue, that I will omit nothing, that is possible to be compassed. And for the caution your Maiesty doth vouchsafe to giue mee, about taking in sub|mitties to their aduantage, and to the abuse of your mercy, I beseech your Maiestie to thinke, that in a matter of so great importance, my affection will not suffer me to commit so grosse a fault against your seruice, as to doe any thing, for the which I am not able to giue you a very good account, the which aboue all things, I desire to doe at your owne royall feete, and that your seruice here, may giue me leaue to fill my eyes with their onely deare and desired obiect. I beseech God confound all your enemies, and vnfaithfull subiects, and make my hand as happy, as my heart is zea|lous, to doe you seruice.

Your Maiesties truest seruant Mountioy.

The Fort of Enishlanghen aboue mentioned, (the inuesting whereof made the Lord Deputie deferte the taking of the felld), was seated in the middest of a great Bogge, and no way accessable, but through thicke Woods, very hardly passable. It had about it two deepe Ditches, both compassed with strong Pallisadoes, a ve|rie high and thicke rampeire of earth, and timber, and well flancked with Bul|workes. For defence of the place fortie two Musketeres, and some twentie sword|men, were lodged in it. But after that our Forces, with very good industry had made their approches to the first ditch, the besieged did yeeld the place to the Queene and themselues absolutely to her mercy. So a ward of English was left in the Ca|stle, after the spoile thereof was taken, wherein were great store of plate and the chiefe goods of the best men in the Countrie, being all fled to Tyrone, and the men there taken were brought bound to the Newry, and presented vpon the nineteenth of August to the Lord Deputy.

The same day his Lordship wrote this letter following to Master Secretarie Cecyll.

SIR, I haue lately written to you at large, and I haue now no more matter of im|portance, to trouble you with, onely since my last, we haue taken Enishlaghlen, a place of great importance, and the strongest that I haue heard of, to bee held by any 234 Rebell in Ireland. Henrie Oneale, the eldest sonne of Shane Oneale, is broken out of prison, as his brother did the like long before, and because they doe cast them|selues (without all conditions) into her Maiesties protection, I cannot but vse them well; but as things stand now, I doe not see any great vse to be made of them, and I feare I shall be more troubled with them, then if they were still where they were. To morrow (by the grace of God) I am againe going into the field, as neere as I can vtterlie to waste the Countrie of Tyrone, and to preuaile the Garrisons there of some Corne, to keepe their horses in the Winter, which being done, I will leaue the Garrisons to take their effect; which when they are well prouided, and aswell placed, will doe more then an Armie. And Sir, except things fall out much contrarie to that, which wee haue good reason to expect, I presume, that if the Queene keepe these Garrisons strong, and well prouided all this Winter, shee may before the next Spring send into this Kingdome Sir Ro|bert Gardner, with some other good Common-wealths men, with her pleasure how much, and how euery man shall hold his land, and what lawes shee will haue cur|rant here; and I am confident it will bee obeyed. Neither is the reducing of this Prouince to bee too little regarded; for ill inhabited as it was, with no in|dustrie, and most part wasted, I can assure you, the Earle of Tyrone in the time of these warres, did raise vpon Vlster aboue fourescore thousand pounds by

the yeere, and to fall from that excesse, I thinke they might bee brought to yeeld the Queene willingly, much more then euer she expected presently, and in time more then I dare now promise. And after this Winter, I thinke she may with-draw her Garrisons, onely leauing Wardes in the places, and if I bee not much de|ceiued, you shall find, that these men will bee the last of all Ireland, that will for|sake the Queenes party, and I presume after this Winter doe the Queene good ser|uice against the Spaniards, if they come: but if they come before, I cannot tell what I may build on: but I perceiue by your last letter, they are not likely to bee many, and then, although it may stoppe, yet I hope it shall not ouerthrow our worke. If there bee no inuasion here, if I doe not too much deceiue my selfe, I should doe the Queene in her seruice of this Countrie more aduantage, by my com|ming ouer after Michaelmas, then I can doe here. This Gentleman Sir Richard Treuer I perceiue will settle himselfe in these parts, by the which hee may doe her Maiestie good seruice; for it is vnfit such land as hee hath giuen him, should lie waste, and it will bee much better to bee ordered by men of his worth and qualitie. And so Sir I beseech God prosper all the Queenes affaires, and make vs able to doe her the seruice, that her Maiestie doth expect.

Yours Sir to doe you seruice Mountioy.

The next day, being the twentieth of August, the Lord Deputie tooke the field, and incamped in the midde way betweene the Newrie and Armagh, and there vnderstanding that Tyrone was fled into Fermannagh, and thereupon con|ceiuing that the warre was then chiefely to bee made that way, his Lordship re|solued, first, to spoile all the Countrie of Tyrone, and to banish all the inhabi|tants from thence, inioyning such of them as would become subiects, to liue on the South-side of Blackwater, so that if Tyrone returned, hee should finde nothing in the Countrie but the Queenes Garrisons. Further to preuent his returne, and to make the warre more conueniently vpon him, and the remnant of the Re|bels, his Lordship resolued to plant a Garrison at the Agher, being Cormocks chiefe house, seated neere Fermanagh, and neere Monaghan, whither Sir Henrie Dockura might draw the greatest part of his forces, and whether in one dayes march (as the passages were now made) most of the forces in the Northerne Garrisons 235 might be drawne together. The nine and twentieth day of August his Lordship passed the bridge at Charle-mount, ouer the Blackwater, and that night encamped by Dungannon which his Lordship made defensible, leauing a Ward to keepe the place, to bee a retreat for our men, going out vpon seruice, and to preserue the Oates grow|ing there abouts for our horses in the winter.

There his Lordship receiued this following letter from Master Secretarie.

MY very good Lord, your Packets of the nineteenth and nine and twentieth of luly, were yesterday deliuered me, and withall your priuate letter to her Maie|stie, dated the tenth of August, all which were very well allowed of, as hereafter more particularly you shall be aduertised, this being rather to aduertise you of their re|ceit, then that there is left any extraordinary matter for me to write vnto you, which is not contained in the last dispatches from hence, whereof at the writing of your owne, I know you could not aduertise the receit. One great cause of my writing this priuate letter, is this, that where I see how much it doth distract your minde, to thinke of Spaine behind you, and of the North before you, fearing to bee diuerted from the conclusion of your labours, you may perceiue in what estate the preparations of Spaine are now, as I am cer-

tainely aduertised by one of my owne, who is newly arri|ued from the Ports of Lisbone, where he tooke shipping the one and twentieth of Iuly last (stilo veteri.). There are two great ships, each of one thousand tuns, one called the Saint Andrew, and the other (which shall be the Vice-admirall) the name forgotten, besides there are but twelue shippes of two hundred tunnes, and downewards, in which it was resolued to send some fifteene hundred men, to haue relieued the siege at Beere hauen, the newes of the taking whereof was first knowne there the tenth of Iu|ly, being written from Watersord to Lisbone, and not before. Of these fifteene hun|dred men, eight hundred came from the Groyne, being part of those that were trans|sported out of Ireland. In the Groyne remaineth Odonnell, and there is onely the great Saint Phillip with ten small barkes, with which he mightny importuned to be sent in|to the North. If these had been sent into Beere hauen in Mounster, hoping vpon his arriuall with some one thousand or fifteene hundred men, to haue raised the siege, pos|sessed some parts, and made a beginning of a Plantation, hereof great benefit must needes haue growne to the Rebels; for as those small numbers which should haue been landed in Mounster, with the bruite of the rest to follow (which is alwaies multi|plied), would haue made a distraction of the Vlster prosecution, so any petty descent with him in Vlster, would haue raised the new hopes of all those Northerne Rebels. And truly (my Lord) when it is considered, how great a benefit it is to the King of Spaine to consume the Queene with charge in Ireland, by his bestowing onely (once a yeere) some such forlorne Companies, besides that hee thereby keepeth vp some kind of reputation in Europe, in following on his first designe, by sending, though a few, which (being added to that which same spreadeth of great numbers) filleth the world with continuall rumour of his vndertaking humour, I cannot be secured, but that he wil stil feede that fier with fewel, although I know it a vanitie to beleeue those other fond reports of such mightie preparations, and such Armies, as he is no way able to imbrace: for your Lordship may bee assured, whatsoeuer you heare of gathe|ring of numbers by land to this place or that, they haue been onely for defence a|gainst such attempts, as they did ignorantly suspect from the Queene, and the Low-Countries, and to continue obedience within his Kingdom in the South parts, where the Mores haue bin very apt to take armes. And for the Gallies wherof we haue heard so many to be brought out of Holy; they were intended for some enterprise vpon La|rache, so as the bruite that they should haue come for Ireland was idle. Only it is true, that Sir Ki. Leuison defeated those 8 Gallies, which were come as far to the Norward as Lisbone, vnder the conduct of Spinola, who vndertook to bring them into the Low|countries for Sluse, but of those eight two being sunk, a third spoiled, and neuer able togo to sea, the other 5 were likewise so torne, and the slaues so mangled, as wee look not to heare of the in these quarters this summer, so as I assure you, though our carick proue 236 nothing so much as we expected, hauing been much pillaged, and many of the goods taken wet, yet hath Sir Richard Lonison in this seruice deserued an extraordinary repe|tation. Thus haue I now deliuered, rather (out of my priuate affection) my priuate opinion, that no great Army is intended, then that I meane to contest against the contrarie opinions (which are here continually multiplied from thence, of the great Armies the King of Spaine amasseth), to hinder any preparations which may come from hence, whereby that Kingdome may receiue any comfort: First, because I know the very bruite of Leuies here,

must needes giue helpe to your proceedings; next because I know what a folly it is, in cases which concerne a Kingdome, to dis|swade any manner of supplies, whereof the lacke may proue perillous, especially in this State, which is so exhausted (by that warre of Ireland onely) as it is an easie worke to diuert all actions of charge, especially whensoeuer they may thinke to se|cure their opinions, by maintaining those grounds to which I should incline, to whose place it principally belongeth to giue best iudgement of forraigne intelligen|ces. I will onely therefore conclude with this, I am sorry to finde my Soueraignes heart so great and magnanimous (though I must confesse she hath very iust cause), as not to be contented to haue made vertue of necessity, and by her pardon of the grea|test Rebell, to haue dissolued the strength of the combination, which being still vni|ted with mindes of dispaire, will multiple still alienation, whereof so potentan ene|mie as is the King of Spaine, will euer make his benefit; where I am of opinion, that if hee were sure to bee pardoned, and liue in any securitie, with the qualitie of any greatnesse, such is his wearinesse of his miserie (and so of all the rest), as hee would bee made one of the best instruments in that Kingdome. But I haue now gone on too farre, sauing that I am apt to take all occasions to exchange my thoughts with you by letters, praying Almightie God so to blesse your endeuours, as we may more en|ioy each others company, for the good of her Maiesties Ieruice. And so I commit you to Gods protection.

From the Court at Hisham this seuenth of August, 1602 . Your Lordships louing and assu|red friend to command Ro. Cecyll.

The Lord Deputie spent some fiue dayes about Tullough Oge, where the Oneales were of old custome created, and there he spoiled the Corne of all the Countrie, and Tyrones owne Corne, and brake downe the chaire wherein the Oneales were wont to be created, being of stone, planted in the open field. Sir Henrie Dockwra, onely with some horse with him, did meete the Lord Deputy here, vpon the thirtieth of August, and brought with him Ocane, a late Submittie, hauing left the English foote at the Omy, where in like sort were the most part of O Canes and young O Donnells horse and foote, victualed at their owne charge, and ready to attend any seruice the Lord Depu|ty should command them. The same day his Lordship vnderstood, that Sir Arthur Chi|chester was comming towards him by Killetro, and that Randoll Mac Sorley had offe|red him to serue the Queene in that iourny with fiue hundred foote, and fortie horse vpon his owne charge.

Whereupon the Lord Deputie resolued to march with the Army to Dunnamore, and thence to the Agher, and in the second daies march vpon the sixth of September, his Lordship receiued letters from the Lord President of Mounster, that foure and twentie Spanish ships were bruited to be arriued at Beere-hauen, which newes, though his LP kept secret, yet the whole Countrie was presently ful of it, and from al parts he receiued the like alarums, insomuch as amongst the Irish it was constantly beleeued, that some Spanish ships were arriued at Carlingford. Notwithstanding, his Lordship left a Garison at the Agher, being a Castle seated in an Iland, and he intrenched a large piece of ground for greater forces, when Sir Henrie Dockwra should draw them thi|ther vpon any seruice, and from that Castle his Lordship brought away two brasse pieces.

237 Tyrone, Brian Mac Art, Mac Mahownd, and Cormack Mac Barron, were fled into the bottome of a great Fastnesse, towards the end of Lough Erne, whom his Lordship followed as farre as hee could

possibly carry the Army, yet came not within twelue miles of them, besides, they had a way from thence into Orurkes Country, to which the Army could not passe. Mac Guyre had lately left them, and receiued the Queenes protection from Sir Henrie Foliott, vpon condition to put in good pledges for his loi|alty, and to giue Oconnor Roc Mac Guyre the land belonging to him, and to build vp the Castle of Eniskellin, which he lately brake downe, deliuering the same built at his owne charge into the Queenes possession: and Tyrone and his abouenamed confederaies were all poore, and all the Rebels following them, were not aboue sixe hundred foote, and sixtie horse.

Vpon the seuenth of September, his Lordship vnderstood by letters from Sir Oliuer Lambert, that he was called back from the prosecution of Orurke, by like newes of the Spaniards arriuall.

The same day his Lordship sent backe Sir Henrie Dockwra, and directed him to draw most of his forces (with as much victuals as he could put vp) to the Omy and from thence to the Agher, being twelue miles distant and faire way there to be rendent, and to make the warre till haruest were past, being alwaies ready to follow his Lord|ships further directions vpon any landing of Spaniards. Likewise the next day his Lordship sent backe Sir Arthur Chichester, directing him to lie at Mountioy Garrison, clearing the Country of Tyrone of all inhabitants, and to spoile all the Corne which he could not preserue for the Garrisons, and to desace al the Ilands formerly taken, being ready to draw vpon the Rebels, if they should make any head; yet with aduile to bee likewise readie to answere any new directions, if the Spaniards should ar|riue.

So his Lordship marched backe with his Army, and vpon the ninth of Septem|ber diuided all the waste land on the Southside of Blackwater towards the Newry, betweene Hen. Mac Shane and Con Mac Shane, sons to Shane O Neale, only with leaue to liue there with their Creaghts, and such followers as should come vnto them, till her Maiesties pleasure were further knowne, and inioyning them to sow their Corne for the next yeere vpon the Plaines.

Thus his Lordship bringing backe with him into the Pale fourteene Companies of foote, and one hundred horse, came to the Newrie the eleuenth of September, and the next day in his and the Counsels letters to the Lords in England, after the relation of the former seruices, wrote as followeth.

We haue taken the best pledges we could of such as are become subiects, al of them haue assisted vs with Cowes, most of them with carriages, with men, and with their owne presence, so as if forraigne forces doe not arriue, we make no doubt of them, nor to bring the rest to what termes shall bee fittest for her Maiesties Honour and profit. Wee haue thought fit to suffer most of the Natiues of Tyrone, (the rest being put ouer the Riuer of the Bann), to follow Henry and Gon Mac Shane, and perchance many of them wil not quit them, though the Traitor should returne and grow strong. But for all cuents, we haue spoiled and meane to spoile their Corne, and in respect of the garrisons, and of the Blackwater, their Creaghts can hurdly returne, but they wil be stil at our command. If they should proue false, we haue good bridles vpon them, and at any time their followers, vpon leaue to dwell in Tyrone, will easily forsake them. These followers seeme to desire nothing more, then to hold their land of the Queene without any dependancy vpon the Oneales. Howsoeuer, for the present; wee thinke good to hold them thus together, partly for the good of the seruice, and to giue these two young men some liuely hood, who (with the rest)

being vtterly reiected, might by some desperate course much prolong the warte; and partly (wee must confesse freely) our of humane commiseration, hauing with our eyes daily seene the lamentable estate of that Countrie, wherein wee found cuerie where men dead of famine, in so much that Ohagan protested vnto vs, that betweene 238 Tullogh Oge and Toome there lay vnburied a thousand dead, and that since our first drawing this yeere to Blackwater, there were aboue three thousand starued in Tyrone. And sure the poore people of those parts neuer yet had the meanes to know God, or to acknowledge any other Soueraigne then the O Neales, which makes mee more comm serate them, and hope better of them hereafter. When wee haue conferred with the rest of the Counsell at Dublin, and are better informed of the state of those parts, we will againe presume to write to your Lordships. In the meane time we ha|sten thither, finding here all, both subiects and others, as fully possessed of the Spani|ards comming, as if they were already arriued. The like opinion (as we heare) is gene|rally ouer al Ireland, vpon what ground we know not, for we haue not heard any such substantiall intelligence, excepting the bruite aduertised by the Lord President, and a generall bruite brought hither by all shipping, of huge preparations in Spaine, and whether it be desire or feare that makes this report beleeued, it is strange to see how generally and strongly it is apprehended. Wee must renew our former motion to your Lordships, that if the Spaniards doe land here, wee may speedily bee supplied with munition, artillery, and all things else that wee haue written for, or that your Lordships in your wisdomes shall finde to be needfull for vs, who can best iudge what will be fit for an action of so great consequence. And for that we shall be necessarily enforced, wheresoeuer they happen to arriue, to draw all the forces of the Kingdome together, to make head against them, by which meanes these Northerne parts (especi|ally) being left bare, such as haue most readily, and with best arguments of sincere meaning submitted themselues to her Maiesties mercy, with intent to liue dutifully as becommeth subiects, will be left againe to the tyranny of the Arch-Rebell, for want of defence. We beseech your Lordships to consider, whether it were not more profita|ble for her Maiestie (though for the present somewhat the more chargeable) to inable vs to make the warre vpon the Spaniards, and yet to go on too with this prosecution in some measure, then for lacke of a conuenient force to be kept on foote, to loose the benefit of our trauell all this Summer, and the charge her Maiestie hath been at in planting Garrisons, which being kept, would so bridle all these Countries, as they should neither haue any benefit of the Spaniards landing, nor the Spaniard any vse of them, nor of their victuals, all their Countries being commanded by some of the Garrisons that would keepe them from stirring to ioyne with others, for feare of loo|sing all their owne at home. It is true, that by the putting of new men hither when we shall haue drawne out the old against the Spanish Army (which will be a worke of most necessitie), it cannot be expected, that the seruice of those new men will worke such effect, as the old Bands would; yet may it be hoped, the effect will bee sufficient to keepe the Irish from ioyning with the Spaniard, seeing for the most part they shall liue in Garrisons and shall not neede to bee drawne into the field, vnlesse onely for some short iourney, which will not last aboue two or three daies at a time. And if her Maiestie be not pleased to like of this motion, or seeme vnwilling to disfurnish her selfe of so many men and Armes, we humbly leaue it to your Lordships to consider, whether it

would not bee fit for that purpose, to entertaine two or three thousand Scots, which we thinke might readily be sent ouer to Loughfoyle or Carickfergus, and being inland Scots, and not Irish Scots, and good securitie had to serue her Maiestie faithfully, they would in all likelihood better endure the winters hardnesse, and hap|pily be sound fitter for any seruice, then such new men as come vsually from England, which yet we moue no further, then as a remembrance, because we perceiued the last yeere such a matter was thought vpon. If the Spaniards come not, we doubt not but to giue your Lordships a very good account of all things here, to her Maiesties liking, yet must we desire the speedie sending ouer of the victuals contracted for, that should haue come in Iuly and August last, but no part yet landed that we heare of; for with|out those victuals these Garrisons will be vnfurnished, which depend wholy thereup|on. And we are further to moue your Lordships, to cause to be sent ouer a very great proportion of salt and bread; for by prey-beeues gotten from the Rebels, and good numbers had of the protectees, whom we haue caused to furnish vs for our mony, we 239 haue vsed a great kind of sparing of the victuals in the store, excepting bread onely. And we doubt not but many of the Garrisons will be able to helpe themselues many times with beeues, so as they may haue salt to powder them, while the season lasts, and will not neede to take from the victualers any thing but bread, which now they will not deliuer them alone, vnlesse they be so directed from your Lordships.

The same twelfth day of September, his Lordship wrote from the Newry this sol|lowing letter to Master Secretary in England.

SIR, you will vnderstand by our letters to my Lords, how hitherto wee haue be|stowed our time. Being returned backe to the Newry, I find all the world strange|ly possessed of the comming of the Spaniards, although I cannot learne of any assured ground they haue therof. Vpon the general concurrence from al parts of such bruites, I did imploy two as likely instruments as any are, to know the truth, and to learne what assurance Tyrone himselfe had from Spaine. They vndertooke vpon their liues, that all the intelligence he hath receiued of succours, is onely by letters out of the Pale. Tyrone hath many waies made importunate meanes to be receiued to mercy: but I did still reiect him, and published it, that her Maiesty had commanded me not to hearken vnto him, yet still he continued to vrge me to become a suter to the Queene for him. It is true, I haue been euer loth to negotiate with him any otherwise then with my sword, because I find it dangerous for my selfe, considering the Queenes resolution: but vpon the receit of my Lord Presidents letter of a new Spanish inuasion, I aduen|tured thus sarre to entertaine his motions, that if he would sweare to submit himselfe absolutely to her Maiesties mercy (if it should please her to receiue him), whatsoeuer succour he should receiue in the meane time, I would onely vndertake to become an humble sutor vnto her Maiestie for him, so that notwithstanding till I knew her plea|sure, I would not desist in my prosecution. This day he sent one to me, agreeing to so much, but with all propounding certaine Articles that he desired should bee granted: whereupon misliking that he should in any wise capitulate, I commanded his messen|ger presently to depart and forbad him to send any more to me, and to cut off all hope to his party, I haue directed all the Garrisons anew to proclame his head, and the like to be done in the Creaghtes of such as are become subiects. In the meane time N. N. out of his owne head, and by that general authorie that is giuen to al Commanders to

parley with Rebels, hath spoken with Tyrone, to the effect of his owne letter, which euen now I receiued, and such as it is I send it you. I protest before the eternall God it was without my priuitie: but I must beare with him for greater faults then this; for he and all the Irish are very irregular, though he be fit enough for the charge I haue giuen him, which is onely of Irish Companies, in a Garrison which of all other I can worst victuall, and they will make best shift for themselues, and greatest spoile vpon the enemy. I haue commanded him to meddle no more with Tyrone; for if I should thinke it fit, I would imploy one better instructed for that purpose. It is true Sir, that for many respects I haue been fearefull to deliuer freely my opinion, what course I thinke fit to be taken with Tyrone, and so am I now: but if it shall please her Maiestie to trust me with the authoritie to hearken vnto him, I would neuer vse it, but when I should bee sure to giue her a very good account of my proceedings therein; for the lower he is brought, the more it will be for the Queenes honour to shew him mercie, and it is thought he might bee made an excellent instrument, if Spaine continue their purposes for this Kingdome. If the Queene bee resolued neuer to receiue him, it is most necessary that Vlster should presently be made a Prouinciall Gouernement; for this people seeme to thirst for iustice, and by that meanes the dependancy vpon the Oneales will be soone extinguished. If the Queene be loth to augment her charge. I thinke it were much better that the institution of Connaght, were discontinued, and the like Officers to be transferred hither. It is true, that in all Ireland, for the good of the generall seruice, there is no place so fit for the Deputy to be resident, as at Athlone, and if he were there, Connaght would little neede a Gouernour. I haue here but little time, and much [...] and therefore I cannot write to you of all things so largely as I 240 would, the which I purpose to doe when I come to Dublyn, onely of this I pray you Sir resolue me by your next: We haue here the worst intelligence, of any Instruments that any Prince in Christendome doth imploy in so waighty a businesse; I doe know some, that I doe thinke were fit to be imploied both in Spaine and about the Traitor here, yet though I know my selfe to be honest, they may proue knaues. If the Queene be so confident of my faith, that shee will be pleased to make the best interpretations of what I shall doe therein, I should be able to doe her perchance some good seruice, and giue my selfe greater light of all things, then now I haue, but if shee mislike it, I will onely say about me with my Sword, though it be in the darke. It is not a Let|ter, nor a reasonable Booke, that can deliuer all such conceipts of mine, as I thinke necessary to let you know of this Kingdome, wherefore I dispaire to doe it, till I may haue the happinesse to see you. If I had any certainety that the feare of Spaine were past, I would make a great diminution of the Lyst, wherefore I pray you Sir, if you haue in England any assurance thereof, let me know it as soone as you can, but here we looke for them euery hower, and (they say) in the Pale it is held as sure, as if they were already come. If you shew the inclosed Letter, I pray you put your finger on the latter part, or blot it out; and yet if I thought the Queene would not bee angry, I would giue the Lady leaue to come to her Brother, for I am loth to make warre with Weomen, especially since shee is now great with child.

The same twelfth day of September, his Lordship wrote from the Newry to Sir Oliuer Lambert Gouernour of Connaght this following letter.

SIr yesterday at my comming to this Towne, your messenger deliuered mee your letters, containing a relation of your proceedings, since your going to the Abby of

Boyle, where and in your returne thence, I perceiue you haue had some knocking on both sides, and the Rebels being so many as you note, I haue good cause to bee glad you sped so wel, and parted with so good reputation to our side, and so little losse with|all, which I doubt not proceeded chiefely from your good command and managing of that businesse, for which I may not omit to yeeld you many thankes, neither will I be sparing to testifie so much, where it may most redound to your due and well de|serued commendation. Yet must I withall note, that it somewhat grieues me, to ob|serue so great an alteration in those that of late seemed desirous (or at least not vnwil|ling) to receiue her Maiesties mercy, for that I haue some reason to bee doubtfull, that this sudden change proceedeth not altogether out of a certaine expectation of Spanish succours, but out of some opinion they haue conceiued, of a purpose you haue to dis|possesse the principall men of their lands and liuings, and to get the same into her Ma|iesties hands, by indictments and Offices to be found thereof; and if they once enter|taine such a conceit, they will assuredly put vp all to any hazard, and to their vttermost means shun to be reclamed, which I must acknowledge to you, I do the rather doubt, in that Tybot ne long hath grieuously complained to me, of the committall of his Co|sen Dauye Bourke, and some hard vsage towards himselfe, for which he seemes fearefull to come to you, and therefore desires my license to go for England, which I haue now sent him, with this purpose, to giue him contentment as much as may bee, and yet when he comes to mee, I meane to schoole him, and so I hope to hold him in good termes, for so at this time especially it doth behoue vs, to bring our great worke to the better conclusion. I make no question, but that both he, and O Connor Sligo, and the rest of them, doe all somewhat iuggle and play on both hands, to serue their owne turnes, and therefore truly deserue the lesse fauour, for they so doe here for the most part, and yet I winke at it.

But since it behoneth vs so greatly to draw the warre to an end, to ease her Maiestie of that exceeding charge and consumption of men and Armes, which her Maiestie and the State of England are growne verie wearie of, and indeed vnwilling to continue much longer. Wee that are here imployed as chiefe instruments, to effect what so ear|nestly is desired, must beare more for our Countries good, then our owne natures 241 can well endure; and therefore let mee aduise you, with much earnestnesse to apply your selfe vnto it, as the onely and sole meanes to make our doings acceptable in Eng|land, where we must be censured, and by your next let me know certainly I pray you, whether you haue done any thing already for the intituling of her Maiesty to any of their lands in that Prouince, or whether you haue any way attempted it, or giuen them cause to suspect it. I shall be well satisfied with your answere, presuming that you will doe it sincerely, yet if any such thing be, I pray you proceed no further in it, but labour by all meanes to winne them, both because I know it to be her Maiesties plea|sure, and that the multitude of Subiects is the glory of a Prince, and so euery way it is fittest to reclaime rather then destroy them, if by any good meanes it might be wrought. O Connor Slige (as you know) was restrained of his liberty by the Rebels, and that (I thinke) vpon a letter I sent vnto him, so that hee hath a iust pretence for his standing out so long, and for any action into which he shall enter, neither shall we be able to disproue his allegations, though perhaps himselfe be not innocent, neither at the beginning, nor now. You must therefore be content to thinke, that what he doth, is by compulsion, though indeed you

doe not thinke so for some reasons apparant to your selfe: Your stone worke at Galloway about the Bulworkes will I feare proue char|gable, and very long; yet can I doe no more then recommend it to your good hus|bandry and discretion, who may best iudge what is fittest. Tyrone is not yet gone ouer the Earne, but lies betweene that and Ruske, where I haue planted a garrison, and ano|ther at the Agher, hard by the Clogher, which lie both very fitly to doe seruice vpon him. To the former all the Garrisons neere the Blackewater, and that at Mountioy and Monaghan may fitly draw vpon all occasions, and so I haue lefe order with Sir Arthur Chichester, who hath the chiefe care of all: And to the latter and to Omy, (which is but twelue miles from it) Sir Henry Dockwra hath promised me to put vp most of the For|ces of Loughfoyle, and to lie there about himselfe. To Eniskillin or there about, Sir Henry Follyot hath direction to draw his whole Force, leauing a Ward onely at Balli|shannon and Beleeke, which is already done, but hee hath not his boates yet from you, which is a great hinderance vnto him, and therefore I pray you send them with all speed possible, if they be not gone already. Touching your motion for Master Attur|ney, I now returne to Dublyn, where if he cause it to be moued at the Table, I will with the rest yeeld to any thing that is fit. In the meane time you may vse the chiefe Iu|stice in those businesses, who hath allowance for his diet, and is of great experience and continuance in that Prouinee, so as thereby hee may best know euery mans dispositi|on. I pray you let me heare stom you againe with as much speed as you can, touching the state of that Prouince vnder your gouernement. And so hoping, for all these late bruites, that we shall not this yeere be troubled by the Spaniards, or if we be, that their number shall be small, (for so Master Secretary hath confidently written to me out of England), I commend me right heartily to you. From the Newry this twelfth of Sep|tember 1602.

The Lord Deputy being arriued at Dublyn, and this Summers seruice ended, since the composing of the Irish troubles was henceforward to bee wrought by the garri|sons planted in all parts vpon the Rebels, and the setling of the State to be managed by Counsellors, Sir Henry Dauers Serieant Maior of the Armie, was the rather indu|ced by the necessity of his priuate affaires, to discontinue his seruice in Ireland. Whereupon his place of Serieant Maior being void, was conferred vpon Sir Arthur Chichester. And because Sir Richard Moryson had a pretence to the place by former hopes giuen him from the Lord Deputy, his Lordship to giue him contentment, rai|sed his Company of foote, reduced lately in a generall cash to 150, to the former num|ber of two hundred.

The seuen and twenty of September the Lord Deputy at Dublyn teceiued from the Lords in England this following letter, directed to his Lordship and the Counsell of Ireland.

AFter our hearty commendations to your good Lordship, and the rest of the Counsell there. Whereas your Lordship in your late letters of the twenty nine 242 of the last Iuly doth aduertise vs of a great abuse crept in amongst the Ministers of the victuals in that Realme, namely that you cannot know from any of them, when the victuals arriue in any Port, nor whether it be of an old contract or a new, nor whether it be for her Maiesty or themselues, and by that meanes you can neuer find how you are prouided for, nor what you may further expect, and (which is worse) that the Re|bels doe get of the best victuals that are sent thither, and you cannot call the Victualer to acount thereof, because he affirmes stifly that he is warranted by vs to

sell it for his benefit, and so as he sell it to the subiect (how ill soeuer affected) it is no fault of his, if the Rebels afterwards get it. Vpon this information from your Lordship, we haue not onely called all the Victualers to account how this great abuse is committed, but haue perused our former order taken this time 2 yeers, when we contracted with them to appoint commissaries there, for the keeping and issuing of victuals, by whose default (being their Ministers) it should seeme these lewd parts are plaied. Therefore for your Lordships satisfaction in the first point, the answer of Tolles and Cockain will suffice, who doe absolutely affirme, that they sent no other victuals thither then such as by contract they were tied to send. And though they send often a greater proportion then will serue to furnish any contract, yet that doth alwaies appeare vnto vs vpon the certificates of the Inuoyes, and wee that vndergoe the principall care of those mat|ters here, haue inioined them to haue alwaies a good proportion in store to serue vp|pon all occasions, whereof they send (as they find conuenient shipping) often times a large quantity before hand, more then by contract they are bound vnto. For if they should not make prouision before wee contract with them, it would be hard for them to performe the same in so short a time, and by such daies as we must of necessi|ty limit vnto them, vpon diuersity of accidents and demands from you, and the ouer|plus doth alwaies passe into the next contract: But in that your Lordship doth find fault, that you can neuer be informed vpon what contract the victuals are prouided, which doe arriue there, we must remember vnto you the order we haue alwaies obser|ued here, which will easily reconcile the difficulties in this matter. First therefore your Lordship is to call to minde, that wee here for the most part, in the making of our con|tracts, both for the quantity of the victuals, the time to haue it there, and the places of vnlading the same, are directed by such letters as wee receiue from your Lordship and you of the Counsell, and by such certificats as are sent vs from the Surueyor of the victuals from thence, which Surueyor ordinarily hath certified vnto vs the quan|tities that arriue there. Then so soone as any contract is made with the vndertakers, wee send an abstract thereof vnto your Lordship, both of the seuerall kinds, and for how many men, and for what time the same is prouided, and to what place the same is to bee transported. By which your Lordship may know what you are to expect, and for more assurance, wee haue required of your Lordship by diuers letters to ap|point certaine discreet persons at the Ports, where the same is to bee landed and vnla|den, to see and visit those victuals, and to take knowledge both of the quantities, kinds, and goodnes, and that (with good vsage) the same is likely to continue the space of fiue moneths from the landing thereof, which direction if it were duly obserued and performed, your Lordship needed no other certificat to satsfie you in all re|spects. And wee haue vsually receiued from Master Newcomen the Surueyor of the victuals, very exact certificats of the quantities of victuals that arriue there, as also of the goodnesse, and vpon what contract they were sent: For vntill the contract be full, all the victuals sent thither are to satisfie the same, and if there be any ouerplus, it is re|serued for the next contract. For the vndertakers absolutely denie the sending of any victuals thither, but such as is to serue the Souldier, and to performe the Contracts, so as all the victuals are to be accompted for her Maiesties prouision. Therefore it were farre easier for your Lordship, to haue the like certificat there. Thus as wee haue re|membred vnto you the directions we haue giuen vnto your Lordship: So wee haue thought good to

acquaint you with the rest of the course we hold here, which you shal vnderstand to be in this manner: Vpon euery Contract we make, we giue the Victu|alers an imprest before hand, to prouide those victuals they contract for: but the 243 whole summe that they are to haue by that agreement they neuer receiue vntill they doe produce true Certificates from the Officers of the Ports, that the full proporti|ons which they are tied to contract and prouide, is laden on ship-board, and ready to be transported of good and wel conditioned victuals, according to the Contract. And therefore if your Lordship will bee as strict to call for the certificates of the vnlading there, as we doe cause the Inuoy to be perused, there can be no abuse in that case, con|sidering all the victuals sent thither commeth to the Magnzines, and how much soe|uer it is, all is for the vse of the Souldier. For the other point your Lordship doth complaine of, that the Ministers there doe sell the victuals, and their peremptory vn|true and respectlesse answeres vnto you: It is the desire of the victualers (as this infor|mation is generall) that your Lordship will not onely be informed of the particular abuses committed by any Officer or Commissary there, but to take a seuere courses to see them exemplarily punished. For we haue giuen no other licence for the selling of victuals, then your Lordship hath beene acquainted with all, in the contracts made with the Victualers in August was two yeeres, which was in these words: And be|cause it is not possible in so great a masse of prouisions, with all the care that may be vsed, by reason of transporting and tossing them to and fro, but some will perish, and decay. In this case their Lordships are pleased, that the foresaid Commissaries depu|ted now by the Merchants, shall be permitted to vtter and sell to the poore in the mar|ket Townes where they reside, and neere vnto them, such victuals as are decaiable, and vnfit to be vttered to the souldier. And by the instructions giuen to the Commissaries, there is a clause, whereby they are restrained: That if there shall fall out any wast in the prouisions, either by leake, moisture, or other casualty and accident, by transportation by land or by Sea, or by any vnfit or inconuenient roomes to place or house the same victuals, then they are to acquaint the chiefe Commander, Colonell, or Counsell therewith, and procure some sufficient testimony for the manifesting of the truth, and of the quantity, that is decaied, surprized by any ambush of the Enemy, or by fier, or other ineuitable danger become vnfit to be vsed, that it may appeare, that happened not by their negligence and default, the which being certified, her Maiesty in that case to beare the losse and wast thereof. Therefore we maruell your Lordship would in|dure so insolent an answere to be made by inferiour Officers, knowing wee alwaies doe send your Lordship the Coppies of those agreements and Articles wee make with any victualer. And in this Article this consideration onely did leade vs, that if by long keeping, often remouing, or other casualty, the victuals shall not be fit for the Souldier, then your Lordship or the prouinciall Gouernour, or such as you shall ap|point, being acquainted therewithall, we thought it more fit, (and now doe so, and not otherwise) that the same may be sold to the poore in the next markets, then that the losse should light on her Maiesty. Neuerthelesse in those cases, wee referre it to your Lordships iudgement and discretion, whom her Maiesty doth trust with so great a gouernement, to order them as you shall see cause. To conclude therefore, if that caution wee tooke for the good of the Souldier, (that no euill victuals should bee thrust vpon him), shall be abused and peruerted to supply the need of the Rebels, and the Souldier the worse serued, we

thinke this matter worthy of strict examination and as seuere punishment, as may be inflicted vpon offenders in so high a degree, which we earnestly require may be done, and that in all these and like cases, your Lordship will consider, that we of her Maiesties Counsell here, that are absent from thence, doe proceed generally in these matters, as reason doth direct vs, and as we receiue light from you and the Counsell there: but your Lordship, that doth know the state of the Kingdome, and see the particular course and disposition of things there, and what is fit and not fit, may easily reforme those inconueniences and abuses that happen, and are committed, and informe vs of those particulars that are not within our knowledge, that these matters may be carried with more perfect order and rule, for the good of the Souldier, whose wellfare is onely intended and sought herein, to her Maiesties excessiue charge, and our great trouble. This is another great abuse, and 244 though it be not pertaining to this matter, yet by reason of late we haue discouered the same to be very common, we haue thought good to informe your Lordship ther|of, and earnestly to pray you and the rest of the Counsell, to giue strict order it may be auoided. The matter is this, wee find by diuers examinations taken, that it is a com|mon practice, that if any Seruing-man, Countrey-fellow, or labouring-man, happen to be maimed or grieuously hurt, by any mischance or disorder, if he be in any of the Countries neere to the Sea-side, or any Port where shipping doth goe for Ireland, hee will find passage there, and follow the Army in some Company or other, and doe such seruices as he is able, and when he hath gotten some knowledge of the Countrey, and of the Captaines and chiefe Officers, then he procureth a pasport from some Cap|taine or other, or else he getteth his name to be inserted in some generall pasport, as a man (by reason of hurts receiued) vnfit for seruice, and so vpon his comming ouer hither againe, hee is recommended into the Countrey for a Pension, by which meanes the Countries are burthened with this kind of men, and the poore Souldier, that is indeed maimed in the warres, is disapointed and hindered of that pension he ought to haue. This is to be reformed by two meanes: First that order be taken no maimed men, that haue receiued their hurts in seruice, be sent away in a generall passe, because the Statute doth require a particular certificat from their Generall, certifying the hurts and maimes the Souldier hath receiued: Next the remedy is, that no such pasports be giuen but by subscription of your Lordship, the prouinciall Gouernours, or chiefe Colonels, vnder whom he doth serue, expressing the hurts and maimes the Souldier hath receiued, and in what seruice, and vnder what Captaine, and the office and place he held in that Company. This by generall direction being obserued, will auoid the number of counterfet Souldiers, and giue due way to the reliefe of the mai|med Souldier, who indeed without such particular certificat, ought not by the Sta|tute to be releeued, and the want thereof hath beene great hinderance to many poore men. Therefore nothing doubting but your Lordship will take order herein accor|dingly, we bid your Lordship heartily farewell. From the Court at Oatelands, the 29 of August 1602.

The eighth of October, the Lord Deputy wrote to the Lord President of Mounster; that howsoeuer by reason of Carmacke escape, he could not for the present spare the horse and the foote which were with him aboue the Mounster Lyst, vnder the com|mand of Sir Samuel Bagnoll, yet hee would not faile to send fiftie horse presently into Connaght, whether hee purposed shortly to take his iourney, being now busie about preparation for the

same. And further his Lordship prayed him, to send a good proportion of victuals from the store in Limricke by water to Athlone, without which the Forces could not be kept together in that Prouince, and accordingly his Lordship gaue order, that boats should be sent from Athlone to Limrick, to fetch the same. And wheras his Lordship had written to the Sheriffes in Mounster, to leauy certaine beeues for the Army, he prayed the Lord President to giue them assistance, for taking them vp, and sending them into Connaght with all conuenient speede.

The fifteenth of October, the Lord Deputy was aduertised from the Lord Presi|dent, that Carmock Mac Dermott lately escaped, had made sute to him to be reconciled to the State, and that vpon his answer, that if he would iustifie himselfe to be innocent, he should haue a iust triall, or if he would confesse his faults, then he would be a suter to the L. Deputie for his pardon, hee the said Carmock had made choise to sue for par|don, rather then to stand to his triall. And that in the meane time all the Castles in his Country were possessed for her Maiesty, and his followers disposed vnder other Lords vpon good assurance, beside the faction which was nourished against him among his neerest Kinsmen, which things made him vnable to doe any hurt, so as if his Lordship had any occasion to imploy in Connaght the forces which were in Mounster aboue the List of the Prouince, his Lordship might dispose of them at his pleasure. Further, the Lord President aduertised, that he vnderstood by one Iames Blacke, lately come out of Spaine, that O Donnell was dead there, and that this newes was most certaine.

245 The twentieth of October, the Lord Deputy dispatched Captaine Blany from Dub|lin, with Commission to gouerne the Garrisons of Ruske and Monaghan, (recalling Sir Christopher S. Laurence and Captaine Esmond, from that command, to repaire to Lub|lin, that his Lp might heare and compose the differences risen betweene them.) He had further order to leaue Captaine Atherton, to gouerne the Fort of Mount Norreys, wher|of he had formerly the command; likewise to put vp good store of victuals from the Newry to those Garrisons and to deliuer letters to Sir Arthur Chichester, with whom he was to concur in the intended seruices for those parts. He was directed to know from Mac Mahown his resolute answere, whether he would submit himselfe vpon the condi|tions sent vnto him, and if he refused them, then to giue him no further time of prote|ction, but to prosecute him presently by all meanes. To giue O Gonnor Roe Mac Gayre his best assistance, to establish him in his Countrie, and for the other Mac Guyre in re|bellion, not to accept any submission from him, except he vndertake some extraordi|narie good seruice, because he had lately abused the sauour, offered him by Sir Henrie Folliot, Gouernour of Ballishannon. Lastly, whereas some of Tyrones Captaines offered to come from him, to serue the Queene, he was directed to intertaine those offers, and either to draw them from him, or to make any vse of those offers, and treating with them, which he in his discretion should thinke fit.

The one and thirtieth of October, the Lord Deputy receiued from her Maiesty this following letter directed to his Lordship, and the rest of the Counsell here.

Elizabeth Regina.

RIght Trusty and Welbeloued, and Trustie and Welbeloued, Wee greet you well. We haue been acquainted with your dispatches to our Counsel of the fourteenth, and to Our Secretary Cecyll of the thirteenth. In the first whereof We haue perceiued the successe of your last

prosecution, wherein as We haue cause, so We doe blesse God, that he hath so prospered you and our forces vnder your charge, as Our enemies are not so hasty to attempt Vs anew, or Our rebels able to interrupt your proceedings, which letter being for the most part but a iournall, requireth no other answere but this, That We doe yeeld vnto your selfe, and to Our faithfull and louing subiects that haue assi|sted you, both praise and thankes for your good seruice. And now because We know your affection is so well mixed with vnderstanding of the state We stand in, both here and there, as you can well consider of what importance it is to Vs to ease our Kingdom of those great or rather infinite charges, which We haue thus long sustained, which stil continuing in that height, would take away the true feeling of our Victories, We haue thought good to deliuer you Our pleasure in that behalfe; for it were almost as good for Vs to lacke a great part of their reduction, as to be driuen to that charge in keeping them, which our Crowne of England cannot indure, without the extreme diminution of the greatnes and felicity therof, and alienation of Our peoples minds from Vs, con|sidering that for these only rebellions in Ireland, We haue bin forced to part with ma|ny of Our ancient possessions, which are part of Our flowers of our Crowne, and to draw from our subiects (a thing contrary to Our nature) those great paiments, which (but for the hope they had, that the same should serue to work their future ease and re|spiration) they would not so willingly haue borne, nor We so iustly could haue impo|sed vpon them. In al which considerations, though it is true, that the authoritie and dire|ction may be expected from Vs, to who almighty God hath only giuen the supreame power, to warrant your proceedings in matters of such importance, yet because in this one point of abating of Our forces now, from the proportion whereat they stand, you had alwaies in your owne iudgement the certaine Idea thereof, as a thing that you re|solued to doe, so soone as the expectation of the Spanish Army was passed ouer, Wee rather thinke (if you haue obserued the iudgement which you haue made by your last letter of the improbabilitie of their comming in those times with any power), that these Our letters shall serue more to approue your actions, or at the least your resolu|tions, to abridge all those charges, which were either meerely raised in that only expe|ctation, 246 or were onely necessary to bee tollerated, vntill you had planted those Garri|sons in this prosecution, then that you are now to begin it; which if it bee so, wee doe then command you to proceede with it with all possible speede, both because the preseruation of our treasure, and the very true reasons of State doe require it, and for that there is neither appearance of any forraigne Army; neither are the Rebels (by your owne description) of any force to make any dangerous head against you. So as if now our charge should still continue, wee know not in what time it should be a ba|red. To conclude therefore in that point, We do referre the numbers, the places, and persons, to be ordered by you wholly, and by the aduice of Our Counsell there. And We will for the present onely lay before you in generall, some things out of square in that Kingdome, which would bee looked vnto. First, Wee finde diuers Officers and Ministers intertained, with many other charges, which are superfluous, whereof the error growes vpon a conceit that our charges are easie, in respect of the mixed coine, whereof your owne iudgement can best informe you, all circumstances considered. We doe also find lacke in the managing of diuers possessions, which are wonne vnto vs, as well as in collecting and answering former duties, all which would both by your discre-

tion and your authoritie be thought of, and distributed to persons, to or|der with time according to their seuerall offices, to the intent the World may see, the end of our prosecution is to reforme the Kingdome, to reuiue Iustice and order, and not still to suffer these licentions expences, or loose costs, in many things, by many in|feriour persons vnremedied, although while the Kingdome was inuaded by a pow|erfull enemie, and torne in pieces with a domesticall rebellion, wee know the time could not admit such reformations, as may be vsed in greater calmes. And wee must say to you our Treasurer, that when we remember your owne words, concerning the point of the exchange in the first alteration of our coine how you told vs still, that in continuance of time euery second issue would so recompence the first returne, as the exchange might wel enough be borne, We little thought we should haue seene so ma|ny billes subscribed with your owne hand and your Ministers, to be paid here in ster|ling. For as it was not our meaning, nor euer shall be, whensoeuer in verbo Regio We publish any thing, to make it the instrument of deceit; so We euer reposed so much in your iudgement, as when you should see an abuse, or a plaine corrupt traffick made of that liberty of exchange, which we onely vouch safed to erect for the vse of those, that should not make it a trade, then you would either haue found the meanes to dis|couer their fraude, and so wholly haue reiected their billes, and punished the fault, or else (if you could not haue hit the very bird of their deceit in the eye) you would (taking it pro concesse, that a fault there was) haue taken some such exceptions against them, as might haue serued so to haue suspended you allowance, as they should not haue had from you so good warrant to demand that iustly of vs, which is so excessiue a burthen vnto vs, the rather seeing Merchants should by all constitutions bestow the money they receiue for wares vttered, in the naturall commodities of the Countrie, which imposition would haue bridled them very much, and is not vniust, seeing it cannot be denied, but that there are some commodities (as Hides, Tallow, Yarne, and many other things) whereon they might haue bestowed some money, and not haue made ouer such great summes. Where you may perceiue, that to all those which ser|ued the Armie, and for the billes due to the officers and souldiers, wee haue made no difficultie, although we know (if it were examined) that in their exchanging ouer so much money as some doe, there is some indirect dealing: we would not haue you thinke (whom we know to be honest diligent and a sufficient seruant) that we doe touch you in the least degree with lacke of sinceritie, or desire to doe vs seruice (for of both these Wee haue great reason to take gratious recognition) but rather to let you to know how sensible We are of the clamour, how negligent your Deputies haue been in many places to charge Vs here: how great portion of treasures is due by your certificats, and how necessary it is (seeing but by this coyne those expences cannot be borne) that all super fluous charge be cut off, and this matter of the exchange correct|ed in some degree or other, before (like a Canker) it consumes Our treasure, which is 247 the sinewes of our Crowne. We pray you therefore (as We doe meane here to doe with Our priuie Counsell), call to you some three or foure of that Counsell, of the best vnderstanding, and thinke among you of some better cautions for this matter of exchange; wherein, seeing We doe see the State of that Kingdome principally with your eyes, We shall be contented to incline most to those courses which you shall find conuenient. And because no day goeth ouer our head wherein we are sure there is not some increase to that loade,

Wee doe hereby giue you Our Deputie authoritie, without tarrying to aduertise Vs of your opinion one way or other, to publish a Pro|clamation or order, either for tolleration or explanation of the forme of Our former institutions, which shall seeme best to you, with consideration of all due circumstan|ces, not doubting but you shall finde many things which were fit for Vs to suffer in the beginning, which by change of circumstances may now be altered. And because in these matters of paiments, which flow like bloud out of the vaines, time is pretious, if there be any thing which you and that Counsell shall find fit to be done for preuen|tion of some part of this abundant consumption, growing by the freedome of all per|sons to haue the exchange, seeing the distance of place to be passed by sea is subiect to length and vncertaintie, We are content prouisionally to warrant your proceedings in any thinh you doe, or publish in Our name. It remaineth now that We doe satis|fie you Our Deputie, of some other things contained in your priuate letters to the Se|cretary; First, for your doubt you may not vse your best meanes to explore the pra|ctices of Spaine, and the inward treasons of the Rebell, because your Ministers may of|ten prooue vnhonest, Wee haue no more to say then this, That if you consider that We haue trusted you as absolutely with that Kingdome, as euer We did Deputie, you neede make small doubt of any other interpretation of your actions in that point to|wards you; for when soeuer the greatest curiositie shall censure our actions, it shall ne|uer appeare (where Wee see faith and dutie onely intentionall in origine), that Wee would be willing to censure the actions of Our Ministers according to the successe. And therefore as We doe leaue liberty here in England to Our Secretary of State, to employ such persons as are likest to discouer practises (though Wee allow not any immediate treaties or corespondencies with subiects of other Prouinces, but where We are particularly acquainted with it), so doe We giue you warrant by such ordi|narie meanes, as may bee taken by opportunity of persons to passe to and fro, vnder colours of trade or traffick to forraigne parts, to informe your selfe of the enemies preparations in such things as belongs thereunto, that you may be able from time to time to fashion your owne present proceedings according to such aduertisements as may be brought you, seeing you may sometimes receiue them with more expediti|on, and more freedome for things concerning that Realme, then they can bee vsually conuaied to our Ministers here, from those whom they imploy for our seruice, from whence you haue seene what iudgement We haue made all this yeere of their distra|ction and weakenesse, though We stick not (in some measure) to prouide for you, though farre short of that which Wee must haue done, if Wee had credited those bruites which were brought into that Kingdome, by such as We are perswaded (if it were wel obserued) came out of Spaine ful of deuice and practice to blow that abroad, which they beleeued not.

Next concerning your opinion for the ordering of some prouinciall Gouerne|ments, and making your residence at Athloue: for the place VVee know it is scituate very well, to answere all seruices, and (as things stand) Vlster hath neede of good di|stribution now, as much as Connaght, wherein as VVe can very well like that you doe prepare for residence in that place, whereby the limits of Our Pale may bee enlarged, so VVe wish you, that both in Vlster and in Connaght, you doe fashion the command|ment in such sort, as one Gouernour haue not too much Countrie to rule; for where men are more absolute then ordinary, they are commonly apt to vse things with lesse care and mod-

eration, so as in that matter VVee confesse to you, that VVee had ra|ther haue many good subiects imployed in many places, then any one to manage 248 too much. For the matter of charge of your residence (because we know not what charge belongs vnto it, to make the place capable, nor how it may stand with the State of the Towne of Dublyn, which is a Port, and not to be ouerthrowne, standing so commodiously for passage out of England), We would haue all circumstances wel considered, and then you shall receiue more of Our direction.

Lastly for Tyrone, We doe so much mislike to giue him any grace, that hath beene the onely author of so much effusion of bloud, and the most vngratefull Viper to Vs that raised him, and one that hath so often deceiued Vs, both when hee hath craued his pardon, and when he hath receiued it of Vs, as when Wee consider how much the VVorld will impute to Vs of weakenesse, to shew fauour to him now, as if with|out that we could not giue an ende to this Rebellion, VVee still remaine determined, not to giue him grace in any kinde. And seeing it is vnsafe for any Prince to make all faults appeare veniall; because euery offender will thereby become insolent, and seeing in common reason the cutting off so many associates, must needes haue left him a bodie without limmes, and so not worthy Our respecting, VVee doe very well allow of your late reiecting him. For when VVee looke on his manner of seeking mercy at all times, VVe doe still certainely conclude, that it is done vpon some pra|ctise to serue some present turne, seeing one day hee onely desires simple mercy for his life, and another day falles to capitulate, neither can VVee see why so much de|pends vpon his reduction, when, for ought VVe know, no man can aduise vs, if hee should come in, and bee at libertie hereafter, out of Our hands, how VVee could bee so assured of him, but that still Wee must bee in doubt of him, and at the same charges VVee are at, to containe him and his, notwithstanding their for|mer reduction, which if VVee must account to bee at (whomsoeuer or whatso|euer VVee recouer), VVee shall take small contentment in that victory, wher|of the ende would bee worse then the beginning. And therefore mistake not this Our carnestnesse in this point, as if it proceeded from any opinion, that you haue de|meaned your selfe otherwise, then became you in the charge committed to you: for VVe would haue you know for your comfort, that VVe approue all the courses you haue held, since you tooke the Sword in your whole Gouernement, to haue been a|companied with diligence, wisdome, and good successes, and so VVe accept the same at your hands. For N. N. his proceedings with the Traitor, although VVee doe not allow of his boldnesse to doe such a thing without your direction, yet VVee haue so little reason, by the course of his seruice, to doubt of his affection, as VVe do dispence with that errour, in which VVe assure our selues hee meant no harme. Giuen vnder Our Signet, at Our Mannor of Richmond, the ninth day of October, 1602, in the foure and fortieth yeere of our Raigne.

The first of Nouember, Rory O Donnell (brother to O Donnell lately dead in Spaine, whom in the Summer following you shall see created Earle of Terconnell), hauing made humble sute to the Lord Deputy for her Maiesties mercy, and finding that his Lordship made doubt of his true meaning, did by his letters dated the first of No|uember earnestly protest, that hee did desire from his heart, and had long desired to become a subiect, though for the present he had the command of all his brothers for|ces, and had receiued promise of helpe to bee sent this next

Summer from Spaine or Rome . And to obtaine this mercy he pleaded, that his brother went out vpon his priuate discontent against the will of his father and himselfe, being enabled by stran|gers to force them. That his Grandfather by Henrie the eighth for his good ser|uice to the Crowne was Knighted, and had his Countrie giuen him and his heires by letters Pattents. That his predecessors had long serued the Crowne against the [...]. That himselfe had often sought to become a subiect, and for the same had been imprisoned by his brother, with many dangers of his life. Lastly, that now, assoone as he had made himselfe master of his brothers forces, hee humbly offered to submit himselfe, and of late had suffered the Gouernour of Connaght to passe by him with 249 the Queenes forces, lest by fighting with them, hee should incense the State against himselfe and his people. And touching Neale Garue, whereas he had a grant of part of his brothers lands, he offered to proue, that he had since that grant agreed with his brother, to ioyne with him against the English forces, as soone as the Spaniards should arriue in Ireland, and be able to keepe the field. Hereupon the Lord Deputy sent him her Maiesties protection by Captaine Gore, with direction to come vnto his Lord|ship, so soone as hee should be in Connaght, whether hee intended shortly to take his iourney.

About this time the Lord Deputy imployed Sir Garret Moore (of English race) into the Brenny, where all the Rebels submitted, and gladly receiued her Maiesties protecti|on: among them one of the O Relyes came with one hundred men, and Mac Gaurons sonnes with fiftie men, and some one thousand Cowes from Ororke, being the greatest strength hee had. And another of the O Relyes; being refused pardon, vndertooke to bring in Mac Guyres head, so he might haue her Maiesties pardon, which Mac Guyre had abused her Maiesties Protection, into which the Gouernour of Ballishannon had formerly receiued him.

At the same time Tyrone sent to the Lord Deputie by Sir Garret Moore, an absolute submission to the Queenes mercie, and wrote to the Lord Deputy, that howsoeuer the shewing of this submission might hinder him from receiuing the aides hee expe|cted out of Spaine, yet he had sent it, in confidence that his Lordship would deale ho|nourably with him. This submission was in these words.

RIght Honourable Lord, your worthy endeuours in her Maiesties seruice, and pro|cesse of time, haue sufficiently taught me, how improuidently I haue perscuered in action, wheras heretofore vpo my submission I might haue hoped, her Maiesty would haue receiued me to her mercy, vnto which action I was enforced for saueguard of my life only, which was indirectly sought for by her Maiesties officers, as is known to sun|dry persons of credit here, and her subiects; and that before I was proclaimed traitor, I ne|uer sent letters into Spaine, or receiued any fro thence, though afterwards I was anima|ted to continue in Action vpon hope of Spanish aide, and promise of many confede|rates, of both which being disappointed, my estate is greatly decreased, and though I might perhaps be able to hold out for a time, yet am I weary of the course I held, and do much repent me of the same, most humbly and with a penitent heart desiring and wishing to bee reconciled to my Prince, and to be receiued to her Maiesties mercy, whom I am right sorry I haue so much offended and prouoked, and yet I know that her Maiesties mercy is greater then mine offences, the rather that at the first I did not wilfully oppose my selfe against her Maiesty, but for safety of my life was driuen in|to action as aforesaid, and for my

continuance therein I submit my selfe to her Ma|iesties mercy and grace, acknowledging her Maiesty alone to be my naturall Prince, and my selfe her vnworthy subiect: but if her Highnesse will vouchsafe, of her accu|stomed Grace, to grant not onely pardon to me, my kinsemen and followers, and vn|to mine adherents, in their owne names, and vpon their seuerall submissions, but also to restore me and them to our pristinate blood and possessions, I will from henceforth both renounce all other Princes for her, and serue her Highnesse the residue of my life, humbly requesting, euen of your Honour, now that you haue brought mee so low, to remember I am a Noble-man, and to take compassion on me, that the ouer|throw of my house and posterity may bee preuented by your good meanes and ho|nourable care towards her Maiesty for mee, which with all humility I desire and will accept: And for the better doing hereof, if your Lordship doe mislike any of the Arti|cles which I did send vnto you, I pray your Lordship to appoint either some of the priuy Counsell, or some Gentlemen of worth, to conferre with mee; and your Lord|ship shall find me conformable to reforme them.

The twelfth of Nouember 1602. Subscribed Hugh Tyrone.

The thirteenth day the Lord Deputy was aduertised that Captaine Tyrrell vpon a mutiny betweene him and the Rebels of Kerry, had left Mounster, and hauing some 250 sixe hundred men with him, was comming back into Lenoster, and it was thought that Tyrone would send him to Orowrke, to assist him in the defence of his Countrey.

About the eighteenth of Nouember his Lordship began his intended iourny into Connaght, and by the way this following letter from Tyrone, to Oconnor Sligo, being in|tercepted, was sent to his Lordship.

VVE commend vs vnto you Oconnor Sligo, we haue receiued your letter, and as formerly we haue written vnto you, wee haue remained in Fermannagh wel|nigh this quarter of a yeere, and haue often written vnto you, and to Odonnels sonne, and requested you to come and see vs neere Logh Earne, concerning our Counsels ei|ther for peace or warre, and neither of you came thither to meet vs: We thought that you and O Donnels sonne, and Ororke, and O Connor Roe, and our selues, as many of vs as are of our faction, would haue maintained warre for a great time, and to that end, we came to these parts, and haue Forgone so many of our owne people, as haue not ri|sen with vs: But seeing that O Rorke (if it be true) and O Connor haue receiued prote|ction, and that euery one doth make peace for himselfe, wee may all easily be deemed men broken, and not substantiall in warre: but concerning our counsell and aduice which you write for, our aduice vnto you is neither to make peace nor cessation, but that peace or cessation which shall be made by all our consents and agreements; and if you doe otherwise, stand to the hazard your selues, for you shall not haue my con|sent thereunto.

Subscribed, Oneale.

The Lord Deputy tooke the foresaid iourney into Connaght, as well to take order with the Rebels in action, which had sent messengers to Dublyn in their names to craue the Queenes mercy, as also to view the Towne of Galloway, and to consider how the discent of forraigne enemies might best be preuented, by building of a Fort vpon the Hauen. Before his Lordships comming, Sir Oliuer Lambert the Gouernour, with the Forces vnder him, had made a iourney, wherein he quite banished Mac William out of the County Maio. His Lordship hauing made some stay in the Pale, came to Athlone the second of December, and lay in the Castle,

being very strong, and diuided from the Towne by a bridge ouer the Riuer Shannon, where the Gouernour and the Counsell for that Prouince made their residence.

Here the foureteenth of December, O Connor Sligo, and Rowry Odonnell, (brother to the Traitor O Donnell lately dead in Spaine) two Rebels of greatest power in those parts, came to his Lordship, and made their humble submission to her Maiesty. O Con|nor Sligo alleaged many things in his owne excuse, as the manner of O Donnels taking him and keeping him in prison, and submitted himselfe to her Maiesties mercy. Rowry O Donnell, albeit he had vnder him all his brothers followers and creaghts, yet did hee both simply and absolutely submit himselfe to her Maiesties Grace, without standing vpon any conditions, but signifying his readines to deliuer such pledges as should be demanded of him, all such Castles (as Ballymote, and others in the County of Sligo) which hee had gotten into his possession, and to doe any thing that hee might receiue her Maiesties fauour, alleadging further that his Father and Grand-father had beene true seruiters, that he himselfe, with the priuity of Sir Coniers Clifford, then Gouernour, had resolued to haue serued her Maiesty against his brother, but vpon the discouery of his purpose, he was kept in irons, (a matter well knowne to be true), and now most franckly offering his seruice, (if he might be receiued), either here or beyond the Seas, wheresoeuer her Maiesty would be pleased to employ him, which manner of carriage, proceeding from a man of good spirit, actiue and wise, induced the L. Deputy to receiue him, and did in some sort moue all the Counsell to pitty his case, that he did no soo|ner submit himselfe, and the rather because they did foresee how noteable an instru|ment he might be made, to bridle the insolency of Sir Neale Garue, (which was growne intollerable), of whom they thought he might be the best curbe that could be deuised. And therefore they resolued at their comming to Dublin, to send for the said Sir Neale and this Competitor, and with the aduice of the rest of the Counsell, seriously to consi|der how to prouide for, and to dispose of them both, wherein albeit they purposed to 251 giue vnto Sir Neale the benefit of her Maiesties gratious promise, yet did they think it a thing very expedient for her seruice and the settling of Tirconnell, that some compe|tent portions in Tirconnel should be allotted to this Gentleman, in which point they by letters humbly prayed the Lords in England to moue her sacred Maiesty to send vnto them her Highnes warrant for taking such a finall order between the , as by the general aduise and consent of this Counsell should be thought fittest for her Maiesties seruice.

The Lord Deputie proceeding on his iourney to Galloway, kept his Christmas there, and in that Towne, all the Rebels of that Prouince (the Flahertyes, the Mac Dermotts of the Courlewes, Connor Roe, and diuers others) submitted themselues, and were re|ceiued, and so for the present this Prouince was brought to quietnesse.

Onely the proud, insolent, faithlesse Bryan, Ororke, notwithstanding his former humble message sent to the L. Deputy touching his desire to be receiued to mercie, absented himselfe, and hauing drawne vnto him Tyrones Mac Guyre (whom for his de|ceitfull and treacherous dealing, the Lord Deputie had banished out of Fermannagh, and exposed to prosecution), and the Traytor Tyrell (lately come out of Mounster) and trusting to the Fastnesse of his Country, persisted in his Rebellion. And therefore, al|beit his Lordship did foresee the manifold difficulties which must grow in his prose|cution, yet did hee hold it very necessary to take the present opportunity to scourge him seuerall waies, be-

fore the Spring, and before his forraigne hopes might giue him any further incouragement. And for this ende, as hee had appointed a proportion of victuals and other necessaries, to bee presently brought from Lymrick to Athlone, so now he resolued to furnish Sir Oliuer Lambert with an Army to surprise his Countrie Leytrim, and to take it in to her Maiesties hands. Sir Henrie Follyot also, with the assi|stance of Rowrie O Donnell, (who already had done some seruice against O Rorke) was appointed from Sligo, and those parts, to enter into his Country, and his Lordship in|tended presently to raise a third Army, to bee sent from the Pale to annoy him, by which course his Lordship hoped, this Rebell should not be able long to subsist in his pride and contempt.

The submission of the foresaid Rebels was made by each of them in writing, and in these words following:

First, I doe acknowledge Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland to be the only true, absolute and Soueraigne Lady of this Realme of Ire|land, and of euery part, and of all the people thereof, vnto whose gratious mercy I doe humbly submit my selfe, my lands and goods; and withall faithfull repentance for my vnnaturall disobedience vnto her Roiall Maiesty, doe most earnestly implore her mer|cy and pardon, for my selfe, and such of my followers as with me haue been seduced to this wicked Rebellion.

Further, I do renounce all and any manner of obedience vnto any other Power or Potentate, which I ow only to my said dread Soueraigne Elizabeth, and vtterly abiure any dependancy and adherence to any of her enemies whatsoeuer, or disloyall sub|iects, and doe promise, sweare and vow, from henceforth to liue in her subiection in al dutie and obedience, and to vse my best endeuours, to the vttermost of my power, to withstand and confound any enemy either forraigne or domesticall, that shall attempt any thing against the sacred person or estate of her Maiestie, or to the hurt of her faith|full and obedient subiects, and especially, and namely, I doe renounce (as before) and promise my endeuours (as aforesaid) against the King of Spaine, and the Arch-Tray|tor the Earle of Tyrone.

All this as I do vpon my saluation sweare to performe sincerely, so if I doe herein breake my oth, I doe acknowledge my selfe not onely to be worthy of all infamy and extreme punishment, but to be euer after accounted vnworthy the name of a Christi|an, or the society of men, to the which as I haue vnfainedly sworne, so I do now in wit|nesse hereof set to my hand.

In Christmas holidayes his Lordship viewed the Towne of Galloway, and iudging it a place of great importance to be preserued from being possessed by any forraine ene|mie, he gaue present direction to finish that Fort, the building whereof was alreadie 252 begun, in a place well chosen, both to command the Hauen, and to defend the Towne from forraigne inuasion. During his Lordships abode in Galloway, he receiued this fol|lowing letter from the Lords in England.

AFter our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship, her Maiestie hath heard of your whole letter, brought by Sir Henrie Dauers, bearing date the tenth of Nouember, in answere to one of her Maiesties of the ninth of October, wherein you doe preuent (in some things) such directions as were digested into a dispatch rea|dy to be signed and sent you, as namely, in the matter of exchange for one point (and so of some others) wherein her Maiestie hauing heard the Apologie of you the Trea|surer being (as she is, euer) readie to interpret gratiously, those actions which are well meant, though they succeed not alwaies as is wished, though she had giuen vs charge to write much more par-

ticularly in that matter, yet now hath been pleased to com|mand vs only to let you know Master Treasurer, that (although you shal neuer need to excuse your integrity, because she neuer doubted it) yet she can not free you and your Ministers from such ouersights, as haue encreased the burthen of this Exchange. For though one part of your answer is, that new things must be settled with plausible cir|cu stances at the entrie, yet these are her own words, that you should not haue thought it new (long agoe) to haue stopped that current, when you saw it carried so much con|trarie to the true meaning of the Proclamation, euen now that the institution hath been on foot almost two yeeres, and that such a summe of money is returned backe a|gaine by you, when the issue of the new coyne hath bin no greater, seeing (that excep|ted which spends in the lendings of the Army) a small quantitie hath been otherwise dispersed in the Kingdome, so as surely it may not be denied, but many of these Bilies might haue been kept from the Banke, if your deputies had been as carefull as they ought. For although Captaines and Souldiers, and Merchants (carrying and deliue|ring necessaries for the Army) were by her Maiesties institution intended to be relie|ued in their reasonable and iust demands, yet who could euer thinke, that her Maiesty euer intended, that Merchants should haue been suffered to sell those Merchandize for 300l. there, which cost them but one 100l. here, and then turne that 300l. vpon the Exchange, or that Captaines and officers would make ouer foure times more money by one bill, then their whole entertainement comes to in a yeere. And therefore fore|sight hereof (by the experience dearely bought) makes her Maiestie now resolue in her last order, that she wil not allow any exchange, but onely to the Army, and such as doe relieue the same, and that she meanes from henceforth shall bee iustly answered, how soeuer it may bee, that some seditious persons, misliking that these vnreasonable Billes haue been looked into (and so some suspence of paiment made) may speak scan|dalously, either of the past or future, when already there is deliuered to your Deputie Master Treasurer, ten or twelue thousand pounds, and more shall follow after, to|wards the discharge. And now to come to that which followes, and doth require ex|pedition, your LP shall vnderstand, that the greatnes of her Maiesties Army being such, as she cannot beare it vp, without extreme preiudice to her state and Kingdome, she hath commanded vs hereby to let you know, that shee is not satisfied with this a|batement of 1000, but doth command you with all possible expedition, to reduce the Army to 12000 foot and 1000 horse, a matter which she findeth good to do in her wis|dome, not onely for the necessitie of the expence, but out of this iudgement, that she shall be sufficiently able to prouide for the defence against forraigne power, before the storme shall fall, without which occasion, considering your owne relation of the weakenesse and desperate estate of the rebell, with the desire of the rest to come from him, she perswadeth her selfe that this List (well compounded out of the Bands that are cashered) will be strong enough against any home rebellion, and so much the ra|ther, if you make it as much English as you can, by ridding as many of the Irish as you thinke meete, in all which, for the persons and places, shee referres it wholly to your owne best iudgement. And now that wee are speaking of the Army, wee thinke it fit to remember vnto you, that it is a great errour in the Officers of the Ministers of that Kingdome, that the Masters (which is one of the principall 253 keyes of her Maiesties charge) is no better ordered. The fraude whereof doth euident|ly appeare,

seeing that Army which is kept vpon such a height in List and payment, is knowne and confessed (euen by the Captaines themselues) to be so extreamely defe|ctiue in their numbers; for although we are not ignorant, that multiplicitie of Garri|sons hinder the possibilitie of exact Musters, yet there is difference betweene tollera|ble imperfections, and those grosse negligences which are vsed by the Ministers of that seruice, whereof the World is apt sometimes to accuse those, that should (both here and there) censure the offenders, as those that doe commit the faults vn punished; Herein wee intreat your LP and that Counsell to make our case your owne, and then to consider, whether we can well discharge our duties to her Maiestie, when (in time of so great an expence) we are not able to shew her any manner of account of her Ar|my by any authenticall certificate, more then euery Captaine or passenger can relate vnto vs, no not for the expence of eight or ten moneths time. In which point of the Musters we thinke it not amisse to say something to you, what wee conceiue concer|ning the Checque vpon apparrell. First, the order set downe very carefully and at large for the manner of the deliuerie and the Checque to be raised vpon the apparrel, is not obserued, the due obseruation whereof would aduantage the checque of the apparrell very much. For such souldiers as are sent from vs thorowly apparrelled of|tentimes haue apparrell there againe (at the time of their deliuery) giuen them, especi|ally those that are dispersed into Bands, to fill them vp, whereby we see her Maiesties double charge, though speciall warning hath been giuen thereof from hence. And dai|ly able men are suffered to come ouer hither (as of late tenne of those that were set out of the County of Lincolne in the late leauy), and by the examination taken here late|ly, it is proued, that money is giuen to procure them pasports, and none of those soul|diers of the late leauies doe stand her Maiestie and the Countrie (before they arriue there) in lesse then sixe pound a man, The order is not obserued that hath been pre|scribed, that no souldier should bee discharged but by Passe from the Lord Deputie, Principall Gouernour, or chiefe Commanders; for daily diuers come ouer with Passes of their Captaines, and diuers are sent away together in one passe (sometimes to the number of thirtie) and few of them maimed, and those bring no other passes then from the Maior where they are set on land here. In all which, and other particular duties though the Muster Master, Comptroller, and such other officers may be thought to be onely responsable in such cases, wherewith they are trusted), yet the authority which your Lordship hath, and the meanes you haue to distinguish how and when things of that nature may be in some good sort reformed, and the persons offending therein being in your eie to behold both them and their doing, and in your power to rule and punish them, as you finde cause, doth impose vpon you thus much either to call vpon them, and to chastise them, or else to deliuer your owne iudgement, which when we shall receiue from you, and thereof informe her Maiestie, it would in|clude your care and ours to haue it otherwise, and would satisfie the expectation and discourse of this time, when her Majesties subiects (being bitten with accidentall charges of the warres) begin now to thinke, that much of that which her Maiestie im|poseth here at home, is not necessarie, but rather voluntarie, or for lacke of care and prouidence in the expence, vnprofitably wasted, especially now they heare of nothing but victories and improbabillity of forraigne power, and yet finde no difference be|tweene the present state of her Maiesties charge, and that which shee was at when there was a Spanish Army in that Kingdom. We

haue also thought good to let your Lordship know, how great confusion it breedes in her Maiesties expence, that those of her Counsell there (while your Lordship hath beene wholly conuer|sant in millitarie causes) haue not called to their answere, nor (according to their desert) haue punished such Commissaries of victuals there, as haue made priuate gaine to them selues, by sale of the victual committed to their charge, without warrant from vs, or direction from the Purueors here (their superiours), whereof from you we haue receiued both aduertisement and mislike. But especially for that you of the Counsell there haue neuer called vpon nor strictly charged the Com|missaries 254 to bring in their accounts, in so much as there remaineth yet vnaccoun|ted for (for any thing wee know) the whole charge of those victuals, which wee haue carefully sent ouer, and whereof wee haue receiued certificate of the safe ar|riuall, for the space of almost two yeeres, of which Masse (if the same be recko|ned) your Lordship shall find it little lesse then the value of one hundred threescore thousand pound, whereof your Lordship may thus conclude, that either the summes defalked are great (which remaine in the Treasurers hands) or else the remaine in specie is so great with the Commissaries, as her Maiestie might haue spared the prouisions lately sent ouer, by which the Treasure hath been so mightily exhau|sted; or else the wasts must bee such, as are not onely to bee reiected in the ac|counts, but the Authors thereof seuerely to bee punished. A matter wherein wee write the more earnestly to your Lordship, (from whom wee would haue all ex|ception taken, that wee assure our selues, you deserue not,) because we heare that a great part of the waste shall bee excused, sometimes by the auowing that it hath been cast on their hands, because the souldier hath not been inioyned to take it, and that some other time they haue been commanded to remoue it, and carrie it from place to place, by which they pretend great losse; and (which of all things is most subiect to suspition in them), that it is taken for a good warrant in Ire|land, to allow of any wastes, for which a Commissarie can produce a certifficate from a poore Maior, Soueraigne or Bailiffe of a Towne or Port, which how casily it is obtained, your Lordships owne wisedome can best iudge, who are so well acquain|ted with the pouertie and condition of that place. Further, because no one thing is more heauy to the Queene and the Realme, then the matter of victualling (where|in it is no way possible for vs to doe more here), and that wee perceiue by your let|ter of the two and twentieth of September, amongst other things, that your Lord|ship is not well satisfied in diuers things concerning the victuals, wee thinke it not a|misse to handle some particular points of that matter, which wee wish all those of the Counsell (and all other interested in the care of those things) may well vnderstand, because you may the better (another time) answere those arguments, with which they seeke to satisfie you, when in truth (if they examine themselues), whatsoeuer they lacke, it proceedeth most from their owne default. First, whereas in the letter aforesaid you note, how slowly such victuals doe arriue there, as haue been prouided here vpon request made by your Lordship, we answere, that Newcomen (whom you sent ouer) is able to giue you satisfaction, that presently vpon his comming ouer hi|ther, and perusall of your Lordships demaunds, there was no delay vsed by vs, to sa|tisfie you in such sort as might be to your Lordships contentment, and to serue the Army and Garrisons, and (because Newcomen was not only made priuie, but did both thinke the prouision appointed to be sufficient to answere your Lordships desire, and the vse

of the Armie and Garisons, and is one of the vndertakers for those prouisions of victuals) he is much to blame if he haue not particularly discharged that trust. True it is, that we conceiue you haue cause to maruell, that in so great distance of time, so smal quantitie of so great a masse as was prouided, hath arriued there, which if it hath hap|pened by contrariety of winds onely, then must your Lordship be satisfied, and wee excused. But howsoeuer it be, by the coppie of the Contracts [...] vnto your Lord|ship by vs, with the charge the victuals did amount vnto, we doubt not but you rest thorowly satisfied of our care, and leaue vs rather cause to suspect, that our former let|ters written to your Lordship concerning the victualing causes, haue not come to your hands, or that the contents of them are out of your remembrance. For in them, namely, that of the fourth of August last, wee did not onely send your Lordship (as formerly wee did of all the rest) a coppie of the contract made by the victualers, but did satisfie you in diuers things whereof we doe find you do complaine, which by our former letters we deliuered and signified at large, and we both remember well the things you noted, and the course we held for your satisfaction. To which we ad nothing more, but doe repeate vnto you, that we then did say in that point, that wee finde it a great fault in the Commissaries of the victuals there, that they do neuer informe you 255 of the arriuall of victuals in those parts, nor vpon what contract they are prouided, which would well become both the Commissarie and Surueior of the victuals; for by many letters sent from him to vs, we are particularly certified both of the victuals that arriue there, and vpon what contract they are furnished. Besides, the victualers here doe protest, that they doe prouide no victuals at all, but for the vse of the Ar|mie, and to furnish the contracts, so as what quantities soeuer are sent thither, the same are to be taken for her Maiesties vse, and to bee accounted to furnish the con|tracts, vntill they bee compleate, and then the ouerplus is to passe to serue the next contract. For it may fall out, that such victuals as are sent to one place, may by con|trarietie of winds arriue in another Prouince or Port, which now (as the Purueiours doe informe vs) hath of late happened to one of their Barkes driuen into Corke, and there staied by the Gouernour, which should haue come to Galloway, and so that Towne thereby disfurnished, and those that are sent sooner from hence may arriue la|ter, and sometimes miscarry. But the chiefest matter that doth breede scruple, doubt, and matter of abuse, is that there are not appointed there in the vsuall Ports, where there are Magizines (as in Dublin, Carlingford, Corke, Lymricke, Carickfergus, Lough|foyle, and Galloway) some sufficient persons, who with the Maior and Officers of the Ports, may ouer-see the vnlading of the victuals from time to time, and take know|ledge of the goodnesse of the victuals, and the quantities of the same, and to charge the Surueyors of the victuals to performe their duties likewise, and to be enformed of the fame, and certifie you thereof, wherein, or in any other sort, if any abuse be com|mitted by the Commissaries, it is both the earnest request of the Vndertakers, and our absolute desire, and that which your Lordships place doth require, to see some exemplary punishment inflicted vpon them for their euill carriage, which may and ought to be reformed. So as for an answere to that letter, we must still referre you to our former letters, namely, those of the fourth of August last, forasmuch as is to bee performed by vs here, who see and heare with others eyes and eares in that place, and not our owne.

And where wee doe vnderstand by your late letters also, that the Commissaries and

Agents for the Vndertakers, doe refuse to take beèues at twentie shillings a piece, the victualers here doe not onely deny the same to be done by their priuitie, but earnestly beseech vs (as often they haue done) that they may haue them at that price, and in our letters sent by Necowmen, at their entreatie we did require, that your Lordship would bee pleased to take order, they might haue at reasonable rates such beeues as were taken from the enemie, which sute they doe renew, and doe assure vs, they will bee glad to receiue them at that rate. And forasmuch as many great and heauie accounts are to bee taken, before either reckonings can bee cleared, or faults clearely distinguished, her Maiestie hath resolued immediatly after Christmas, to send ouer some well chosen Commissioners, both for integritie and experience in all things in this nature, to examine and suruey the state of her Maiesties receipts and issues, To whom, as shee nothing doubteth, but your Lordship (whose zeale and care appeares so greatly in her Maiesties seruice) will giue the best support which you can possibly afford them, so her Maiestie requireth your Lordship now vpon conference with the Counsell there, to appoint a day for all those inferiour persons, who haue any thing to doe with the matters of accounts receipts, and expence, to come to Dublin, to the intent that those which shall be sent ouer, may not loose their time, by attending their repaire from remote places, nor your Lordship (whose eyes and iudge|ment will giue great light to that Commission) may bee otherwise distracted by a|ny new iournies, or prosecutions, to which the growing on of the yeere may in|uite you. For the present desire you haue that some Commissioners should be sent ouer for the passing of some lands to the Submitties, with such reseruations as are fittest for her Maiestie, shee meaneth presently to send ouer authorite accor|dingly, liking very well (amongst othings) that you intend to cut off all depen|dancy vpon the Irish Lords, which is one very necessarie consideration. Lastly, because your Lp and the Counsell may know, that although it is not to be looked for 256 at the hands of any Prince, that they should vnnecessarily keepe Companies in pay for the reliefe of any Captaine, yet because her Maiesty in her owne disposition in|tendeth nothing lesse, then to neglect those seruitors of hers, whom you shall testifie to haue deserued extraordinarily, being like to suffer penury by this cashering, shee hath willed vs to let you know, that shee is pleased to continue to euery such Captaine, and so many other Officers as you thinke necessary, their ordinary pay; whereby they may bee enabled to maintaine themselues there about you, for many good purposes, vntill some other occasion offer itselfe to imploy them elsewhere, or some Company there fall within your gift, to conferre it vpon them, which being done, that entertainement may cease. And now that you perceiue her Maiesties reso|lution, whereof shee hath much hastened the sending away vnto you, (in which re|spect wee cannot so particularly touch all things as we would); wee must now con|clude, that howsoeuer her Maiesties pleasure is, that those errours of subordinate Ministers in these matters of accompts and reckonings, should be thus mentioned to your Lordship and that Counsell, that is onely to make it appeare, how serious a re|formation is expected from you: And though shee seeth how fearefull your Lord|ship is, without a more particular commandement (what numbers to diminish) to haue made so large an abatement as shee commandeth you, not knowing how soone you might haue cause to vse them for her seruice, yet her Maiesty is so farre from im|putiug it to any errour in iudgement, or lacke of zeale in you to

her seruice, as shee confesseth shee hath beene too blame for not commanding it, and not you for not doing it, whose care, toile, and perill, as they haue beene more then any Gouernour hath vndergone before you, so may your Lordship take this comfort also, that the successe which it hath pleased God to giue you, doth make your selfe an acceptable Minister to your Prince and Countrey, and maketh all vs very glad (both for the publike, to which wee owe our first duties, and for your owne priuate, who shall euer find it in all things fit for vs to performe towards you). From the Court at White-Hall the 22 of Nouember 1602.

A Lyst of the Army as it stood the first of Ianuarie, 1602.

horse.

The Lord Deputie, 100. The Lord President, 100. The Earle of Thomond, 50. The Earle of Clanrickard, 50. Sir Henrie Dockwra, 100. Sir Arthur Chichester, 25. Master Mar|shall, 50. Sir William Godolphin, 50. Sir Francis Stafford, 50. Sir Garret Moore, 25. Sir Henry Harrington, 25. Sir Oliuer Lambert, 25. Sir Oliuer S. Iohns, 25. Sir Richard Greame, 50. Sir Edward Harbert, 12. Sir Francis Rush, 12. Captaine Iohn Iephson, 100. Sir Henrie Folliot, 50. Captaine William Taffe, 50. Captaine Flemming, 25. Captaine Geo. Greame, 14.

horse 1000.

Foote.

The Lord Deputy, 200. The Lord President, 200. The Earle of Kildare, 150. The Earle of Thomond, 200. The Earle of Clanrickard, 150. The Earle of Ormond, 150. The Lord Audley, 150. Sir George Cary, Treasurer, 100. Sir Henrie Dockwra, 150. Sir Oliuer Lambert, 150. Sir Arthur Chichester, 200. Sir Kichard Wingfeild, 150. Sir Francis Stafford, 200. Sir Oliuer S. Iohns, 200. Sir Foulke Conway, 150. Sir Samuel Bagnol, 150. Sir Richard Me|ryson, 200. Sir Garret Moore, 100. Sir Francis Shane, 100. Sir Christopher S. Laurence, 150. Sir Henrie Follyot, 150. Sir George Bourcher, 100. Sir Francis Rush, 150. Sir Iames Fitz Peirce, 100. Sir Tho. Lofties, 100. Sir Henry Power, 150. Sir Edward Harbert, 100. Sir William Fortescue, 150. Sir Charles Willmott, 150. Sir Richard Peircy, 150. Sir Edward Fitz Gerald, 100. Sir Francis Barkely, 150. Sir Ben. Berry, 150. Sir Mat. Morgan, 150. Sir Tib. Dillon, 100. Sir Tho. Bourke, 150. Sir Geo. Thornton, 100. Sir Garret Haruey, 150. Sir Ed. Wingfeild, 200. Captaine Edw. Blaney, 150. Capt. Tobey Cawfeild, 150. Capt. Iosias Bodley, 150. Capt. Hen. Atherton, 150. Capt. Edward Treuer, 100. Capt. Ric. Hansard, 200. Capt. Ferdinand Freckle|ton, 100. Capt. Francis Roe, 150. Capt. Lau. Esmond, 150. Capt. Tho. Williams, 150. Capt. Ly|onell Ghest, 150. Capt. Tho. Roper, 150. Capt. Tho. Rotheram, 150. Capt. Ralph Constable, 100 257 Capt. Ralph Bingley, 100. Capt. Tho. Badbey, 100. Capt. Ellis Flyod, 100. Capt. Lewis O. rell, 100. Capt. Ellis Iones, 150. Capt. Edw. Leigh, 100. Capt. Edw. Basset, 100 Capt. Tho. coach, 150. Capt. W. Winser, 150. Capt. Roger Orme, 100. Capt. Nich. Pinner, 100 Capt. Ioh. Sidney 100. Cap. W. Stafford, 100. Cap. Ralph Sidley, 100. Capt. Bassel Brooke, 100. Capt. 10 Vaugh|en, 100. Capt. H. Sackford, 100. Capt. Tho. Phillips, 100. Capt. Roger Langford, 100. Capt. I. Phillips, 100. Capt. H. Malby, 100. Capt. Tho. Bourke, 100. Capt. Tibott Bourke, 100. Cap. Rich. Hensle for Pioners, 100. Sir Francis Kinsmill, 150. Capt. Geo. Kinsmill, 100. Capt. Eo|stock, 100. Capt. Sam Harrison, 100. Capt. Iames Blonnt, 100. Capt. H. Skipwith, 100. Capt. Edw. Morryes, 100. Capt. Edw. Fisher, 100. Capt. H. Hart, 100. Cap. Abrey Yorke, 100. Cap. Cher. Coote, 100. Capt. Gawen Haruey, 100. Capt. Dorington, 100. Capt. Holcroft,

100. Capt. H. Bakley, 150. Capt. Tho. Boys, 100. Capt. Edw. Legg, 100. Capt. Dennis Dale, 50. Left in Ward at Enishcorthy, 20.

Foote 12, 370.

The fourth of Ianuary, Sir Henry Dockwra Gouernor of Loughsoyle forces, wrote to the Lord Deputie this following letter.

RIght Hon. and my very good Lord; the argument of this my letter shall be onely the testification of my priuat duty, and a little discourse touching Neale Garue, and those Irish, whom I must freely confesse I am more to seeke in what sort to gouerne and vse, to the benefit of her Maiesties seruice, and discharge of my owne duty, then in any other point of the whole businesse. Neales first comming without compulsion, his bringing vs to Liffer, his seruices many times commendably performed in his owne person, the furtherance he gaue vs for planting at Dunagall, the helpe he gaue our men in their greatest wants, when O Donnell besieged them, the losse of his brother in that seruice, the trial of his fidelity, by standing firme in so dangerous a time, and lastly the goods he forsook of his owne to serue the Queene for half pay, are arguments nei|ther vntruly gathered, nor vniustly alleaged to make much in his fauour. On the o|therside, his extreame pride, ambition, and infatiable couetousness, his want of any knowledge when he is well delt with all, his importunitie in all things, right or wrong, his continuall begging, and vnprofitable wasting of whatsoeuer hee gets, his aptnesse to desperate and vnspeakeable discontent for trifles of no worth, his facillitie to bee misliked by men of best qualitie, and his vnderhand iugling (which is too apparant by many Indices) with the Rebels, hee is truly to bee charged with all, as the other good seruices are to be acknowledged. And yet to discountenance him, and challenge him of those faults, were to raise a new warre, and to driue the whole Country (in an vnsea|sonable time) to an obdurate alienation of mind from all English Gouernement. To discharge his people, we shall finde a singular want, for spiall of many things which they giue vs light of, so should wee likewise for gathering of preys, whensoeuer wee goe a iourney, and besides the Armes they haue got amongst vs, and the charge they haue put her Maiestie vnto, the one would hardly be recouered out of their hands, and the other not vnworthily thought to bee an ill peece of seruice to make vtterly lost. Againe, on the other side they giue continuall aduertisements, aswell from vs to the Rebels, as from them to vs. Forts or places of strength alone by themselues, they nei|ther will nor dare abide in, without helpe. To make their peace with O Donnel, they shal uer finde difficulty. To ioyne with the Spaniards (if any come neere to those parts) they may if they will, and will vndoubtedly if the bee neuer so little discontented. In these inconueniences on the one side, and necessitie on the other, I see not (in my iudgement) any better course to bee held, then to temporize somewhat, to feede their humours a while, though it bee chargeable to the Queene, and to min|gle lenity and seueritie so, as some bee punished for these notorious abuses, when they are apparantly proued (let him rage and storme while he wil), and others winked at, whose faults are apparant, and yet more closely carried from direct and manifest proofes, by testimony of witnesses, and therwithall to get what by faire meanes and by force (as I see best occasion to temper them) the best pledges he hath for himselfe, and the best of his people into my hands, and being once possessed of them, to keep them till 258 I see greater cause of assurance of his fidelitie, or at the least a lesse occasion of suspiti|on, which course I am alreadie

entred into, vnder a good colour, as hauing taken his second sonne (the elder being at Dublin) together with two more of the chiefest men about him, with his owne consent, in the name of pledges for others, but in truth most of all for himselfe. I am not ignorant but he will grieuously complaine against me for those courses, and many of our owne Nation will whet him forward, some for want of knowledge of the truth, some blinded with priuate malice against my owne person, and whatsoeuer shall happen amisse vpon cause of his discontentment, will be imputed to me, and the corruption of my dealings, but I flie to your honour for succour, and gladly submit my selfe to a better course, if I may be instructed; for such is the state of the businesse betweene me and him, without partiallitie or malice, both vpon the dutie of my alleageance, and perill of my soule.

Together with this letter, Sir Henry Dockwra sent to his Lordship the copy of the following letter he had lately written to the Lords in England.

MOst Honourable Lords; the iourny mentioned in my former letters, and inten|ded vpon Ocane, I set forward on, before Captain Vaughan departed the Riuer, hauing first shipped all necessary prouisions for planting a Garrison at Colrane, and seene them downe the Lough, with a faire wind to carry them thither, before I set forth. How be it hauing passed through the Countrie, and effected in a manner all things to my owne desire, being come vnto the place, I found not the ship nor any apparance of newes what was become of her, which the Master excuseth, but so, as I leaue to your Lordships to iudge, whether sufficiently or no, this bearer being instru|cted with the full state of the cause. The summe and effect of that iourney was, that notwithstanding this, I sent downe Captaine Orme with two hundred English and the Irish of Enishlowen, to passe ouer at the Greene Castle by water, to the end that he entring at one end of the Countrie, and I at the other, the prey might the more assu|redly be take , or at least the more spoile done, my selfe went ouerland, passed two pa|ces without resistance, entred the third, beate them from defence of it, set fire on their Camp (containing 30 great houses all full of Corne), tooke Ocanes brother prisoner, that had before perfidiously reuolted from the Queenes seruice (whom I sacrificed in the place), and so passed by, not through the Wood, because it was no ordinarily pas|sage, and a faire way did lie by the Sea side hard by, so came into the Plaines and heart of the Countrie, burning and spoiling, till I met that night with Captaine Orme, at a place of strength agreed vpon betweene vs, who comming a way least looked for, lighted vpon the killing of some few of the people, and a small prey of fifty Cowes and fiue hundred sheepe, for with the rest (for all his sudden comming), they made a|way, and got to the Mountaines. For foure daies space together afterwards, I deuided the forces into three bodies, and trauersed first about, and then through the Country, spoiling and burning such a quantity of Corne, and number of houses, as I should hardly haue beleeued so small a circuit of ground could haue afforded, if I had not seene it. And because I failed of meeting the ship, I held my course towards Tyrone, intending (all vnder one iourney) to haue wasted and spoiled as high as Dungannon, but that I was preuented by a sudden thaw of weather, after a long frost and snow (which raised the Riuers, that with much difficulty I could recouer home. But being returned, I met with letters from Dunagal, aduertising me of their great want of victu|all, by reason that the ship (which I had a moneth before dispatched away with all pro|uisions) was not then arriued. Whereupon (hauing diuers other reasons

also to draw me that way) I resolued to make my next iourney thither, and to settle and establish the Garrison of Ballyshannon. So with one hundred Gartons loade of Bisket and mu|nition, I passed vnto them, and happily relieued their greatest wants in a most seasona|ble time. At my comming I found there was a ship from Galloway arriued within the harbor of Calbeg, and during the time I was there, the other that I had sent fro hence, came also into the same harbor, but by extremity of weather (which I was ancie wit|nes vnto) neither of the both was able to put in, either to Ballishannon or Dunnagall, all 259 the time I was there, which was twenty dayes, so that the further fruit of my comming thither, consisted onely in this, that I caused Neale Garue to make a cutting vpon the Country for Cowes, wherwith the garrison was plentifully releeued, went to Ashrawe, and there left foure companies of foot and fifty horse, which I carried from thence, besides those that were at Dunagall before setled, then there got in a sufficient quantity of Corne, to feed the horse neere all the Winter long, fet in turffe and old houses for fewell, by the commodity of the garrous which I carried with me, saw the scituation of Bundroise and Dulike, and all that part of the Countrey, and so returned to Duna|gall, where I tooke in Mac Swine Fannaght, and some others of the Countrey, for whom Neale Garue had vndertaken and deliuered in pledges of his owne, such as in truth I made choice of, more to bridle himselfe, then for any great assurance I thinke they are for the other. Howbeit, the state of things stood in such termes, chiefely by reason of the extreme foulenesse of weather, that I was not altogether vnwillingly drawne to accept of their subiection vpon slender assurance, whom (had the time ser|ued, to compell to other conditions) I should hardly haue delt withall, or giuen care vnto in any sort. But this is the aduantage which I thinke my selfe to haue gained by taking them in, that Neale Garues importunitie is satisfied (who if his humours be alto|gether restrained, will vndoubtedly proue a desperate Rebell), himselfe settled in full possession of his owne Countrie (if he can keep it) furnished with meanes to feede his people of his own, which before I could not be rid of, but he would wring the Queens store, and besides bee alwaies complaining (as hee did still) of his halfe pay, in which notwithstanding he is now lesse to be hearkened vnto, for that the iust and reasonable cullour which he had before, of being banished from all priuate meanes of his owne to maintaine them by, is clearely taken away, and further an opportunitie is gained, that those men which had plaied false before, being returned home, with all their goods, thinking themselues safe and sure vnder protection, may vpon very iustifia|ble reasons hereafter bee looked into, and seized on, when they least expect, and can worst auoide it, whose goods by any other meanes would neuer bee got, but concea|led or done away amongst the Rebels, where we shall neuer finde them. What other benefit is had by settling that Garrison as it is, your Lordships may easily gather out of your owne knowledge, to which the bearer is able to adde somewhat, as hauing li|ued a good space of time thereabout, and going furnished with many instructions and remembrances for that purpose, who will also lay downe vnto your Lordships the state of the Army, as being a Commissarie, and the necessaries requisite to that place, as being a man specially chosen by the Captaines, and in that kind of businesse reque|sted to labour and solicite in their behalfe. The Castle of Ballishannon I could not take, by reason the piece of Artillery was not come, nor any manner of prouision (so much as a boarde) to bee had for the purpose. But all things are now

sent away, which the windes seruing fitly to bring thither, that businesse will bee easily effected. But your Lordship must vnderstand, that the Barre at the comming in, is so shallow (whatsoeuer some vaine men will talke to the contrary), and the rode so open, with|out being couered with any manner of land, as by meere necessitie the ships that shall be imploied in bringing any thing to it, must bee of very small burthen if they get in, and yet, if any weather arrise, forced (whether they be great or small) to make the place of their vnlading at Dunagall, from whence it must bee carried to the other place by land, so that both the charge and trouble thereof will be much more then was expect|ed, or then I could euer be rightly informed of, till I saw it. I haue now assembled the Forces, to make another iourney into Tyrone, but in so vnfit a season of weather, as it yet holds, as I shall be forced to suspend it, till some alteration make the Riuers and high waies more passable.

The next after that, which I meane (God willing) without question to vnder|take, is to accomplish my first intent of settling at Colraine, which I know my selfe able to performe, though the whole force of the Rebels should bee re|turned before I vndertake it. But then shall our Forces bee so farre extended and di|uided asunder, as more then the bare keeping of those holds wee are possessed 260 of, we shall not be able to doe, till a new supply of men arriue, which in my opinion should come most seasonably towards the ending of the next moneth, in that the Cowes, (which now their Corne is gone, is their onely reliefe) are then easiest to be fet away or spoiled. And for any impeachment wee shall haue by the Spaniards, though we be daily threatned by many thundering rumours, yet I see no great reason to suspect their comming hither, nor shall in that respect relie my selfe further then vpon your Lordships better intelligence, and most honourable care, according to the occasions shall be offered. Onely this I must put your Lordships in mind of, that by an Army able to master vs in field, comming furnished with Artillery, the Riuer and all our prouisions both of victuall and munition are easily to bee taken from vs, which notwithstanding wee may much preuent, if our Forts at this place be made vp in time, (which is almost done already), and a couple of good ships of warre lodged at Cullmore for that straight. Whilst I was my selfe at Ballishannon, I must aduertise your Lordships, that I gaue charge to Captaine Willes, lying at Lyffer, that with those Forces I left behind, he should make a iourney vpon Sleught Art, a people in Tyrone, who before my going, made many offers of their subiection, but so as in conclusion I must stand to their curtesie, how long they would continue in that state, and therefore reiected them vtterly. He fell (according to my directions) vpon them, brought away three hundred Cowes, and burned most of their Houses and Corne. They offer againe a new parley, but because I am resolued to take in none of Ty|rone, left their numbers (to feed vpon their owne hungery store) should bee dimini|shed, I doe still refuse them, and will doe all other of that Countrey, except I see some apparant extraordinary and speciall cause to the contrary. So I most humbly recommend my duety and the best seruice I am able to performe to your Lord|ships command. From the Derry the second of Ianuary 1602.

The Lord Deputy being returned from Galloway to Athlone, and being aduertised from Rowry O Donnell, that he had lately done some seruices against O Rowrke, did by his letters of the sixth of Ianuary giue him thankes for the same, incouraging him to driue O Rowrke out of his Countrey, wherein an Army of foure thousand English was then ready to assist him, with as-

surance that her Maiesty was so incensed by O-Rowrkes contempts, as shee was resolued neuer to pardon him, and with promise of that Countrey to him and his heires, if hee ioined his Forces to expell O Rowrke. Further his Lordship assured him, that this should be no barre, but rather a furthe|rance, to his hopes of hauing his brothers lands. For as hee would neuer take from Sir Neale Garue any thing for merly giuen or promised to him, so if hee could proue, that since his submission hee had committed any treason, wherein the other could not by an honourable triall iustifie himselfe, then hee should be sure, that his Lordship would satisfie his best expectations.

The ninth of Ianuary his Lordship in his and the Counsels letter to the Lords in England, after relation of the present affaires, wrote further as followeth.

IN this iourney I the Deputy receiued her Maiesties expresse direction for the re|ducing of her Highnesse Forces to twelue thousand Foot and one thousand horse, which I doe most willingly obey, and for performance thereof, I tooke present order, which now is fully put in execution, though vpon the sudden it could not be done, the Army being diuided in the remote parts of this Kingdome. And albeit I haue giuen straight charge, that out of the new cashered Companies, the bands subsisting should be made strong; yet must I make knowne to your Lordships the difficulties I find to performe this direction, by reason the Souldiers being once cashered, doe vse (notwithstanding any care that we can take) to wander to and fro, and sometimes fall into the Rebels hands, which vse to strip them of their armes and cloathes, some|times into the hands of bordering Subiects, which deale no better with them, and so they become most miserable creatures: so hard a thing is it to keepe them together, to be turned ouer to other Companies, when once they know of their cashering; as I remember your Lordships haue noted the like difficulty in your letters, to keepe 261 together, and to send ouer the whole numbers by you appointed to come into this Kingdome. And in this cashering of Companies, according to her Maiesties ex|presse pleasure, which her Highnesse prescribeth to be of the Irish Companies, that the English may subsist and be made strong, although I would willingly performe this direction; and to that end haue discharged a number of Irish Companies heretofore and now, yet seeing the Arch-rebell doth yet hold out, (albeit I haue directed such a course for his prosecution by Sir Arthur Chichester, who is in pursuit of him, as before the Spring I hope he shall be quite broken), and that this rebel O Rowrke hath drawne such a head together, I thinke it not amisse yet to continue some of the Irish Compa|nies for a time, hoping with Gods good fauour, that ere it be long, I may reduce the Army to a lesser number, and then with more conueniency and lesse danger, may dis|charge the Irish Companies, which in the meane time I will so exercise and employ, as they shall not be idle, but shall be still exposed to endure the brunt of the seruice, vpon all occasions: And touching the continuing of this seruice against the Rebell O-Rowrke and his Confederates, (which we are of opinion may not be delaied), for the preuention of further dangers, as also for the vpholding of her Maiesties Army, in re|gard of the generall scarcity of all sorts of victuals in all parts of this Kingdome, wee humbly pray your Lordships to remember, that a proportion of victuals be sent to Galloway, Ballishannon, and Lymrick, with all speed, without the which we see no meanes how this seruice can be followed, or the Army in generall may be preserued from pe|rishing. For where it is expected by your Lordships that some great

numbers of Beeues, and other victuals may be gotten from the Rebels, we haue already so impo|uerished them by prosecutions, as they are ready to starue. And amongst the Sub|iects of the Pale, their Haruest was so vnseasonable, and their Corne was so destroied by the weather, as numbers of subiects will vndoubtedly die of famine; and we see no meanes for her Maiesties Army in this Kingdome to subsist, especially for this present yeere, but vpon prouisions to be sent out of England, which in discharge of our boun|den duties, wee thought meet plainely to signifie vnto your Lordships, and doe hum|bly leaue it to your carefull prouidence: For such abuses as haue beene committed in disposing of the victuals, we shall be ready vpon the arriuall of such Commissioners, as are purposed to be sent, to yeeld vnto them our best assistance, and in the meane season, to haue all things in readinesse against their comming.

The sixteenth of Ianuary the Lord Deputy receiued the following letter, directed from her Maiesty to his Lordship, and the rest of the Counsell for Ireland.

Elizabeth Regina.

RIght trusty and welbeloued, We greet you well. The abuses which by the frauds of Merchants doe daily multiply in the course of exchange, doe cast vpon Vs so great burthen, and We find them to be so impossible to be preuented, by any cauti|ons that can be deuised, (whereof wee haue sufficient proofe in the like fruit that fol|loweth of the restraints made since the first Proclamation published), as We can find no other way to remedy those inconueniences, but by taking from the Merchant all benefit of exchange, other then hereunder is mentioned, in the forme of a Proclama|tion, which We thinke good to be published in that Kingdome, to make knowne to all men in what manner We intend to allow of the exchange, from the day of the publishing thereof, which therefore you shall cause to be done immediately vpon the receipt of these Our letters. And for that Our intent is by this Proclamation (as you may perceiue by the tenour thereof) to explane all former Proclamations and Orders touching this matter of the exchange, and that from the day of the publishing of this new declaration of Our pleasure, the same onely be taken for the rule of the exchange, and no benefit of Our former Proclamation to be allowed to any; yet because in some of them there bee some clauses meet for Vs to be continued, Wee haue here vnder made a short note of those clauses out of the said Proclamations, which clauses Our pleasure is that you cause to bee taken verbatim, and inserted into this Proclamation when you shall publish it, or else to expresse the substance 262 of them in such words as you shall thinke fit, or to alter or omit any of them, or to adde to this new direction for our aduantage; requiring you in your consideration of this our purpose, to cast aside all priuate respects, and onely to aime at the ease of our great charge, so farre forth as it may be done without inconueniency of greater mo|ment to Our State there, then our charge is to Vs.

The Proclamation.

VPon the alteration of the Standard of Our Monies in this Realme, whereunto Wee were led aswell by examples of Our Progenitors, who had euer made a difference betweene the Monies of this Realme, and Our Realme of England, as also by a necessary prouidence of keeping the sterling Monies, both from the hands of Our Rebels here, and also from transportation into forraigne Countries, which chief|ly by the said Rebels and their Factors was done; We did erect an Exchange for the vse of all sorts of Our Subiects, and others vsing entercourse between these 2 Realmes, for conuerting of Monies of the new Standard of this Realme into sterling Monies in Eng-

land, and of English Monies into those of this Realme reciprocally, hoping that the honest and vpright carriage of Merchants in an equal exercise of trafficke between the two Realmes, would haue caused in the said Exchange an indifferent and mutuall commodity, both to the Merchant for his trade, and to Vs for Our payments, and both their and Our intentions haue concurred, in preseruing the sterling Monies from the Rebels, and from transportation into forraigne Countries: but in this little time of experience which We haue made thereof, being not yet two yeeres past, Wee haue found Our expectation greatly deceiued, and the scope giuen the first institution of the Exchange, exceedingly abused by the slights and cunnings of Merchants, which though Wee did immediatly (vpon the beginning of the Exchange) discouer to be breeding; yet did Wee not thinke that the same would euer haue growne to such a hight, as since We haue perceiued. Wherefore We did by some restrictions and limi|tations seeke to containe those frauds within reasonable bounds; but it falleth out that the remedies proposed, haue beene so farre from the easing of the griefe, as whatsoeuer hath beene by Vs prescribed for the redresse, hath but serued for a ground and pretext of new inuentions of deceipt: for that by the cunning craft of some Merchants, the scope giuen by Our Proclamation to the said Exchange, is so abused, as that some Merchant who hath brought commodities into that Kingdome from hence, hath not beene content to sell the same for reasonable gaine, but hauing raised his price of the same commodity to so much in the new monies, as doe in their true value of siluer al|most counteruaile the sterling he paid for it here, viz. That which cost him ten shil|lings sterling to thirty shillings Irish, after that rate, that which cost him 100 pound to 300 pound, he hath returned to Our Exchange the same 300 pound, which being an|swered him here in sterling, yeeldeth him profit of three for one, which is so great a gaine, as no aduenture of any Merchants into the further most parts of trafficke doth yeeld, and to Vs such a burthen, as if the same should be permitted, were nothing else in effect, but to make Our Exchequer a Mart for the cunning of Merchants to worke vpon: Besides many of them haue of purpose to make profit by the said Exchange, bought vp old bils of debts, from diuers persons, to whom payment hath vpon iust consideration beene deferred, and compounding for the same, for small summes of money of the new Standard, returned the whole vpon Vs by exchange, whereby they haue made an exceeding profit, conrrary to the true meaning of Our Proclamation, intended for the vse and benefit of such, as exercised an honest and direct course of Merchandize. By which fraudes there is euer a great quanrity of monies of the new Standard returned vpon Vs for sterling Monies in this Realme, but neither is there any proportionable quantity of sterling Monies brought in here into the Exchange, nor deliuered into the Banckes to be conuerted into new Monies there: And conse|quently, there doth grow vpon Vs an intollerable burthen, in continuall payments of sterling Monies, and yet the two mischiefes (which were the chiefe cause of altera|tion 263 of Our Standard) not remedied; that is, the preseruing of the sterling Monies from the Rebels, and from transportation into forraigne Countries: For little of it being brought in by Merchants of this Countrey, and the same being not currant to be vsed here amongst Our good Subiects, We find it partly transported, and partly falling into the hands of the Rebels, wherewith they haue beene the better enabled to continue in their wicked courses: Wherefore for redresse of so great abuses daily pra|ctised by Merchants, We

doe hereby publish, that Our meaning is, that from the day of the publishing hereof, the places of exchanging of monies, shall be onely at Dub|lyn for this Our Realme of Ireland, and at London for Our Realme of England, for all such as vse the trade of Merchandize, but for others that are in Our pay, and haue wages of Vs, as being of Our Army, or otherwise, there shall be a Bancke maintained at Corke, as heretofore it was, to receiue their bils, but the bils receiued there, shall be paiable onely at London, and fot the vse of passengers and souldiers departing out of Our Realme into England, there shall be likewise exchanges at Bristoll and Chester. So as no such souldier or passenger doe bring thither any bill containing aboue the sum offoure pound. But for Merchants, there shall not be at the said places of Chester and Bristoll, any payment of bils returned, but onely at Our City of London, in such man|ner as is hereafter expressed. And further Our pleasure and meaning is, that the said Exchange shall extend onely to such, as now are, or hereafter from time to time shall be in Our pay here, seruing Vs in the field, or in wards, or garrisons, and to all Officers of gouernement of Iustice, of Our reuenewes, or of the Exchange, and to such others as are contained in Our establishment: To all and euery of whom, We are pleased to allow the benefit of exchanging Monies of the new Standard of this Realme, into Monies currant in England, (wanting onely twelue pence sterling in the pound), viz. yeerely to each of them rateably in his degree, for so much as he doth saue, aboue his expence, of that which hee doth receiue yeerely of Vs, or ought to receiue cleerely for his pay, all deductions and defalcations being foreprized; and so as there be no fraud vsed by any of them in abusing this Our liberality and fauonr, conttary to Our true meaning: And for others vsing trade of Merchandize, although they deserue no fa|uour, in regard of the frauds, wherewith many of them haue abused Our gracious meaning, in the institution of Our exchange intended, and in regard of the excessiue raising of the prices of all wares, whereby both Our Subiects are extreamely burthe|ned here, and We intollerably charged in the exchange in England, yet in regard of the present pouerty of this Our Realme, whereby We conceiue that there wanteth as yet for a time sufficient commodities of the growth or manufaction of this Kingdome, wherewith to maintaine trafficke, Wee are pleased to maintaine for their vse an ex|change in this manner. That euery such person, not being of those that belong to Our Establishment, but a Merchant, who shall deliuer to the Master of the Exchange, or his Deputies in this Realme, one hundred pounds, whereof forty pound shall be of the Standard, of sterling mony of siluer or of gold, and threescore pound in mixt Monies of the new Standard of this Realme, shall receiue of the said Master of the Exchange, or his Deputies, a Bill directed to the Bancke of exchange in England, where the same is playable, whereby hee shall receiue for each hundred pound deliuered here in that manner, one hundred pounds in Monies currant of Eng|land, wanting onely twelue pence in the pound for each pound of the mixt Mo|nies deliuered, and for the starling no defalcation to bee made, as heretofore hath been ordained. And after that rate for more or lesse in quantitie. And to the end that the fraudes vsed by some Merchants may be better preuented, and the Master of the exchange, or his Deputies vnderstand, that he dealeth truly in bringing his monies to the exchange. Our pleasure is, that euery such Merchant, resorting to the exchange, shall bring a certificate from the Officers of Our Customehouse, where his goods were entred, what goods he hath entered there, and at what

time, to the end that it may thereby be discerned, that he seeketh nothing, but the returne of his owne money, and is not a cullourer of other mens. And sor that diuers Noble men and Gentlemen of this Realme, haue cause many times to repaire into England, either for suites or other 264 necessarie causes, and some haue children there, either at the Vniuersities, or at the Innes of Court or Chancerie, or in Our seruice at Court, who shall haue cause for those purposes to vse sterling monie, and to haue the moneys of this Realme conuer|ted into moneys currant in England, We are pleased, that all such haue the benefit of the exchange in such manner, as for those of our Army is aboue limmited, for such yeerely summes of money, as Our Deputy and Counsell there for the time being, shall thinke good to allow to any of them, vpon their demands. And the Warrant of our said Deputie and Counsell shall bee sufficient Warrant to the Master of our ex|change, or his Deputies, for the receiuing of all such Billes as they shall require him to admit, for any such Nobleman or Gentleman.

And now hauing explained some part of the abuses offered to Vs in the exchange, and declared Our pleasure for the reformation of them, We doe not doubt but that, as vpon the former restrictions by Vs proposed to the same end, so now, many ill min|ded persons wil not stick to flander Our doings, as though there were not in Vs an ho|nourable meaning to performe what here We haue promised, whereof although Our proceedings shall by their true and iust effect manifest the contrary, yet because euill tongues accustomed to calumniate the actions of Princes, are sometimes the instru|ments of alteration of peoples mindes from their dutifull opinions of their Soue|raignes, where there is to vs nothing so deare as the conseruation of the loue of our subiects, Wee doe for preuenting of any such malitious purposes, require all Magi|strates and Officers, who haue any charge in the Gouernement of that Our King|dome, to haue an care to such euill rumours, and to the spreaders of them, and such as they shall find to be authors or instruments of diuulging any slaunderous speeches, touching this matter of the exchange, to make them an example for others to bee ad|monished by. And to assure all men, that this institution of base money in this King|dome hath had his chiefest ground, vpon hope Wee had thereby to weaken the Re|bels of this Kingdome, who by the vse of sterling money, had and haue meanes to prouide themselues from forraigne parts, of all things necessarie to maintaine their e|uill courses. And that the same being by this way partly, and partly by power of Our Army, once suppressed, We shall haue iust cause to restore the monies of this Realme to such estate, as our Progenitors haue accustomed to vse here. Giuen vnder our Signet at our Pallace of Westminster the foure and twentieth day of December, 1602 being of our Raigne the fiue and fortieth yeere.

The clauses of former Proclamations touching the Exchange meete now to be continued.

The vse of sterling Monies or of any other, then these new monies, prohibited vp|pon penalties of imprisonment and fine; All Officers hauing power giuen them to seaze the said monies put in vse, and euery Informer allowed the moyety of so much as he shall discouer.

To allow for all sterling monies of siluer, brought into the Exchange, with purpose to receiue new Monies for the same, gaine of two shillings in the pound of new mo|nies: for gold two shillings six pence gaine of new monies.

To allow ten in the hundred profit, for all base siluer monies brought into the Ex|change.

Counterfetters to be seuerely looked to and punished. All passengers comming into Ireland, to be searched, or put to their oath, what sterling mony they carry with them.

The same day his Lordship and the Counsell here, receiued this following letter from the Lords in England.

AFter our very hearty commendations to your Lordships, we haue receiued your letter of the seuenth of this instant, together with a seuerall note or abstract of some materiall points and doubts to be considered and resolued, concerning the last prescribed forme of the Exchange. And as both your letters and abstract, were ad|dressed together for answere of her Maiesties letter, lately sent vnto you with a forme of a Proclamation thereunto annexed, so now you shall againe receiue the resolution of her Maiesty and vs of her Counsell, touching the same matter onely, and the doubts by you propounded, which according to your desire 256 we send with as much speed as a businesse of that importance, (reduced to a new deli|beration) could be dispatched. For the liberty that her Maiesty did giue you, either of proceeding, or of respite and suspence to publish the Proclamation, according to the iudgement you shall make of it vpon consideration of any very dangerous effects, that you shall find apparant or likely to ensue, you haue rightly acknowledged her Maiesties gracious respect vnto you, in whom (as the chiefest Ministers of that State) shee reposeth speciall confidence, both for your care and wisdome, and for the oppor|tunity you haue (by the present contemplation of all things neere at hand and vnder your eye) to discerne and discouer any inconueniencies, and to apply the medicines accordingly. And therefore, although it pleased her to take that resolution (together with vs of her Counsell) which was set downe by the said Proclamation, hoping that it would be a meanes to cure and preuent the intollerable frauds and enormities in the practice of the exchange, which was intended and instituted for the ease of her exces|siue charge, and for the good of her subiects there; yet for as much as you haue shew|ed so great a distrust and feare of dangerous consequence, if you should forthwith haue proceeded to the publishing of that Proclamation, and vpon aduised consultati|on (as her Maiesty assureth her selfe) haue propounded these points of doubtfulnesse, that accompanied your letter, shee is well pleased to giue such credit to your opini|on, as that shee hath vpon a new deliberation with vs of her Counsell, caused a tem|per and moderation to be set downe, with the chiefe points whereof you doubted, as may appeare vnto you by a forme of a Proclamation, differing from the former, and now sent vnto you, wherein because you may readily obserue the particular alterati|ons from the former Proclamation, by comparing both together, wee need not make rehearsall of them here, for satisfaction of your doubts. Onely we haue thought good to say somewhat concerning the sixth and seuenth Articles in your abstract, in which you make question what course is best to bee holden for the discouery of the fraudes vsed by Merchants and others in their exchanges, and what meanes are to be vsed that her Maiesty be not ouer-burthened in the exchange, vpon which questions and your owne opinions thereof deliuered, wee cannot omit to make two obseruations. The one that your selues doe acknowledge the intollerable frauds of Merchants and others vsed in the exchange, whereby not onely her Maiesties gracious intention and meaning of the exchange hath beene extraordinarily abused; but her Subiects in that Realme, by the excessiue rates in the sale of all commodities, haue beene vnconscio|nably ouercharged: And therefore your selues cannot denie,

but that it were very dan|gerous for the exchange to be vpholden without remedy of these frauds. The second, that for asmuch as there cannot bee any certaine rule and order prescribed, to auoid these frauds, that shall be free from the euasion of cunning and deceitfull persons, and the onely remedy doth consist in the carefull and diligent ouersight of her Maiesties Ministers, to whom that trust is committed, her Maiesty thinketh that as your selues did truely find the faults and abuses, so none can better prouide for their remedy then you, that are there present, and especially you the Treasurer, by whose Ministers er|rours her Maiesty hath beene so much preiudiced. And whereas especiall cause of these frauds is imputed to the multiplicity of the bils of exchange, wee should most willingly be of that mind, to reduce all vnto one place at Dublyn, were it not that wee find you the Treasurer to vary in your opinion, hauing signified heretofore by your particular letters to some of vs, that there is no possible way of remedy, but by redu|cing all the Banckes to one place, and yet by this letter iointly with the rest of the Counsell, deliuering your opinion for the establishing of two places, vnto which opi|nion, because we conceiue you are wonne, vpon the consultation of that Counsell, we haue applied our consent therevnto: And to the end it may plainely appeare vnto you, how the Merchants and others abusing the exchange, doe most fraudulently serue their turne both vpon her Maiesties Subiects there, (if it bee true as hath beene infor|med to vs by persons of good credit comming from thence, that they improue their commodities to a treble price, and more, in respect of that Coyne), and likewise vpon her Maiesties excessiue losse, by returne of their money vpon the exchange, wee haue 266 thought good to send you an Estimate or Calculation of the gaine that one of them may make, and (as it is to be supposed) doth make, in this course vpon the expence but of one hundred pounds vttered there in commodities, making and raising there|vpon but two for one, whereby you may iudge how vnreasonable aduantage may be further made, vpon the profit of three or foure for one, if the Merchant be so ill dis|posed, or can find the meanes of a corrupt Minister vnder the Treasurer to combine with him: And so wee bid you right heartily well to fare. From the Court at White-Hall the 24 of December 1602.

A computation (sent ouer inclosed in the former letter) of the gaine which a Merchant may make by the Exchange, bringing to the Exchange in each one hundred pound, forty pound sterling: and supposing the Merchant to be without sterling money in his store, or with|out credit, and to vse the Exchange directly.

If he conuert one hundred pound sterling into wares, and sell the same in Ireland at the rate of two for one, viz. For two hundred pound Irish, he doth thereby gaineas followeth.

To haue the benefit of the Exchange, he must haue fourscore pounds sterling, which supposing that he buieth at fiue shillings Irish each twenty shillings sterling, his foure|score pound sterling doth cost him one hundred pounds Irish.

Then commeth he to the Exchange with one hundred pounds Irish, and fourscore pounds sterling; for both which the Minister giueth him a bill to receiue in England one hundred seuenty fiue pound sterling, for hee must loose fiue pound of the ex|change of the one hundred Irish.

Then hath he in his purse in England one hundred seuenty fiue pound, defalking his first stocke, which was one hundred pound, resteth cleere to him seuenty fiue pound.

And this he may doe vpon as many returnes as he maketh in a yeere.

If it be obiected, that he cannot buy sterling money at so low a rate, as for fiue and twenty shillings Irish, but that he doe pay thirty shilling Irish for twenty shillings ster|ling, then is his gaine the lesse by nineteene pound, and yet shall he gaine sixe and fifty pound.

But supposing such [...] Merchant as is not in necessity to by sterling money with I|rish, but that he they borrow it here of friends, though he pay twenty pound in the hundred for [...] is his gaine in this manner.

His hundred pounds sterling conuerted into wares, and sold in Ireland for two hun|dred pound Irish, he bringeth to the Exchange one hundred and twenty pound Irish and fourescore pounds sterling borrowed, and receiueth a bill to be paid in England, one hundred fourescore and foureteene pound, loosing sixe pound for the returne of one hundred and twenty pound Irish.

So hath he in his purse in England one hundred fourescore and foureteene pound, out of which deducting one hundred pound, which was the first stocke, resteth to him fourescore and foureteene pound. Out of which gaine, allowing him fourescore pounds, to pay for so much borrowed by him, yet resteth to him foureteene pound.

And further hee hath remaining in his hands in Ireland fourescore pound Irish, re|maining of his two hundred Irish, whereof he brought onely one hundred and twen|ty pound to the Exchange. To haue which fourescore pound returned by the Ex|change, hee must borrow two and thirty pound sterling; and so shall hee haue a bill to be paied in England, one hundred and eight pound; for he looseth foure pound for ex|change of the fourescore pound Irish: Out of which one hundred and eight pound, abating the two and thirty pound borrowed, there resteth gained seuenty sixe pound. Whereunto adding the foureteene pound aboue mentioned, then the whole gaine is, fourescore and ten pound.

From whence take for the interest of one hundred and twelue pound, borrowed for three moneths, after twenty in the hundred for a yeere, which is for three moneths 267 sixe pound twelue shillings, and then his cleere gaine is, towards his freight, custome, forbearing the money and other charges, fourescore and foure pound, eight shil|lings.

About the end of Ianuary, the Lord Deputy returned from Connaght to Dublyn, and by the way receiued letters from Rowry O Donnell, who now had vndertaken the prosecution of O Rorke, and signified his determination to make a roade presently into his Countrey, and to leaue some of his men to lie vpon him, in some places of conuenient strength: but his Lordship being come to Dublyn, receiued another letter from the said Rory O Donnell, vpon the eighteenth of February, signifying that O Rorkes strength was much increased, by the repaire of many chiefe Rebels into his Countrey, so as for the present he was nether able to attempt O Rorke, nor to defend himselfe from his attempts, till the English forces should draw vp to assist him, the hastning whereof he prayed, and that he might haue leaue to put vp his Creaghtes for a time towards Ballishannon, for his better safetie.

The fiue and twentieth of February, the Lord Deputie wrote this following letter to the Lords in England, and sent it by the hands of the Lord President of Mounster, at this time going for England.

MAy it please your Lordships, although I am vnwilling to enforme you often of the present estate of this Kingdome, or of any particular accidents or seruices, be|cause the one is subiect to so much alteration, and the other lightly deliuered vnto

all that are not present with such vncertainety, and that I am loath to make any proiect vnto your Lordships, either of my requests to you, or my owne resolutions here, since so many things fall suddenly out, which may alter the grounds of either: yet since I do write now by one that can so sufficiently supply the defects of a letter, I haue presu|med at this time to impart vnto your Lordships, that I thinke fit to bee remembred, or doe determine on, most humbly desiring your Lp., that if I erre in the one, or hereafter alter the other, you will not impute it to my want of sincerity or constancy, but to the nature of the subiect whereof I must treat, or of the matter whereon I work: And first to present vnto your Lordships the outward face of the foure Prouinces, and after to guesse (as neere as I can) at their dispositions. Mounster by the good gouerne|ment and industry of the Lord President, is cleere of any force in rebellion, except some few vnable to make any forcible head. In Lemster there is not one declared Re|bell: In Connaght there is none but in O Rorkes Country; In Vlster none but Tyrone, and Brian Mac Art, who was neuer Lord of any Countrey, and now doth with a bo|dy of loose men and some creaghts continue in Glancomkynes, or neere the borders thereof. Connogh Macgayre sometimes Lord of Fermannagh, is banished out of the Countrey, who litres with O. Rorke, and at this time O Connor Macgayre is possessed of it by the Queene, and holds it for her. I beleeue that generally the Lords of the Coun|tries that are reclaimed, desire a peace, though they will be wauering, till their lands and estates are assured vnto them from her Maiesty, and as long as they see a party in rebellion to subsist, that is of power to ruine them if they continue subiects, or other|wise shall be doubtfull of our defence. All that are out, doe seeke formercy, except O Rorke, and O swilliuan, who is now with O Rorke, and these are obstinate onely one of their diffidence, to be safe in any forgiuenesse. The loose men, and such as are onely Captaines of Bonnaghtes, as Tyrrill, and Brian Mac Art, will nourish the warre, as long as they see any possibility to subsist, and like ill humours, haue recourse to any part that is vnsound. The Nobility, Townes, and English-Irish, are for the most part as weary of the warre as any, but vnwilling to haue it ended, generally, for feare that vp|pon a peace, will ensue a seuere reformation of Religion; and in particular many bor|dering gentlemen that were made poore by their owne faults, or by rebels [...], continue their splene to them, now they are become Subiects, and hauing vsed to helpe them selues by stealths, did neuer more vse them, nor better preuaile in them, then now that these submitties haue laied aside their owne defence, and betaken them|selues to the protection and Iustice of the State, and many of them haue tasted so 268 much sweet in intertainements, that they rather desire a warre to continue them, then a quiet haruest that might arise out of their own honest labour, so that I doe find none more pernitious Instruments of a new warre, then some of these. In the meane time, Tyrone while he shall liue, will blow euery sparke of discontent, or new hopes that shal lie hid in any corner of the Kingdome, and before hee shall be vtterly extinguished make many blases, and sometimes set on fier, or consume the next Subiects vnto him. I am perswaded that his combination is already broken, and it is apparant, that his meanes to subsist in any power is ouerthrowne, but how long he may liue as a wood|kerne, and what new accidents may fall out while he doth liue, I know not. Ifit be imputed to my fault, that notwithstanding her Maiesties great forces, he doth still liue, I beseech your Lordships to remember, how securely the Banditoes of Italy

doe liue, between the power of the King of Spaine and the Pope: How many men of all Coun|tries of seuerall times haue in such sort preserued themselues long from the great pow|er of Princes, but especially in this Countrey, where there are so many difficulties to carry an Army in most places, so many vnaccessable strengths for them to flie vnto, and then to be pleased to consider the great worke that first I had, to breake this maine rebellion, to defend the Kingdome from a dangerous inuasion of a mighty forraigne Prince, with so strong a party in the Countrey, and now the difficulty to roote out scattered troopes, that had so many vnaccessible dens to lurke in, which as they are by nature of extreame strength and perill to be attempted, so is it vnpossible for any peo|ple, naturally and by art, to make greater vse of them; and though with infinite dan|ger we doe beat them out of one, yet is there no possibility for vs to follow them with such agility, as they will flie to another, and it is most sure, that neuer Traitor knew better how to keepe his owne head, then this, nor any Subiects haue a more dreadfull awe to lay violent hands on their sacred Prince, then these people haue to touch the person of their O Neales; and he that hath as pestilent a iudgement as euer any had, to nourish and to spread his owne infection, hath the ancient swelling and desire of liber|ty in a conquered Nation to worke vpon, their feare to be rooted out, or to haue their old faults punished, vpon all particular discontents, and generally ouer all the King|dome, the feare of a persecution for Religion, the debasing of the Coyne, (which is grieuous vnto all sorts), and a dearth and famine, which is already begunne, and must of necessity grow shortly to extremity; the least of which alone, haue beene many times sufficient motiues to driue the best and most quiet estates into sudden confusi|on. These will keepe all spirits from setling, breed new combinations, and (I feare) euen stirre the Towns themselues, to solicite forraigne aid, with promise to cast them|selues into their protection: And although it be true, that if it had pleased her Maiesty, to haue longer continued her Army in greater strength, I should the better haue pro|uided for what these Cloudes doe threaten, and sooner and more easily either haue made this Countrey a rased table, wherein shee might haue written her owne lawes, or haue tied the ill disposed and rebellious hands, till I had surely planted such a go|uernement, as would haue ouergrowne and killed any weeds, that should haue risen vnder it, yet since the necessity of the State doth so vrge a diminution of this great ex|pence, I will not dispaire to goe on with this great worke, through all these difficul|ties, if we be not interrupted by forraigne forces, although perchance wee may be en|countered with some new eruptions, and (by often aduenturing) with some diasters; and it may be your Lordships shall sometimes heare of some spoiles done vpon the Subiects from the which it is impossible to preserue them in all places, with farre grea|ter Forces then euer yet were kept in this Kingdome: And although it hath beene sel|dome heard, that any Army hath beene carried on with so continuall action and en|during, without any intermission of Winter breathings, and that the difficulties at this time, to keepe any Forces in the place where we must make the warre, (but especi|ally our horse), are almost beyond any hope to preuent, yet with the fauour of God and her Maiesties fortune, I doe determine, my selfe to draw into the field, as soone as I haue receiued her Maiesties commandements by the Commissioners, whom it hath pleased her to fond ouer, and in the meane time I hope, by my owne presence or dire|ctions, 269 to set euery party on worke, that doth adioyne

or may bee drawne against any force that now doth remaine in rebellion. In which iourney the successe must bee in the hands of God, but I will confidently promise to omit nothing, that is possi|ble by vs to bee done, to giue the last blow vnto the Rebe lion. But as all paine and anguish, impatient of the present, doth vse change for a remedie, so will it bee impossible for vs to settle the mindes of this people vnto a peace, or reduce them vnto order, while they feele the smart of these sensible grietes, and apparant feares which I haue remembred to your Lordships, without some hope of redresse or securitie. Therefore I will presume (how vnworthy soeuer I am) since it concernes the Prouince her Maiestie hath giuen me, with all humblenesse to lay be|fore your graue iudgements, some few things, which I thinke necessarie to bee considered of.

And first, whereas the alteration of the coine, and taking away of the exchange, in such measure as it was first promised, hath bred a generall grieuance vnto men of all qualities, and so many incommodities to all sorts, that it is beyond the iudgement of any that I can heare to preuent a confusion in this estate, by the conunuance thereof; that (at the least) it would please your Lordships to put this people in some certaine hope, that vpon the ende of the warre, this new standard shall bee abolished, or eased, and that in the meane time the Armie may bee fauourably delt with in the Exchange, since by the last Proclamation your Lordships sent ouer, they doe con|ceiue their case will bee more hard then any others; for if they haue allowed them nothing, but indefinitely as much as they shall meerely gaint out of their intertainements, that will proue nothing to the greater part. For the onely pos|sibility to make them to liue vpon their intertainement, will bee to allow them exchange for the greatest part thereof, since now they doe not onely pay exces|siue prices for all things, but can hardly get any thing for this money; and al|though wee haue presumed to alter (in shew, though not effect) the Proclamati|on in that point, by retaining a power in our selues to proportion their allow|ance for exchange, yet was it, with a minde to conforme our proceedings there|in, according to your Lordships next directions, and therefore doe humbly desire to know your pleasures therein For our opinions of the last proiect it pleased your Lordships to send vs, I doe humbly leaue it to our generall letters, onely as from my selfe I made ouerture to the Counsell of the other you sent directed onely to my selfe, and because I found them generally to concurre, that it would proue as dangerous as the first, I did not thinke it fit any otherwise to declare your Lordships pleasure there|in. And whereas it pleased your Lordships in your last letters to command vs to deale moderately in the great matter of Religion, I had, before the receit of your Lordships letters, presumed to aduise such as delt in it, for a time to hold a more restrained hand therein, and we were both thinking ourselues, what course to take in the reuocation of what was already done, with least incouragement to them and others, since the feare that this course begun in Dublin would fal vpon the rest, was apprehended ouer all the Kingdom, so that I think your Lordships direction was to great purpose, and the other course might haue ouerthrowne the meanes to our owne end of reformation of reli|gion. Not that I thinke too great precisenesse can bee vsed in the reforming of our selues, the abuses of our owne Clergie, Church-liuings, or discipline, nor that the truth of the Gospell can with too great vehemency or industrie bee set forward, in all pla|ces, and by all ordinary meanes most proper vnto it selfe, that was first set forth and spread in meekenesse, nor that I thinke any corporall pros-

ecution or punishment can be too seuere for such, as shall bee found seditious instruments of forraigne or inward practises, nor that I thinke it fit, that any principall Magistrates should bee cho|sen without taking the Oath of Obedience, nor tollerated in absenting themselues from publike Diuine Seruice, but that wee may bee aduised how wee doe pu|nish in their bodies or goods any such onely for Religion, as doe professe to bee faithfull subiects to her Maiestie, and against whom the contrarie can 270 not be proued. And since, if the Irish were vtterly rooted out, there was much lesse likelihood that this Countrey could be thereby in any time planted by the English, since they are so farre from inhabiting well any part of that they haue already, and that more then is likely to be inhabited, may be easily chosen out and reserued, in such places by the Sea-side, or vpon great Riuers, as may be planted to great purpose, for a future absolute reducement of this Countrey, I thinke, it would asmuch auaile the speedy setling of this Countrey as any thing, that it would please her Maiesty to deale liberally with the Irish Lords of Countries, or such as now are of great reputa|tion among them, in the distribution of such lands as they haue formerly possessed, or the State here can make little vse of for her Maiesty. If they continue, as they ought to doe, and yeeld the Queene as much commodity as she may otherwise expect, shee hath made a good purchase of such subiects for such land. If any of them hereafter be disobedient to her lawes, or breake forth in rebellion, shee may when they shall be more diuided, ruine them more easily, for example vnto others, and (if it be thought fit) may plant English or other Irish in their Countries: For although there euer haue beene, and hereafter may be small eruptions, in some places, which at the first may easily be suppressed, yet the suffering them to grow to that generall head and combination, did questionlesse proceed from great errour in the iudgement here, and may be easily (as I thinke) preuented hereafter. And further it may please her Maiesty to ground her resolution, for the time and numbers of the next abatement of the lyst of her Army, somewhat vpon our poore aduice from hence, and to beleeue that wee will not so farre corrupt our iudgements with any priuate respect, as without necessi|ty, to continue her charge, seeing wee doe thorowly conceiue how greeuous it is vnto her estate, and that wee may not be precisely tied to an establishment, that shall con|clude the payments of the Treasurer, since it hath euer beene thought fit to be other|wise, till the comming ouer of the Earle of Essex, and some such extraordinary occasi|on may fall out, that it will bee dangerous to attend your Lordships resolutions, and when it will be safe to diminish the Army here, that there may be some course thought of, by some other employment to disburthen this Countrey of the idle Sword-men, in whom I find an inclination apt enough to be carried elsewhere, either by some of this Countrey of best reputation among them, or in Companies as now they stand vnder English Captaines, who may be reinforced with the greatest part of Irish. That it may be left to our discretion, to make passages and bridges into Countries otherwise vnac|cessible, and to build little piles of stone in such garrisons, as shall be thought fittest to be continuall bridles vpon the people, by the commodity of which, wee may at any time draw the greatest part of the Army together, to make a head against any part that shall first breake out, and yet reserue the places onely with a ward, to put in greater Forces as occasion shall require, which I am perswaded will proue great pledges vp|pon this Countrey, that vpon any vrgent cause the Queene may safely

draw the grea|test part of her Army here out of the Kingdome, to be emploied (at least for a time) elsewhere, wherein I beseech your Lordships to consider, what a strength so many experienced Captaines and Souldiers would be, to any Army of new men erected in England, against an inuasion, or sent abroad, in any offensiue warre: but vntill these places be built, I cannot conceiue how her Maiesty (with any safety) can make any great diminution of her Army. Lastly, I doe humbly desire your Lordships to re|ceiue, the further explanation of my meaning and confirmation of the reasons that doe induce me vnto these propositions from the Lord President of Mounster, who as he hath beene a very worthy actor in the reducement and defence of this Kingdome, so doe I thinke him to be best able to giue you through accompt of the present estate, and future prouidence for the preseruation thereof, wherein it may please your Lp. to require his opinion, of the hazard this Kingdome is like to runne; if it should by any mighty power be inuaded, and how hard it will be for vs in any measure to prouide for the present defence, if any such be intended, and withall to goe on with the suppression of these that are left in Rebellion, so that wee must either aduenture the new kind|ling 271 of this fire, that is almost extinguished, or intending onely that, leaue the other to exceeding perill. And thus hauing remembred to your Lordships the most materiall Points (as I conceiue), that are fittest for the present to bee considered of, I doe hum|bly recommend my selfe and them to your Lordships fauour. From her Maiesties Castle of Dublin this sixe and twentieth of Februarie, 1602.

At the same time the Lord Deputy wrote to the Lords in England, about his pri|uate affaires, wherein he signified, that al manner of prouisions necessarie for the main|tenance of an houshold were (of late especially) bought at such excessiue rates (aswell in regard of the famine growing daily greater in Ireland, (by the continuall spoile of the Countrie, and the Armies cutting downe of the Rebels Corne for these last two yeeres) as also in regard of the disualuation of the mixed coyne now currant, after the taking away of exchange (whereof each shilling had no more then two pence halfe|penny siluer in it), and that the prices of the said prouisions daily so increased, as soure times the entertainement allowed him by her Maiesty for his maintenance, would not answere his ordinarie expences, except it would please their Lordships to allow him exchange for the most part of his entertainement, that thereby he might be inabled to make his prouisions out of England.

In the beginning of March, the Lord Deputie vnderstood, that Brian Mac Art had secretly stolen into Killoltagh, with some fiue hundred men vnder his leading, (as hee had lately done the like, but was soone driuen out againe by Sir Arthur Chichester.) Whereupon his Lordship sent Sir Richard Moryson from Dublyn vp to his Garrison in Lecayle, and gaue him his Lordships guard, and three other Companies of Foote to leade with him, that he might assist Sir Arthur Chichester in the prosecution of this Re|bell, who was soone driuen out of Killoltagh by those forces.

Now because I haue often made mention formerly of our destroying the Rebels Corne, and vsing al meanes to famish them, let me by two or three examples shew the miserable estate to which the Rebels were thereby brought. Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Richard Moryson, and the other Commanders of the Forces sent against Brian Mac Art aforesaid, in their returne homeward, saw a most horrible spectacle of three chil|dren (whereof the eldest was not aboue ten yeeres old), all eating and knawing with their teeth the

entrals of their dead mother, vpon whose flesh they had fed twenty dayes past, and hauing eaten all from the feete vpward to the bare bones, rosting it continually by a slow fire, were now come to the eating of her said entralls in like sort roasted, yet not diuided from the body, being as yet raw. Former mention hath been made in the Lord Deputies letters, of carcases scattered in many places, all dead of fa|mine. And no doubt the famine was so great, as the rebell souldiers taking all the com|mon people had to feede vpon, and hardly liuing thereupon, (so as they besides fed not onely on Hawkes, Kytes, and vnsauourie birds of prey, but on horseflesh, and o|ther things vnfit for mans feeding), the common sort of the Rebels were driuen to vnspeakeable extremities (beyond the record of most Histories that euer I did reade in that kind) the ample relating whereof were an infinite taske, yet wil I not passe it ouer without adding some few instances. Captaine Treuor and many honest Gentlemen ly|ing in the Newry can witnes, that some old women of those parts, vsed to make a fier in the fields, and diuers little children driuing out the cattel in the cold mornings, and com|ming thither to warme them, were by them surprised, killed and eaten, which at last was discouered by a great girle breaking from them by strength of her body, and Cap|taine Trenor sending out souldiers to know the truth, they found the childrens skulles and bones, and apprehended the old women, who were executed for the fact. The Captaines of Carickfergus, and the adiacent Garrisons of the Northerne parts can witnesse, that vpon the making of peace, and receiuing the rebels to mercy, it was a common practise among the common sort of them (I meane such as were not Sword|men), to thrust long needles into the horses of our English troopes, and they dy|ing thereupon, to bee readie to teare out one anothers throate for a share of them. And no spectacle was more frequent in the Ditches of Townes, and especiallie in wasted Countries, then to see multitudes of these poore people dead with their mouthes all coloured greene by eating nettles, docks, and all things they 272 could rend vp aboue ground. These and very many like lamentable effects followed their rebellion, and no doubt the Rebels had been vtterly destroyed by famine, had not a generall peace shortly followed Tyrones submission (besides mercy formerly ex|tended to many others), by which the Rebels had liberty, to seeke reliefe among the subiects of Ireland, and to be transported into England and France, where great multi|tudes of them liued for some yeeres after the peace made.

The fourth of March the Lord Deputy receiued letters from Sir Henry Dockwra, aduertising many vehement suspitions of Sir Neale Garues disloial purposes, namely, his vnderhand putting Mac Swyne to goe againe into rebellion, and to take an Iland of his, which was a fit place to set vp a new rebellion, and also his making a storchouse of Armes, with extraordinary prouisions of them. Further he aduertised, that himself vsed all meanes to keepe Tyrone in the Glynnes (where hee now was) till his Lordship came vp (which iourney he aduised to bee in the beginning of the next moneth), but vnderstanding that within few daies hee would remoue towards Fermanagh, howsoe|uer the English there at that time were weake, yet he would lye for the Arch-rebel on his way to Omy, or Agher, not doubting but in the passage of those Plaines hee should haue some opportunity of fighting with him, and (at the least) to take good part of his prey from him. Lastly, he aduertised, that he had razed Hen. Ouingtons Castle, and Mac Hugbes Iland, which both had been neasts and starting holes for theeues.

The fifteenth of March the Lord

Deputy left Dublin, and rode towards the Nor|therne borders, where his Lordship (with his rotinue) lay to and fro, the remaining few dayes of this yeere (and part of the beginning of the next, till Tyrone was receiued to mercy, and the war ended) to the end his Lordship being in those parts, might giue life to the present seruice, as wel of the forces sent to prosecute Ororke, as of the Garri|sons lying in waite for all aduantages vpon Tyrone himselfe and his broken partakers.

Touching Mounster affaires in the yeere 1602, the Lord Deputy at his comming fro [Note: The af|faires of Moun|ster.] Corke caused Sir Ric. Percy to be sworne Counsellor for the Prouince of Mounster, and in his iournall towards Cillkenny Knighted three Irish men, Iohn Fitz Edmonds and two Citizens of Watterford, Edward Gough, and Richard Aylward. The Lord President at Killkenny tooke his leaue of the Lord Deputy, and making short Iourneys, by reason he was sickly, came not to Corke, till the third of Aprill, 1602.

When the Spaniards by composition were to render the Castels in the West, O Swilliuan Beare had surprised his Castle of Donboy in Beerehauen from the Spaniards, where of some were killed in the surprisall, which freed them from suspition to haue yeelded it voluntarily contrary to the composition. This strong Castle vpon an ex|cellent hauen O Swilliuan kept for the King of Spaine, hauing sixty Warders with him at first, and three pieces of Spanish Ordinance. The Lord President meaning to take this Castle, tooke the field the 23 of Aprill, and after many attempts vpon the Rebels, in which some of them were killed, and some taken and executed, and many preyes ta|ken by parties sent out, it was resolued the fourteenth of May to passe the forces ouer to an Iland, called the great Iland, that way to march to Beerehauen, the way thither by land, being vnpassable for the victuals and carriages, besides many places of aduantage in the Mountaines, where the Rebels, though few in number, might distresse a great Army, and easily forbid their passage. Here by the sea side, the Foote staied for the ships carrying the Victuals, Munition and Ordinance, which were detained by con|trary winds till the last of May. The sixth of Iune, the forces were ferried ouer to the land neere Castle Dermot, where they incamped; and though they landed in another part then the Rebels expected, who lay there to hinder, and impeach their landing, yet the Rebels hasted to them to begin the skirmish with them, when they were in good order, and almost had all passed the Ferry, so as the Rebels hauing no aduantage in this fight, they left 28 dead in the place, and had more then 30 wounded, whereof Captaine Tirrel was one, being slightly hurt in the belly, and some were taken priso|ners, whereas on our part onely seuen were hurt. The tenth of Iune, our forces hauing landed their Ordinance, incamped within musket shot of the Castle of Donboy, but not within the sight of the Castle, a rising ground lying betweene the Campe and the Castle, so as the great shot from the Castle flew ouer the Campe without doing any 273 hurt. The twelfth a Fort within the Hand of Dorses, kept by the Rebels, was surpri|zed by the English, and all the Rebels killed or hanged, and therein were taken three Iron Peeces of Spanish Ordinance. The 17 of Iune after two daies battery, the Eng|lish assaulted the breach, and possessed part of the Castle Dunboy, the Rebels keeping and defending the rest, all that day and night, and great part of the next, at which time the English were by force made full Masters of it. The Rebels defending it, were 134 selected Souldiers, and all of them were killed in the Castle, or seeking to flie, or being prisoners were

executed in the campe, except twelue men of chiefe accompt, and most esteemed by Tyrrell, which were kept to be examined vpon torture, or to worke some good for the seruice with Tyrrell, by the sauing of their liues. Of Spanish Ordinance, there was taken one Demy Culuerin, two Sakers, and one Falcon of brasse, and two Sakers, fiue Minions, and one Falcon of Iron. The Gunners were Italians and Spani|ards, who perished with the rest, nine barrels of powder taken in the Castle, were im|ploied to blow it vp, left any Spaniards or Rebels might after make vse of it.

This Castle taken, the Lord President returned to Corke, where Sir Samuell Bagnoll attended his comming with letters from the Lord Deputy, and according to his Lord|ships directions, the Lord President sent by him 1500 Foote, being aboue the old Mounsterlyst, who came with these Forces to the Lord Deputy the 29 of Iuly, and brought letters from the Lord President, aduertising the aboue mentioned confident expectation of a second Spanish inuasion. At the same time Sir Edward Wingfield was landed at Corke, bringing to the Lord President 500 foote for supplies of the weake Companies. Sir Charles Wilmott Gouernour of Kerry, (wherein were many prouinciall Rebels, besides 1000 strangers to helpe them,) had before the siege of Dunboy prosecu|ted Mac Morris, cleered Kerry of all Rebels, and prosecuted them into Desmond, taken Castles and great preyes of Cowes, and brought the Knight of Kerry on his knees, and this done, hee marched towards the Lord President in his way to Dunboy, and vnited his Forces to the Army. After the taking of that Castle, he was now againe sent into Kerry, with directions that all garrisons should burne the Corne they could not ga|ther, and that he should remoue the Irish Inhabitants with their goods to a Countrey neere Lymricke; that the Spaniards againe expected, might make no vse of them. In August the Lord President was aduertised that many in Carbery reuolted, and that vpon a ship from Spaine not long before arriued with money to distribute among the most actiue Rebels, Donnogh Mac Carty and Finnen his brother (who had attended the Lord president at the siege of Dunboy) were now reuolted, and had taken impresse money from the King of Spaine, whereupon the two Captaines Roger and Gawen Haruy lying there in garrison, had taken many preyes from them, and spoiled the Countrey. And yet by daily intelligence the Lord President vnderstood, that the newes of the taking of Dunboy comming into Spaine, the King had commanded to stay all his prouisions for Ireland, till his pleasure were further signified. And no doubt the Queenes Fleet lying at this time vpon the coast of Spaine, most of all discouraged him from any new attempt in succour of the Irish Rebels. About the end of August it was generally diuulged in Mounster that a Spanish Fleet was disco|uered vpon the Coast, whereupon the Irish posted vp and downe the Country with great signes of ioy, so as at the Lord Presidents suit, Sir Samuel Bagnol was sent backe to him with the forces he had formerly led out of Mounster to the Lord Deputy.

The second of September the Lord President receiued this following gratious letter written from the Queene with her owne hand.

Your Soueraigne, E. R.

MY faithfull George, how ioied We are that so good euent hath followed so trou|blesome endeuours, laborious cares, and heedfull trauels, you may guesse, bnt We best can witnesse, and doe protest that your safety hath equalled the most thereof. And so God euen blesse you in all your actions.

About this time the Lord President

hauing receiued manifest proofes that Cormock mac Dermod, Lord of Muskery, had lately committed many acts of treason, caused 274 him to be apprehended and committed prisoner to the gentleman Porter, and hearing his followers practised his escape, gaue the said gentleman Porter charge to keepe him safely vpon his danger to answere for him, in the meane time seazing all his Castles in|to her Maiesties hands, and like wise causing his wife and children to be brought pri|soners to Corke. Notwithstanding, Cormocke escaped out of a window, the nine and twenty of September; yet being heartned to rebellion by Captaine Tyrrell and Oswil|liuan Beare, hee considered that his Castles were all in the Queenes power, his eldest sonne lately Student in Oxford, was now kept prisoner in the Tower, that his yongest sonne, his wife and daughter, and many of his chiefe followers were now prisoners at Corke, and that the Rebels desiring to ioine with him, were hunger-starued, and would liue vpon his Countrey already wasted, and therefore hee wisely chose to submit him|selfe to her Maiesties mercy, and vpon the two and twentieth of October, this his sub|mission was accepted.

About this time the Lord President heard that O Donnell was dead in Spaine. The three and twentieth of October Sir Samuell Bagnoll, with the Regiment sent back from the Lord Deputy, fell by night vpon Tyrrels Campe, lying in Muskery, to expect Cor|mocks returne, killed eighty of his men, made him flie away in his shirt, tooke all his Cattle being more then one thousand, with sixty horses and hacknies, besides things vnseeue in Irish spoiles, as veluet, outlandish apparell, Spanish Coyne, and all the mo|ney Tyrrell had gotten of the proportion sent from Spaine, and made Tyrrell flie into the Mountaines of Desmond. In Nouember Sir Charles Wilmott brake by night into the quarter of the Knight of Kerry, killed forty of his men, tooke fiue hundred Cowes, two hundred Garrons, and two moneths prouision of meale. The Rebels Tyrrell, Burke, O Swilliuan, and Mac Morris, being daily assaulted by the English, and spoiled of their Cattle, the rest of this moneth and the following of December, and hauing many of their best men killed, suddenly fell into disputations, and after to controuersies, and so the strangers resolued to steale away, as they did with great amasement, leauing the fastnesses they had held, to the ransacking of the English, first Tyrrell, then William Bourke, who leading 1500 men, marched towards the Pale, Sir Charles Wilmott hauing first in another conflict with them, killed many of the most forward Kerne, taken all their baggage and prey of Cattle, being 2000 Cowes, 4000 Sheepe, and 1000 Garrons.

In December the Lord President leauing Sir Charles Wilmott to command in chiefe all the Forces, hauing besides the Lord Barry with 1600 Prouincials vnder him, to at|tend such seruice as he should direct, left the Prouince of Mounster to meet the Lord Deputy at Galloway in Connaght. In the meane time the said Rebels fled towards the Pale as broken men, some resoluing to ioine with Tyrone, and some to returne into Connaght their owne Countrey, wherewith the Mounster Rebels were so danted, as they daily came in to Sir Charles Wilmott in great numbers, and with much Cattle, to submit themselues to mercy. The Lord President before his iourney into Connaght, tooke order that O Swilliuan Beares Countrey should be so wasted, as neither Spaniards nor Rebels should find reliefe there. About this time Captaine Taaffe commanding our Irish men in Carbery, assayled a band of Rebels led by a Priest, the Popes Nuntio, killed him with most of his men, and got all their Cattle: And now in the absence of

O Swilliuan fled away, his Countrey was wasted and his Castles all taken. The foresaid Priest was a man of speciall authority, so as vpon his death the Mac Carties and all Car|bery submitted to mercy, and had power ouer all spirituall liuings in Ireland, so as all Priests depended vpon him.

The Lord President returned into Mounster in Ianuary from Connaght, and hauing sent Sir Edward Wingfeild with certaine Companies of foote into Connaght, according to the Lord Deputies direction, and leauing Sir Charles Wilmott, and Sir G. Thornton Commissioners to gouerne Mounster, himselfe in the beginning of February rode to Dublyn, leauing no Rebell in Mounster but Mac Morris, the Knight of the Glan, Tho|mas Oge, and Connor O Driscoll, not able ioyntly to make two hundred men, whereof Mac Morris in few daies was well beaten and spoiled of all he had by Sir Char. Wilmott. And in the beginning of March the L. President sailed into England from Dublin.

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2

6.10 CHAP. II.

Of Tyrones taking to mercy, whereby the warre was fully ended. And of a new mutinie of the Cities of Mounster for establishing the publike exercise of the Roman Religion, with the appeasing thereof in the beginning of the yeere 1603. Together with the Lord Deputies recalling into England, and the rewards there giuen him for his seruice in the beginning of the yeere 1603; with mention of his vntimely death within few yeeres af|ter and a word of the State of Ireland some ten yeeres after.

THE fiue and twentieth of March, in the beginning of the yeere 1603, the Lord Deputy wrote this following letter from Mellifant, Sir Garret Moores house, to Master Secre|tary in England.

SIR, I haue receiued by Captaine Hayes her Maie|sties letters of the sixth of February, wherein I am direct|ed to send for Tyrone, with promise of securitie for his life onely, and vpon his arriuall, without further assurance, to make stay of him, till her pleasure should bee further knowne, and at the same time I receiued another from her Maiestie of the seuenteenth of February, wherein it pleased her to inlarge the au|thority giuen vnto me, to assure him of his life, liberty and pardon, vpon some conditi|ons remembred therein. And withall I receiued a letter from your selfe of the eigh|teenth of February, recommending to me your owne aduice to fulfill (as far as I pos|sibly could) the meaning of her Maiesties first letter, and signifying her pleasure, that I should seeke by all the best meanes I can, to promise him his pardon by some other name then Earle of Tyrone, and rather by the name of Barron of Dungannon, or if it needes must bee, by the name of some other Earle. Secondly, to deliuer him his Country in lesse quantity, and with lesse power then before he had it. And lastly, to force him to cleare his paces and passages, made difficult by him against any entrie in|to his Countrie. And now since it hath pleased her Maiesty, by so great a trust to giue me so comfortable Arguments of her fauour, I am incouraged the more freely to presume to declare my selfe in this great matter, which I call great, because the conse|quence is great, and dangerous to be delt in, without the warrant of her gratious inter|pretation. And though my opinion herein should proceede from a long and aduised consideration, described with large and many circumstances, and confirmed with strong and iudiciall reasons, yet because I thinke it fit to hasten away this messenger. I will write of these things somewhat, though on the sudden, and commit the rest to the sufficient iudgement and relation of the Lord President, now in his iourney to|wards you, and the rather, because I finde him to concurre with mee, in the ap|prehension of this cause, and of the state of all other things of this Kingdome. And first, for her Maiesties first letter; I pray you Sir beleeue me, that I haue omitted no|thing, both by power and policy to ruine him, and vtterly to cut him off, and if by ei|ther I may procure his head, before I haue engaged her Royall word for his safety, I doe protest I will doe it, and much more be ready to possesse my selfe of his person, if by only promise of life, or by any other meanes, wherby I shal not directly scandal the maiesty of publike faith, I can procure him to put himself into my power. But to speak my opinion freely, I thinke that he, or any man in his case, would hardly aduenture his liberty to preserue onely his life, which he knoweth how so well to secure by

many other waies, for if he flie into Spaine, that is the least wherof he can be assured, and most men (but especially he) doe make little difference betweene the value of their life and liberty, and to deceiue him I thinke it will bee hard; for though wiser men then hee may be ouer-reached, yet he hath so many eyes of iealousie awake, that it will bee vn|possible 276 to charme them, and I do (vpon assured ground) beleeue, that it is nothing but feare of his safety, that of a long time (especially of late) hath kept him fro conformity to the State, and if any thing do keep him now from accepting the lowest conditions, and from setling himself and his hart, to a constant seruing of her Maiestie, it will be feare of an absolute forgiuenes, or the want of such an estate, as may in any measure co |tent him. The danger of his subsisting as he doth, is either, if there come no forraine forces, to maintaine still a loose head of Rebellion (which will be better able to offend any such as are become subiects, then we can be, if we were a thousand times more, to defend them at all times, and in all places) to stirre vp, and to maintaine al humors, and to be a wound remaining open, vnto which they may haue recourse, and vpon all acci|dents bee readie to swell, or to infect the whole bodie of this Kingdome: Otherwise, if there should be any inuasion, to be a powerfull and politick head, to draw this Coun|trie to their assistance. If there come no forraigne Forces, and that hee should bee cut off, yet is it likely, some other in the nature of a spoiling outlaw would arise vp in his place, as ill as himselfe; and if hee bee kept prisoner, the like effects will arise, as if hee were dead. If hee bee cut off, or kept prisoner, and the Spaniards should arriue, most of the Swordmen will flocke vnto them for aduantage of pay, and the discontentment of Lords of Countries would be as great, or greater, then if hee were amongst them, and therefore they as likely to fall then as now, to the Spanish partie: but if it were possible to make him a good subiect, the vse her Maiestie may make of him, must bee amongst these people, since during his life and libertie, none will aspire to that place of O Neale, which doth carrie with it so great an interest in the North, and what interest hee hath, hee may bee led to employ, to suppresse and settle the mindes of the people to gouernement, and hauing once declared himselfe to bee a dutifull subiect, it will be first a great discouragement for the Spa|niards to come; and if they doe come, if hee continue honest, his presence and inte|rest will sway the North from giuing them assistance, or annoying the subiects, if we withdraw our Garrisons, and make the rest of Ireland more aduised how they declare themselues against the State.

Sir, to conclude, because I cannot shortly expresse mine owne minde herein, I thinke it best, if it please her Maiestie, to receiue him to her mercy, so that first his sub|mission bee made in as humble sort, and as much for her Maiesties Honour as can be deuised, and then that she assure him of absolute forgiuenesse, and forgetting of his faults, and as much honour and profit as he had before, prouided that wee take from him (as much as possibly wee may) those lockes wherein his chiefest strength lyes. Otherwise I am perswaded, either the Queene shal not serue her owne turne by him, if shee keepe him prisoner, or he will serue his turne if he liue at liberty, and euer haue (Animum reuertendi) an affection to relapse. How I am resolued to proceede in this businesse, you shall know by the Lord President, which notwithstanding many things may alter, but for the substance I doe thinke we shall be able to compasse as much, as by her Maiesties last letter is required, and by yours written after that, except that point of the taking from him the title of the Earledome

of Tyrone, for the which I thinke there be many reasons that it should not be much stood vpon. Besides what I haue written before of giuing him contentment, which may bee applied to this, first, you doe but giue him a title, which he did shake of, as a marke of his bondage, and that which he falles from, to accept this, he did asmuch preferre before this, as the estate of an absolute Prince before the condition of a subiect, and it is the name of O Neale, with the which hee hath done so much mischiefe, that is fatall and odious, and not the name of Tyrone, which hee was saine to leaue, before hee could haue power to become a Rebell; for belieue mee out of my experience, the titles of our Honours doe rather weaken then strengthen them in this Countrie, and if you giue him the same degree, but with another name, it may be thought a condition rather by him obtained, then by vs imposed, especially if he en|ioyeth his Countrie; and lastlie, if you make him onely Barron of Dungannon, you leaue in him a spurre to discontentment, without any greater bridle from 277 doing hurt, for his power will be neuer the lesse, and yet he that doth not sit easily, will euer thinke of another seate, and his owne title will the more runne in his minde, the more he is vnsatisfied with this new. Notwithstanding al my opinions of these things, I will runne as neere as I can to the straightest line of her Maiesties pleasure, and I pre|sume I will so handle this matter, that I will be sure her Maiesties Honour shall not be indangered, (I meane) by the authority shee hath giuen mee, which any man shall hardly take notice of, till I be assured vpon what tearmes I shall find him; and if his requests be not as humble as becommeth him, or as by her Maiesty is required, hee shall make little vse of any negotiation that shall be with him. And so Sir, etc.

Touching the receiuing of Tyrone to mercy, no man shall take from me the repu|tation [Note: The Earle of Tyrone receiued to mercy.] (such as it is) to haue beene the instrumentall cause of doing this honour to my deceased Soueraigne and my Nation, and of giuing this disgracefull blow to the Arch-Traitor Tyrone, that he humbly submitted himselfe to Queene Elizabeth, finding mer|cy at her royall feet, whom he had proudly offended, and whose sole power (in despite of his domesticall associates and forraigne support), had brought him on his knees, and that the victory was fully atchieued by the sole Sword of the English Nation and well affected English-Irish, whose blood he had spilt; and that so the Arch-Traitor lost the meanes longer to subsist in rebellion, by the aduantage of Englands vnsetled Estate, or at least the aduantage and the vaine-glory to fasten merit on the sacred Ma|iesty of King Iames, the said Queenes happy successour, by submitting to his royall mercy, and so hiding the extreme misery in which he was plunged, to haue made this his action seeme altogether voluntary, and euery way noble in him, to which he was forced by the highest constraint, and in the most base manner that can be imagined: Now as no man knoweth the circumstances of this action better then my selfe, so I will briefly and truely relate them. Queene Elizabeth had beene sicke for more then a moneths space, and of some apparant danger of her death, the Lord Deputy had beene aduertised, and at this time shee was dead, (departing the foure and twentieth of March, the last day of the yeere past), though it were not know ne to the Lord De|puty till the seuen and twentieth of March in the night. nor publikely, or to Tyrone himselfe, till the fifth of Aprill, after his humble submission made before the Lord De|puty to the Queene, as then liuing, though indeed shee were dead. This businesse pas|sed in manner fol-

lowing. There was a gentleman among the voluntary followers of the Lord Deputy, who had long been earnestly ambitious of the honour of Knight|hood, which by no endeuours of seruice, expence of money, or assistance of friends, he could hitherto attaine. Now a seruant of his posting from London, and getting a hap|py passage at Sea, came vpon the 27 of March (late in the night) to Mellifant, where the Lord Deputy then lay, and brought with him the first newes of the Queenes death, which when he had related to his Master, hee hauing been long pleased to take my aduise in his affaires, aduertised me of these newes, and brought his seruant to con|firme the same in my hearing. Whereupon I required his seruant not to speake a word thereof to any man, threatning him with the Lord Deputies displeasure, and seuere punishment, if any such rumour were spread by him. Then I was bold to giue his Master confidence of receiuing the honour he desired, if hee would follow my ad|uise, which was this; that he should goe to the Lord Deputy, and tell him this report of the Queenes death, brought by his seruant, and the strict charge he had giuen vnto him for the concealing thereof, till his Lordship should think fit to make it known, and withall to make tender of himselfe, and all his meanes, to follow his Lordships fortune in this doubtfull time (for such it was in expectation, though most happy in euent.) The Gentleman did as I aduised him, and for his particular, it tooke the same effect which I expected, as I will shew, when I haue first set downe, how his Lordship here|upon proceeded with Tyrone.

The Lord Deputy being warranted by the Queenes letters aboue written, to re|ceiue Tirone to her Maiesties mercy, had vpon the fiue and twentieth of March sent Sir William Godolphin and Sir Garret Moore, to treat with him, for which they had a Commission in these words.

278 Mountioy.

VVHereas the Earle of Tyrone hath made humble suite vnto vs, that vpon his penitent submission to her Maiesties mercy, wee would be pleased to send some Gentlemen, to whom he might make knowne his humble petitions, and impart somewhat to them that doth much concerne her Maiesties seruice: For the great trust wee repose in you, and the good opinion wee conceiue of your discreet iudge|ments, we haue made choice of you to be imployed herein, and doe by these presents giue you both ioyntly and seuerally our absolute warrant and authority, vpon this oc|casion of her Maiesties scruice, to parley and confer with him, or any of his adherents, or followers. Prouided that of this your conference you shall with all conuenient speed giue vs knowledge in all particulars, and of all his and your proceedings herein, to the end you may receiue our further directions. And for so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant. Giuen at Tredagh the foure and twenty of March, 1602.

To Our trusly and well beloued, Sir William Godol|phin, and Sir Garret More Knights.

VVhen I had written this Commission his Lordship commanded me to write this following protection.

Mountioy.

WHereas vpon the humble suite and submission of Hugh Earle of Tyrone, and his penitent contrition for his former offences, by many messages and let|ters signified vnto Vs, We haue thought good to receiue into her Maiesties most gracious protection, his owne person, and such as shall come in his Company, with safety to him and them, and the rest of his followers whatsoeuer, (dwelling in the County of Tyrone, or now abiding with him,) aswell

in their bodies as goods, for and during the space of three weekes, to the end hee might repaire vnto vs, to let vs more fully vnderstand his humble petitions. These are straightly to charge and command all and euery her Maiesties Officers, Ministers, and Subiects, to permit and suffer him and them peaceably to enioy the benefit thereof, without any restraint, molestation, or hostile act, against him or his in their bodies or goods, du|ring the time aboue limitted. So as in the meane time hec and they continue of good and dutifull behauiour towards her Maiesty, and this State. Giuen at Tredagh the foure and twentieth of March, 1602.

To all Commanders of horse and foot, and to all other her Maiesties Officers and Subiects to whom it may appertaine.

Likewise his Lordship commanded me to write seuerall letters to the Gouernours of Garrisons, requiring them to giue Tyrone and his followers full benefit of this Pro|tection. And these writings being all signed by the Lord Deputy, were deliuered to Sir William Godolphin, with charge that when Tyrone was in his Company, and on the way to come to his Lordship, then (and not before) hee should deliuer him the Protection, and likewise the letters, to bee sent to the seuerall Garrisons, by his owne messengers. These Commissioners, on the six and twentieth of March, sent one Bathe from Armagh to Tyrone, to prepare the way of their meeting. The seuen and twen|tieth both the Commissioners came to Charlemont, where Sir William Godolphin staied for his troope of horse, but Sir Garret Moore rode that night to Tullough-oge, where he spake with Tyrone. The eight and twentieth Sir Garret Moore wrote to Sir William, that Tyrone was fully resolued to obey the Lord Deputies commandements, and would meet him the next morning at nine of the clocke, to ride forward in his com|pany to the Lord Deputy. And Henry Hagan, who brought this letter, gaue Sir Wil|liam confident assurance of Tyrones performance.

The same eight and twentieth day, the L. Deputy being at Mellifant, and there hauing the foresaid notice of the Queenes death, and considering that this rumor was no good ground for a new treatie with Tyrone, yet breaking out, were it true or false, 279 might cause new combustions in Ireland, most apt to relapse into new tumults (as appeared by the ensuing mutiny of the very Citties and corporate Townes), as also that if it were true, then he had no power from the succeding King, to receiue Tyrone to mercy, yea that in case it should prooue false, then such treatie with the Arch-tray|tor in any other then Queene Elizabeths name, might proue very dangerous to him. For these reasons he resolued speedily to strike vp the former treatie with Tyrone and so presently dispatched a horseman to Sir William Godolphin, to aduertise him thereof, and to require him to hasten Tyrones comming, by remembrance to him that his for|mer delayes in Treaties had much incensed the Queene, and by threatning him, that if he made the least delay of his submission, his power to doe him good might be easi|ly restrained, and then he should expect nothing from him but a sharpe prosecution to his vtter ruine. Sir William hauing receiued these his Lordships, and Sir Garrets foresaid letters, thought it no time to stand nicely vpon termes of equality, (which might argue his distrust of Tyrone, and awaken in him his old iealousies of our mea|ning to him), and therefore leauing order that his troope should follow him, did ride from Charlemont and met Tyrone on the nine and twentieth of March, at nine of the clocke in the morning at Toker, a place lying fiue miles beyond Dungannon, where shewing him the Lord Deputies protection, he most humbly and thankfully ac-

cepted thereof, and so committed himselfe to the Commissioners, to ride in their company to the Lord Deputy. By the way they deliuered his Protection to his owne hands, and likewise the letters, which he was to send to the seuerall Gouernours by his owne messengers.

On the thirtieth of March 1603. they came al together to Mellifant in the afternoon, where Tyrone being admitted to the Lord Deputies chamber, kneeled at the doore humbly on his knees for a long space, making his penitent submission to her Maiesty, and after being required to come neerer to the Lord Deputie, performed the same ceremony in all humblenesse, the space of one houre or there abouts. The next day hee also made a most humble submission in writing, signed with his owne hand, in manner and forme following (as appeares vpon record.)

I Hugh Oneale, by the Queene of England, France, and Ireland, her most gracious fauour created Earle of Tyrone, doe with all true and humble penitency prostrate my selfe at her royall feet, and absolutely submit my selfe vnto her mercy, most sorrow|fully imploring her gracious commiseration, and appealing onely to her Princely clemency, without presuming to iustifie my vnloyall proceedings against her sacred Maiesty. Onely most sorrowfully and carnestly desiring, that it may please her Ma|iesty rather in some measure to mittigate her iust indignation against me, in that I doe religiously vow, that the first motiues of my vnnaturall rebellion, were neither pra|ctise, malice, nor ambition; but that I was induced first by feare of my life, (which I conceiued was sought by my Enemies practise) to stand vpon my gard, and after most vnhappily led, to make good that fault with more hainous offences, the which in themselues I doe acknowledge deserue no forgiuenesse, and that it is impossible for me, in respect of their greatnesse, in any proportion euen with my life to make satis|faction; I doe most humbly desire her Maiesty to pardon them, that as I haue beene already a sufficient argument of her Royall power, hauing little left but my life to preserue it selfe, so that it may now please her Maiesty, to make me an example of her Princely clemency, the chiefest ornament of her high dignity. And that I may be the better able hereafter with the vttermost seruice of my life to redeeme the foulenes of my faults, I doe most humbly sue vnto her Maiesty, that shee will vouchsafe to restore me to my former dignity and liuing, in which estate of a subiect I doe religiously vow to continue for euer hereafter loyall, in all true obedience to her royall person, crown, prerogatiue, and lawes, and to be in all things as farre and as dutifully conformable thereunto, as I or any other Nobleman of this Realme is bound by the duty of a sub|iect to his Soueraigne, or by the Lawes of this Realme, vtterly renouncing and abiu|ting the name and title of O Neale, or any other authoritie or claime, which hath not beene granted or confirmed vnto mee by her Maiesty, and that otherwise by the 280 Lawes of this Realme, I may not pretend inst interest vnto, and I doe religiously sweare to performe so much as is aboue mentioned, and the rest of these Articles, sub|scribed by my owne hand, as farre as shall any way lie in my power, and to deliuer such pledges for the performance thereof, as shall be nominated vnto me by the Lord Deputy.

I doe renounce and abiure all forraigne power whatsoeuer, and all kind of depen|dancy vpon any other Potentate but her Maiesty the Queene of England, France, and Ireland, and doe vow to serue her faithfully against any forraigne power inuading her Kingdomes, and to discouer truely any practises that I doe, or shall know against her roiall person or Crownes; and namely and especially, I doe abiure and

renounce all manner of dependancy vpon the King or Estate of Spaine, or treaty with him or any of his confederates, and shall be ready with the vttermost of my ability to serue her Maiesty against him, or any of his forces or confederates.

I doe absolutely renounce all challenge or intermedling with the Vriaghts, or softe|ring with them or other neighbour Lords, or Gentlemen out of my Countrey, or exacting any blacke rents of any Vriaghts (or bordering Lords.)

I doe resigne all claime and title to any lands, but such as shall be now granted vnto me by her Maiesties Letters Pattents.

Lastly, as the onely being a Subiect, doth include all the duties of a Subiect, so will I be content to be informed, and aduised by her Magistrates here, and will be confor|mable and assisting vnto them, in any thing that may tend to the aduancement of her seruice, and the peaceable gouernement of this Kingdome, as namely for the abolish|ing of all barbarous customes, contrary to the lawes, being the seeds of all inciuility, and for the cleering of difficult passages and places, which are the nurseries of rebelli|on, wherein I will employ the labours of the people of my Countrey, in such sort and in such places, as I shall be directed by her Maiesty, or the Lord Deputy and Coun|sell in her name, and will endeuour for my selfe and the people of my Countrey, to erect ciuill habitations, and such as shall bee of greater effect to preserue vs against theeues, and any force but the power of the State, by the which we must rest assured to be preserued as long as we continue in our duties.

This submission was presented by the Earle of Tyrone kneeling on his knees, before the Lord Deputy and Counsell, and in the presence of a great assembly. At the same time the Earle promised to write vnto the King of Spaine, for the recalling of his sonne from thence into Ireland, and to doe the same at such time, and in such words, as the Lord Deputy should direct. Likewise he vowed to discouer how farré he had pro|ceeded with the King of Spaine, or any other forraigne or domesticall enemies, for past or future helpes and combinations. Then the Lord Deputy in the Queenes name, promised to the Earle for himselfe and his followers her Maiesties gratious par|don, and to himselfe the restoring of his dignity of the Earledome of Tyrone, and of his bloud, and likewise new letters Pattents for all his lands, which in his former letters had been granted to him before his rebellion, excepting onely the Country possessed by Henrie Oge Oneale, and the Fues possessed by Turlogh Mac Henrie, to both which, at their submission the Lord Deputie had formerly promised, that they should hold the same immediately from the Queene, to which ende this exemption and reseruation was now made of these Countries, and the disposing of them left to her Maiesties power. And likewise excepting and reseruing three hundred acres of land, to bee laid to the Fort of Mountioy, and three hundred more to the Fort of Charlemont, during her Maiesties pleasure to hold any Garrisons in the said Forts. To these exemptions of Henrie Oge and Turlogh Mac Henrie, their Countries and themselues, from the Earles right or power, he gaue his full consent as likewise to the reseruation of the lands laid to the said Forts. He promised to reduce his Countrie to pay her Maiestie like com|position, as Connaght now did, and for long time had paied, and to answere rising out of souldiers, and all charges for aduancing her Maiesties seruice.

The third of Aprill, the Lord Deputy, hauing the Earle of Tyrone in his companie rode to Tredagh, and from thence vpon the fourth day to Dublyn.

281 The next day an English ship arriued in that Hauen, in which came Sir

Henrie Da|uers, who brought with him letters from the Lords in England, aduertising the Queens death, and that Iames the first was proclaimed King of England, Scotland, France, and [Note: King Iames proclaimed.] Ireland, the coppy of which Proclamation they sent, to the end it should here be pub|lished in like sort.

Also in the same ship came one Master Liegh, kinsman to the Lord Deputy, who brought his Lordship a fauourable letter from the King out of Scotland. This Ma|ster Liegh his Lordship presently graced with the honour of Knighthood.

And concerning the gentleman formerly spoken of, whose seruant brought the first newes of the Queenes death, I was not deceiued in the honour I did ominate to him, (as I haue formerly written), for after he had followed my aduice, in the manner of his imparting that important newes to the Lord Deputy, his Lordship conceiued so good an opinion of him, for his discretion, and for the particular affection hee had ex|pressed towards him, by the tender of his seruice in following his fortune this doubt|full time, as his Lordship did not onely by the way from Meltfant to Dublyn, extra|ordinarily grace him, and often call him (not without some admiration of the better sort of his traine) to ride by his side, talking familiarly with him, but now vpon his ar|riuall to Dublyn, vpon this occasion of honouring his cozen Leigh, did also knight him.

In the meane time according to the Lord Deputies commandement, the Counsel|lers of the State, the Noblemen, Knights, and chiefe Commanders of the Army, then being at Dublyn, assembled together in the Castle, to whom his Lordship made knowne the Queenes death, and the Kings Proclamation, which he first, then all in course signed, and presently taking horse, with ioyfull acclamations, published the same through the chiefe streets of Dublyn.

I cannot omit to mention, that the Earle of Tyrone, vpon the first hearing the Lord Deputies relation of the Queenes death, could not containe himselfe from shedding of teares, in such quantity as it could not well be concealed, especially in him, vpon whole face all men eyes were cast: himselfe was content to insinuate, that a tender sor|row for losse of his Soueraigne Mistresse caused this passion in him; but euery dull vn|derstanding might easily conceiue, that thereby his heart might rather bee more ea|sed of many and continuall ielousies and feares, which the guilt of his offences could not but daily present him, after the greatest security of pardon: And there needed no Oedipus to find out the true cause of his teares: for no doubt, the most humble submis|sion he made to the Queene he had so highly and proudly offended, much eclipsed the vaine glory his actions might haue carried, if he had hold out till her death: besides that by his co ming in, as it were between two raignes, he lost a faire aduantage, for (by Englands Estate, for the present vnsetled) to haue subsisted longer in rebellion (if he had any such end) or at least an ample occasion of fastning great merit on the new King, if at first and with free will he had submitted to his mercy, which hee would haue pre|tended to doe, onely of an honourable affection to his new Prince, and many would in all likelihood haue beleeued so much, especially they to whom his present misery and ruined estate were not at all (or not fully) knowne.

The sixth of Aprill the Earle of Tyrone made a new submission to the King, in the same forme he had done to the Queene, the name onely changed. He also wrote this following letter to the King of Spaine.

IT may please your most Excellent Maiesty: Hauing since the first time that

euer I receiued letters from your Highnesse Father, and your Maiesty, or written letters vnto you, performed to the vttermost of my power whatsoeuer I promised: in|somuch as in the expectation of your assistance, since the repaire of O Donnell to your Maiesty, I continued in action, vntill all my neerest kinsemen and follow|ers hauing forsaken me; I was inforced (as my duty is) to submit my selfe to my Lord and Soueraigne, the beginning of this instant moneth of Aprill, in whose seruice and obedience I will continue during my life. Therefore, and for that grow|ing old my selfe) I would gladly see my sonne setled in my life time, I haue thought good (giuing your Maiesty all thankes for your Princely vsage of my sonne Henry, during his being in Spaine) most humbly to desire you to send him vnto mee; 282 And for the poucrtie whereunto I was driuen, I haue in sundry letters, both in Irish and other languages, so signified the same, as it were inconuenient herein to make relation thereof: And so I most humbly take my leaue.

From Dublin, etc. Your Highnesse poore friend that was, Hugh Tyrone.

Together with the same he wrote another letter to his sonne Henry to hasten his comming from Spaine into Ireland, but without any effect. Lastly, the Lord Depu|tic renewed to the Earle of Tyrone his Maiesties Protection for a longer time, till hee could sue out his Pardon, and sent him backe into his Countrey, to settle the same, and to keepe his friends and former confederates in better order, vpon this change of the State.

Sir Henry Dauers, who lately brought letters to the Lord Deputy from the Lords in England, returned backe with purpose to repaire presently vnto the King, where|vpon the Lord Deputy commended to his relation the following instructions: sig|ned with his Lordships hand. Wherein you must note, that his Lordship omits the newes of the Queenes death, receiued by the seruant of a Gentleman (as afore|said), the same being onely a priuate inteliigence, whereupon hee could not safely build his late proceedings, and that his Lordship onely insists vpon letters from the State, which could onely giue warrant to the same. The instrustions are these.

You are to informe the Kings Maiesty, that at your comming ouer hither, the fifth hereof, with the letters from the Lords in England, signifying the decease of my late Scueraigne Mistresse, you found with mee heere at Dublin the Earle of Tyrone, newly come in vpon Protection, and by that meanes the Rcalme for the present ge|nerally quiet, all expecting that vpon a conclusion with him (which then euery one conceiued to be likely, in as much as he put himself into my hand, which till that time he would neuer doe to any) the Countrey would in short time be thorowly settled, so that euery one thet found himselfe in danger, did presse me (in a manner hourely) for his pardon, foreseeing that he that staied out longest, was sure to be made the ex|ample of the Iustice of the State, where such as could soonest make their way, by as|suring their future loyaltie and seruice, were hopefull to lay hold vpon their Soue|raignes mercy.

Now to the end you may acquaint his Maiesty, how farre forth I haue proceeded with the Earle of Tyrone and vpon what warrant; you shall be heereby thus remem|bred. He had often made great meanes to be receiued to mercy, which as often I had denied him, prosecuting him to the vttermost of my ability, being cuer confident in opinion, that vntil I had brought him very low, and driuen him out of his own Coun|trey, (as I did the last Summer, and left Garrisons vpon him, that tooke most of the Creaghts, and spoiled the rest of his goods,) hee would not bee made fit to crauc mercy in that humble manner that

was beseeming so great an offender. In Decem|ber last, when I was at Galloway, he importuned me by many messages and letters, and by some that he trusted very well vowed much sincerity if hee might be hearkened vnto there, and at that time hee sent me a submission, framed in as humble manner, as I could reasonably require: To that I sent him this answer, that I would recommed it to her Maiesty, but vntill I had further direction from her, I would still prosecute him as I did before, and get his head if I could, and that was all the comfort I gaue him; yet ceased he not to continue a sutor with all the earnestnesse that hee could de|uise, hoping in the end to obtaine that hee desired. In the month of March, I recei|ued letters from her Maiesty, of the sixteenth and sauenteenth of February, whereby I was authorised to giue him my word for his comming and going safe, and to par|don him, so as he would come parsonally where I should assigne him, to receine it, and yeeld to some other conditions, in the last of those two letters contained. And withall I was specially required, aboue all things to driue him to some issue presently, because her Maiesty then conceiued that contrariety of successes heere, or change of accidents in other parts, might turn very much to her disaduantage; for which she was still apt to beleeue that hee lay in wait, and would spin out all things further then 283 were requisite, with delayes and shifts, if I should not abridge him. Shortly after the Earle renewing his former suit, with very great carnestnesse, and in most humble manner (as may appeare by his letter in March sent me to Tredagh, whether I was then drawne vpon speciall occasion of seuice), I thought it fit to entertaine the offer of his submission, and to draw on the speedier conclusion of so important a busines, both for that the daily intelligence out of Spaine, threatned danger vnto this Kingdom, and for that I had then receiued aduertisement from the Counsell in England of her Ma|iesties dangerous sicknesse, the least of which accidents might haue reuiued his hopes, added new life vnto his languishing partisans, and vtterly changed the whole frame of my proceedings. To this end I signed his Protection for three weekes, with seuerall warrants to the bordering Garrisons of forbearance from doing any hostile act, either vpon his person, and the persons of his followers, or vpon their goods, du|ring the terme aforesaid, appointing Sir Garret Moore (a Gentleman well deseruing of the State, and out of ancient acquaintance with the Earle, much respected by him) to repaire vnto him, and to giue him knowledge, that if simply and plainely (according to the tennor of his humble requests) he were resolued (without any delay) to present his petitions vnto me in his owne person, where I assigned his appearance, he should then receiue a protection for his safe comming and returne, with assurance for his peo|ple and goods during his absence, by the hands of Sir William Godolphin whom I had purposely sent into those part with a sufficient guard, to attend his resolution, and to bring him safely vnto me. These conditions (though at first seeming somewhat hard, as both tasting of too great an humblenes, and not vtterly free from danger of his per|son, whose head was set to Sale, by a publike act, and priuate men not bound to take knowledged of the present proceedings), found easier acceptance then almost any man would haue imagined, the Earle peremtorily commanding, that none of his, vp|on what pretence soeuer; should presume to disswade him from obaying this sum|mons, seeing no way of mediation was left vnto him, saue onely this, vowing in the presence of a great many that although the Deputies heauy hand had almost brought him to the height of misery,

yet should no mortall power haue extorted from him a submission of this nature, but that out of long and earnest obseruation of his procee|dings, he had found reason to hope, that when his Lordship should discouer the vn|fained penitency of his heart, for his forepast misdeeds, with a firme resolution to re|deeme his offences, by faithful seruing her Maiestie, and wel deseruing of the State, du|ring the whole remainder of his life, that he should then find from him as great com|miseration of his present sufferings, and as charitable a repaire against the threatned ruines of his house, posterity, and poore distressed Country, as he had tatted bitternes in the whole course of his former prosecution. Thus perswaded, he left directions for setling his Country, the best he might on such a sudden, and with a guard of 50 horse vnder the leading of Sir William Godolphin, making great marches, vntill he came vnto me within three miles of Tredagh, fell there downe on his knees before a great assem|bly, confessing his vnworthines, yet humbly craving her Maiesties mercy, which as a|boue all earthly things he protested to desire, so hee vowed with the vttermost of his power to deserue the same. It were too long to set downe all that passed in this first interview, he striuing to expresse in all his speeches and gestures the lowest degree of humblenes, to me, that was to valew and to maintaine the greatnes of her State and place, who he so highly had offended. The next morning I sent for him (the Treasurer at Warres being onely present with me), and made him see how well I vnderstood his present condition, how vnpossible it was for him to subsist, euen in the poorest and most conte ptible fashion of a Woodkerne, if her Maiestie were but pleased to imploy the present instruments of his ruine. Finally, finding him most sensible, both of his estate, and the Queenes high fauour in remitting his crime, I promised him her grati|ous pardon, on those conditions, mentioned in the memoriall sent by your hands. From thence he attended me to Tredagh, and so to Dublin the fourth of Aprill, where the next day I receiued letters from the Nobility in England, signifyng the death of our late Soueraigne: Whereupon I called together the Counsell and such of the Nobilitie 284 as were in Towne, and acquainting them with the contents thereof, I propounded al|so the present proclaiming of his Maiestie, whereunto all most willingly agreed, and among them the Earle of Tyrone, and when they had set their hands to the Proclama|tion, all together did accompany me the Deputy to the publishing thereof in the City. Since that time I thought fit to dismisse the Earle of Tyrone into his owne Country, the better to retaine his people and partisans in good order, but first we tooke from him a new submission to his Maiesty, signed by his hand, which now I send by you.

Also you shall informe his Maiesty, that now there is no Rebell in Ireland, who hath not sued to be receiued to the Kings mercy, and that I think fit to yeeld the same to most of them, leauing only some few to be prosecuted to vtter ruine, for an example and terror to other ill affected subiects, wherin I desire to know his Maiesties pleasure.

Lastly, you are to present my humble sute vnto his Maiesty, to bee discharged of this Gouernement, or if it shal please his Maiesty to employ me further herein, yet that he wil vouchsafe me leaue to kisse his Royal hands, which I desire not only out of my particular affection to haue the happines to see him, but also out of my desire to in|forme him thorowly of the present estate of this Kingdome, wherein I presume that I shall be able to doe his Maiesty very good seruice. And if it shall not please his Maie|stie to resolue for the present on some other man, to vndertake

this Gouernement, but onely to leaue the authoritie to some fit mans hand, during my absence, and if hee bee resolued to make choise among those that are here present, and therein shall require my opinion, you shall say, that although I will not presume to recommend any to his Maiestie, yet I doe thinke Sir George Cary Treasurer at warres to be most fit for that place, who hath already been Lord Iustice of this Kingdome, and howsoeuer he be no souldier, yet is well acquainted with the businesse of the warre, wherein he hath been euer very industrious to aduance the seruice.

At the same time the Lord Deputy sent ouer Master Richard Cooke one of his Se|cretaries, to negotiate his affaires in Court. And because his Lordship desired to re|taine the superintendency of this Gouernement, with title of Lord Lieutenant, and with two third parts of the Lord Deputies allowances, in regard no man was able to support the place of Lord Deputy with the other third part of that allowance, except he had other great Fees and place of commodity in this Kingdome, his Lordship no|minated (as before) Sir George Cary to be most fit for that place, some other Counsel|lers being in this one point ioyned with him, namely, to signe all such warrants as should be signed for the disbursing of the Treasure. The instructions giuen to Master Cooke were these.

To procure a new Pattent to the Lord Mountioy with title of Lord Lieutenant, and with authority to leaue Sir George Carey Treasurer at Warres to be Lord Deputy, and so his Lordship to come presently ouer. 2. To procure new Pattents for Wards, let|ting of the Kings lands, compounding the Kings debts, etc. (as before.) 3. To so|licite for victuall, munition and mony. 4. To moue the change of the base coine now currant. 5. To aduertise the newes from Spaine. 6. To solicite the sending of new Seales; namely, the great Seale, Signets, Counsell seales, for the State, Mounster, and Connaght, for the Kings Bench, Common pleas, and Exchequer. 7. To procure au|thoritie to passe estates to the Irish Lords.

After King Iames his Proclamation at Dublin, the Lord Deputy sent like Proclama|tions to all Gouernours, Magistrates, and Officers of Prouinces, Cities, and Countries to be in like sort published, and with all made knowne to them seuerally his Maiesties pleasure signified in his letters directed to the Lords in England) to continue all Gouer|nours, Magistrates, and Officers, and all his Maiesties Ministers (as well Martiall as Ci|uill of both the Kingdomes of England and Ireland, in as absolute authorities and iuris|dictions of their places, as before the decease of the late Queene Elizabeth of famous memory they enioyed and exercised the same, as also to continue and establish all the Lawes and Statutes of both Kingdomes in their former force and validity, till such time as his Maiesty should please to take fuller knowledge, and resolue for the publik good of any alteration (not intended but vpon some speciall and waighty causes), and 285 should please to giue notice of his pleasure. Further his Lordship aduised them, to concurre with him in the vigilant care, to present all things in the best estate might be, to the first view of so worthy and mighty a Soueraigne.

The twelfth of Aprill the Lord Deputy receiued letters from Sir Charles Wilmott and Sir George Thorneton, (appointed Commissioners with ioynt authority for gouer|ning the Prouince of Mounster, in the absence of Sir George Carew Lord President, late gone for England), aduertising that they had blocked vp Mac Morrish in the Castle of Billingarry, belonging to the Lord Fitz-morrice, and hoped by the

taking thereof, to cleere the Prouince of all open Rebels.

The fifteenth of Aprill his Lordship receiued a letter from Ororke, humbly implo|ring the Queenes mercy, and the same day after his hearing of the Queenes death, ano|ther in like humblenesse crauing the Kings mercy.

The sixteenth day his Lordship receiued letters from the Mayor of Corke, aduerti|sing [Note: The mu|tiny of the Cities in Moun|ster about Religion.] that hee had receiued the Kings Proclamation the eleuenth of Aprill, and had de|ferred the publishing thereof to this day, onely to the end it might be doue with more solemnity, humbly praying, that in regard the Fort built for defence of the Harbour of Corke from forraigne inuasion, was not kept by a Commander sufficient to secure the same for the Crowne, his Lordship would accept the offer of him the Mayor, and therest of the corporation of the said City, to keepe the same for his Maiesty at their owne perill. Lastly, complaining that the Souldiers now keeping the Fort, did shoote at the Fishermen, and at the boates sent out of the Towne for prouisions, vsing them at their pleasure.

The same sixteenth day his Lordship was aduertised by seuerall letters: First that the Citizens of Waterford had broken vp the doores of the Hospitall, and had admit|ted one Doctor White to preach at Saint Patrickes Church, and had taken from the Sexton the keyes of the Cathedrall Church, of themselues mutinously setting vp the publike celebration of the Masse, and doing many insolencies in that kind. Secondly that Edward Raghter a Dominican Frier of Kilkenny, assisted by some of the Towne, came to the Blacke-Fryers, vsed for a Session-House, and breaking the doores, pulled downe the benches and seates of Iustice, building an Altar in the place of them, and commanded one Biship, dwelling in part of the Abbey, to deliuer him the keyes of his House, who was to take possession of the whole Abbey, in the name and right of the Friers his brethren.

The eighteenth day his Lordship was aduertised from the Commissioners of Mounster, that the Citizens of Corke had not onely refused to ioine with them in pub|lishing the Proclamation of King Iames, but had drawne themselues all into Armes, and kept strong guardes at their Ports, and had absolutely forbidden the Commissio|ners to publish the same, with such contemptuous words and actions, as would haue raised a mutiny, if they had not vsed greater temper: That the Townesmen had made stay of boats loaded with the Kings victuals and munition for the Fort of Hale|holin, saying that the Fort was built within their Franchizes without their consent, and was meetest to be in the custody of the City. Whereupon they the said Commis|sioners accompanied with the Lord Roche and some 800 persons of the Countrey, (all expressing muchioy, but none of the Citizens assisting, or expressing any ioy), did publish the Proclamation, vpon an hill neere the Towne, with as much solemnity as might be, and had furnished the Fort with victuals and munition from Kinsale. And they besought his Lordship speedily to reestablish by new Letters Pattents the Ma|gistrates authority, because the ceasing thereof by the Queenes death, had especially emboldened these Citizens to be thus insolent.

The same day one Edward Gough a Merchant of Dublyn, newly comming out of Spaine, and examined vpon oath, said that at Cales he saw the Ordinance shipped to S. Lucas, for forty sayle (as he heard) there ready to goe for Lisbone, where was a fleete of 140 ships prepared (as some said) for Ireland, or (as others said) for Flaunders; but hee heard no Generall named,

onely heard that Don Iean de l'Agula, was againe receiued to the Kings fauour. The 22 day his Lordship wrote to the Soneraigne of Kilkenny, that howsoeuer he had no purpose violently to reforme Religion in this Kingdome, 286 but rather prayed for their better vnderstanding, yet he could not permit, yea must seuerely punish in that Towne and otherwhere, the seditious and mutinous setting vp of the publike exercise of Popish Religion, without publike authority, and likewise with preiudice done to those of the prosession established by God, and by the Lawes of both the Realmes, requiring that hee and they should desist from such mutinous disorders, apprehending the chiefe authors, and if they wanted power to suppresse the sedition of a few Priests and Friers, his LP offered to assist them with the Kings for|ces; for he would not faile to giue life to the Lawes and obedience due to his Maiesty.

The foure and twentieth day, his Lordship was aduertised that the Citizens of Lym|rick had with their Priests entred into all the Churches of the City, and there erec|ting Altars, had vsed the Rites of the Romish Church.

The 25. day, his Lordship wrote this letter to the Citizens of Waterford.

YOur letters of the three and twentieth of this instant came this day to my hands. And hauing duely considered the contents of the same, I find, that they returne a double excuse of the courses you haue vsed: first, for your delay of time to proclaime the Kings most Excellent Maiesty, according to such directions as was sent vnto you, from the Earle of Ormond, by a Counsellor of this State. And the next, for such dis|orders as were reported to bee committed, by the publike breach of his Highnesse Lawes in matters of Religion: To the which We returne you this answer following. First, albeit We would haue wished, that you had had a more carefull regard to haue performed such directions as you receiued from to Noble a Peere of this Realme, by so reuerent a messenger, as you might assure your selues in such a matter durst not abuse you, his Highnesse sole and vndoubted right concurring also with your owne knowledge and consciences, yet We will not condemne you for that omission of the time, seeing afterwards you did obey our directions in that behalfe, and gaue so pub|like a testimony of your ioyful allowance and consent to his Maiesties Right and law|full title proclaimed amongst you. But as in this part you haue giuen vnto vs a kinde of contentment, so in the last point, Wee cannot forbeare to let you vnderstand the Iust mislike We doe conceiue, that you being Citizens of wisdome and good expe|rience, and the Lawes of the Realme continuing in force, would be drawne either by your Priests, or any like practises, to commit any publike breach of the Lawes, and the rather because out of that vnspotted duty, which you professe you haue euer car|ried to the Crowne, you would not in reason conceiue that the example of your of|fence in such a cause, and in so great and populous a City, could not but in it selfe be very dangerous, in these disordered times, wherein examples doe carry men astray, which in discharge of Our duty to the Kings Highnesse Wee may not suffer. And therefore haue resolued to make Our speedy repaire vnto those parts, for none other purpose but to establish his Maiesties Lawes, that no publike nor contemptious breach be made of them, wherein We wish you had bin more wary, contenting your selues with the long and fauourable tolleration you enioyed during the late Queens raigne, rather then in this sort to haue prescribed Lawes to your selues; whereby in wisdome you may perceiue how much you haue preiudiced the very obtaining of your owne desire, by the courses you haue taken, (as we are credibly

informed). And yet because it may be, that the reports of your behauiour haue beene made more hai|nous then there is cause, Wee are well pleased to suspend Our giuing credit to such particular informations, vntill vpon due examination the truth may appeare, where|in We hope and shall be glad that you can acquit your selues so of these imputations now laid vpon you, or otherwise that you conforme your selues now at last, in such sort to the obedience you owe to his Maiesty, and his Lawes, as We be not inforced to take seuere notice of your contrary actions.

The same day his Lordship was aduertised from the Mayor of Galloway, that how|soeuer he found no seditious inclination in the Citizens; yet to preuent disorders in these mutinous times, the Gouernor of the Fort had giuen him some of his souldiers, to assist his authority, whom he to that purpose had placed in the strongest Castles of the City.

287 The same day his Lordship receiued letters from the Mayor of Corke, signifying that the thirteenth day of this moneth he had published in the City the Proclamation of the King, with the greatest solemnity he could, and complaining that the Souldiers in the Kings Fort offered many abuses to the Towne, with offer from the Corporation to vndertake the safe keeping of that Fort for his Maiesty.

The 26 day his Lordship wrote to the Soueraigne of Wexford, that whereas they ex|cused their erecting of popish rites, by the report they heard of his Maiesties being a Roman Catholike, he could not but maruell at their simplicity, to be seduced by ly|ing Priests to such an opinion, since it was apparant to the World, that his Maiesty professed the true religion of the Gospell, and euer with carefull sincerity maintained it in his Kingdome of Scotland, charging him and those of Wexford vpon their Wexford to his Maiesty, to desist from the disordered course they had taken, in celebrating publikely the idolatrous Masse, least hee at his comming vp into those parts, should haue cause seuerely to punish their contempt, shewed to his Maiesty and the lawes of his Kingdome.

The same day his Lordship was aduertised from the Commissioners of Mounst r, that the Citizens of Corke grew daily more and more insolent, defacing places of scrip|ture written on the wals of the Church, to the end they might wash and paint ouer the old Pictures, and that one tearmed a Legat from the Pope, with many Priests, had gone in solemne procession, hallowing the Church, and singing Masse therein pub|likely, the Townes-men hauing placed guards of armed men, set at the Church dore, and at the Porch, yea burying their dead with all Papisticall Ceremonies, and taking the Sacrament in like sort to spend their liues and goods in desence of the Romish Religion, and thereupon taking boldnes to offer wrong to the English, and to practice the getting of the Kings Fort into their hands, yea refusing to sell any thing to the English for the new mixed money, and not suffering the Kings victuals to be issued out of the store, till they had assurance that the Souldiers should be sent out of the li|berties of Corke.

The 27 day his Lordship wrote to the Soueraigne of Clemmell, commending him and the rest of that City, that they had proclaimed the King with great ioy and glad|nesse, but charging them vpon their vttermost perill, to cease from the publike exercise of the Romish Religion, which they of themselues had mutinously established.

The same day his Lordship wrote this following letter to the Soueraigne of Kil|kenny.

AFter my hearty commendations. I haue receiued your Letters of the 25 and 26 of this moneth, and am glad to vnder-

stand thereby, that you are somewhat confor|mable to my directions, being willing to haue cause to interpret your actions to the best; but though I meane not to search into your consciences, yet I must needs take knowledge of the publike breach of his Maiesties Lawes: and whereas you let me vn|derstand, that the Inhabitants are willing to withdraw themselues for their spirituall exercise to priuacy, contented onely with the vse of the ruinous Abbey, that being a publike place, I cannot but take notice thereof, and maruell how you dare presume to dispose at your pleasure of the Abbey, or any thing belonging to his Maiesty, and therefore againe charge you vpon your alleagiance, to forbeare any publike exercise of that Religion, prohibited by the Lawes of this Realme, and fully to reforme these disorders, according to my directions, vpon your extreame perill.

The same day his Lordship wrote this following letter to the Mayor of Corke.

AFter my very hearty commendations, I did first receiue some mutual complaints and informations, from the co missioners of Mounster and you, wherof so far as they concerne your particulars I will take notice, and be glad to heare you both, or your A|gents for you, and reforme what I shall find amisse in either, but of publike offences or errours, I must take publike knowledge. And first for the Proclamation of the King, wherein I am informed that you were not onely your selues slow and backward, but made resistance to those, who being Gouernours in that Prouince in our late 288 Soueraignes time, and hauing our directions, were not like to abuse or deceiue you, and offered with due forwardnes and obedience, after your vnfitting and dangerous delaies, to haue published the same, whereof I cannot but maruell, and thinke you much to be blamed in so vndoubtfull a right, and with directions receiued from those in authority, to make such needlesse consultations, and much more to offer violent re|sistance to those, who better vnderstood their duties, and were euer ready in so much loyalty to performe it: yet in regard of your solemne and ioyfull publication thereof, I am willing to interpret your actions to the best, and take your good performance for an excuse: But I am further giuen to vnderstand, that you haue suffered the pub|like celebration of the Masse to be set vp in your City, of your owne fancies, and with|out publike authority, both against the lawes of this Realme, and (I assure you) con|trary to that Religion which his Maiesty zealously professeth. Whereof I cannot but take publike notice, as you haue publikely offended the King and his Lawes, and as I haue done before, so againe I charge you vpon your alleagiance, to desist from such seditious insolencies, and to apprehend the chiefe Authours thereof, which if you doe not presently obey, I shall be forced against my will to vse his Maiesties Sword and Power, to suppresse the same. Further you haue by your letters made suit vnto me, to haue the Kings Fort Halebolin committed to your custody, and I am informed that you haue proceeded in that insolency, as to stay his Maiesties Munition and victuals, and Artillery, which vpon speciall trust of your loyalty was kept in your City, from being transported from thence to the reliefe of the Kings Fort. It may be you haue rashly and vnaduisedly done this, vpon some opinion of the ceasing of authority in the publike gouernement, vpon the death of our late Soueraigne, (which is somewhat more, though no way in true and seuere iudgement excusable), and I thinke other|wise you would neuer haue beene so foolish, to runne into so great danger, but since, as it hath pleased his Maiesty to renue and confirme vnto me, by his royall letters and Letters Pattents vnder his Scale, the place of his Deputy in

this Kingdome, and to signifie his gracious pleasure, to continue all other his Officers and Magistrates, aswell martiall as ciuill, in their former authority and iurisdictions, so by vertue thereof, and power giuen me from his Maiesty, I haue renewed the Lord Presidents Pattent, and granted a new commission to Sir Charles Wilmott and Sir George Thornton, with charge and authority to gouerne the Kings Forces, Forts, and places of strength, and to de|feud the Townes from forraigne inuasions, and intestine mutinics or rebellions, and further to gouerne that Prouince according to his Maiesties directions. In which command of theirs there is no derogation from your ciuill gouernement and limited authority, if you rightly vnderstand the one and the other: Therefore as you should at first haue concurred with them, put in so great place of trust ouer you by your late Queene and Mistresse, especially in dangerous times of change, for the peaceable go|uernement of all vnder both your charges, that you might haue deserued his Maie|sties gracious acceptance of your seruice, by presenting all things in the best state you could to his Highnesse first view, so now I require you vpon your allegiannce, to be assisting and obedient to them in all things touching his Maiesties seruice, and not to presume to interrupt the conuayance of the Kings victusls, munition, or artillery, vn|to such places as shall be thought fit by them, for the furnishing of his Maicstics Forts, or Forces, wheresoeuer they thinke conuenient. This if you shall performe, I shall be glad to interpret your past actions to the best, finding your endeauours to redeeme what you haue done amisse, and not bee forced against my will to take notice of the height of your offences or errours, and vse his Maiesties power to redresse them. I haue since the writing hereof, seene a letter presented me by Master Meade, in deniall and excuse of these informations, and if I shall find you conformable and obedient to these my directions, I will be glad to haue occasion to interpret all things past in the better part, and take as little notice as I can thereof. And so, etc.

The same day the Lord Deputy wrote this following letter to the Mayor of Lym|ricke.

AFter my hearty commendations, I haue not written vnto you (that I remember) since I sent you directions for the Proclamation of the King, which because I 289 vnderstand you published according to your duety, with all due solemnity and signes of ioy, and continued in duetifull sort, not being seduced vnto disor|ders, as some of the Townes of that Prouince were, I thought rather to haue cause to commend you, and giue you encouragement in your loyall procee|dings, then any way to blame you, but I haue since beene enformed, that you haue taken example of other Cities seduced by their Priests, and against his Maiesties Lawes (and I assure you contrary to the religion he zealously profesSeth) vpon your owne fancies without authority, set vp the publike celebration of the Masse, where|of I cannot but take publike notice, as you hane publikely offended the King and his lawes, and therefore I charge you vpon your alleagiance, to desist from such seditious insolencies, and to apprehend the chiefe authours thereof, which if you doe not pre|sently obey, I shall be forced against my will to take more seuere notice thereof, then willingly I would. And so hoping that in a matter of so great consequence you will be better aduised, I expect to haue answere from you.

The eight and twentieth day his Lordship wrote this following letter to the Com|missioners of Mounster.

AFter my hearty commendations, I haue already sent you your Commission re|newed, for continuance of your authority, and signed the Kings Letters Pattents

to the Lord President for his gouernement, and as formerly I aduised you, so againe I pray you, to transport as great a proportion of victuals and munition as you can out of the City of Corke, into the Fort of Halebolyn, and the Castle of Shandon, and if you may, by faire meanes, you shall doe well to endeuour to draw some Companies into the Towne, which if you cannot effect, yet I would haue you not to slacke the carrying of victuals and munition. I haue drawne together some 5000 men, and shall be able to employ them in reducing and setling the Townes of those parts, and if the Citizens of Corke, vpon the renewing of your authority and my late directions, proue more conformable then they were, you shal doe well to gouerne all without violence, but if they continue obstinate in their former insolencies, I aduise you to set guards vpon the stores of victuals and munition, and to leaue the Towne.

The same day his Lordship wrote this following letter to Sir Charles Wilmot, one of the said Commissioners.

SIR Charles, I haue receiued your letter of the twentieth of Aprill, and am glad of the good successe you had in taking the Castles in Kerry, and for your men of Corke, I haue heard of their insolencies, and I beleeue them, and for any thing I know, all the Townes in Mounster stand vpon little better tearmes: Assoone as I could pos|sibly, (for I had no Forces in all Lemster) I haue gathered together 5000 men, and am comming towards you, and haue so disposed of all things in the North, that if need be, I will draw the whole Army of Ireland ere it be long into Mounster, some few ex|cepted to guard the garrisons: With Waterford I thinke to beginne, for they gaue the first example, but it is true that if they hold against me, I am ill prouided to force them, for at Dublyn wee are ill stored of all things, but we will doe aswell as we may. I doe like your course well to draw as many as you can to one head, and I thinke it fit, that it were about Corke: If your munition and victuals be in the power of the Towne, I know not what to say, but I haue first written to the Towne, not to interrupt you in the disposing of the Kings munition and victuals, and vpon my commandement if they denie it, it is treason, therefore I thinke they will be aduised therein. If you may therefore, as suddenly as you can, conuay as great a proportion of victuals, but espe|cially and first of munition, out of the Towne, then I will command them to receiue you (with such forces as you shall appoint) into the Towne, which if they denie, it is treason too: And if you haue any store out of the Towne, and your Forces be gathe|red together, and they continue obstinate, it were good some little guard (though it were but seuen or eight men) were put into the Castles, where the munition and vi|ctuals are, and for all the rest of the English to withdraw themselues out of the Towne by little and little, and then if they continue obstinate still, in not receiuing the King Forces, my desire is that you shall presently inuest the Towne, which 290 I presume may bee done with some 1000 men, if you put two or 300 men into the Fort next to Kinsale gate, (which with so many men will be easily guardable), and with the rest of your foote intrench neere to the gate next toward Shandon, and with some 100 horse beat the wayes. When you are in this forwardnesse, if you thinke this way feasable, I will send you, either more men (if with those you haue you thinke not fit to engage the Cannon), or if I be loose my selfe from being ingaged in any other place, I will come to you; but if Waterford hold out, I shall for the time haue my hands full. Let me heare from you at large of all things, and in the meane time, it is fit you put the best Arlillery you haue into Halebolin Fort. I haue sent this by one whom I thinke to

be trusty, and I pray you to send him backe speedily to me, and to impart this proiect to as few as you thinke good. Write to me how Lymricke, and the other Cities doe stand. And so, etc.

The thirtieth day his Lordship receiued letters from the Mayor of Corcke and his brethren, signifying that the Commissioners had by directions charged them, to suffer his Maiesties Ministers to passe through their ports with eight and forty barrels of powder, and leade and match proportionable, to be brought from his Maiesties store in that City to the Fort of Halebolyn, and that in regard they wondered so great a proportion should be carried to the Fort, where no Artillery was yet planted, especial|ly the quantities formerly issued being not yet spent, nor any seruice being in hand, they fearing the Commissioners purposed to assault the Towne, or at least to starue them, were enforced thereby to make stay of the said munition, till his Lordps pleasure were further known, renewing their suit, to haue the custody of the Fort committed to the corporation. That they did all they could to cause the mixed money of the new standard to passe currant, but it was with such griefe and losse to the poore town as they hoped his Lp would be a means to his Maiesty for altering the same; That they had re|ceiued rebuke from his Lordship, concerning certaine insolencies, but could not call to mind any particular wherein they had offended the State except that be an offence, after many abuses and wrongs done them, to keepe watch and ward, to preserue themselues and keepe the City for the Kings Maiesty, in those doubtfull times (as they tearmed them). That touching the point of Religion, they onely exercised now publikely that which euer before they had beene suffered to exercise priuately, and as their publike praiers gaue publike testimony of their faithfull hearts to the Kings Royall Maiesty, so they were tied to bee no lesse carefull to manifest their du|ties to almighty God, in which they would neuer be dissembling temporisors.

Thus they foolishly rushed into apparant treason, by making stay of the Kings munitions, and presumed to excuse their mutinous and insolent establishing the publike exercise of the Romish Religion (and that vpon their owne heads, without any direction, yea in opposition of publike authority.)

The Lord Deputy now being ready to take his iourney for Mounster, and purpo|sing first to attempt Waterford, wrote to the Maior thereof the first of May to this ef|fect. Because it seemes by your neglect of my directions, and your impertinent an|sweres, that you do not know, or haue forgotten, both my authority and your selues, I thinke good to let you vnderstand, that it hath pleased the most mighty Prince King Iames the first, Our Soueraigne, by his letters Pattents, vnder his Great Seale of Eng|land, to make me his Deputie and chiefe Gouernour vnder himselfe of this King|dome, and further to command me, by his letters signed with his Royall hands, to cherish his good subiects, and to suppresse the Rebellious, the which difference of good and rebellions, I am no otherwise to distinguish in you, but by that obedience which I haue required, and doe now require of you to his Maiesties Lawes and Royall pleasure. And as, in my duty to God and my King, I should reioice to finde you in the number of those that I am bound to cherish and preserue. So should I bee heartily sorry to finde you such, as I must bee forced to correct or to ruine. And although it be none of my purposes to enter into your consciences, yet if the effects of your consciences be, to disturbe the peace of this Kingdome, to violate the Lawes thereof, and by force to set vp your owne Religion; It is my 291 duty to vse the

Kings power to suppresse such insolencies, and therefore my purpose is to repaire my selfe to the Kings Citie, whereof you are one of his Magistrates, to see his peace and obedience maintained, the which if both I and you, and that Corpora|tion doe not (as our duty is) intend, we haue a King, that is not onely able to call vs his poore seruants to an account, but to reuenge the wrongs of the greatest Monarch of the World.

The same day his Lordship writ to the Maior of Corke, this following letter.

AFter my heartie commendations. I haue receiued two letters from you, the one not signed with any hand, the other signed by you the Maior and two of your Brethren; and for the first, concerning the stay you haue made of the Kings munition and Victuals, I maruell greatly at your presumption, to limit and take account what proportions the Commissioners authorised by his Maiesty thinke good to issue, for his seruice, and wish you in matters of so great consequence to be well aduised, not doing any thing rashly, nor consulting or deliberating after your fancies of things not belonging any way to your consideration, but submitting your owne iudgements to be ruled by those placed in authoritie ouer you, I meane Sir Charles Wilmot, and Sir George Thorneton, whose Commissions to gouerne that Prouince I haue lately by or|der from his Maiestie renewed. For the answere of your second letter, I referre my selfe to those I sent you by Master Mead, which I thinke ere this time are come to your hands, and as by them you shall more particularly perceiue, so I assure you, that I expect better satisfaction from you, for the late insolent disorders committed or per|mitted by you in that Citie, then by these I haue receiued, charging you againe (as for|merly) to desist from the violating of his Maiesties Lawes, by publike celebration of the Masse, set vp of your owne fancies, without superiour authoritie. In which, if I finde you not conformable and obedient to my directions, I must conceiue of your loyaltie and affection to his Maiesties seruice, as I find by the effects testified in your publike actions, and bee forced to take more seuere notice thereof, then I willingly would, in regard of the good opinion I haue heretofore had of your proceedings. And for that point in your last letter, touching the Fort of Halebolin, whereof you desire to haue the keeping to the Kings vse, I will deale plainely with you, that since I find you so little able to gouerne the inhabitants of your Towne in due obedience to his Maie|stie and his Lawes, and so easily seduced by your Priests and Friers, to the preiudice thereof, and the hazard of your selues, and haue alwaies found by experience the true integritie and forward resolution of the Kings souldiers to aduance his seruice: till I shall see a better reformation of these your proceedings, I must needes thinke them fitter then you to haue places of so great trust committed to their guard and custodie.

The same day his Lordship vnderstood by letters from the Maior of Corke, that the Kings forces, lying neere the Towne, and their armed men of the Citie, had proceeded to acts of hostilitie, some hauing beene killed on both sides, whereof they craued re|liefe from his Lordship, making their contumacy against the Commissioners autho|ritie, a priuate quarrell to the person of one of them, as being their enemie, and seeking their vtter ruine. Likewise the Bishop of Corke aduertised, that a most seditious ser|mon was preached at Corke by a Popish Priest, teaching that he could not be a lawfull King, who was not placed by the Pope, and sworne to maintaine the Roman Religi|on. Also that one of his men, going to the Port of the Towne, was hurt by one of the guard, who wished he had the Traytor his Master there, with threats of death to him. Lastly, that the

Citizens, by resolution taken in a publike Counsell with their Priests, had written to all the Townes and Cities, to assist them in the defence of the Catho|like faith, and had not onely staied the Kings munition, but laid it vp in their owne store-houses, and imprisoned the clarke who kept it.

The third of May his Lordship being on the way towards Mounster was aduerti|sed from Iustice Synot, that the Citizens of Wexford had conformed themselues to his Lordships pleasure, and had redeliuered the Churches to the hands of the English Mi|nisters. 292 The fourth of May, his Lordship in camped at Gracedea, neere the Citie of Waterford, and summoned the Maior and his brethren to open their Ports, and to receiue him and the Kings Forces.

The same day his Lordship wrote this following letter to the Maior of Corke. For the dispatch of your messenger, and not to omit any thing that heth in mee to make you vnderstand your dutifull obedience to his Maiesty, and the great errors and insolent demenor you haue of selfe will or malice entred into; I am content to write vnto you, tho I know not well in what sort to write, for by your courses I can|not take you for subiects, and out of my desire to interpret your actions to the best, I could wish not to haue cause to repute you Rebels. To deale plainely with you, for any thing that you selues informe, or I can otherwise vnderstand, I see not that Sir Charles Willmot hath done but as in his duty hee was tied to doe, but I am presently drawing downe to the City of Corke, and hauing reserued one care for any your iust complaints, will iudge of your proceedings as I shall finde them. I haue let you vn|derstand my pleasure by my letters, (one sent by Master Meade, which if hee haue not deliuered he is more to blame), and I assure my selfe some of them came to your hands, and in all I haue charged you vpon your alleagance (as againe by these I do) to desist from publike breach of his Maiesties Lawes, in the celebration of the Masse, prohibited by the same, and to yeeld due obedience to his Magistrates, and especially vpon your extreamest perils, not to presume to make any stay of his Maiesties victu|alls and munition, left (vpon speciall trust on your fidelity) within the walles of that City, but to suffer it by his Maiesties Commissioners of that Prouince, to bee issued to the Forts, or where they shall thinke meet for the present seruice. I shall be glad to finde that you conforme your selues to due obedience in all these, and other du|ties of good subiects; if otherwise you obstinately persist in the contrary, I must needs hold you for enemies to the King and the Peace of these his Realmes, and as such thinke you fit to be prosecuted by the reuenging sword of these and other his Maiesties Forces. From the Campe at Gracedea, neere Waterford, the fourth of May, 1603.

The fifth of May his Lordship was aduertised, that the Gouernour of Loughfoyle, vpon Sir Neale Garnes late insolencies and disloyall practises, had by force taken from him, his Cowes, horses, and all his substance, and that he himselfe had giuen pledges to come to his Lordship. The disloyalties proued against him were these. That he obstinately carried himselfe in all things concerning the seruice. That he forbad his people to yeeld any reliefe to the English Garrisons. That he restrained his men from building or plowing, that they might assist him to doe any mischiefe. That be threat|ned to set fier on the Liffer. That he refused to admit any Shiriffe in his Countrey. That he had long beene vpon a word with the Rebels. That he swore he would goe into Rebellion, rather then any English man should inioy a foot of Church land in his Countrey, which notwithstanding was reserued in his Pattent. That he

had crea|ted himself O Donnel, and that he had murthered an honest subiect, who would not fol|low him in those courses, with many like insolencies. And hereby the Lord Deputy and State were set at libertie for the promise of Tirconnell made vnto him. So as his Lordship had now good occasion to giue Rowry O Donnell contentment. To which end some good portions of land, being assigned to Sir Neale Garue, his LP pro|cured the rest of the late O Donnells Countrey, to be giuen his brother Rowry, whom afterwards in England he procured to be created Earle of Tyrconnel, thereby extingui|shing the name of O Donnell.

The Citizens of Waterford, at first refused to receiue any Forces into the Towne, but onely his Lordship and his retinue, yet the chiefe of them attended his Lordship in the Campe, and for their proceedings in the points of Religion, his Lordship re|quiring them to bring vnto him one Doctor White a Iesuite, the chiefe seducer of them by seditious Sermons, they were ready vpon safe conduct or protection to bring him to his Lordships presence which being granted them by word of mouth, the said Doctor White, accompanied by a young Dominican Frier, came into the 293 Campe, but when they foolishly carried a Crucifix, openly shewing the same, the sol|diers were hardly kept from offering them violence; and when they put vp the Crucifix in their pockets, yet could hardly indure the sight of their habits, which each wore according to his order, Doctor White wearing a blacke gowne and cornerd cap, and the Frier wearing a white wollen frock. White being come into his Lordships Tent, was bold to maintaine erroneous and dangerous positions, for maintenance of that which the Citizens had done, in the reforming of Religion without publike au|thority, all which his Lordship did (as no Lay man I thinke could better doe) most learnedly confute. And when White cited a place in Saint Austin for his proofe, his Lordship hauing the booke in his Tent, shewed all the company, that hee had falsely cited that Father; for howsoeuer his very words were found there, yet they were set downe by way of an assertion which Saint Austin confuted in the discourse follow|ing. At this surprisall, White was somewhat out of countenance, and the Citizens a|shamed. But in conclusion, when those of the Towne alleaged King Iohn his Char|ter for priuiledge why they should not receiue the Kings forces into the Towne, his Lordship replied, that no King could giue that priuiledge to his subiects, whereby his Successours should bee preiudiced in the due obedience they were to expect from them, and in a word, told them, that if they did not presently open their Ports to him and the forces with him, he would cut King Iohns Charter in pieces with King Iames his sword, and if he entered the Towne by force, would ruine it, and strew salt vpon the ruines.

Whereupon they better considering of the businesse, receiued his Lordship and the forces into the Towne, and the souldiers were so well disciplined, that howsoeuer they were not a little grieued by this yeelding to haue the hope of rich pillage taken from them, yet no wrong worth the speaking of was done to any one in the Towne. His Lordship here suppressed all publike exercise of Romish Religion, and restored the Churches to the English Ministers, and tooke from the chiefe Citizens an oath of Alleageance to his Maiesty, with an abiuration of all dependancy on any forraigne Potentate (hauing held the like course of reformation in his passage hither through Kilkenny, the Citizens wherof had in like sort offended), but his Lordship forbare any way to censure their past sedition, leauing them to the Kings mercy for Charter, life and goods, if thereby they had

indangered them. Onely his Lordship left one thou: sand men in Garrison at Waterford, and made choise of a place of aduantage, where they should lye, till such time as a Fort might there be built to command the Towne, and bridle it from running into like insolencies hereafter. And because the North be|ing now quieted, there was no further vse of any Garrison in Lecayle, his Lordship ap|pointed Sir Richard Morryson (formerly Gouernour of Lecayle) to command this Gar|rison left at Waterford, and to gouerne the County of Wexford.

Certaine heads whereupon some Waterford men were examined a part one from the the other, and in a carelesse manner, yet so as the answeres were written out of sight.

1. What preparations were deuised to rescue Waterford, if the Army had laied siege thereunto.

2. Who were the instruments that were appointed, and were assembling them.

3. Who were their leaders both in Towne and Countrie, and when and where they should meete.

4. Whether any thing were published in writing, and set vpon the Church doores and other places, to seduce the people, and what the effect thereof was, or by whom it was set vp, or whether it was set vp in Clomell onely, or in more places.

5. Whether any of them did know Sir Mahowne O Dullany Priest, to come to Clo|mell the fifth of this moneth, reporting that Sir Donnell O Carroll had fifteene hundred men ready to the rescue of Waterford.

294 6. Whether any of them knew Humfery Arthur of Lymrick, or any other messen|gers from thence, to come to Clomell, to report that fiue thousand were in readinesse to the rescue of Waterford also, or whether he be still at Clomell yea or no.

7. Whether they knew which quarter of the Countrie was appointed for Father Mulrony to take the charge thereof, to be assembled to the rescue of Waterford.

8. Whether they knew Father Leinaghs haunt, likewise so of Father Ractor, and the rest, whose names they are not to seeke of themselues.

9. Whether they haue or can tell certainlie, that any intended yet to draw these Rescues to Corke, or any other head, to preuent the Army.

10. Whether themselues are sworne to liue and die in the quarrell, or what No|ble men or Lawyers are sworne also.

11 Whether they be able themselues to deliuer any of these seducers to the Lord Deputy, yea or no, by what reason they should not (if they denie it) being conuersant with them daily.

12. Whether they knew any messengers gone for Spaine or else-where, to procure helpe to those confederates, who are gone, when they went, and what they bee, or from whence, and what was their message, or how charges were collected for them.

From Waterford his Lordship by small iournies (in regard of the impediments by the slacknesse and failing of supplies of Garrons and Beeues from the Countrey) mar|ched to the Citie of Corke, and comming thither vpon the tenth of May, was without any contradiction receiued into the Towne, with all the forces he brought with him, though Sir Charles Willmott had inuested the Towne, and at the same time (with the forces of the Mounster List) lay before it.

The eleuenth day his Lordship, to make it apparant to them and all the World, how willing he was to giue them gentle audience in their iust complaints, first admit|ted them to speake what they could of any offence they had receiued, or iustly suspe|cted, before they were called in any question for their owne disorders. But

their ac|cusations for the most part were such, as if they had been proued (which was not done, the proofe as lesse important being deferred to a more conuenient time) yet imported rather imputation of want of discretion in rash speeches, then any iust pre|text for their proceeding, and therefore were laied a part, as impertinent to the maine cause then to be handled. And for the rest of their more selected accusations, they were iudged to haue in them no important excuse for their seditious carriage, but were such for the greater part, as his Lordship was forced to iustifie without calling the aduerse partie to his answere, as being done either by his Lordships directions, or out of dutie imposed vpon the Commissioners of this Prouince by vertue of the place of authority committed to their charge. Thus the Townesmen laboured to diuert their publike offences by a colourable excuse of priuat spleene, and some grud|ges against one of the Commissioners.

And in regard the Earle of Ormond came that night to Corke, the Lord Deputy (be|ing desirous not onely to haue his Lordship, but as many of the Nobilitie, and men of the best ranke as he could, to be witnesses of their hainous offences, and of the milde proceedings against them) did deferre till next day, the receiuing of the Townesmens answeres in iustification of their owne actions. At which time many breaches of his Maiesties Lawes and their duties were obiected against them. First, in the publike ere|ction of the Romish Religion against the Lawes, and the abolishing that profession which was allowed by the same. Secondly, in their maintaining these actions by force and armed men. Thirdly, in their attempt to demolish the Kings Fort at the South Gate of the City. Fourthly, in staying the issue of the Kings munition and victuals, with the seazing of them into their owne hands, and the imprisoning of the Kings Officers and Ministers, to whose charge they were committed. Lastly, in bearing Armes, and doing all actes of Hostilitie against his Maiesties forces, where|in their insolent proceedings were so farre followed, as they had killed a graue and learned Preacher walking vpon the Hilles adioyning to their walles, and had 295 battered Shandon Castle, wherein lay the Lady Carew (wife to the Lord President then absent in England.)

After due examination taken of all these points, his LordP resolued, as he had for|merly done at Waterford, to leaue the censure to his Maiesties pleasure, that hee vpon view thereof, might vse his Royall mercy or iustice, in remitting or punishing and re|forming the same. Onely his Lordship tooke notice of some few of the principall of|fenders and ringleaders, whose offences were apparant, and seuered from the com|mon action, and them his Lordship commanded to be hanged, for example and ter|ror to others. Some his Lordship left in prison to be tried by course of Law, as Ma|ster Meade the Recorder, who was a most principall offender: but hee might as well haue forgiuen him; for no man that knew Ireland did imagine, that an Irish Iurie would condemne him. The chiefe Citizens of Corke tooke the aboue mentioned oath of Alleageance to his Maiesty, abiuring all dependancy vpon any forraigne Po|tentate.

From Corke his LP wrote to the Earle of Tyrone, to meete him at Dublyn, in readi|dinesse to beare him company into England. This done, his Lordship lest a strong gar|rison of souldiers in the Towne of Corke, and so vpon the fifteenth of May matched towards Lymrick, and the Citizens thereof hauing proceeded to no further disorder, then the publike celebration of Masse, were soone reduced to order, and willingly tooke the oath of alleageance, with abiuration of dependancy vpon any

forraigne Potentate, as the other Cities had done.

The sixteenth of May his Lordship receiued letters from the Earle of Tyrone, whereby he gaue him many thankes, that he had procnred out of England authori|tie to proceede with him according to the instructions he had formerly from the late Queene, promising to bee readie at Dublyn to attend his Lordship into England, and touching a complaint of Shane O Neales sonnes, for some cowes his men had taken from them, promising to make restitution. And because he thought many complaints would be made against his people, by reason of their pouerty, he besought his Lord|ship not to giue credit to them, till he might repaire to his Lordship to satisfie him, protesting that he would be ready at all times to come vnto his Lordship, and to doe all duties of a faithfull subiect.

The Lord Deputy hauing giuen order to fortifie the Castle of Lymrick, and hauing from thence written to the Maior of Corke to assist the Commissioners in building the Fort at their South Gate, tooke his iourney towards Dublyn the nineteenth of May, and came to Cashell the twentieth of May, where he reformed the Towne, as hee had done the rest, and tooke the like oth of Alleageance from the Townesmen. There he vnderstood, that a Priest commanding all the people, had tied a Goldsmith of our Religion to a tree, threatning to burne him and his hereticall bookes, at which time he burnt some of our bookes, which he so termed, but that vpon a Townesmans ad|monition, the Priest set the said Goldsmith free, after he had stood so bound to a tree some six houres before all the people of the Towne, in continuall feare to be burned.

The Lord Deputy hauing quietly settled all the Townes and Cities in Mounster, re|turned to Dublyn, and because vpon the first settling of peace, many petitions were ex|hibited against the late Rebels for restitution of goods, which they had taken in time of rebellion, and were not now able to restore, so as the exacting thereof, was like to produce new troubles, rather then any satisfaction to the plaintiffes, an authenticall act of obliuion for all like grieuances was published, and sent to the Gouernours in all parts of the Kingdome.

In this late Mounster Iourney, his Lordship receiued letters from the King, where|by [Note: Sir George Carey left L. Deputy, by the Lord Mountioy, L. Lieute|nant retur|ning into England.] he was chosen to be one of his Maiesties Priuie Counsell in England, and being made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with two third parts of the Deputies allowance as|signed to him, was licensed to come ouer into England, and had authoritie to leaue Sir George Carey the Kings Deputy during his Lordships absence, hauing the other third part of the Deputies allowance, and his owne entertainement as Treasurer at Warres for his support.

296 And Captaine Floyd lying now in the Harbour with the Kings Pinace called the Tramontana, ready to transport him, his Lordship with the Earle of Tyrone in his com|pany, together with his houshold seruants, and some Knights and Gentlemen his followers, tooke ship in the afternoone, and the next morning early we discouered the desired land of England, the weather being very saire: but within one hower the skie being ouer cast with a thicke fog, and we bearing all sayles, we fell suddenly vpon the Skerryes an hideous great blacke Rocke, where after so many dangers escaped in the warres, it pleased God miraculously to deliuer vs from being cast away (as it were) in the very Hauen. For certaine birds called Guls, seeing our ship ready to rush vpon them, and their desart habitation with full sayles, rose crying and fluttering round about vs, whereat the

Gouernours of the Pinace being amazed, looked out, and beholding that terrible spectacle, cried to the Steare-man aloofe for life, which fearefull voice might haue danted him, as it did most in the ship; but he stoutly did his worke, answering helme aboard, which done, the ship by force of the sterne, and by the help of the tide comming in between it and the Rocke, turned about with strange swiftnesse, and swumme along by the Rocke, so neere to it, as the Beate hanging at the sterne, dashed against it. Neither were the most expert men in the ship for a long time free of this feare, knowing that such great Rockes haue vsually small pinacles adioi|ning to them, the least whereof had beene as dangerous to vs as the maine Rocke: but the ship (by Gods mercifull prouidence) passing on safely, that day by noone we came into the Bay of Beaumarris, and were set on shore by the boate.

The Earle of Tyrone rode from thence to London in the Lord Mountioy his compa|ny, and howsoeuer his Lordships happy victory against this Traitor, made him graci|ous in the eyes of the people, yet no respect to him could containe many Weomen in those parts, who had lost Husbands and Children in the Irish warres, from flinging durt and stones at the Earle as he passed and from reuiling him with bitter words: yea, when the Earle had beene at Court, and there obtaining his Maiesties direction for his pardon and performance of all conditions promised him by the Lord Mountioy, was about September to returne, hee durst not passe by those parts, without direction to the Shiriffes, to conuay him with troopes of horse from place to place, till hee were safely imbarked and put to the Sea for Ire|land.

The Lord Mountioy comming to Court was honoured of all men; and graciously receiued of the King, being presently sworne one of his Maiesties priuy Counsell. And for further reward of his seruices shortly after the King made him Master of the Ordinance, gaue him two hundred pound yeerely old Rent of Assise out of the Ex|chequer, and as much more out of the Dutchy, to him and his heires for euer, besides the Countrey of Lecale in Ireland, together with other lands in the Pale there, which after the decease of the Lady Mabell Countesse of Kildare were to fall to the Crowne for want of heires males of her body. He had the full superintendency ouer all Irish affaires, no dispatches passing to and from the Lord Deputy, but through his hands as Lord Leiuetenant. And his Maiestie likewise created him Earle of Deuonshire, which dignity was to discend to the heires of his body lawfully begotten. But it died with him, and he enioyed the rest of this worldly happinesse but few yeeres. For he was surprised with a burning Feuer, whereof the first fit being very violent, he called [Note: The death of the Lord Mountioy created Earle of Deuonshire.] to him his most familiar friends, and telling them that he had euer by experience, and by presaging minde beene taught, to repute a burning Feuer his fatall enemy, desired them (vpon instructions then giuen them) to make his Will, and then he said; Let death looke neuer so vgly, he would meet him smiling, which he nobly performed, for I neuer saw a braue spirit part more mildely from the old mansion, then his did, departing most peaceably after nine daies sickenesse, vpon the third of Aprill, in the beginning of the yeere 1606.

This most worthy Lord, cured Ireland from the most desperate estate in which it euer had beene, and brought it to the most absolute subiection in which it had euer beene since the first Conquest thereof by our Nation. Yet hee left this 297 great worke vnperfect, and subiect to relapse, except his successours should finish the

building, whose foundation he had laied, and should pollish the stones which he had onely rough hewed. And because hee knew this relapse would be most dangerous, hauing obserued euery rebellion in Ireland to bee more dangerous then the former, and that none could be more dangerous then this last, without the losse of the King|dome, therefore he was most carefull to preuent all future mischiefes. To which end, whatsoeuer effects his designes had, sure I am, that he did meditate these wholesome prciects: First to establish Garrisons in the Cities of Mounster, and in the renewing of their forfeited Charters, to cut of many exorbitant priuiledges granted to their first English Progenitors, from whom they were so degenerated, as the very speaking of English, was by them forbidden to their wiues and children. Then by the exchan|ging of lands, and by the disposing of the new grants of lands to be made to the Irish, to draw them all to inhabit the inland Country, and to plant the English vpon the hauens, Sea-Coasts, and Riuers. Lastly, because he knew all endeuours would be in vaine, if Ciuill Magistrates should thinke by faire meanes without the sword to reduce the Irish to due obedience (they hauing been conquered by the sword, and that max|ime being infallible, that all Kingdomes must be preserued by the same meanes by which they were first gained, especially with the Irish by their nature pliable to a hard hand, and iadish when vpon the least pricking of prouender the bridle is let loose vnto them,) therefore his LP purposed to perswade, that the Army should stand in some conuenient strength, till the Kings reuenues were increased, and established (so as Ire|land might be a nursery to maintaine some conuenient number of old Souldiers, with|out any charge to England), and till the reformation of Religion and due obedience to the Magistrate were at least in some good measure settled in Ireland, and especially in the foresaid Cities.

A Lyst of the Army, as it was disposed at the Lord Mountioyes returne for England, about the eight and twentieth of May, in the beginning of the yeere 1603.

horse in Lemster.

The Lord Lieutenant, 100. Master Marshall, 50. Sir Henrie Harrington, 25. Sir Ed|ward Harbert, 12. Sir William Godolphin, 50. Sir Richard Greame, 50. Sir Garret Moore, 25. Sir Francis Rush, 12. Captaine Flemming, 25.

horse in Mounster.

The Lord President, 100. The Earle of Thomond, 50. Captaine Taffe, 50.

horse in Connaght.

Sir Oliuer Iambert Gouernour, 25. The Earlè of Clanrickard, 50. Sir Oliuer S. Iohns, 25 Captaine Wayman Prouost Marshall; 12.

horse in Vlster.

Sir Arthur Chichester Gouernor of Carickfergus, 25. Sir Henry Dockwra, Gouernor of Longfoyle, 100. Sir Richard Treuer at the Newry, 50. Sir Henry Folliot at Ballishannon, 50 Captaine Iohn Iephson, 100.

Totall of horse, 1000

Foote in Lemster.

The Lord Lieutenant, 200, The Earle of Ormond, 150, Master Marshall, 150. Sir Hen. Power, 150. Sir W. Fortescue, 150. Sir Geo. Bourcher, 100. Sir Fra. Rush, 150. Capt. coach, 150. Capt. Lau. Esmond, 150.

In all 1350.

Foote in Mounster, first at Waterford.

Sir Ric Moryson Gouernour of Waterford, and the County of Wexford, hauing his owne Company yet in Lecale. Sir Fran. Stafford, 200. Sir Ben Berry, 150. Capt. iosias Bod|ley, 150. Cap. Ellis Iones, 150. Capt. Hen. Bartley, 150. Capt. Ed. Fisher, 150. Captaine Legg, 100. Capt. Ralph Counslable 100.

Totall 1100.

Foote at Corke.

The L. President, 200. Sir Christ, S. Laurence, 150. Sir The Loftus, 100. Mr. Treasurer, 100. Capt. Haruy, 100. Sir Ed. Wingfeild, 200. Sir Garret Haruy, 150. Capt. Coote, 100.

In all 1100.

298 Foote at Lymrick.

The Earle of Thomond, 200. The Lord Audley, 150. Sir George Thorneton, 150. Sir Fran|cis Bartely, 150. Sir Francis Kinsmel. 100. Captaine Stafford, 100. Captaine Thomas Boyse, 100. Captaine George Kinsmell, 100.

In all 1000.

At Kinsale, Sir Ric. Percy, 150. In Kerry, Sir Charles Willmott, 150. At Baltemore, Capt. Flower, 100. At Halebolin Fort, Capt. Fr. Slingsby, 100.

In all, 500.

Totall Foote in Mounster, 3700.

Foote in Connaght.

Sir Oliuer Lambert Gouernour, 150. The Earle of Kildare, 150. The Earle of Clanric|kard, 150. Sir Samuel Bagnol, 150. Sir Edward Harbert, 100. Sir Francis Shane, 100. Sir Oli|uer S. Iohns, 200. Sir Tibbot Dillon, 100. Captaine Ghest, 150. Cap. Skipwith, 100. Cap. Tho|mas Roper, 150, Captaine Thomas Rotheram, 150. Captaine Harison, 100. Captaine Rorie O Donnell, 150. Capt. Tibott Bourke, 100. Captaine Tyrrell, 150. For the Iudges vse, 100. Sir Tho. Bourk, 150.

In all, 2400.

Foote in Vlster, as at Knockfergus.

Sir Arthur Chichester Gouernour, 200. Sir Francis Conwey, 150. Capt. Roger Langford, 100. Capt. Tho. Phillips, 100. Capt. H. Sackford, 100.

In all, 650.

At Mountioy, Captaine Francis Roe Gouernour, 150. Capt. Edw. Morryes, 100. Cap. George Blount, 100.

In Lecale, Richard Moryson, late Gouernour, to be remoued to Waterford, 200. At Ar|magh, Capt. Williams, 150. At the Newry, Capt. Treuer, 100. At Canan, Sir Garret Moore, 100. At Chhrlemount. Capt. Toby Cawfeild, 150. At Mount Norris, Capt. Atherton, 150. At Dundalke, Capt. Ferdinand Freckleton. 100.

At Monaghan and Ruske, Capt. Edward Blany Gouernour, 150. Sir Iames Fitz Peirce, 100. Sir Edward Fitz Garrett, 100.

In all, 1650.

Foote at Ballishannon.

Sir Henrie Follyot Gouernour, 150. Capt. Edw. Basset, 100. Capt. I. Phllips, 100. Capt. Thom. Bourke, 100. Capt. Dorington, 100. Capt. W. Winsor. 150. Capt. Ralph Sidley, 100. Captaine Oram, 100.

In all, 900.

Foote at Loughfoyle.

Sir Henrie Dockwra Gouernour, 150. Captaine Richard Hansard, 200.

At the Liffer, a place (in the Gouernours iudgement) most necessary to bee held by the English, and guardable with one hundred men, to be maintained by land annexed to the Towne, were left for the present, Sir Matthew Morgan, 150. Capt. Nith. Pinner, 100. Capt. Bassel Brooke, 100.

At Newtowne, a most necessary Garrison, and guardable by 30 men, was left Cap|taine Atkinson, 100.

At Omy, necessary and requirrng this guard, Capt. Edw. Leigh, 100.

At Aineigh, lesse necessary, Capt. Lewis Orrell, 100. Capt. Ellis Flyod, 100.

At Colmarhetreene, lesse necessary, Capt. Io. Vanghan, 100.

At Colrane, a most necessary Garrison, and requiring no lesse number to guard it, left Capt. Ioh. Sidney 100.

At Ramullan, a necessary Garrison to be held, and guardable with 50 men, left Cap|taine Ralph Bingley, 100.

At Do Castle, necessary, and requiring this guard, Capt. Tho. Badbey, 100.

At Colmore, most necessary to be held, was left Capt. Hart with 20 men, spared out of the former Companies.

In all 1500

Totall of Foote, 11150.

The charge of the Irish warres in the last yeere 1602, beginning the first of April, and ending the last of March, besides concordatums, munition, and other extraordidaries, two hundred fourescore ten thousand seuen hundred thirtie three pound eight shil|lings nine pence halfe penny farthing halfe farthing.

299 The charge of the Irish warres from the first of October 1598, to the last of March 1603, being foure yeeres and a halfe, besides great concordatums, great charge of mu|nitions, and other great extraordinaries, eleuen hundred fourescore eighteene thou|sand seuen hundred seuenteene pound nineteene shillings one penny.

The charge of the Army (as is abouesaid) forecast for the yeere following, beginning the first of Aprill, 1603, and to the last of March, 1604, the horse standing as in the former list, but the foote to be reduced to 8000, amounts to one hundred sixty three thousand three hundred fifteene pound eighteene shillings three pence farthing halfe farthing.

In the yeere 1613, by the intreaty of my brother Sir Richard Moryson (Vice-Presi|dent of Mounster) and out of my desire to see his children God had giuen him in Ire|land, [Note: Anno 1613] (besides some occasions of my priuate estate), I was drawne ouer againe into Ireland, where we landed the ninth of September, miraculously preserued from ship|wrack. For at nine of the night (being darke at that time of the yeere) we fell vpon the coast of Ireland, and not well knowing the coast, but imagining it to be Yoghall Port, we tacked about, to beate out at Sea the night following. But hauing some howers be|fore sprung a Leake, and our Pumpes being foule, so as they would not worke, we had no hope to liue so long at sea, and againe not knowing the coast, wee durst not venture to put in vpon it, besides that in case it were Yoghall Harbour, our best fortune was to enter a barrd Hauen by night. In this distresse by diuine Prouidence we were preser|ued, the Moone breaking out through the dispersed clouds, and shining so bright, as our best Marrines easily discouered the Harbour of Yoghall, and the tide seruing hap|pily, we passed the barre into the same. And the next morning we might see the dan|ger we had escaped most apparant; for our ship was so farre vnable to indure the waues of the sea, with her great leake and the foulenesse of the Pumpes (if we had been forced to keepe a bord till the next daies light might make vs know the coast) as the same night she had sunke in the quiet Harbour, if the Marriners had not chosen rather to driue her on ground.

At this time I found the State of Ireland much changed; for by the flight of the Earle of Tyrone, and the Earle of Tirconnell, with some Chiefes of Countries in the North, and the suppression and death of Sir Cabier Odogherty their confederate, in ma|king new troubles, all the North was possessed by new Colonies of English, but espe|cially of Scots.

The meere Irish in the North, and ouerall Ireland continued still in absolute sub|iection, being powerfull in no part of the Kingdome, excepting onely Connaght, where their chiefe strength was yet little to bee feared, if the English-Irish there had sound hearts to the State. But the English Irish in all parts (and especially in the Pale) either by our too much cherishing them since the last Rebellion (in which we found many of them false hearted), or by the Kings religious courses to reforme them in their obstinate adiction to Poperie

(euen in those points which oppugned his Maiesties temporall power), or by the fulnesse of bread in time of peace, (whereof no Nation sooner surfets then the Irish), were growne so wanton, so incensed, and so high in the instep, as they had of late mutinously broken of a Parlament, called for the publike good and reformation of the Kingdome, and from that time continued to make ma|ny clamourous complaints against the English Gouernours (especially those of the pale against the worthy Lord Deputy and his Ministers) through their sides woun|ding the Roiall authoritie, yea, in all parts the Churle was growne rich, and the Gen|tlemen and Swordmen needy, and so apt to make a prey of other mens goods. The Citizens of Mounster had long since obtained the renuing of their old Charters with all their exorbitant priuiledges, and were now growne most refractory to all due obe|dience, especially for matters of Religion. In which parts the very numbers of the Priests (swarming among them, and being actiue men, yea contrary to their professi|on, bloudy in handling the sword) far exceeded the number of the Kings souldiers, re|duced to very smal or no strength. And many loose me flocked into that Prouince out of the Low-Countries, who being trained there in the Irish Regiment with the Arch-Duke, daily sent ouer new men to bee in like sort trained there, and themselues lay 300 dispersed and hidden in all corners, with hearts (no doubt) apt to imbrace mischie|uous enterprises.

And howsoeuer the English Lawyers, comming ouer after the last warre, vaunted Ireland to be reduced to ful obedience by their Itinerary circuits, (scarce mentioning with honour the sword that made way to them), yet they were therein deceiued, that the Irish in their clamorous and litigious nature, flying to them with many com|plaints, did it onely to get countenance to their causes from them, who were strangers to them (perhaps against former iudgements of the Gouernours, who better knew them, and so to oppose one Magistrate against another), not (as they might perhaps thinke) in sincere affection to be ruled by the Lawes. Yea, those Chiefes of Countries who vsed to waite on them to the limits of their Country, did it rather to keepe the people by their awfull presence from exhibiting complaints against themselues, then (as the Iudges thought) out of their dutifull respect to them or to the State.

For otherwise, euen among the English-Irish, in the inferiour persons from the Counstables to the Iustices of Peace, and so vpward, Iustice had not his due course (which can neuer haue life, but in the mouing of al the members with due correspon|dency), and many outrages were by the English-Irish, and meere Irish, done against the English lately planted there. So as now when Ireland should haue enioyed the fruites of the last warre, in the due subiection of the meere Irish, these times threatned the next combustions from our degenerate English Irish. Onely the louers of peace were erected to good hopes by a generall confidence that our Soueraigne would ap|ply his Royall power, seuere Iustice (most auaileable in Ireland) and other his he|roick vertues, to the timely preuention of any mischieuous issue, as not long after his Maiestie happily began, with bringing those his subiects to conformity of making wholesome Lawes for the publike good, by common consent of that Kingdomes three Estates, assembled in his Royall Court of Parliament at Dublyn, in the yeere 1614, to which worke and all his Royall counsels, God giue happy successe.

The Lyst of Officers Generall and Prouinciall, Warders, horsemen and Footemen, as they stood at this time of Peace.

Officers Generall.

The Lord Chichester Baron of Belfast Lord Deputy of Ireland, hauing enioyed that place many yeeres beyond all example of former times. Sir Thomas Ridgeway Treasurer at Warres. Sir Richard Wingfeild Marshall of Ireland. Sir Olyuer S. Iohns Ma|ster of the Ordinance. Sir Iohn King Muster-master. Sir Allen Apsley, and Thomas Smith, Commissaries of victuals. Edward Lenton Prouost Marshall of the Army. Sir Iosus Bodley, Directer General and Ouerseer of the Fortifications. Sir Thomas Dutton Scout-Master. Captaine Iohn Pikeman, and Captaine William Meeres, Corporals of the field.

Officers Prouinciall.

The Lord Dauers, Lord President of Mounster, and Sir Richard Moryson his Vice-President (besides the command in his owne right, left him by the Lord Lieutenant Mountioy at his, leauing the Kingdome.) Sir Richard Aldworth, Prouost Marshall of Mounster. The Earle of Clanrickard, Lord President of Connaght, and Sir Oliuer S. Iohns his Vice-president, besides his imployments in his owne right. Captaine Charles Coote Prouost Marshall of Connaght. Sir Henry Dockwra Gouernour of Loughfoyle. Edmond Ellys Prouost Marshall there. Sir Henry Follyot Gouernour of Ballishannon. The Lord Chichester, Gouernour of Carickfergus. Sir Henry Power Gouernour of Leax. Sir Ed|ward Blaney, Seneshal of Monaghan, and commander of the Kings Forts there. Robert Bowen Prouost Marshall of Lemster. Moyses Hill, Prouost Marshall of Vlster. Captaine William Cole for Ballishannon, and Captaine Hugh Clotworth for Loughchichester, both Captaines of boatmen.

301 Warders.

Dublin Castle, Roger Dauies hath Warders, 14. Maryborough, Sir Adam Loftus war|ders, 16. Phillipstowne, Sir Garret Moore, warders, 12 Duncannon, Sir Laurence Esmond, warders, 30. Dungaruan. Sir George Carey, warders, 12. Castlemaigne, Sir Thomas Roper, warders, 17. Limrick Castle, Sir Francis Bartley, warders 20. Castle Parke, Captaine Skip|with warders, 20. Halebolin, Sir Francis Slingesby, warders, 20. Athlone Castle, the Earle of Clanrickard, warders, 20. Ballenfad, Captaine S. Barbe, warders, 10. Dromruske, Cap|taine Griffoth, warders, 9. Carickfergus Castle, Captaine Fortescue, warders, 20. Moyry Castle, Captaine Smith, warders, 12. Mount Norreys, Master Annesley, warders, 10. Omey, Captaine Iohn Leigh, warders, 20. Toome, Sir Thomas Phillips, warders, 12. Doe Castle Captaine Samford, warders, 9. Donnegall, Captaine Brooke, warders, 9. Cloughaughter, Captaine Culme, warders, 9. Eniskillen, Captaine Cole, warders, 10. Enishlaughlin, Sir Foulke Conway, warders, 14.

In all, 335.

horsemen.

The Lord Deputy, 25. The Earle of Clanrickard, 25. The Lord Dauers, 25. Master Marshall, 20. Sir Oliuer Lambert, 25. Sir Edward Harbert, 12. Sir Richard Aldworth. 12. Sir Garret Moore, 25. Sir Henrie Folliot, 6. Captaine Iohn Kinsmill, 25. - Captaine Charles Coote, 12.

In all, 212.

Footemen.

The Lord Deputy, 100. The Earle of Clanrickard, 50. The Earle of Thomond, 50. The Lord Dauers, 50. The Lord Cromwell, 50. Master Marshall, 50. Master Treasurer, 50. Sir Richard Moryson, 50. Sir Charles Wilimott, 50. Sir Francis Rush, 50. Sir Henry Follyot, 50. Sir Edward Blaney, 50 Sir Francis Roe, keeper of Mountroy and the Territoy, 50. Sir Tho|mas Rotheram, keeper of the Forcat Galloway and the land, 50. Sir

Francis Cooke, 50. Sir William Stuart, 50. Sir Arthur Sauadge, 50. Sir Henry Power, 50 Sir Tobey Cawfeild, keeper of Charlemount and the Territory, 50. Sir Foulke Conway, 50. Sir Oliuer S. Iohns 50. Sir Thomas Roper, 50. Sir Richard Hansard, 50. Sir Thomas Phillips, 50. Captaine Craford, 50. Captaine Iohn Vaughan, 50. Captaine Arthur Basset, 50.

In all, 1400.

The Totall number, 1947.

1 THE DISCOVRSE VPON SEVERALL HEADS THROVGH THE SAID SEVERALL DO|MINIONS. Of Trauelling in generall. PART III.

BOOKE I.

2

6.11 CHAP. I.

That the visiting of forraigne Countries is good and profitable: But to whom, and how farre?

SInce the best and most generous wits most affect the seeing of forraigne Countries, and there can hardly bee found a man so blockish, so idle, or so malicious, as to discourage those that thirst after knowledge from so doing, I might seeme to vndertake a vaine and needelesse taske, if I should perswade thereunto. Wherefore I passe ouer the aboun|dant fruits it yeeldeth. I will not speake of the experience thereby attained, which instructeth the most dull and sim|ple, as the Sunne by his beames coloureth the passenger, in|tending nothing lesse then to be so coloured, and which nei|ther by hearing, nor any sense can so easily be gained, as by the eies. For since nothing is in the vnderstanding, which hath not first beene in some of the senses, surely among the senses, which are (as it were) our Sentinels and Watchmen, to spie out all dangers, and conduct vs through the thorny laberinth of this lifes pilgrimage, not any one is so vigilant, so nimble, so wary, nor by many degrees so trusty, as the sight, according to the saying of the Poet;

Segnius irritant animos delapsa per aures, Quam quae sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus, etc. Lesse doth it moue the minde that beates the eares, Then what before the faithfull eye appeares.

This ground of my discourse being granted, yet I am not so blindly affected to this course of trauelling, as I will thrust all into this warfare without difference or choise. First, women for suspition of chastity are most vnfit for this course, how soeuer the masculine women of the Low Countries vse to make voyages for trafficke, not only to their owne Cities, but euen to Hamburg in Germany, and more remote places, nei|ther would I aduise Angelica, if she were aliue in these dayes, to trust her self alone and 2 in desart places to the protection of wandering Knights, lest shee should meere with more strong encounters, then was that of the weake Hermite.

Nor yet will I herein giue vnlimitted liberty to married men; holding Alexius vnex|cusable, who left his Bside vpon the very marriage day: yet after a due time of conuer|satio to combine loue, why should he not in su mer season follow the wars at his Prin|ces command, yea vpon his free will? (since we owe ourselues to our Countrey, as to our VViues), yea why should he not search after politike wisdome, by short excursi|ons into forraigne parts? (since we permit Merchants and Marriners, though married, to take long voyages for gaine, neither can Gentlemen more inrich themselues, then by the knowledge of military and politicall affaires). And indeed the ciuill Law per|mits men to trauell after the Espousals: Alwaies prouided that this industry rather in|crease, then diminish our estates, except our Countrey be in question, in which case all respects to our priuat Family, (whether of loue, of frugality, or whatsoeuer priuate good), must be cast behind our backes, (since the Commonwealth containes each priuate mans estate, and a part must be put to hazard for the preseruation of the whole body).

Let Plato the Diuine Phylosopher haue patience with me, though I be not of his opinion, who in his twelfth Booke of Lawes, assigneth to this course the last period of life, from the age of fifty yeers to threescore. It is true which he saith of that age, to be most able to discerne betweene good and vnprofitable Lawes, and that it is lesse sub|iect to infection from corrupt customes. Yet as some yong men once freed of

the Tu|tors awe, be prone and apt to runne into vices, so many old men (alwaies comparing like dispositions) hauing forceably restrained themselues from naturall inclinations, for feare of shame, this cause of restraint once taken away, (while among strangers they are at more liberty), doe often returne to their owne nature, euen in vices most improper to that age, and in that case their dotages are more slanderous both to them|selues and their Countries. Now that old men may dote in this sort, one example of Tyberius the Emperour may serue for plane proue thereof, who in his youth and the yeeres of his strength, hauing dissembled his wicked inclination, at last in his old age gaue his nature the raines and retiring himselfe (as it were out of the sight of the Senate and people of Rome) into the Iland Caprea, there he shamelesly gaue himselfe ouer to all beastly lust, thinking himselfe safe from the censure of the Romans, though his wickednes was no lesse knowne in Rome , then if it had beene done in their market pla|ces, according to the Italian Prouerbe;

L' Amer' e cieco and vede niente; Ma nonson' cieche l'altre gente: Loue is starke blind, and sees nought done amisse, But other people are not blind ywisse.

And though wee should grant that which Plato attributes to old men, yet they, whose custome is growne to another nature, shall neuer be able to endure the frequent changes of diet and aire, which young men cannot beare without preiudice to their health; except it be by little and little and (as it were) by insensible degrees. Not to speake of the weakenesse proper to old age, which makes them so sickly, as they are not onely vnfit for conuersation abroad, but also haue small hope to returne and relate their ob|seruations at home. Old men are indeed most fit for Ambassages in neighbour coun|tries, for in this employment they liue in the sight of their Countrey-men, and may vse their accustomed diet, and a little change of aire doth but little hurt, which they may preuent or mitigate by the aduice of Physicians.

Neither are childrens vnripe yeeres fit for this course, howsoeuer they are more to be excused, who send them with discreet Tutors to guide them, with whose eyes and iudgements they may see and obserue. Thus the Romans (as Snetonius writes) per|mitted the visiting of forraigne Countries to the Sonnes of Senators, vnder the go|uernement of one who had borne Office in the City, (for the charge of such children is not to be credited to all of full age without choyce). Children like Parrats, soone learne forraigne languages, and sooner forget the same, yea, and their mothers tongue 3 also. A familiar friend of mine lately sent his sonne to Paris , who after two yeeres re|turning home, refused to aske his father blessing after the manner of England, saying, Cen'est pas le mode de France, It is not the French fashion. Thus whilest (like Apes) they imitate strange fashions, they forget their owne, which is iust as if a man should seeke his perdition, to gaine a cloake for ornament. Likewise sickly men are vnfit for this course of life, who in regard of their weak health, want the meanes to make benefit thereof. Lastly, they shall do well to keep them selnes at home, who haue a scrupulous conscience, and thinke themselues so wise, as they will not follow the aduice of experi|enced men. But as in all actions they are happy that hold the meane, so middle age is most fit to visit forraigne parts, and to make vse thereof, hauing first laid a good foun|dation of Arts and Sciences in generall, and specially those which they meane to pro|fesse, and being of soripe discretion, as they can distinguish betweene good and euill. And since we must not only respect their ages, but most of all their

dispositions, I will adde, that it must be diligently obserued in each man, whether he naturally affect this course or no: for it is most certaine, that the nature of man cannot with good successe beforced to any course it liketh not, according to the old saying of the Poet,

Naturam expellas furc a licet, vsque recurrit:

Though Nature be repelled by force, Yet still it turnes to haue his course.

I know that second causes can doe nothing without the first, and it is no lesse true, that the first doth in naturall things worke by the second, which makes me of opinion, that the position of the Starres in each mans natiuity is not altogether vaine. This granted, it is not iust, that the Common-wealth, Parents, or Friends, should wrest any mans nature to courses contrary thereunto, not leauing each man liberty to shew and follow his owne inclination.

To conclude, I thinke with Plato, that before any man take this course, he must ob|taine 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, left being not well instructed in the true religion, they should bee sedu|ced by Papists. And I take Parents consent for granted, without which, the sacred power giuen them by God should wickedly be violated.

My purpose was thus slightly to haue passed ouer the worthy prayses, due to the knowledge of forraigne States, wherewith I began, lest (with the vaiue Rhetoritian) I should seeme to praise Hercules, whom no man dispraised. But when I consider, that so many heads, so many wits, and remember that my selfe haue sometimes heard (though a man shall be last to heare the detractions of his owne courses) some plea|santly, others wittily, and some malitiously to scoffe at this kind of industry to gaine knowledge, it will not be amisse so farre to take in hand againe the taske I had almost finished, as according to the end of my discourse, I may incourage the indifferent Reader, by fully answering their idle obiections. In the first front are the pleasant men, who remember the Italians stale Prouerb,

Chi Asino va a Roma, Asino se ne torna.

If an Asse at Rome doe soiourne, An Asse he shall from thence returne.

The very Asses straying into barren pastures, do after learne more willingly to stay at home with plentifull feeding. And very dull spirited men (at whom this bitter Pro|uerb allegorically aimeth) howsoeuer by this industry, they doe not suddenly become catces, yet (I will be bold to say) they are by nothing more, or with greater ease instru|cted, according to their capacities, so they trauel not alone, as Socrates Laconically said. For if by the way they find good companions, they must needes in some measure be partners of their wits and obseruations. Neither are the wise obseruers of humane Pil|grimage ignorant, that graue Vniuersity men, and (as they say) sharpe sighted in the Schooles, are often reputed idiots in the practice of worldly affaires, as on the contrary blockish men, and (to speake with the Italians) very. Asses, by continuall practice in graue imployments, gaine the wisdome of them whose affaires they manage, and the more they seeke to know the World, the more they conuerse with those who know more then themselues, so much are they more inflamed with sweet emulation, such as [...] sleepe from Themistocles, reading the Triumphs of Miltiades.

4 Secondly, the wittie detracters obiect, that Aglaus Psophidius was iudged wise by the Oracle of Apollo, because he neuer went out of the Grange wherein he was

born, according to that of the Poet Claudian.

Foelix qui patrijs aeuum transegit in aruis. Ipsa Domus puerum quem videt ipsa senem. Happy in natiue soyle his life who spends, Whom one house birth, one house a gray head lends.

But what if passengers should come to a stately Pallace of a great King, were hee more happy who is led onely into the kitchin, and there hath a fat messe of brewis presented him, or rather hee who not onely dines at the Kings Table, but also with honour is conducted through all the Courts and Chambers, to behold the stately building, pretious furniture, vessels of gold, and heapes of treasure and Iewells. Now such, and no other is the Theater of this world, in which the Almightie Maker hath manifested his vnspeakable glory. He that sayles in the deepe, sees the wonders of God, and no lesse by land are these wonders daily presented to the eyes of the be|holders, and since the admirablevariety thereof represents to vs the incomprehensi|ble Maiestie of God, no doubt we are the more happy, the more fully we contem|plate the same.

Thou wilt say, he hath liued well who hath spent his time retyred from the world.

Benè qui latuit, benè vixit. Who knowne is least, hath liued best.

This may be true in women; and thus among many Roman Gentlemen, when one praised Fuluia, another Claudia, a third with good iudgement preferred a Sena|tors vnknowne wife to both these, and many other seuerally commended, because she was no lesse good and faire, yet was knowne to few or none: Not vnlike to that Matrone, who thought all mens breath did stinke as her husbands did. But it is the part of an industrious man, to act their affaires in the world, tho sluggards lie by the fire. Of a man, Parents challenge a part, Friends a part, and the Commonwealth a part, and hee was iudged an vnprofitable seruant by the most true Oracle of God, who hid his Talent.

Neither doe the Verses of the Lyricall Poet (obiected in the third place) any whit moue me.

Oblitusque meorum, obliuiscendus and illis. Abroad forgetting thine, at home forgot by thine.

And in another place;

Romae laudetur Samos and Chios, and Rhodos absens. In Samos, Rhodes, and Chios what may please, Let vs at Rome commend sitting at ease.

O poore effeminate Horace (let his Genius, pardon me) a very hogge of the Epi|cures heard, and (to vse his owne words) borne to consume corne. Is any mutuall remembrance of kinsmen more pleasing, then that which is caused by mention of their vertues? If a man should offer to show thee all the strange miracles of Africk, wouldst thou answer, goe your waies and paint them, which done I will gladly see them: or if one would show thee Paradice, and the infinite flowers and fruits there|of, wouldst thou rather snort in a chimney corner, and not shake off the least drowsi|nesse, for the very possession of that happy inheritance, but if hee would goe and paint them, then promise, perhaps and at leasure to view them? yet as Socrates for arguments sake, was wont to defend the contrary to all disputers; so I rather iudge that Horace thus writes in the person of the Epicure, (after the manner of Poets) or for pastime and spending of vacant time, then that it was his owne iudgement.

There want not some, who discourage men from this course, by the manifold diffi|culties and dangers thereof. But as the Poet saith:

Per ardua virtus, Vertue climbes craggy Rockes. Nec iacet in molli vener anda scientia lecto. Venerable science with his gray head, Is neuer found on a soft feather bed.

5 Many more there bee, who tremble at the very thought of dangers of death, to which this course of life is subiect. Behold Salomous sluggard, who saith, There is a Lion by the way, a Lion is in the streets. Fearest thou the Sea because it swalloweth many? Why fearest thou not a bed, in which more haue breathed there last?

But a greater feare distracteth euen the mindes of the wiser sort, that they see ma|ny returne from forraine parts corrupted with vices proper to them, according to the Flemings Prouerb: that no man was euer made more healthfull by a dangerous sickenesse, or came home better from a long voyage. And because it is hard to learne vertues, and more hard not to learne vices, or to depose them once learned; from hence they say it is, That so many homebred Angels, returne from Italy no better then Courtly Diuells. Surely this is iust, as if a man should say, I haue a ground ouergrowne with bushes, which I feare to root vp, because nettells or darnell will more easily spring then grasse or corne. Fields are made fruitfull by tillage, so are men made more wise by knowledge of forraine Kingdomes. The Italians say excellently;

Coglier' le roso, lasciar' le spine. Sweet Roses gathered, make an end, And leaue the prickles that offend.

Wee must obserue vertues for imitation, and vices that wee may abhorre them, Contraries are manifested by contraries; beautie shineth more being set with a de|formed foyle, and the glory of vertues is more eminent, by the obiect of base vices. Yet that which was said of the Athenians, may truely be said of the best wits of all sexes and conditions. If they be good, they are best, if ill, worst. Thus Histories witnesse, that women by nature most witty, haue often giuen extraordinarie testi|monies of excellent goodnes, or monstrous badnesse. Thus Swetonius saith of Caesar.

Magnas virtutes magna comitantur vitia. Greatest vertues of the minde; With like vices are combinde.

Thus the English Prouerb saith. No knaue to the learned knaue. I confesse that steepe mountaines yeeld most violent streames, but it is a point of Art to lead these streames in a faire bed till they fall into the Sea. This is the scope of all I say: That by this course the good become best, the bad proue worst. Surely, out of the holy Scriptures the Atheist gathereth most profane arguments, as the godly Reader sucks the Eternall food of his soule. Bees and Toades draw hony and poyson out of the same hearb. To conclude, the ill humors of the body growne predominant, turne the best meats to their nourishment; yet, none but a mad man for the abuse of that which is of it selfe good, will forbid to read the most holy Scriptures, to gather swee|test flowers, or to eate the best meates. Zwinglius writes of a certaine Earle, who after long absence returning to his home, and no lesse to his former vices, as a dog to his vomit, and being for the same reproued, did answere that his Taylor also returned to his occupation. But Cato the younger, was of a more vertuous minde, whose regu|lar moralitie could not bee corrupted by wanton Asia, but made his familiar friend C [illeg.] u rio a false Prophet therein. Farre greater was the vertue of Scipio, who in Spaine left a faire Virgin vntouched, and yet would see her, that hee might excell Alexander the Great in the rare emulation of continency; who durst not behold the captiue daughters of Darius, least he should be subdued by women, who had conquered men. Liue with good men, seeke out honest not licentious houses to lodge in; For the Ita|lians say well.

Dammi con chi tu viui, io saprò quel' che tu fai. Tell me with whom thou dost conuerse, And I will soone thy deedes rehearse.

Restraine the vices to which thou art naturally most inclined, by forcing thy selfe to exercise contrary vertues. For the Poet saith truely:

Animum rege, qui nisi paret, Imperat: Be sure to rule thy minde in all thou dost, If it obey not, then it rules the rost.

6 Let the incontinent man restraine his vnbridled lust, by the remembrance of his chast Mistresse at home, which will make him feare the miserable diseases incident to the vnchast, as Seamen tremble to strike vpon a Rocke. Let him that is giuen to exces|siue drinking of wine, while yet he is sober, behold the rediculous gestures, the dull braine, the shickle memory, the oppressed stomacke, with each weakenesse and defor|mity of the drunkard: so by one vices remedy, let him learne to cure all the rest. There is no danger to so wary minds, either of leesing their owne vertues, or of learning for|raigne vices: besides, that sweet vertues are of such power, as they forcibly drawe, euen negligent men standing least vpon their guard, to admire, loue and exercise them. Yea, let these strict censurers of manners tell me, if they haue so cleansed the pumpe of their owne Common-wealth, as there is lesse danger of this corruption at home then abroad. Surely many fall into vices abroad, but more at home; many returning from foraigne parts, after they haue abroad satisfied their disordinate appetites, by giuing youth his swinge (as the Prouerbeis), doe at home cast off their vices, and returne to the old bounds of shamefastnesse, which at home they neuer violated; adding to their old vertues the luster of forraigne ornaments. On the contrary, most men at home, wrapped in the habit of vices, by custome taking away both the shame and sence of sinne, neuer reforme their debauched life, nor forsake vices; till in age or death they be for saken by them.

But among other vices, dissembling, lying, and ielousie, are by popular voice dee|med proper to Trauellers. The first imputation I will referre to the precept of the next Chapter, shewing how far it is fit for a wise man to dissemble, and the second to the last precept of the same Chapter, shewing how a Traueller should gouerne his tongue. And in this place by the way I will briefly discusse the reproch of ielousie, which the tumultuous flocke of Weomen iniuriously thrust vpon vs: Iust as if they should say, that by experience and the industrious search of wisdome, we should be endued with vices, not with vertues, or that those who can see farre of, yet cannot discerne that which is before their eyes and feet, or that those who are skilfull in politike affaires, are ignorant in domestical gouernment, and that those who abhorring litigious suits at law, readily make peace with their neighbours, would nourish houshold dissentions most odious to a wise man, not knowing the tearmes of loue, wherewith they are in duty bound to entertaine their dearest friends, their sweetest wife.

Et dulces natos ac pignora chara Nepotes. And Children sweet sent from aboue, And Nephewes, deere pledges of loue.

But to say truth, most honourable titles of old, are by abuse growne most reproch|full, as the name of Sophysters, by their continuall brawlings about Moone shine in the water, the name of Elenches by intricate fallacies, the name of Tyrants by vnlimi|ted cruelties, and the name of ielousie by affecting extremities. As that ielousie is most hatefull, which growes from malice of nature, from a mind guilty of wickednesse, or from conscience of any defects in a mans owne body or mind; so the vertue of ielousie (deere not onely to Trauellers, but to all wise men) is (in my opinion) approued of all men that are in their right wits. Our very God is in a good

sence said to be ielous: He that hath a Iewell of price, is not willing to haue it snatched out of his hands, much lesse out of his sight. Reason like a seuere Schoolemaster, should ouerlooke all thy owne actions, and why shouid it not haue like authority in directing the behauiour of those, whose honour or shame cannot be deuided from thine. And of this Iudge|ment (so vertue decline not to the neighbour vice, betweene which there goes nothing but a paire of sheares, as the Prouerbe is), you shall euer find the chastest Weomen, desiring an husband vertuously ielous. For others who had rather not be loued, then haue their actions obserued, leaue them to be their husbands executioners, and to the racke of their owne consciences, onely praying them to take this warning, that their husbands loues (for which perhaps they little care) beginne then to freeze, or rather vanish away, when they haue once cast away all care of their good name, since onely vertue combines true loue.

7 But the slanderers of this industry presse vs more neerely, obiecting, that vices, ill customes, and very heresies are spread through the World by trauellers. Let me aske them, how wee should haue knowne the diuers eleuation of the Poles? who would haue taught vs Geography, representing painted Worlds vnto vs? how should wee haue learned all other Arts? yea, how should we haue discouered new Worlds (or ra|ther the vnknowne Regions of the old) had not this industry of Trauellers been? Yea, to vse the most binding and concluding argument, the sauing knowledge of the holy Gospell had been vnreuealed to vs, had not the Apostles excelled in this industrie, of making the whole World their Country to preach the same? When wee haue thus compared the great and manifest profit of trauelling, with the light and doubtfull in|conueniences obiected against it, we must confesse, that they who discourage the af|fecters of these great rewards, by such smal dangers, are not vnlike the Sophisters, who perswade that blindnesse, deafenesse, and the priuations of other sences, are not to bee numbred among euils, because we see many vnpleasing things, often heare that which offendeth the eares, and for one good smell draw in twenty ill sauors. For my part, let them dispute neuer so subtilely, though they conuince me, yet shall they neuer per|swade mee, to pull out my eyes, stop my eares, or cut of my nose, nor yet to preferre sloth to an actiue life.

But we must giue eare to Parents, Friends, and as well priuate as publike Com|mon-wealths-men, who not vniustly seeme to feare, lest young men by this course should be peruerted from true Religion, and by this feare, disswade passing into for|raigne parts, as the chiefe cause of this mischiefe. Surely if the vessell be new that ta|keth an ill sauour, it will sticke much faster thereunto, but I haue already professed, that I would haue a Traueller of ripe yeeres, hauing first laid good grounds of all Arts, and most especially of Religion. Let me speake of my selfe: When I beheld the mimicall gestures and cerimoniall shew of holinesse of the Roman Priests, (vnder the shaddow whereof they abuse the superstition of Laymen with vnspeakable Arts, to their owne ambition and couetousnesse), and on the contrary obserued their corrupt manners, I was so farre from being seduced by them, as I could not refraine from laughter, and wondered (as Cicero speakes of Southsayers), that one Priest did not laugh when hee saw another his fellow Priest If you meete a faire painted face, the more neere and narrowly you behold it, the lesse it pleaseth, but if the beauty be true, then there is dan|ger, least you or your sonne swallow the baite. Search corrupted Wares narrowly, and they will stinke at thy nose, which farther off, seeme to be odoriffer-

ous. Such is the painting of the Papists. The English and those of the reformed Church, who esteeme their Arguments as speares of bulrushes, permit their books to be read in our Vniuer|sities, but they perhaps guiltie of errours, will in no sort giue liberty to reade our bookes. We appeale to all that are skillfull in Languages for the truth of our transla|tions, they by statute of the Iesuites Colledge, admit no young Scholler to study lan|guages, till he haue taken an oath, that hee will vse that skill to the defence of the Ro|man translations with tooth and naile, wherein if they offend their consciences, they haue the Popes power of dispensation on their side. Therefore let the Papists feare to giue their followers leaue to heare vs in our Schooles or Churches, lest they be chai|ned with the force of truth. And let vs securely permit our men to passe into the heart of Italy, so they be first of ripe yeeres, and well instructed. Vpon my word they run no other danger; then the escaping the snares of the Inquisition, of which discretion, I shall speake at large in the foure and twentieth Precept of Dissimulation, in the next Chapter. If any man obiect, that some of our young Schollers haue passed into their Seminaries beyond the Seas, let him consider, that they were not seduced abroad, but first infected at home, in their parents houses, and our Vniuersities, which mischiefe Parents and Magistrates ought to preuent, by keeping the suspected at home: for the rest there is no danger.

But behold, when I thought to haue finished my taske, carpers consumed with en|uie, who barke at trauellers as dogs at the Moone, and thinking to gaine reputation by 8 other mens disgrace, they are not ashamed to say, that vagabond Caine was the first Traueller. Old Writers I confesse sometimes vse the word of Perigrination, for banishment; but God be praised, here is no question made of banished or cursed men driuen out from the sight of God. They which spend the greater part of their yeeres in forraigne places, as it were in voluntary banishment, may more instly bee compared to Caine, and are not vnlike to rude Stage players, who to the offence of the beholders, spend more time in putting on their apparrell, then in acting their Comedy, (for life is compared to a stage, and our Parents and Kins-men expecting our proofe, to the beholders). Therefore it is fit to restraine this course within due limits, to which the Romans (as Suetonius writes) prescribed (perhaps too strict|ly) three yeeres.

In the last place, they that detract from Trauellers, to the end they may choke vs with our owne disdaine, if not with arguments, send out their spyes in their last skir|mish to cast this Dart at vs. After so many dangers and troubles, how many of you, (after your returne) are preferred in the Common-wealth? To what purpose doe you tire your selues in attaining so many vertues? Is it to exercise them, leaning on a plowmans or shepheards staffe? I should enter a most spacious field of common griefe, if I should search the causes, why in our age great part of the Counsellours of States, and Peeres of Realmes, rather desire to haue dull and slothfull companions, then those that are wise and ambitious; and so in like sort, rather base and expert rea|dy seruants, then those thot are free and learned. Knowledge puffeth vp, and I re|member of late a learned Physician, who being sent for by a great Lord, and he being offended at his long stay, freely and boldly answered; that knowledge could not dance attendance. Hence is our calamity, to omit the more curious search of this euill whose first encounter astonisheth me, though I am not ignorant of the cause: but let him that cast this Dart, tell me, whether this ill be uot common to

all men of vertue, and if it be so, he must at least confesse with the Poet,

Solamen miser is socios habuisse doloris: Partners in griefe, doe solace giue.

And let all rare men in any kind of vertue, when they are despised or neglected, comfort themselues with this Phylosophicall precept of Aristotle, that vertue is desired for it selfe, not for any thing else. So I say the fruit of trauell is trauell it selfe.

Hauing thus retorted our enemies weapons vpon their owne breasts, because the common sort is more moued with examples, then arguments, it remaines, that in the last place I should adorne the triumph of this vertuous industry, with some few and speciall examples. Many have beene found, who haue passed into remote parts of the World, onely to gaine health; farre greater is the number of them, who as the Poet saith;

Pauperiem fugiunt vltra Garamant as and Indos: Who further runne to shunne base pouerty, Then Garamants and Indians doely.

And greatest is the number of them, who following the standard of ambition, haue pierced to the very gates of hell with sound of Drummes and Trumpets. To conclude, as diligent Merchants gather precious wares into one storehouse, so Phylo|phers haue from the first ages of the World, passed by flockes into forraigne parts, to gaine knowledge, as the Egyptians into Chaldea, the Greekes into Egypt, and the Ro|mans into Greece. Pythagorus walked sarre and neere, not onely to learne, but also in diuers places to get Disciples whom he might teach: for the Poet saith well;

Scire tuum nihil est, nisi, te scire hoc, sciat alter: To know auaileth thee no whit, If no man know, thou knowest it.

9 To be briefe, if wee will credit old monuments, (which I confesse to suspect), hee came in person, and sowed the precepts of his Phylosophy, euen among the Bri|taines deuided from all the World. Plato hath written some-what too seuere|ly against Trauellers, perhaps like Alexander the Great, who was angry with his Master Aristotle, because hee had published the [...], which hee had read vn|to him, thereby leauing him nothing wherein he might excell others; so Plato hauing gotten the name of Diuine, by his very trauels would forbid or limit the same to o|thers, that he might shine among the Phylosophers.

Velut inter stellas Luna minores, As the bright Moone, among the lesser starres.

It is most certaine, that hee was not onely industrious, but euen curious in this course, so as he sayled into Sicily, the entrance of which Iland was vpon paine of death forbidden to strangers, onely that he might see the burning of the Mountaine AEtna. Apelles by drawing of a most subtile lyne at Rhodes, was made knowne to Protogenes. Homer being blind, yet ceased not to trauell: In our Age, they which are renowned at home for any Art, are not content therewith, except they may passe into forraigne Courts, to make knowne their skill. The most ancient Lawgiuers, got the experience, by which they had rule in their Cities, not by secure study at home, but by aduentu|rous trauels abroad, as the Poet saith;

Ingenium mala saepe mouent, Aduersities doe often whet our wits.

Moyses, Orpheus, Draco, Solon, Mines, Rhadamanthus, Licurgus, and almost all the Consuls of Rome , themselues had beene in forraigne parts, and granted ample priui|ledges to strangers. Among Physicians we read that Esculapius and Hypocrates trauel|led, and that Galene was at Smyrna, Corinth, Alexandria, in Palestine, at Lemnos, Ciprus, and at Rome ; and Auicenna boasteth, that he

had passed through the whole World. I know that many in our Vniuersities become learned Physicians, but no doubt they would haue beene more learned, if they had passed into forraigne parts. One Land yeeldeth not all things: A man shall hardly learne at home the diuers natures of hearbes, and other things, or the diuers dispositions of one and the same body, accor|ding to the difference of the clyme, aire, and diet. This the Spaniard wittily obserued, who hauing got the French Pox, sayled into America, and did there learne the cure of that disease, from those who first infected the Spaniards therewith. We praise Physi|cians especially for experience, as Lawyers for diligence, desiring to haue an old Phy|sician and a young Lawyer, to giue vs counsell and follow our businesse, but experi|ence is of seuerall things dispersed through the vniuersall World. It is written that of old the AEgyptians had seuerall Physicians for each seuerall disease, who would not haue returned more learned from their Lectures? Also they laid vp approued reme|dies of diseases in the Temples of Isis and Vulcane. What Scholler then returning from AEgypt, should not haue gained great reputation to his skill? and we know that opi|nion many times auaileth with the sicke euen more then the medicine. In this sort ambitious men of old, by the onely opinion of their experience by seeing the world, did obtaine to be numbered among the Gods. Iupiter of Creta in Italy, Bacchus in the furthest East; Hercules in the most remote parts of Africke, towards the West, plan|ted monuments of their trauels. The voyage of the Argonautes, the wanderings of Vlisses and AEneas, are sung by all Ballad-sellers. Alexander the Great passed the mo|nument of Bacchus in the East. It were infinite onely to name the Roman Empe|rours, who excelled in this industry: For as the Wiseman said, that he was a Citizen of the World, so the Romans, by giuing remote Princes the priuiledge to be Citizens of Rome , and by sending Roman Citizens in Colonies, to inhabit remote places, vsed the whole World for a City, neither did they euer admit any to the highest dignities in the City of Rome , nor yet to the inferiour Magistrates thereof, who had 10 not first borne rule or Office in some remote Prouince. One Iulius Caesar, came, saw, and ouercame with his Army, among the Cimbrians, Germans, Spaniards, Britans, Grecians, Africans, and those of Asia. The very Westerne Empe|rours of later times, haue been enflamed with the same desire. Charles the Great made happy warre beyond the Pyrenean mountaines against the Sarrasens, beyond the Alpes against the Lombards, and in Germany against the Saxons. Who hath not heard of the European Princes, like so many Floods carrying Armies into the East? To omit all other, (for I desire to be briefe), Charles the fifth, inferiour to none of his Pre|decessours, and emulous of Hercules himselfe, passed his pillars at the furthest straight of the Mediteranean Sea, and added to his Armes the Mot of Hercules; Non plus vlira. No farther beyond this, onely leauing out the first word Non, because he had passed the limits of Hercules, as Alexander the Great had done those of Bacchus. Whereby notwithstanding some thinke that he did rather blemish, then increase the fame of his trauels, since that part of Africke was so neere adioyning to his Kingdomes of Spaine; but in the meane time they forget that he was borne at Gaunt in Flaunders.

Methinkes I haue said enough, and too much in so cleere a cause, therefore I will onely adde some choyce examples of the holy Scriptures, and so conclude. Abraham left his Countrey at Gods command, and went to the Land of Promise, called also the Land of Pilgrimage: Ia-

cob serued for his wiues in Mesopotamia, and in his old age passed into AEgypt. The Israelites were brought by large circuit from the seruitude of AEgypt, into the Land of Promise, that the protection of God might by aduersity be more imprinted in their minds, and they be more stirred vp to keepe the Lawes of so gracious a God. The example of a woman the Queen of Sheba, is famous, who came to Ierusalem to be an eye and eare witnesse of Salomons wisdome. To be briefe, Christ himselfe liued in the flesh as a Pilgrim, choosing no set place of aboad; when he was in the Cradle, three Wisemen came from the East to worship him, and himselfe being an Infant, was carried into Egypt, to shunne Herods tyranny. He commanded his Apo|stles to preach the Gospell throughout the World. Among the Fathers, Saint Augu|stine wished to haue seene three things, Christ in the flesh, Paul in the Pulpit, and Rome in the flower. In our Age the Turkes and Papists so madly affect Pilgrimages, as they superstitiously thinke the same auaileable to the saluation of their soules, with which extreame, least I should seeme to know no meane, I wil conclude these examples.

For my part, I thinke variety to be the most pleasing thing in the World, and the best life to be, neither contemplatiue alone, nor actiue altogether, but mixed of both. God would haue made eternall spring, had he not knowne, that the diuers-seasons would be not onely most profitable to the workes of nature, but also most plesant to his creatures, while the cold Winter makes the temperate Spring more wished. Such is the delight of visiting forraigne Countreys, charming all our sences with most sweet variety. They seeme to me most vnhappy, and no better then Prisoners, who from the cradle to old age, still behold the same wals, faces, orchards, pastures, and ob|iects of the eye, and still heare the same voices and sounds beate in their eares; Not the song of the Cuckow, nor the craking of the Crowes, nor the howling of Wolues, nor the bellowing of Oxen, nor the bleying of Sheepe, no nor the sweet voyces of Larkes and Nightingales, if they be shut vp in a Cage, doe so much please vs at home, as the variety of all, composed of diuers tunes, delights vs in the fields abroad. In like sort, it is manifest that all the other sences are not so much pleased with any thing, as variety. They are in some measure happy, who hauing but one house, yet haue change of chambers, to remoue as the season of the yeere changeth: but I iudge Lawyers and Officers more happy, who haue their Termes to liue in the City, and their Vacations to returne into the Countrey, so often (as it were) renewing their marriage dayes: And of all, I iudge the Nomades most happy, (the comParis on holding in other things) who liue in Tents, and so by remouing, not onely escape the heat of Summer, the cold of Winter, the want of pastures, all diseases, and all vnpleasing things, but at their plea|sure, enioy all commodities of all places.

Let vs imitate the Storkes, Swallowes, and Cranes, which like the Nomades yeerely 11 fetch their circuits, and follow the Sunne, without suffering any distemper of the seasons: The fixed Starres haue not such power ouer inferiour bodies, as the wan|dring Planets. Running water is sweet, but standing pooles stinke: Take away Idlenes, and the bate of all vice is taken away. Men were created to moue, as birds to flie, what they learne by nature, that reason ioined to nature teacheth vs. Nothing can be added to the worthy praises of him as the Poet suith;

Qui Mores hominum multorum vidit, and vrbes: Who many Mens manners hath seene, And hath in many Cities beene.

In one word, I will say what can be said vpon this subiect; Euery soyle is to

a vali|ant man his owne Countrey, as the Sea to the Fishes. We are Citizens of the whole World, yea, not of this World, but of that to come: All our life is a Pilgrimage. God for his onely begotten Sonnes sake, (the true Mercury of Trauellers) bring vs that are here strangers safely into our true Countrey.

2

6.12 CHAP. II.

Of Precepts for Trauellers, which may instruct the vnexperienced.

I Will follow my purpose, and giue precepts, not to expert men, (as Phormio did to Hanniball in military affaires), but onely to the vnexperienced, and that not curiously, as if I would prescribe them euery step they should goe, but such as may whet the wits and memories of other men, well knowing that many things may be added, which are slipped out of my memory, and which others may daily find out.

1 In the first place, as euery man in any course of life, so most of all a Traueller, who is subiect to many dangers, must by his daily prayers sollicite God for his gracious protection. All our actions must take beginning from God, the fountaine of all good, if we desire with the Israelites, to haue Gods Cloud and pillar of fier protect vs in our iournies and aboads. Let him daily commend him|selfe to Gods protection, and euen in his iourneys, daily at morning and euening, not while he siumbers in his bed, but in priuate withdrawne from company, either knee|ling as before his father, or standing as before his Master and Lord, make his prayers, though neuer so short, to his almighty and most mercifull God. And let no man take this for a needlesse precept, for I freely professe, that when I was most deuout in this kind, I found my selfe hedged about with the good Angell, as on the contrary when I neglected the same, I often obserued by some manifest accident, that I was left to er|rour and danger.

2 Let each Traueller forecast with himselfe his owne purposes and ends: For they which are vnskilfull in the Arts of painting, caruing, and building, can neuer worthily praise, nor well imitate the rare workes they shall see of these kinds. Experience tea|theth, that no action is wisely vndertaken, whereof the end is not forecast in the first place, howsoeuer it be last put in execution: but since it were infinit to apply my pre|cepts to the seuerall ends of seuerall men, and no more possible, then for a Physician to cure the Patient, not knowing the causes and the progresse of his sickenesse, I pro|fesse to write especially in this place to the Humanist, I meane him that affects the knowledge of State affaires, Histories, Cosmography, and the like, and out of that I write, let other men apply to their vse, what they iudge fit for them. And if the Huma|nist iudge many things I shall write lesse necessary for him, let him know, that as an Orator and Poet must haue some skill in all Sciences, so the Humanist must haue some knowledge of all things which fall into practice and discourse.

10 3 Let a Traueller obserue the vnderwritten things, and of them some curiously, some slightly, as he shall iudge them fit for his purpose. He shall obserue the fruitfulnes of each Countrey, and the things wherewith it aboundeth, as the Mines of mettals and precious stones, the chiefe lawes and customes of the workers in those Mines, also Batches and the qualitie of the water, with the diseases for the curing whereof it is most proper, the names springs and courses of Riuers, the pleasant Fountaines, the aboun|dance or rarity of Pastures, Groues, Wood, Corne, and Fruits, the rare and precious Plants, the rare and proper Beasts, the prices of necessary things, and what he daily spends in his diet and horsemeat, and in hiring horses or coaches, the soyle of euery dayes iourney, the plenty of Fishes or Flesh, the kinds of meat or drinke,

with the sau|ces and the rarer manners of dressing meates, the Countreys expence in apparell, with their constancy or ficklenesse in wearing it, the races of horses, as the Giannets of Spaine, the Coursers of Naples , and the heauy horses of Freesland, and how they manage and feed these horses, the scituation of Cities and Prouinces, the healthfulnes of the Aire, the Chorography, the buildings, the ritches, the magnificence of Citizens, their houshold stuffe, and in generall all speciall things, as Statuaes, Colosses, Sepul|chers with the inscriptions, Lybraries, with the most rare Bookes, Theaters, Arches, Bridges, Forts, Armories, Treasuries, Monasteries, Churches, publike houses, Vniuer|sities, with their Founders, reuenewes, and disputations. To conclude, let him visit the most learned men, and those that excell in military Art or any vertue, and let him con|ferre with them, as his ends require. Thus did I visit Beza at Geneua, thus did I visit Belarmine at Rome , (being ready to take horse, and in the habit and person of a Frenchman). Thus in my returne did I gladly see Henry the fourth of Burbon, King of France, famous for the feats of Armes and Wisdome; onely Lipsius, whom I loued for his Booke of constancy, and much desired to see for his vniuersall learning, did bereaue me of this hope, when I came into the Low-Countreys, by his inconstant flight to the Spaniards. The Traueller shall further obserue the policy of each State, and therein the Courts of each King or Prince, with the Courtiers entertainements, fees, or offices, the statures of the Princes, their reuenewes, the forme of the Common|wealth, whether the Prince be a Tyrant, or beloued of the people, what Forces he hath by Sea or Land, the military discipline, the manners of the people, their vices, vertues, industry in manuall Arts, the constitution of their bodies, the History of the King|dome, and since the soule of each man is the man, and the soule of the Common|wealth is Religion, he shall obserue the disposition of the people, whether it be religi|ous, superstitious, or prophane, and the opinions of Religion differing from his, and the most rare Ceremonies thereof. He shall also obserue the trafficke of Merchants, and therein the commodities which they carry out, and most want, the Hauens and roades for ships, theit skill in nauigation, and whether they vse subiects or strangers for their Marriners. Lastly, the value of the Coynes in each Countrey, and the seueral currant peeces, and whatsoeuer he shall thinke meet to adde hereunto.

4 And because the memory is weake, and those who write much, are many times like the Clerkes that carry their learning in their Booke, not in their braine, let him con|stantly obserue this, that whatsoeuer he sees or heares, he apply it to his vse, and by dis|course (though forced) make it his owne. Thus Students of Rhetoricke, at first seeking matter for words, rather then words for matter, at last attaine an easie stile flowing like a still Riuer, and lay aside the affectation of words. Let nothing worth the know|ledge passe his eyes or eares, which he draweth not to his owne possession in this sort. In the meane time, though he trust not to his papers, yet for the weakenes of memory, let him carefully note all rare obseruations; for hee lesse offends that writes many toyes, then he that omits one serious thing, and after when his iudgement is more ripe, he shall distill Gold (as the Prouerbe is) out of this dung of Ennius. Let him write these notes each day, at morne and at euen in his Inne, within writing Tables carried about him, and after at leasure into a paper booke, that many yeers after he may looke ouer them at his pleasure. But great caution must be had, especially in places of dan|ger, how he carry about him these papers, the subiect

whereof, cannot but in many 13 Places be offensiue and perhaps dangerous, if once vpon suspition he chance to bee searched. Therefore as he sends his bookes and heauy things for carriage, halfe yeere|ly, either into his owne Country, or to some place in the way by which hee is to re|turne, there to bee kept for him, so hee shall doe well to send these paper bookes there|with. And for abundant caution, lest any thing he notes by the way, should in any place vpon mischance preiudice him, he shall doe well to write such things in Ciphers and vnknowne caracters, being also ready to giue a fained interpretation of them to any Magistrate, if neede be.

5 Also I aduise him to leaue a trusty friend at home, who will keepe good credit with the Merchant that furnisheth him with mony abroad, left his friends ill paiments leese him his credit, and so driue him to disgracefull wants. For if his friend pay rea|dily, nothing shall be wanting to him, but Merchants will neuer trust those which breake their day. And for his exchanges, and other waies of receiuing monies, at fit times and places, as also for the value of gold and siluer coynes, let him reade the for|mer last Chapter of the first Part, treating thereof.

Fifty or sixty pounds sterling yeerely, were sufficient at the time when I was be|yond sea, to beare the charge of a Trauellers diet, necessary apparrell, and two iournies yeerely, in the Spring and Autumne, and also to serue him for moderate expences of pleasure, so that hee imitated not the Germans, who drinke and banquet as much a|broad, as at home, nor the Italians, who liue they among Christians or Pagans, yet can|not restraine their incontinency; nor the Polonians, who being perhaps the sonnes of Castellani, (I meane such as haue the keeping of Castles, or like entertainements from the King onely for their life), commonly spend more prodigally in Italy, and like pla|ces, then at home, so as many times they spend their whole patrimony abroad. In which kind I cannot but commend our Countrimen, who how soeuer at home they may haue spent prodigally, yet going beyond seas, rather dispose their expences to re|paire this former prodigalitie then otherwise, and practise the rule of the Poet,

Intra fortunam quemque manere suam: Each man his cote to fit, As his cloth will permit.

But I returne to the purpose, and since it is co uenient, for him that trauels, to make two iournies yeerely in the Spring and Autumne, and since in these iournies his expences will be greater, then when he abides in Cities, as wel for the hiring of Coches and hor|ses, as for his diet in common Innes, hee must bee carefull to take the opportunity to moderate his expences, when hee settles himselfe to abide some moneths in any place. They which haue seruants to attend them, must make accompt, that each seruant shal spend as much for his diet as himselfe, especially in Germany, where passengers of all sorts sit at the same Table, and pay the like shot.

For the danger or security of carrying money about him in all parts, I shall speake at large in the three and twentieth precept of this Chapter. In generall, he must bee warie not to shew any quantity of money about him, since Theeues haue their spies com|monly in all Innes, to inquire after the condition of passengers. If his iourny be long, let him not tell (no not to his companions in his iourny) the furthest end thereof, but rather from Citie to Citie professe that he intends to goe no further. Suppose he bee at Paris , if he professe his iourny is from thence to Rome , it is all one as if he shewed his purse, since all men know, he must haue great store of money for that iourny, so as it were more fit he should professe onely to goe for Strassburg in Ger-

many, or for Lyons in France, and when he shall come thither, he shall either perhaps haue new consorts of his iourny, or else may professe to his former consorts, that there he met with letters, which force him to goe further.

6 That hee may the better premeditate those things which formerly I aduised to bee obserued by him, and the like, he shall doe well before he set forth, to get some skill (at least superficiall) in the Art of Cosmography, for if he be altogether ignorant thereof, he shal, like a blind folded man, not know where he is, or which foot first to set forward. No man can reade with profit and pleasure the voyages of other men, old 14 Histories, and the marching of Armies, except hee haue some skill in this Art, how much lesse shall he be able himselfe to performe such actions, if he haue no skill there|in. I containe vnder this Art, Corography, and the knowledge of those Kingdomes which he is to passe, they being most necessary for his vse. Also it is fit for him, aswell to obserue the old as the new names of each place, which giues great light in the rea|ding of old writers.

7 For the Precepts before hee set forth, in the last place I aduise him to make his will, which no wise man staying at home will haue vnmade. In which I commend our Progenitors, who made their wills if they tooke a iourny but from Yorke to Lon|don, the same being much more necessary in this our age, when we vndertake sat more dangerous iournies. And that the rather, for that there be many difficulties in vnder|standing the lawes and manners of making willes in forraine parts, and the force they will beare at home, besides that very death, and that in a strange place, is like too much to distract the minde, though it be not afflicted in that sad hower with worldly cogitations.

8 When he hath once begun his iourney, since at the first step the ignorance of language doth most oppresse him, and hinder the fruite he should reape by his iour|ney, while he being as it were deafe and doumb, and astonished with this Babylonian confusion of tongues, can neither aske vnknowne things, nor vnderstand other mens speeches, by which hee might learne much. My aduice is, that in each Kingdome which he desires most to know, and the language whereof is of most vse in his owne Countrie, he goe directly to the best Citie for the puritie of language, namely, in Ger|many to Leipzig, Strasburg, or Heidelberg, and in France to Orleans, etc. where hauing learned the language, at least as much as is necessary to vnderstand, and to bee vnder|stood, he shall make his next iourny more profitable by discourse, and in the same make his language more perfect. Hearing much increaseth knowledge, what canst thou learne, if at least thou vnderstandest not those who should instruct thee, howsoe|uer thou beest hardly, or not at all vnderstood by them, except thou hast an interpre|ter with thee, which a man of small meanes cannot maintaine, and yet in that case doth the rich, onely borrow his knowledge, and take it at the second hand.

I confesse, that rich men (hauing such consorts, and making good vse of them) may with more case attaine knowledge, while they haue the helpe of other mens Eyes, Eares, Feete, and vnderstandings, and may sucke from them the Quintessence of their obseruations. But poore Cleanthes, while in the day time he drew water to gaine his liuing, did by night more earnestly thirst after knowledge, and gaine it, which all rich men doe not, whose wits vse to be corrupted with their fortunes. And I would think that euen for these rich men, it were more honourable and safe, to be able to vse their owne sences and vnderstandings, then other mens, since we see that Princes Ambassa|dours and Peeres of

other Realmes are more welcome and esteemed, and lesse subiect to contempt, if they doe but only get the formes of saluting and calling for necessaries in the language of the Country, as if they would not seeme strangers.

And first in the learning of a Language, labour to know the grammer rules thereof, that thy selfe mayst know whether thou speakest right or no. I meane not the curi|ous search of those rules, but at least so much, as may make thee able to distinguish Numbers, Cases, and Moodes. Merchants, Women, and Children, neglecting these rules, and rushing into the rash practice of Languages, doe many times pronounce the tongue, and speake common speeches, more gracefully then others, but they sel|dome write the tongue well, and alwaies forget it in short time, wanting the practice, On the contrary, they who learne the rules, while they be attentiue to the congruity of speaking, perhaps doe lesse gracefully pronounce the tongue, but in the meane time they both speake and write pure language, and neuer so forget it, as they may not with small labour and practice recouer it againe.

In the next place, I aduise him to gather the choice phrases, that hee may speake and write more eloquently, and let him vse himselfe not to the translated formes of speech, but to the proper phrases of the tongue; for euery language in this kinde 15 hath certaine properties of speaking, which would be most absurd, being literally tran|slated into another tongue. To this end the stranger must reade those Bookes, which are best for speeches in familiar conference, in which kind, as also for the instruction of his soule. I would commend vnto him the Holy Scriptures, but that among the Pa|pists they are not to be had in the vulgar tongue, neither is the reading of them per|mitted to Laymen, and were not the phrases so known to those who vse to read them, as they would be vnderstood by discretion without knowledge. Therefore to this purpose hee shall seeke out the best familiar Epistles for his writing, and I thinke no Booke better for his discourse then Amadis of Gaule, for the Knights errant, and the Ladies of Courts, doe therein exchange Courtly speeches, and these Bookes are in all Languages translated by the Masters of eloquence. In the third place I aduise him to professe Pythagoricall silence, and to the end he may learne true pronuntiation, and the properties of each language; not to be attained but by long obseruation and pra|ctice, that he for a time listen to others, before he aduenture to speake. As in generall to all liuing in forraigne parts, and desiring to search out the knowledge of them, not to be had so well from any, as from the Inhabitants, so particularly to him, that would learne the language, my counsell is, that hee shunne for the time the conuersation of his owne Countrey-men, onely visiting them in their lodgings, and that not often nor long, but that he liue not in the house with any of them: For the Dutch Trauel|lers conuersing, drinking, and lodging with their owne Countreymen, hardly attaine any small skill; and neuer the perfect vse of any forraigne Language; be it neuer so ea|sie. So as my selfe remember one of them, who being reprehended, that hauing been thirty yeeres in Italy hee could not speake the Language, he did merrily answere in Dutch; Ah lieber was kan man doch in dreissig Iaher lehrnen? Alas good Sir, what can a man learne in thirty yeeres? But the true cause of his not speaking the tongue, was his perpetuall conuerling with his Countrey-men. I professe freely, that I neuer ob|serued any to liue lesse together in forraigne parts, then the English, nor any who made more profit of their trauell then they: but I returne to the purpose. When he that desires to

learne any Language, hath obserued the former rules, then let him hier some skilfull man to teach him, and to reproue his errours, not passing by any his least omission: And let him not take it ill, that any man should laugh at him, for that will more stirre him vp to endeuour to learne the tongue more perfectly, to which end he must conuerse with Weomen, Children, and the most talkatiue people; and he must cast of all clownish bashfulnesse, for no Man is borne a Master in any Art. I say not, that he himselfe should rashly speake, for in the beginning he shall easily take ill formes of speaking, and hardly forget them once taken. The very Artificers of [...] can speake Latin, but most rudely and falsly; and I speake of experience, that the Schollers of our Vniuersities, conuersant in reading Creero, howsoeuer they seldome speake Latin, but onely in disputations, yea, and shunne the occasions of speaking it, yet when they come abroad, and are forced necessarily to make vse of the latin tongue, they doe perhaps at first speake it lesse readily, but in short practice they speake it more eloquently and more easily; then the said Polakes, or any other abroad, who haue pra|ctised the tongue from their young yeeres, and so they might speake readily, neither cited for the quantity of sillables, nor the purity of phrase, nor the strict keeping of Grammer Rules. Moreouer I speake by experience, that it is commendable at home before setting forth, to learne the reading and vnderstanding of a language, and the writing thereof, yet cannot then bee profitable to practice the speaking of the tongue, [...] hee can haue the foresaid commodities in that part where it is natu|rall. And for this cause, I prescribed Pythagoricall silence, and to listen to others, before the practice of speech, and to take more care to speake well, then much: but at last the learner must beginne, and hee that neuer did a thing ill, can neuer doe it well.

But whereas many boast, and haue the same to speake many tongues, aswell as their mother tongue, I doe not thinke but know, that it is false. The French haue a good Prouerbe.

16 Entre les auengles, les borgnes sont les Roys: Among the blinde, the pore blind are the Kings.

And thus they which haue no skill in tongues, will boldly say, that this or that man doth perfectly, and without stamering, speake many tongs. But howsoeuer a stranger liuing some six or more yeeres in any forraigne part, may perhaps speake that tongue as perfectly as his own, yet he that trauelleth in few yeeres, through many Kingdoms, and learnes many languages, shall neuer speake all, nor many of them, with naturall pronuntiation, and without errours, and some stamering, and slownesse in speech. Yea he that learnes one tongue alone, and that with many yeeres practice, shall more hard|ly attaine the perfect properties and elegancies thereof, then an vnskilfull man would thinke. For Theophrastus hauing liued many yeeres at Athens, was knowne to bee a stranger, of an old woman selling herbes, onely by the pronuntiation of one sillable. For my owne particular, I remember that I passed from Genoa to Milan on foote, in a disguised habit, and that in an Inne not farre from Pauia, I met an Englishman. Wee satdowne to supper, where he voluntarily and vnasked, did rashly professe himselfe to be a Dutchman, whereupon I saluted him in Dutch familiarly, till hee betraied mani|festly his ignorance in that language, and excused himselfe that he was no Dutchman, but borne vpon the confines of France, where they speake altogether French. Then I likewise spake to him in French, till he was out of countenance, for his want of skill in that language. So as

my selfe being a man in his case, dissembling my Country and quality, ceased further to trouble him. And wee after discoursing in the Italian tong, he chanced to speake these words; Io mi repentiua, whereas an Italian would haue said, Io mi ne pentiua. And by this little difference of adding the sillable ne, I knew him to be an Englishman, for I had found before that he was no Frenchman, which Nation together with the English addes that sillable. Thus when supper was ended, I tooke him aside, and spoke English to him, whereat hee reioyced, and imbracing mee, swore that he had been in the stable, and commanded his man to make ready his horses, and would presently haue rid away, if I had not discouered my selfe to him. And so wee lodged in one chamber and bed. See how small a thing will make it manifest, that we are not that Country men whereof we speake the language.

The knowledge of tongues hath euer been highly esteemed. Aulus Gellius writes, that Mithridates spake the languages of two and twenty Prouinces, which were sub|iect to him, so as he neuer spake with any subiect by an Interpreter. Themistocles in one yeere got so much knowledge in the Persian tongue, as hee was able to speake with Artaxerxes without an Interpreter. Ennius said, he had three hearts, meaning three languages. Claudius the Emperour put a Grecian Prince from being a Iudge, because he could not speake Latine, and sent him into Italy to learne the Tongue, as Suetonius writes. To conclude, who hath not heard the worthy fame of that Heroicall Wo|man, Elizabeth late Queene of England, among whose rare vertues, her skill in Langua|ges was not the least, being able to conferre with most Ambassadours or Princes in their owne tongue. And whereas some Kings thinke it a base thing to speake in a strange tongue, and take it for honour, if they can induce any Ambassadour to speake their tongue, they seeme to me like vnto those, who being poore and proud, speake much against rich apparrell, and extoll stuffes and furnitures of small price, that they may seeme to doe that of election and iudgement, which they doe onely for want. Yet I would not be so vnderstood, as if I thought fit, that one Ambassadour at a trea|ty, should consent to haue the same written in the language of another Ambassadour, but rather that it should be written in a third tongue, equally knowne to them both, as in the Italian Tongue, the Treaty being betweene England and France. But in the meane time; I thinke it honourable to the most mighty King, to be able to entertaine familiar speech with any Ambassadour or Prince of neighbour Kingdomes, though lesse potent then his owne. Let vs be incouraged by these noble foresaid examples, to labour diligently, that we may attaine this rich Iewell of speaking Tongues. In the last place I aduise the Traueller, that if he can haue leasure, he ioyne (for greater orna|ment) the learning to write the hand of each Nation, with the knowledge of each 17 tongue, especially of that which is most of vse in his Countrey.

9 For Englishmen, they shall doe well at their first setting forth, to passe into Germa|ny, and there spend some time: for since we vse too much the helpe of our seruants, so as we will scarcely make our selues ready, and since wee vse to despise the company of meane people at bed or board, there wee may learne to serue our selues, where hee that comes into a shoomakers shop, must find out the shooes will fit him, and put them on himselfe. There we may learne to admit the company of meane men, where many times poore fellowes, yea, very coachmen shal be thrust to be our bedfellowes, and that when they are drunke; and like men will often sit by vs at the Table, and in some places (as

most part of Low-Germany) they drinke alwaies round, so as wee shall be sure to pledge like men, and drinke to them in the same cup; and if wee haue a ser|uant of our owne, would rather haue him sit next vs, then any other. There wee may learne to feed on homely meat, and to lie in a poore bed. There among many other things wee may learne, to moderate our aptnesse to quarrell, whereof I will speake more in the proper place. To conclude, all in gene all that passe Germany as strangers, are free among that honest people from all colinages and deceipts, to which in other parts they are subiect aboue others, especially vnexperienced.

10 As it is good before his setting forth, to be reconciled with his enemies, that they may practice no ill against him or his friends in his absence, and that his mind may be more religiously composed against all euents; so while he is abroad, let him often write to his friends of his health, which precept if Thesius had not forgotten, hee had not beene Authour of his most deere Fathers death, by bearing the false signe of a blacke sayle: And this is no lesse good to himselfe, then to his friends, since he that writes of|ten, shall often receiue letters for answere: for one hand washeth another, and the Poet saieth well;

Vt ameris Amabilis esto, Who wilt beloued be, that thou bist louing see.

For indeed, there can hardly be giuen a more certain signe of loue or contempt, then thr frequent, rare, or no writing, or especially answering of Letters: whereof the Itali|ans haue a Prouerbe.

Chiscriue a chi non responde, O egli èmatto, o egli ha di bisogno: Who writes to him, that answers not againe, He is a foole, or neede doth him constraine.

11 When he wil obserue the scituation of any City, let him (if he may without ielou|sie of the Inhabitants,) first climbe one of the highest steeples, where hauing taken the generall scituation of the City, he shall better remember in order the particular things to be seene in the City. To which end, let him carry about him a Dyall, which may shew him the North, South, East, and West, which knowne, he shall lesse erre in the de|scription of the City, and this he may obserue publikely onely with his eyes, for auoi|ding of ielousie, and after, being retired into his Inne, may draw it in paper, if he thinke good. And lest for the want of a guide, to shew the markeable things in each City, he should omit any thing worth sight, let him confidently visit some chiefe Doctor, or man of principall account, (especially in Germany, where they are most affable): For if he shall say, that hee comes to see them, as the liuing monuments of that City, I will be bold to promise, that they will giue him a guide, to shew him any thing worth sight, and to instruct him in such things as are fit for him to know: For as Weomen easily beleeue such as tell them that they are faire, though indeed they bee deformed, so men of best quality will easily beleeue, that their name is knowne among strangers, and they take these visitations for honours done vnto them, yea, many (especially in some places) are vitiously proud, that their neighbours should see strangers thus visit them.

12 Many desire to haue their Countreymen and friends to bee their companions in these their iourneys: And it is well said;

18 Comes saeundus in via pro vehiculo, A pleasant consort by the way. Is like a coach that glides away.

But why should he not rather desire consorts of the same Nation, of whom he may learne the language, and all other things worthy to be obserued. My selfe could neuer see any profitably spend their time abroade, who flocked together with their owne Countreymen, neither doe I attribute the little proficiency of the Ger-

mans, and their giuing themselues to drinke, euen amongst the sober Italians, to any thing more, then to their liuing together in forraigne parts. For an Italian, conuersing abroad with Ita|lians, shall neuer learne bashfull chastity: How shall any man cast off a vice proper to his Nation, it he doe not disuse it by little and little, which he shall hardly doe among his Countrey-men inclined thereunto. Neither is there danger of learning forraigne vices by leauing to conuerse with his Countrey men, so hee propound to himselfe the foresaid end to learne vertues and cast off vices, and if he bend himselfe wholly to at|taine that end. Moreouer, in places of danger, for difference of Religion, or proclai|med warre, whosoeuer hath his Countrey-man or friend for his companion, doth much increase his danger, aswell for the confession of his companion, if they chance to be apprehended, as for other accidents, since he shall be accomptable and drawne into danger, aswell by his companions words or deeds, as by his owne. And surely there happening many dangers and crosses by the way, many are of such intempe|rate affections, as they not onely diminish the comfort they should haue from this consort, but euen as Dogs, hurt by a stone, bite him that is next, not him that cast the stone, so they may perhaps out of these crosses grow to bitternes of words betweene themselues, yea, sometimes filthily end their old friendship with new iniuries, if not in single combates.

Besides, if this deare friend and consort should happen to dye by the way, and if other ill accidents should increase this euill, whereof many may bee imagined, as namely, if by dying among enemies or Pagans, hee cannot haue so much as the honour of a graue; surely I speake by experience, nothing can bee added to this calamity. This griefe threatens sicknesse vnto thee, and to how many ills that State is subiect in forraigne parts, I shall shew in the Precept of preseruing health. And this euent will take from thee all the pleasure of remembring thy dangers past, after thou returnest home, yea, will make that bitter vnto thee, which vseth to bee most comfortable to others. Therefore I commend the Eng|lish, who withdraw themselues from consorting with their Countrimen abroad, not shunning them vnnaturally out of hate, but onely lodging in diuers houses, and onely spending some howers of the weeke in their company to nourish ac|quaintance, that they may bestow the rest of the time among those of the same Country wherein they liue, and so better their language, and learne the state of the Countrie. For my part, if I were to suffer ill, I had rather be alone, then haue a friend partner with me, howsoeuer the Poet saith,

Solamen miseris soicos habuisse doloris. The miserable man doth grieue the lesse, If he haue partners in his sad distresse.

Which is to bee vnderstood of enemies, or vnknowne partners, for I can|not thinke that my torment could bee asswaged by the like miserie of my friend. Others obiect, that it is the vnspeakeable comfort of marriage, that man and wife like well paired Heyfers, beare all burthens together. Surely if other kinds of ill could bee diuided into equall parts, as burthens may, I might bee of their opini|on, but many kindes of ill are like the soule, which is all in the whole body, and all in euery part thereof, neither is the torment of the soule eased, by the bodies suffering with it. Therefore if I were to suffer pouerty, banishment, or torment, I had rather bee a single man, then married, since the compassion of my wifes and 19 childrens suffering with me, would infinitely increase my misery.

These things being granted, I con-

fesse it followes, (for of contraries the conse|quence is contrary) that the Traueller is to impart his good successes to his friends, whereof Cicero in the dreame of Scipio so disputes, as if a man seeing all the pleasures of Paradice, could take no delight therein, if he were alone, and had no man with whom he might communicate them.

But in conclusion, since Trauellers meet with more dangers then pleasures, it is most fit for them to take such consorts abroad, as the way yeelds, and to deferre the imparting of their good successes to their friends, till their happy returne home, at which time, as their absence hath sharpened their friends desire to see them, so the dis|course of these pleasant accidents, may sweeten their conuersation.

13 In stead of a companion, let the Traueller haue alwayes with him some good Booke in his pocket, as wee reade that Alexander the Great laied Homer vnder his pil|low, and let this Booke be either such, as fits his ends or study, or such as containeth precepts or sentences, which by daily vse he desires to make familiar vnto him, alwaies bewaring that it treat not of the Common-wealth, the Religion thereof, or any Sub|iect that may be dangerous to him: By this companion he shall make the solitude of the Innes and many irkesome things lesse vnpleasing to him.

14 As we reade that Alexander the great set on fier with his owne hands the wanes of carriage taken from Darius, and that by his example all the Macedonians cast away the spoyles they had taken from the Persians, lest they should hinder them in their ex|pedition against India. So the Traueller (comparing small things with great) must car|ry onely most necessary things with him, especially in such places as the Low-Coun|tries, where boates and waggons are changed many times in one dayes iourney, and where (as also in Italy) they bring him not to his Inne, but onely to the water side; or to the gates of the City: for in such places heauy carriages will be a great burthen or charge to him.

15 Let him enquire after the best Innes, especially in Germany, and also at night in Italy; for he may take a short dinner in any Inne of Italy, so hee lodge safely at night. In the best Innes, with moderate and ordinary expences, he shall auoid the frauds and iniuries of knaues, and shall sleepe safely, both for his person and the goods hee hath with him. In all Innes, but especially in suspected places, let him bolt or locke the doore of his chamber: let him take heed of his chamber fellowes, and alwayes haue his Sword by his side, or by his bed side; let him lay his purse vnder his pil|low, but alwayes foulded with his garters, or some thing hee first vseth in the morning, lest hee forget to put it vp before hee goe out of his chamber: And to the end he may leaue nothing behind him in his Innes, let the visiting of his chamber, and gathering his things together, be the last thing he doth, before hee put his foote into the stirrup.

16 Some aduise that a Traueller should learne to swimme, but I thinke that skill is more for pleasure at home, then of vse abroade, and yeelds small comfort or helpe in a storme at Sea. Let other men haue their free opinion, as I haue mine, yet I know that Caesar deliuered himselfe and his Commentaries from perishing, by his skill in swimming, but neither are all as fortunate as Caesar, neither are all Seas like that of Africke. My selfe haue knowne many excellent swimmers, whereof some in the sight of the wished Land, haue perished by the rage of the Sea waues, and others haue sunke by the waight of their fearefull companions knowing their skill, and so taking hold of them, while at the same time others, hauing not the least skill in swimming, but tru|sting to the hold of

broken parts of the shippe, or light chests, haue escaped that dan|ger, and came safely to shore: But if any man put his trust in swimming, let him con|ceale his skill, least others trusting therein take hold of him, and make him perish with them.

17 In like manner some perswade a Traueller to vse himselfe first to hardnesse, as ab|staining from wine, fasting, eating grosse meates, and going iournies on foote. But in 20 my opinion, they shall better beare these things when necessity forceth, who cherish their body while they may. Neither doe I commend them, who in forraigne parts take iournies on foote, especially for any long way. Let them stay at home, and be|hold the World in a Mappe, who haue not meanes for honest expences; for such men, while they basely spare cost, doe so blemish their estimation, as they can enioy no company, but that of such poore fellowes as goe on foote with them, who can no way instruct them, or better their vnderstanding. Besides, that by wearying their bodies, they are apt to fall into sicknesse, and basely expose themselues to the dangers of wild beasts, theeues, and their poore companions. I dare bee bold to say, that all murthers in Germany by the high way, are committed vpon footemen; for they who are well brought vp, when they are wearied by going on foote, will spend more to cherish themselues in their Innes, and make longer staies therein, by which meanes they not onely spend almost as much, as if they had hired horses or coches, but also bewray their plenty of mony to their foote companions, who being needy, it oftens happens, euen among the Germans otherwise of honest disposition, that they plot mischiefe against them, which once intended, the vast solitudes of the Woods in Ger|many, offer many opportunities to put their wicked purpose in practice. And it is a hard remedy to be prescribed to one of good education, that after his weary iourney, he should also suffer in his Inne. Moreouer, the Germans account of strangers accor|ding to their outward habit, and their bold or deiected countenance, and doe altoge|ther dispise passengers on foote. To conclude, the solitudes of the way, by reason of few Townes or Villages, make a iourney on foote most tedious in Germany. But in Italy, if any where, this going on foote may bee borne with, by reason of the pleasant and fruitfull fields, the frequent Cities, Townes, and Villages, the safety from theeues, (except it be vpon the confines of Princes, where hosemen and footemen are in like danger) and by reason of the Italians opinion, who respect a mans behauiour, not his habit. Alwaies prouided that these iournies bee short, and sweetned with a plea|sant companion. But for my part, I thinke the best going on foote, is (according to the French Prouerb) when a man leades his horse in his hand, and may mount him at pleasure. And I must confesse, that I haue obserued some of our Countrie men to erre in this kinde, of whom though few vndertake these foote iournies, yet they generally thinke, that it is a point of frugalitie to suffer in forraigne parts, as if our abode there should be lesse profitable vnto vs, except we should (like Menedemus) vex our selues with vnnecessary sufferings of ill.

18 The Traueller must haue great care to preserue his health, neither is it the last point of wisedome to follow the aduice of Cicero, who bids him bee an old man quickly, that desires to bee an old man long. But most of all is this care neces|sarie for a Traueller: for those that are sicke by the way, suffer many discommo|dities in all places, and our Country men in Italy and Spaine runne high dan|gers, where howsoeuer being in health, they may discreetly shunne the snares of the Inquisition, yet when they are sicke, Confession, the

Sacrament in one kind, and the adoration thereof as changed into the body of Christ, and Extreme Vnction at the point of death, are thrust vpon them by the Priests. Men ready to die can ill dissemble, neither is any waight so heauy, as that of a wounded conscience, wherewith if the sicke man bee so affected, as hee professeth himselfe to bee of the Reformed Religion, then the Phisition and the Apothecarie are forbidden to helpe him, and very Kitchin phisicke is denied him by the Priests command, and if hee recouer, hee shall bee sure to bee brought into the Inqui|sition: but if hee die, his body shall be buried in the highway, not in any Church|yard: of which euents, and the examples thereof, I shall speake more largely in the Treaty of Religion in Italy. Formerly I haue shewed, that sickly men are vnfit for this course of life.

Now the preseruation of health consists in the vse of sixe things, namely, of Ayre, Dyet, Purging, Exercise, Sleepe, and Accidents, or Passions of the 21 mind. To shunne the incommodities of the Aire, hee must respect the seasons of the yeere fit for iournies, and the changes of diuers climes. The Spring and Au|tumne are the most fit seasons for iourneys, and he shall doe well, to goe first to cold climes in summer times, and to hot climes in the winter, that hee may vse his body by little and little to these changes. They who take iournies in Countries continually couered with snow, vse to weare some greene thing before their eyes, to comfort the sight, and to carry hot odors to comfort the braine. In Moscony subiect to great cold, Men couer their neckes, eares, and vitall parts, with furres; and in time of snow, weare a cot or couer for their noses, and also rubbe their noses and faces with snow, before they enter into the hot stoue, lest sudden heate should putrifie the same, as men of good credit report.

On the contrary, in hot regions, to auoide the beames of the Sunne, in some places (as in Italy) they carry Vmbrels, or things like a little Canopy ouer their heads, but a learned Physician told me, that the vse of them was dangerous, be|cause they gather the heate into a pyramidall point, and thence cast it downe perpen|dicularly vpon the head, except they know how to carry them for auoyding that dan|ger: Also in the hot clymes of Turkey, they were thicke garments, but loose, and a thick Tulbant vpon their heads, but hollow, and borne vp from their heads, and they shaue their heads, all to make the Sunne-beames to haue lesse power vpon their bo|dies.

Touching the change of diet, as also of the Aire, a young man may change them by little and little, but to old men the least change of them is dangerous. Therefore let the Traueller vse himselfe before his iourney to these changes by little and little, but in no extremity, which he had better endure onely for the time when necessity forceth them, vsing the best remedies, as Antidotes against poyson, namely warme clothes against cold, and the like: And in this he must vse moderation, for little ill doth little hurt. In the morning before he takes his iourney, let him take a small breakefast, that ill smels may not offend him; let him dine sparingly, lest his afternoones motion hin|der digestion: for the precept to make a light supper, is for those that stay at home. In his dinner, often drinking and supping warme brothes, helps the purging faculty: The seasons of the yeere, and the nature of the clime, are to be respected in diet, as well as in the change of Ayre. In Winter and cold Regions, let him take hot comfortable things, but in Summer and hot Regions, let him take things that coole the blood: It is dangerous to drinke when his body is heated, except hee first make water, and wash his mouth, and when he is heated, let him not suddenly expose him

selfe to cold. In his Inne let him haue care to drie his feet and necke, if they be wet. The rules of health are infinite, therefore let him take the Physicians aduice, according to the state of his body: I will onely adde, that some very curiously thinke the Art of Cookery necessa|ry for a Traueller: It is not amisse that hee haue the skill to make a Cawdell, or dresse some dish hee liketh. Homer bringeth in Achilles dressing his meate in the Campe, and wee reade that King Antigonus did see the Poet Antagoras seething a Conger in the Campe, and said to him; that Homer of Agamemnon spent not his time in dres|sing Congers, who answered; that Agamemnon vsed not to goe about the Campe to obserue who dressed Congers: And indeed this Art is more necessary for a Soul|dier then a Traueller: For the Traueller vseth not to goe into barbarous regi|ons, but to ciuill places, where for the most part hee findes Ministers for this purpose, but the warre wastes all Countries, and carries desolation with it.

Touching the purging of the body, as all repletion is ill, and Socrates well aduised to take heed of those meates, which inuited men to eate when they were not hungry, so when the humours are growne through intemperancy, it is good to purge them. He that feeles any change in his body, let him not neglect it, but take physike, which doing, he may with a small remedy preuent great sickenesse, and keepe his body in health afterwards, not oppressing himselfe with meate, nor enflaming his blood with violent motion. This I speake of experience, for my selfe thus taking phy|sike 22 once or twice, had my health in forraigne parts for seuen yeeres, after which time at last, care which brings gray heires had almost killed me by griefe, conceiued for the death of my most deare Brother in Asia. In the morning and at noone let him offer thus to purge naturally, in which nature, for the most part yeelds to custome. Nothing is a more certaine signe of sicknesse growing, then the obstruction of the body, against which in Italy I tooke each morning, while I was so disposed, a spoonefull of the sirrop of Corinthian Currants. Damasco Prunes boyled, and other moist things, as Butter and Hony, are good for this purpose, as a German Phisitian writes, whom I follow in this point. And since my selfe (God be thanked) was neuer sickly, neither haue the Art of Phisike, and since I professe in the beginning of this Booke, not onely to relate things obserued, but also those I haue gathered by reading, I trust I may without of|fence adde the said Doctors aduice for Trauellers instruction to my obseruations. My experience hath taught mee, that it is most dangerous to stop the Flux of the body, which experience I dearely bought, by the losse of my foresaid Brother, and there is no better remedy for it, then rest. But if it continue many daies, and too much weaken the body, Rice well boyled, hard Egges, Water tempered with Steele, red and sowrish Wines, and Marmalate, are good to bind the body.

Touching exercise, since it must be gentle, and onely till we raise colour into our fa|ces, not til we sweate, it may seeme ridiculous to prescribe the same to Trauellers, who are almost continually in motion. Therefore I will onely admonish the Traueller, to auoide extremity therein, and that he neither drinke when he is hot, nor suddenly ex|pose himselfe to cold, and that when he is extremely cold, hee likewise warme himselfe by little and little, not suddenly at a great fier, or in a hot stoue, and that after dinner he rest a while.

Touching sleepe, breeding by excesse raw humours, and watching that dries the bo|dy, they are happy who keepe the meane, and they are the Phisitians friends,

who de|light in extremes, and to their counsell I commend them.

In the last place, touching accidents or motions of the minde, I will onely say, that mirth is a great preseruer of health, and sadnesse a very plague thereunto. The bodie followes the temper of the mind, as the temper of the mind followes that of the body. My selfe haue been twice sicke to death in forraigne parts, [...] when I lost my dearest Brother Henry in Asia (whose death I must euer lament with the same passion, as Dauid did that of Absolon, who wished to redeeme his life with his owne death; and surely I freely professe, his life had been more profitable then mine, both to our friends, and to the Commonwealth.) The second time I was sicke to death at home in England, vp|on a lesse iust but like cause, namely, griefe. Thus being at the gates of death twice for griefe, I found the Poet to say most truly, that care maketh gray headed; and Seneca no lesse truly, that he who hath escaped Stix, and the infernall Haggs, to him in care hee will shew Hell it selfe.

To speake something of preseruing health by Sea: He that would not vomit at all, let him some dayes before he take ship, and after at Sea, diminish his accustomed meat, and especially drinke, and let him take the following remedies against ill smelles and weakenesse of stomack. Some aduise, that he should drinke Sea water mingled with his Wine, and some more sparing, that he drinke Sea water alone, which dries cold hu|mours, and shuts the Orifice of the belly and stomack. But I thinke they doe ill, who altogether restraine vomiting, for no doubt that working of the Sea is very healthfull. Therefore I would rather aduise him, to vse him accustomed diet, till he haue sailed one day or two into the Maine, or till he feele his body weake, and thinkes it enough pur|ged, then let him take meates agreeable to the Sea in small proportion, as powdred Beefe, Neates-tongues dried, and like salt meates, and after eating, let him seale his sto|make with Marmalate. Let him often eate Pomegranates, Quinces, Corianders pre|pared, and such meates as are sharpe, and comfort the stomake, and let him drinke strong Wines, and sometimes hot Waters, but sparingly, and let him dip a piece of bis|ket in his Wine. And to restraine the extremity of vomiting, till he be somewhat vsed to the Sea, let him forbeare to looke vpon the waues of the Sea, or much to lift vp his 23 head. To auoid the ill smelles of the ship, hee may in Summer carry red Roses, or the dried leaues thereof, Lemmons, Oranges, and like things of good odour, and in Winter hee may carry the roote or leaues of Angelica, Cloues, Rosemary, and the foresaid Lemmons, Oranges, and Rose leaues. To conclude, if there bee no Phisitian in the ship, let him that is sickly, take counsell of the Phisitian at home, for the reme|dies of that weakenesse to which himselfe is most subiect, and of diseases most proper to Seamen, especially if he take any long voiage.

19 To teach the Traueller how to behaue himselfe in forraigne parts, is a large and intricate precept, whereof I will handle many branches in this, and the next following Precepts. It is an old saying,

Cum fueris Romae, Romano viuito more, Cum fueris alibi, viuito more loci. Being at Rome , the Roman manners vse, And otherwhere each places custome chuse.

Surely a Traueller must liue after other mens fashion, not his owne, alwaies auoiding extremities by discretion, according to the Italian Prouerb,

Paese doue vai, vsa comme truoui. The Country where thou goest, Vse thou as doe the most.

Now in this so great varietie of fashions

in all Nations, it seemes vnpossible to giue any set rules, since the French say well,

Tant de payis, tant'de guises. As many Nations, So many fashions.

And since no man is able to number these diuers euents, first, I aduise the Traueller in generall to be so wary, as he aduenture not to doe any new thing, till the example of others giue him confidence. Let him reproue nothing in another mans house, much lesse in a strange Common wealth, in which kind it is not amisse to seeme dumb or tongue-tied, so he diligently imploy his eyes and eares, to obserue al profitable things. Let him be curteous, euen somewhat to wards the vice of curtesie, to his Host, the chil|dren, and his fellow soiourners in the house. I doe not aduise him to imitate them, who will put off their hat to a very Dog; for in all actions basenesse must bee shun|ned, and decency embraced, but it is veniall somewhat to offend in the better part, applying our selues to the diuers natures of men. If hee shall apply himselfe to their manners, tongue, apparrell and diet with whom he liues, hee shall catch their loues as it were with a fish-hooke. For diet, he needes lesse care, but for apparrell he must sit it to their liking; for it is a good precept aswell at home as abroad, to eate according to our owne appetite, but to bee apparrelled to other mens liking. I haue ob|serued the Germans and French in Italy, to liue and conuerse most with their owne Countrimen, disdaining to apply themselues to the Italians language, ap|parrell, and diet, and the English aboue all others, to subiect themselues to the Lawes, customes, language, and apparrell of other Nations.

And hence it is that the conuersation of the English abroad, is wonderfullie pleasing vnto strangers. Onely because they are forced to dissemble their Coun|trie among Papists, I haue found by experience, that other Nations, whose ha|bit and name they take, haue reaped the commendation of this their vertue; and it is certaine, that the Germanes, whom the English do often personate, haue thereup|on beene often praysed in forraigne parts for their temperance, and other vertues lesse proper to them. In the meane time the English who are thus pleasing for this ver|tue, while they dissemble their Countrie, are by other accidents lesse agreeable to the liking of strangers in diuers places, when they confesse what Countrie-men they are; as in Italy for the difference of Religion; in the Low-Countries, for that many of them haue gone away in their debts; in France and Scotland for the old hatred of both Na|tions: 24 and in the Hans or sea-bordering Cities, for the many iniuries they pretend to haue receiued from English men of warre at Sea.

Perhaps seuere and froward censors may iudge it an apish vice thus to imitate other nations, but in my opinion, this obsequiousnes of conuersation, making vs become all things to all men, deserues the opinion of a wise man, and one that is not subiect to pride: but he must alwaies shunne extremity, lest while he affects to be affable, hee in|curre the infamy of a slatterer.

20 He must be humble, so it be with decency, and without balenes; yet I thinke in Germany he shall doe well to seeme, but not to be proud, where they will take a man to be of base condition, if he be courteous and officious, as in reaching any thing to ano|ther, or doing like offices of seruice, and where they respect especially the outward ha|bit, esteeming a frowning proud countenance, for graue and generous, lastly, where they that sit last at Table, pay the same shot with the first, who haue the best meate, the cleanest beds, and best bed fellowes, which my selfe experienced, when I did trauell from Stoade to the Low-Countries, in the disguised habit of a seru-

ant. In the meane time a stranger may not in any place altogether vse the same boldnesse, as one of the same Nation may. On the contrary, I would rather offend in humility among the Italians, who respect nothing lesse, then the apparrell and outward habit, and are ready to obserue with knee and cap a proud stranger, though they scoffe at him behind his backe, and the hosts will not faile to put their obseruance and reuerence into the recko|ning, making him pay for his pride. And from hence it is, that the Polonian Gentle|men (as I said before the sommes of Gouernours of Castles for life), being of their owne nature proud, doe in the space of one or two yeeres spend all their patrimonie a|mong these officious and flattering Italians, which they do not among the Germans, though many of them liue long in their Vniuersities, and giue themselues to drinking as much as the Germans, though not so daily, and that because the Germans cannot in their nature so obserue them and nourish their pride. In generall, he shall doe best, that keepes a meane;

—:neque Altum

Semper vrgendo, neque dum procellas Cautus horrescit, nimium preanendo

Littus iniquum.

Not alwaies bearing to the Maine, Nor while to shun stormes thou dost straine, Beating too much on shore againe.

Liberall modesty is decent, but clownish bashfulnesse disgracefull.

21 And because the youths of our age, as they hold ciuill behauiour to consist in bold speaking, and proud lookes, so they place the opinion of wisdome in the volubi|litie of the tongue, I must remember the Traueller of two god Italian Prouerbs:

In botca serrata mai non entrò mosca. Keepe close lips, and neuer feare, Any flies should enter there. La lingua non ha os so - mafa rompere il desso. The tongue is bonelesse, yet doth make, The broken backbone oft to ake.

It is an old saying, sometimes it repents to haue spoken, neuer to haue held thy peace, therefore let him haue a flow tongue, let his mind bee locked vp, but his forehead bee cleare and chearefull. Let him speake sparingly, and seldome speake of his owne com|mon-wealth, priuate estate, or good qualities, which otherwise knowne will giue him more grace, then his owne boasting. Nothing doth more preserue a Traueller from falling into dangers, or sooner deliuer him in any danger, then the moderate discreete vse of his tongue It is an old prouerb, that men go to Rome by asking the way of those they meete but I may say, that the way to goe thither, and to returne safely thence, is silence. The Italians say well.

25 Assaisa, chi nulla sa, se tacer' sa. Who knowes no thing, yet knowes his fill, To hold his peace if he hath skill.

There is great Art to shunne talkatiue companions, or not to seeme to heare their questions. Two things are necessary to be obserued; That he haue a chearefull coun|tenance, as an argument of innocency, to free him from suspicion of any wickednes, or of being a spie. The other, that he shun vicious silence, aswell as Clownish bashful|nesse. He may sparingly and as it were carelessely inquire after things worthy to bee obserued, and what he learnes in this kind, let him diligently note in his Itinearie.

22. Curiosity to see the burning of the Mountain Vesunius (now called Somma) made Pliny perish, and the like curiositie to see the burning of AEtna, bred like mischiefe to Empedocles. Likewise the inquiring after the secrets of Religion, and desiring to bee present at those Rites, hath made many perish. Therefore he must be wary and dis|creete in this point. Yet I know not how, as Cicero praised some af-

fectation of speech in a young Orator, so I cannot but allow some curiositie in a Traueller, and thinke the same to be of great vse to him, since hee runs through the obseruation of many things in short time, the infinitenesse whereof no memory can comprehend, neither is he like euer to see them againe. Therefore in my opinion, let him be, so hee seeme not to bee curious.

23 Some disswade men from being patient in their conuersation, saying, that he in|uites a new iniury, who beares the old patiently, according to the Italian prouerb:

Chi pecora si fa, il Lupo se la, mangia.
The man who makes himselfe a sheepe,
The Wolfe will eate, whilest he doth sleepe.

But howsoeuer I may grant, that in thy owne Country thou shalt bee so much estee|med of others, as thou esteemest thy selfe, yet he that liues in forraigne parts, must with Diogines beg an almes of an Image, that hee may learne patience. The thunder-bolt strikes not that which yeelds. I aduise young men to moderate their aptnesse to quar|rell, lest they perish with it. We are not all like Amades or Rinalldo, to incounter an hoste of men, we haue not the inchanted bodies against wounds, which Aehilles and Orlando had, wee shall not finde abroad the same Iudges or iudgement, which wee might haue at home, nor the same indulgence or approued customes of single fights.

In Italy twelue or more armed men will assault one enemy vnarmed, and perhaps sleeping in his bed. For the Italians in our age, hauing for the most part placed [...] their happinesse in the earthly paradise of Italy, and the pleasures of this world, are not giuen in their nature to vndergoe dangerous and equall combats, howsoeuer honou|rable. And since the Fathers in the Councell of Trent (lest they should seeme to haue done nothing) did strictly forbid these combats vnto them, they willingly obey there|in, to shaddow-their want of daring, yet can they not put off their naturall pride and desire of reuenge, but according to the nature of proud men, are apt to take reuenge vpon al dishonorable aduantages of number or Armes, and that with strange cruelty; so as at this day more perish there by these treasons, the euer perished before the Cou|cel of Trent by single combates. When they haue a quarrel, they presently arme al their bodies, and, as they vulgarly say, their very shinbones, and hinder parts, with males of Iron, and then, compassed with their friends, seruants, and hired Fencers (called Brani) will not stick to fall vpon their enemy in this sort, though he bee an vnwary stranger, wanting friends; and when they haue done a murther, they flie without any impedi|ment to the confines of neighbour Princes, liuing there as banished men for a time vp|on roberies, till they can obtaine pardon, which escape a stranger cannot so easily make. But if they haue a quarrell with Italians, vsing like practises, it is a thing most ridiculous to see, with what proud bragging they thus walke armed, and guarded, and with what warinesse and foolish tumult the contrary parts thus walke about the Ci|tie keeping as farre the one from the other as is possible, till by-the intercession of friends, or authority of the Magistrate, they be made friends, which must be done with infinite cerimonies, and cautions of honour, no way blemished but by themselues. 26 Whereas a stranger in Italy may not without licence from the Magistrate, weare a sword in their Cities, no nor so much as a dagger either in the Cities or high-waies of the Popes State. How much lesse will it bee permitted to any stranger thus to arme himselfe, if hee would (since wee are of opinion, that it were better once to dye, then alwaies to feare death, euen in our priuate chambers, and to be continually so loded with iron Armes, as a man can hardly

walke or breath) Therefore a stranger must be very wary not to haue a quarrell, and if any be thrust vpon him, he must be no lesse wary to shun the danger, by leauing the place or City in Italy. Neither would I aduise a stranger to sight for his money, if hee be assaulted by theeues (called Banditi) in Italy (except the way from Rome to Naples , where hee hath a guard of souldiers to ioyne with) since they are men of desperate fortune, and when they assaile the passen|ger, haue not only their bodies armed as aforesaid, but carry Muskets, and haue ready meanes of escape, euer lying vpon the confines of Princes But in my opinion, he shall doe better to carry letters of credit for receiuing money in great Cities as hee passeth, and willingly to yeeld them that which hee hath about him, especially since they vse not to kill any not resisting, being content with the spoile of them. Yet in generall for Italy, I remember not that euer I liued in any place, where fewer wrongs and causes of quarrell are offered then there; for they haue a Prouerb,

Portarispetto a tuttie no' hauer' paur a dinessuno. Giue good respect to all, Feare neither great nor small.

So as the Italians offer mutuall honour more then is due, and nothing is more easie then to abstaine from words of reproch, which a ciuill man should hate, aswell in re|spect of himselfe, as others. The chiefe cause of quarrels there, is either making loue to other mens priuate concubines, or the keeping of a priuate concubine to a mans selfe. For it is prouerbially said,

Chi Asini caccia e donne mena, Non è mai senzaguai and pena. Who driues an Asse, and leades a Whore, Hath toile and sorrow euermore.

And the stranger who will intangle himselfe in this mischiefe, seemes worthy to beare the punishment, since there is plenty of grasse in the open fields, though a man neuer breake into inclosed pastures.

As in Italy, so in Germany, Bohemia, the Low-Countries, and Denmark, the Magistrate neuer pardons any murther, nor man-slaughter vpon hot bloud, nor him that killes in single combat vpon those termes which some call honourable, neither is there any way to scape punishment, but by flight. And this is common to all these Nations, that onely the Officers of Iustice, either stop or lay hands vpon a Murtherer or any of|fender against the Lawes. And this makes great respect of persons, for a poore man hauing killed one that hath rich friends, shall bee pursued with light horses, while either not at all, or slowly, they follow others, and giue way to their escaping. Let a stranger consider, how difficult his flight will be in a strange Country, and how hotly he is like to be pursued.

The Germans are apt to quarrell, and sometimes they fight after their fashion, which is a slash or two with the edge of the sword, and if one of their fingers bee hurt, they straight shake hands, and go to the Tauerne to drinke, but to stab or make a thrust is vulgarly called cin schelemstucke, that is, the act of a villaine, and the very iudges e|steeme it a most abominable act. It is ridiculous, that hee which is wounded neuer so flightly, though it be at the first incounter, straight shakes his aduersary by the hand and both returne againe to the Citie, where he that is hurt payes the Wine to the o|ther, [...] new or renewed league of friendship. In Germany, Bohemia and Denmarke, no man wil part a quarrel, nor put himself betweene them that are at variance. Neither will they doe it in disputations (that I may mingle iest with cusnest), where the argu|ment is seldome or neuer taken vp by the Moderator; for in truth they are not so fierce in any of these kinds, but that they can compose the matter themselues. The little dan|ger in their manner of fighting, makes their

quarrels very frequent. In these places, as 27 euery where, it belieues a Traueller with his best iudgement to shun quarrels, and if he must needs aduenture his body, yet to forecast meanes of escape after victory. Be|sides the lye, and such words as we account most disgracefull, with many in Germany are made familiar speech, and clounish rudenes esteemed for the neighbor vertue. For the Cochmen, when they are drunke, will easily giue ill words, especially to a stranger, and they will not stay a minute for him, either in the Inne, if he be not ready to take coach, or by the way, if he haue any necessary cause to light. Herewith thou being in|censed, thinkest him worthy to be strucken, but the Magistrate thinks not so, and will rather beare with him and his partakers, if they tumultiously reuenge thy wrong. Who would not with silence and fained deafenes slip his necke out of such base and dange|rous brawles. A stranger needes not feare theeues in Germany, for they are most rare, but if any such assault him, let him defend himselfe the best hee can, for they alwaies kill those whom they rob, either out of their nature apt to insult vpon the conquered, or because their punishments are most cruell by the Law, neither is there any pardon for capitall crimes. The Sweitzers for the most part Souldiers, and stiffe drinkers, yet seldome or neuer haue any quarrels, because the Lawes impose great penalties vpon those that offer iniury, and the seuere Magistrate neuer spareth them, there being through all Cities and Villages (with most wise and religious carefulnes) officers ap|pointed, who particularly intend the execution of this iustice. Theenes or murtherers are very seldome or neuer heard of among them, aswell for the seueritie of the Law, and the serious execution thereof, as because they are industrious at home, and to shun pouerty, are more inclined to serue in forraigne war, then to liue by infamous courses at home. In Poland, the Gentlemen are most prone to quarrels cum bats, and murthers, especially if they be heated with drink, as many times they are, and that because of the vnfit priuiledges they haue aboue others, and because they haue power of life and death in their owne. Territories, neither can be called in question for criminall matters, but in the publike Parliament, held once in three yeeres or there abouts, where they are also tried by Gentlemen, who for consanguinity, friendship, or the common cause, are like to be fauourable to them. And they care not greatly vpon what vne|quall termes they offer violence, nor how many they be that set vpon their aduersarie. Some Gentlemen who haue been in forraine parts, are much more ciuill then the rest, but in generall there is no place where a stranger ought more to auoid quarrels, espe|cially if hee stand not vpon equall termes, as not hauing one or more Gentlemen on his part. In the meane time, all that can here offer violence being Gentlemen, to whom the rest are slaues, either for feare of infamy, or for the aboundance they haue of all things for life, robbers by the highway are very rare in Poland, and a passenger may safely carry ready money about him, especially if he conceale it.

It were in vaine to giue any precepts for quarrels in Turkey, where a Christian not onely may not quarrell, but not so much as carry a sword, no nor looke a Turke in the face without a Bastinado. For the Turkes among themselues, they sel|dome or neuer fight a combate. The Citizens and men of inferiour degrees stand in as humble awe of their souldiers, as the Christians doe of them, nei|ther dare lift vp the head or hand against a common Souldier, though they were one hundred against one. And the Souldiers, howsoeuer they brawle among them|selues like butterwiues, yet they neuer strike one another,

the Lawes being most seuere in the punishment thereof. Theeues are lesse to be feared there, because passen|gers neither goe nor ride alone, but in Carauanes, that is, a multitude of men and loa|ded Cammels: yet the Christians commended to the protection of those that leade the Carauans, not onely by friends, but by bribes, and chancing to meet by the way any Ianizaries, shal be forced to giue them such victuals as they carry, especially wine, except they haue a Ianizary to protect them, whereof one will serue to defend them against the iniuries of a thousand chancing to meet them, but they seldome doe the Christian passengers any other wrong, then this consuming of their prouisions. How|soeuer in all euents I would aduise no Christian of the better sort, hauing meanes for fit expences, to goe any iourney without a Ianizarie to protect him, especially 28 since at Constantinople, from one Christian Ambassadour or other, he may easily ob|taine a Ianizaric to attend him faithfully, and at a very easie rate. At which Citie it is most fit for a Christian to begin his iourney into other parts of Turkie. Howso|euer hee may likewise obtaine such a Ianizaric of some Christian Consull, either at Halepo in spria, or at Cayro (called also Babilon) in Egipt, and at other frequented pla|ces vpon the Sea const. And this Ianizaric for some eight Aspers a day wages, will faithfully helpe the Christian of whom hee is hired, not as a companion, but rather as a free kinde of seruant.

Englishmen, especially being young and vnexperienced, are apt to take all things in snuffe. Of olde, when they were senced with Bucklers, as with a Rampier, nothing was more common with them then to fight about taking the right or left hand, or the wall, or vpon any vnpleasing countenance. Clashing of swords was then daily musicke in euery streete, and they did notionely fight combats, but cared not to set vpon their Enemie vpon aduantages, and vnequall termes. But at this day when no nation labours more then the English (as well by trauailing into fortaine Kingdomes, as by the studie of good letters, and by other meanes) to enrich their mindes with all vertues, I say in these dayes, they scorne such men, and esteeme them of an idle braine, who for ridiculous or trifling causes runne the triall of single fight, and how|soeuer they behaue themselues stoutly therein, yet they repute them to haue lost as much opinion of wisedome, as they haue gayned of daring. Much more doe they despise them, who quarrell and fight in the streetes publiquely, and doe not rather make priuate triall of their difference, as also those, who make quarrels with men of base condition, yea they thinke them in famous who with disparity of number doe many assaile one man, and for this beastly quality comparing them to Hogges, where|of when one grunts, all the Heard comes to helpe him, they thinke them worthie of any punishment: besides that vpon killing any man, mercie is seldome or neuer shewed them, howsoeuer in other faire combats, the Princes mercie hath many times giuen life to the manslayer. And the cause why single fights are more rare in England in these times, is the dangerous fight at single Rapier, together with the confiscation of man-slayers goods. So as I am of opinion, contrarie to the vulgar, and think them worthie of praise, who inuented dangerous weapons, as Rapiets, Pistols, Gunnes, and Gunpowder, since the inuention, whereof much smaller nom|ber of men hath perished, by single fights, or open warre, then in former times: and conquests and such inundations of barbarous people as were those of the Gothes, Hunnes, and Longobards, are much lesse to bee feared. Nothing did in olde time more animate strong Tyrants and Gyants to oppresse weaker men, then

the huge waight of their Clubs, and of their armes, where with Goliah had easily quelled Da|uid, if God had not put in his minde to fight against him with a new kinde of wea|pon more suteable to his strength. I returne to the purpose, and doe freely professe, that in case of single fights in England, the Magistrate doth fauour a wronged stran|ger, more then one of the same Nation, howsoeuer the Law fauours neither, and that a stranger so fighting, neede feare no treason, by any disparitie or otherwise. But in the meane time, here and in all places happy are the peaceable. Let me adde one thing of corrupt custome in England, that those who are not gowne men, neuer haue the opi|nion of valour, till in their youth they haue gayned it with some single fight, which done, they shall after liue more free from quarrels: But it were to be wished, that a better way were found to preserue reputation, then this of single fights, aswell con|trary to the Law of God, as a capitall crime by the Lawes of men. Theeues in Eng|land are more common then in any other place, so farre as I haue obserued or heard, but hauing taken purses by the high way, they seldome or neuer kill those they rob. The true man, hauing strength, armes, and courage, may cheerefully resist them, ha|uing the Lawes, Magistrates, People, and all passengers, together with a good cause on his side: but this is peculiar to the English, that not onely the officers of Iustice, but all priuate men, present or meeting him by chance, are bound to apprehend a murtherer, or any theefe, and that the next Constables or vnder officers are bound to pursue them by hue and cry, from Village to Village, and City to City.

29 And howsoeuer the English are for a great part discended of the French, and so partaking with them nature and manners, haue also like customes, more specially in quarrels and single fights, yet in France they haue not this custome to pursue and ap|prehend malefactors. Onely they haue Marshals in seuerall Prouinces, to pursue ma|lefactors with light horses, but otherwise onely the officers of Iustice vse to apprehend them in Cities. And of late, to represse the malice of men after a long ciuill warre, breaking out into single fights and murthers, they haue made seuere Lawes, and im|posed great penalties vpon those that quarrell, especially if any bloud be shed, where|as in England onely man slaiers are called in capitall question, and small or no punish|ment is inflicted vpon one that lightly wounds another. For the rest, the French and English, haue the same aptnesse to quarrels, and the same brauerie in these single fights.

Also the Scots are therein like the English, saue that the Scots will take parts, and assaile an enemie with disparitie of numbers and armes, wherein also the Northerne English are not at this day fully reformed.

In this kind the Barbarous Irish doe offend in Ireland, but the English and Irish-English there haue the customes of the English. And in times of peace few or no theeues rob by the high waies of Ireland, but the stealths of Cowes, horses, and Sheepe, are frequent. All I haue said of this subiect is onely to this purpose, that the Traueller being informed of the condition of Iustice, Combats, and Roberies in for|raigne parts, may better learne to apply himselfe to patience, and to vse moderation, according to the necessitie and danger more proper to him then others, in diuers places.

24 Being to write of simulation, I am at a stay, and grope for passage, as in a darke Labyrinth: for the voyce of the Vulgar, esteemes the vice of dissimulation proper to a Traueller, and highly doth reproch him there with. Shall we then say, that hee who knowes so to liue with Italians, Spaniards,

and very barbarous Pagans, as he can gaine their well-wishing, will be at home and among his friends subiect to the odious vice of dissimulation, the very plague of true friendship? Surely by trauell, the good be|come better in all kinds of vertue, and the ill more wicked in all vices. But let the in|different Iudge tell me, if the greater part of Clownes vnder their rugged cotes, and most Lawyers, and Merchants, vnder the shadow of faire words, and sometimes wick|ed periuries, haue not more skill to dissemble (if that be to deceiue) then any Traualer whatsoeuer, not excepting Plato himselfe. No doubt simulation in fit place and time is a vertue. He that cannot dissemble, cannot liue. But hee that so dissembles, as he is accounted a dissembler, indeed hath not the skill to dissemble, but is noted with that infamy, so as another shall better bee belieued vpon his word, then hee vpon his oath. Cicero commends the saying of Epicharmus, Remember to distrust, and calles it the si|new of wisedome, and the Italians haue a Prouerb,

Da chi mifido, miguarda Dio: Da chinon mifido, miguarderò io. From him I trust God helpe me at my neede, Of him I trust not, my selfe will take heede.

Antigonus prayes God to defend him from his friends. Let me speake of mine owne experience. My selfe was neuer deceiued by the Italians, whom I suspected, but by a German (which Nation hath a cleare countenance, and generall reputation of ho|nesty), I was at Lindaw stripped and cousoned for a time of al the gold I carried about me. Therefore it is a point of art for a Traueller to know how to auoide deceit, and how to dissemble honesty (I meane to saue himselfe, not to deceiue others.) Let him haue a cleare countenance to all men, and an open brest to his friend, but when there is question of his Countries good, of his enemies lying in waite for him, of his owne cre|dit or life, let him shut his bosome close from his inward friends. That Counsell thou wouldest haue another keepe, first keepe it thy selfe. A Traueller must dissemble his long iourneys, yet onely in dangerous places, and among suspected persons. My selfe haue obserued some too warie in this kinde, who in most safe waies, vsed grosse caution, to hide from their neere friend the purpose of their iourney, and sometimes 30 in Cities would conceale where and what hower they dined and supped. In like sort a traueller must sometimes hide his money, change his habit, dissemble his Country, and fairely conceale his Religion, but this hee must doe onely when necessity forceth. Let mee insist vpon some examples, which are most proper to manifest the truth in a darke argument. My selfe in Italy many times passed for a German, and then consor|ted my selfe with Germans, faithfull companions, as they bee all in generall, haters of drunkennes, as some of them be, either drinking altogether water, or vsing the French diet, and of the same Religion with me, as those are of the Palatinate of Rheme, and in some other Prouinces. Then I couenanted with these my consorts, that when any man spake Dutch to me (though I had some skill in that Language, especially for vul|gar speeches), and most of all if wee were in any long discourse, one of them should take the answere out of my mouth, as being slow of speech, though it were done some|what vnmannerly. Secondly, that if I were discouered (in any dangerous place) not to be a German, as I professed, they should say that I was vnknowne to them, and by the way fell into their company, and so withdrawing themselues out of danger by leauing the place, should leaue to me the care of my selfe. And with these consorts I went to Naples , and there confidently, though lesse wisely, in respect of the warre be|tweene England and Spaine, I entered to view the strong

Fort kept by the Spaniards, and after went to Milan . Another time vnder the name of a Polonian, I went to the Duke of Loraine his Court at Nanzi, where being curiously sifted by the guard at the City-gate, and being asked many questions about the King and Queene and State of Poland, I so satisfied them, as they admitted me into the City, but when at the very entrance they bad me hold vp my hand, which ceremony the French vse in taking of othes, I was much affraied, least they should put me to my oath for my Country, but when they had asked me if I came not from any place infected with the plague, and I had answered no vpon my oth, they let me passe into the Citie.

There is great art for a Traueller to conceale his Religion in Italy and Spaine, with due wisdome and without offending his conscience: for if a man would seeme (as I may say) a Puritan Papist, (which sort they call piachia petti, that is, Brest-beaters), there is danger to fall into the suspition of an Hypocrite. For the Italians well know,

Chi te carezzapin che far' no' suole, O Che gabbato t' ba, O che gabbar' te vuole. Who more then he was wont doth court and woe, He hath deceiu'd thee, or faine would so doe.

And they haue often read that of Tacitus.

Quo magis ficta sunt quae faciunt, eò plura faciunt. The more any doe dissemble, The more to doe they are nimble.

Also the Traueller must beware not to fall into such errors, as I obserued two of my familiar friends (yet in a safe place and free of danger) grossely to fall into. Of which one being a German, and liuing in the State of Florence [264] , when hee returned after dinner to his lodging, and his hostesse asked where hee had been, made answer, that hee came from hearing of a Masse, whereas Masses are onely sung in the morning and when the Priests are fasting. The other being an Englishman, and going to Rome in a disguised habit, did weare apparrell of so many colours, and so strange fashions, as by the same being most strange and vncomely not onely in the sight of his owne Countrymen, but also of the Italians, he drew the eyes of all Iesuites and Romans vp|on him, so as they began to inquire after him, and he hardly escaped thence by speedy flight, and when they pursued him, had fallen into their snares, if he had not been fore|warned of his danger by an Italian friend. To these I will adde a third, who being an Englishman and by freedome of speech voluntarily professing himselfe a French|man, was discouered by me at that time also disguised, and by chance falling into his company, but hee learning at that time, that nothing was more safe then silence, 31 afterwards escaped dangers, into which otherwise he might easily haue fallen.

My selfe liued in Italy, and for the space of one yeere neuer heard a Masse, but daily I went out of my chamber in the morning, as if I had gone to the Masse. At my very first comming into Italy, I presently went to Rome and Naples , and so at my first ente|rance passed my greatest dangers, that hauing satisfied my curiositie, if perhaps in my returne I should happen to feare any danger, I might more contentedly and speedily escape away. For they who stay at Paduoa some moneths, and after goe to Rome , may be sure, that the Iesuites and Priests there, are first by their spies aduertised, not onely of their comming, but also of their condition, and the most manifest signes of their bo|dies, whereby they may bee knowne. Moreouer, I being at Rome in Lent time, it hap|pened, that some few dayes before Easter, a Priest came to our lodging, and tooke our names in writing, to the end (as he told vs) that

[264] Florence

we might receiue the Sacrament with our Hosts family. Therefore I went from Rome vpon Tuseday before Easter, and came to Sienna vpon good Friday, and vpon Easter-euen (pretending great busines) tooke my iourney to Florence [265] , where I staied onely Easter day, and from thence went to Pisa, and before the ende of Easter weeke returned in haste to Sienna , where I had a Chamber, which I kept when I was at Rome , and where I meant now to abide for a time. Thus by often changing places, I auoyded the Priests inquiring after mee, which is most dangerous about Easter time, when all men receiue the Sacrament. Yet indeede there is lesse danger of the Inquisition in the State of Florence [266] , then other where, as there is no danger thereof at all in the State of [267] Venice to him that can hold his peace, and behaue himselfe modestly.

One thing I cannot omit, that some few dayes before Easter, when I was ready to come from Rome , I aduentured to visit Bellarmine, and that in the Iesuites Col|ledge, professing my selfe to bee a Frenchman, and wearing Italian clothes, and that after their manner, which is a matter of no small moment; for if I had not been wary therein, the crastie spies of Rome would easily haue knowne mee by some gesture or fashion of wearing my clothes, which they know to bee proper to the English, as the muffling a mans face with his cloke, or the like. But e|specially I tooke heede, not to gase on the Colledge walles, a manifest signe of a stranger, nor to looke stedfastly in the face of any Englishman chancing to meete mee, whereof some were like to haue knowne mee in the Vniuersitie of Cam|bridge, least by such beholding of them, I might draw their eyes to looke earnest|ly on mee, for one looke inuites another. And with these cautions, I did happi|ly satisfie this my curiositie. Also vpon good iudgement I made my selfe knowne to Cardinall Allan, when I first came from Naples to Rome , and when hee had promised mee his protection, holding my peace, and abstaining from publike offence, I rested thereupon for the worst euents, yet withall, to auoide the con|uersation and familiaritie of Priests and Englishmen, yea euen of those that were of the Cardinals family, I first left the common Inne, then changed my hired cham|ber, taking another in a poore house close vnder the Popes Pallace, as a place least like to be searched.

I doe not commend the curiositie to be present at seeing the rites of a contrary Re|ligion, which was the death of two young men, and gaue occasion to the first Macedo|nian warre, the people of Rome assisting the murtherers, and the King of Macedon desiring to reuenge the death of the two young men. Informer-times, and now to this day, the Turkes vse to fling stones at the Christians (whom they call vnwash|ed dogs, because they vse not Baths) when they come neere to their Moschees or their Sepulchers. The Papists doe no lesse persecute the Reformed Church with fier and sword. And howsoeuer one of the Reformed profession may liue in Italy, and yet neuer communicate with them in their rites, by the foresaid gouerning of the tongue, by going out of his chamber each morning, as if hee went to Masse (for the Italians generally thinke they are not safe till in the morning they haue worshipped the Hostia at the eleuation thereof, which their deuotion is done in a moment), and by changing places of abode, with like discreete carriage, yet since it is dange|rous 32 to see their rites, yea, perhaps sinfull, why should he not re-

[265] Florence
[266] Florence
[267] Venice

straine his curiosity to heare their Masses, and see their cerimonies, especially all the monuments of the Chur|ches being to be seene at another time of the day. But if any will needs be present at their Masses, either to please his companions, or for his owne pleasure, as going to see a stage-play, or for curiositie, wherewith many are led. Of two euils he must chuse the least, namely, rather to signe himselfe with the crosse, or negligently to make of|fer, as if he dipped his hand (or his gloue vpon it, as their manner is) into the holy wa|ter-Box, rather then by omitting these common ceremonies, to fall into suspition, and being called into question, either be driuen to denie his Religion vnder his hand wri|ting, or be burned with fier.

Let them stay at home who are so zealous, as they will pull the Hostia or Sacrament out of the Priests hand. They should doe better to auoide the adoring thereof, by slipping out of the way, or restraining their curious walkes: for inordinate desire of Martyrdome is not approueable, for the auoiding whereof and all snares, we are bid|den ioyne the Serpents wisdome to the Doues simplicity. Saint Paul was not so fu|rious, for he did not cast downe the Altars in Athens, but taking occasion by the Al|tar which Epimenides erected in the time of a plague to an vnknowne God, he preach|ed Christ peaceably vnto them, though he were an Apostle, and so had greater autho|ritie then the blind zealous of our time. For my part, I know no reason, why one of the reformed Church may not say his prayers in the Churches of Papists, and I know the greater part of the Masse (I meane the Diuine Office) is good, but the chiefe mis|chiefe is the adoration or communication of the Hostia. Ismenius an Ambassadour of the Thebans being willed to adore the Persian King, let fall his Ring from his fin|ger, and taking it vp, made a shew to adore the King, yet was not iudged to haue of|fended against the Freedome of the Greeke Nation.

The Papists at the tinckling of a little Bell, lift vp the consecrated Bread, to bee ado|red for the true body of Christ, at which time all that are present fall on their knees, and mumble a short prayer, and onely the more deuout strike their brests, but all Pa|pists beleeue Christ to bee there corporally present. No doubt they erre in that thought, but the question is of the outward reuerence exhibited, how farre that may offend the conscience of the stranger, who otherwise knowes the truth of that point, and beleeues it.

The Lutherans, though they doe not beleeue transubstantiation, yet they beleeue Consubstantiation, which is a corporall presence, yet I neither reade nor heare any follower of Caluius doctrine, who hath positiuely forbidden one of their profession and liuing among Lutherans, to communicate in Prayers and Sacraments with them, if he may not with his owne, and am sure that with common consent they confesse, the Lutherans to haue true Sacraments. William Perkins a late Writer of singular learning and piety, doth reach, that the preaching of the Word, and the administrati|on of the Sacraments, differ not in substance, and that the Word preached by Here|tickes is the true Word of God, as their Sacraments also are true. He teacheth, that the Pharises, though in part hereticks, and Apostataes, yet by Christs command were to be heard, as sitting in the chaire of Moses, so men tooke heed of their false doctrine. He concludes, that the Word hath his power among hereticks. Then so haue the Sacraments, which himselfe saith doe not differ in substance from the Word? Hee teacheth, that some of the Leuits were Heretikes, and did teach after a sort the breach of the Morall Law, and beleeued Iustification by workes, and yet that the Circumcisi|on administred by

them was true. He teacheth that Iudas was an hypocrite, and was called a diuell by Christ, yet that hee truly preached and baptized. From all which points he collecteth, that Infants are not to be rebaptised, because the Sacraments are true, the right forme being vsed, which are administred by Papists. Lastly, hee con|cludes, that howsoeuer the Church of Rome is no true Church, yet it hath true Sacra|ments, because in that Church the true Church is, though it lie hidden, to which these Sacraments onely belong. Yet he denies that it followes thereupon, that it is lawfull to communicate the Supper of the Lord with Papists. I will onely adde one position 33 more of this godly man, in another discourse of his, namely, that in the externall wor|ship of God, the particular gestures are not prescribed by the word of God, so they be done decently and modestly, according to the laudable customes of each Church, ei|ther standing, sitting, kneeling, or lying prostrate.

Some may inferre from this discourse, and the last positions thereof. That the Gods of the Gentiles are Idols to Papists, Protestants, and to all Men, but howsoeuer the Papists Hostia is an Idoll to them, who thinke erroniously of it, yet of it selfe and to others rightly iudging of it, that it is a true Sacrament, and so is to haue auereuerence, according to the custome of the Church wherein a man doth liue. That in like sort a Papist praying before the Images of Christ or of the Apostles, doth sinne, because he bends his knee to them, and thinkes them to be worship|ped, but that if another abhorring from such idolatry, should pray in a chamber or Church where such Pictures are, and should kneele before them, yet he should not sinne, hauing no mind to worship them, or kneele to them. That God will be worshipped with holinesse, not with faction: That some honest kind of dissembling Religion (within due limits) is tollerable; yea, that the out|ward gesture and reuerence vsed in the Churches of Papists, euen to the Sacrament eleuated, is if not lawfull, yet not impious.

For my part, God is my witnesse, that I abhorre from denying my Faith, or my blessed Sauiour in any point of my Faith, and would not for a World employ my tongue or pen to giue encouragement to any wickednesse, yet not to leaue the con|sciences of such as soiourne among forraigne Papists altogether vpon the Racke, giue me leaue to say: That the former positions being granted, I cannot but thinke that there is great difference, betweene those who superstitiously worship one true God in three Persons, (which Article of the Trinity cannot be denied to be held by Papists), and the Heathen Idolators worshipping imaginary Gods, yea very Diuels. That we are not tied to write our Faith in our foreheads, and thrust our selues into the hands of Inquisitors, but may with godly wisdome auoide their snares. Yea, that I cannot condemne the bare kneeling and praying, or outward reuerence in the Chur|ches of Papists, as simply impious, no other circumstances concurring to aggrauate such actions, especially they being done in forraigne parts, where no offence is giuen to weake brethren, (which the Apostle 1 Cor. 8. 13, bids vs auoide); but rather the of|fence of those is auoided, who are Christians, howsoeuer superstitious. And this I am the rather induced to thinke, because none of our Teachers haue (to my knowledge) euer dogmattically forbidden vs to heare a Papists Sermon, at which if wee may be present without sinne, no doubt we may not without sinne omit the reuerence in our gestures due to the word of God from the Chaire of Moses, howsoeuer spoken by the mouth of Pharyses: But for the maine question of hearing a Masse, of adoring the Hostia therein, and of com-

municating that Sacrament with them, I must confesse. That I hold the hearing of a Masse, being alwayes ioined with kneeling to the Hostia, to be questionlesse a sinne, which the godly must bewaile, who by curiosity or any vaine affection haue beene seduced thereunto, because thereby they haue communi|cated in prayers to Saints, without precept or promise, and so without faith; and haue further exhibited the reuerence of kneeling to the Hostia, which howsoeuer it is due to God at the receiuing of the Sacrament, yet to beholders onely of the eleuation, where the Priest onely receiues it, no pretence is left for such outward reuerence or worship. Also I must confesse, that whatsoeuer may be concluded out of the former and like positions to proue that the Papists haue a true Sacrament of Baptisme, yet in the Lords Supper they want the true forme required by Master Perkins to make a true Sacrament, and in my opinion this one thing alone, makes it most vnlawfull for vs to communicate the Lords Supper with them, namely, that they mangle it and make it lame, by giuing it only in one kind of bread, without the other kind of wine, contrary to the institution. And so much may suffice for this kind of simulation.

Moreouer I aduise no man to beleeue that, which some by wofull experience haue of late found most false, namely, that men of any Religion may freely come to Rome in the yeere of Iubily: For the priuiledge of that yeere belongs to men banished and indebted, not to Heretikes, (as they terme vs); In summe they who feare God from 34 their hearts, who see before their eyes the misery of them that are infected with the French disease, and who know the chast pleasures of marriage, they may with honest dissembling and little art keepe their chastity in Italy, where a stranger is not lesse estee|med for not being vicious in that kind, as they commonly are, so he be not an austere and bitter reprouer thereof to those with whom he liueth: yea, rather he shall auoide many dangers by not being riuall to any of them in their loue. In like sort, when hee liues in other Countries, nothing is more easie, then by honest dissimulation to auoid the communicating with them in the proper vices of the Countrey, onely the Ger|mans are like fier, which conuerteth all into his owne element, for singular art must be vsed by him, that will preserue himselfe from drunkennesse among them: And let no man wonder that I say it is easie to preserue chastity in Italy, and most hard to be sober in Germany, since the first is a solitary vice, and hates the riuall, but the second is communicatiue, and requires the emulation of companions, wherein they striue for victorie as in games for the wager. Of the art to shunne drinking, I shall treat in the following Chapter of the Germans diet, by which it will appeare that some dissimu|lation is honest and vertuous, the vice whereof is to be auoyded both at home and abroade, and cannot iustly be imputed to a Traueller of this kinde. To conclude, he that will safely liue abroade, and so returne home, must carry himselfe wisely and wa|rily, so shall he not onely auoide vices, without the blot of rude austerity, and shall without danger both conuerse with Papists, and euen be present at their rites, if hee be so affected, but also with Vlisses shall haue the skill, euen to steale away the Image of Pallas from the Troyans his enemies, without feare of surprisall.

25 It remaines that to a Traueller returning home with experience, I should not giue precepts, as to a nouice, but friendly admonitions, as to a fellow Souldier. First his discourse must not be generally and continually in dispraise of other Nations: for so he shall be wray want of iudgement, except he adde some good reason for all generall and seuerall imputations:

Thus the Italians erre, who comming into England, and see|ing the familiar conuersation of our Weomen, doe repute them for Harlots, who are much chaster then their Weomen would be, hauing like liberty as ours haue. Thus strangers may easily iudge amisse, of the weomen in Freesland giuing kisses to each man to whom they drinke, and taking kisses of each whom they pledge. As also of the Virgins in Holland, who hand in hand with young men, slide vpon the yce farre from their Fathers house, and there lodge in a strange Towne or Village: for these old customes of particular places, are no certaine signes of vnchastity. The Italian Sansouinus grossely erreth in this kinde, being otherwise a man of great wit and iudge|ment, who affirmes that Parents in England take the pillowes from the heads of their children ready to die, out of tender pitty and charity, to put them out of their paine; because perhaps hee heard that some weomen, hired to keepe some that were sicke of contagious diseases, and therefore sent with them into solitary places, had sometimes committed this notable villany. What could he haue said more? if he had liued among the Indians, who eate their Parents, that the wormes may not eate them. I haue heard some complaine of England, for the deare rates of diet, and for the peoples in huma|nity to strangers, because they had beene ill vsed at Grauesend, (where the very Eng|lish are rudely and ill serued), and by some obscure Hosts of London, who vse to en|tertaine and wrong strangers, hauing otherwise neuer visited the Citizens of London, the Schollers of the Vniuersities, Gentlemen, or learned men, nor hauing euer gone further then London into the Countrey, which if they had done; they should haue found these men, and the very Countrey people not onely curteous, but too much gi|uen to admire strangers, so they could make themselues vnderstood, or had with them a guide skilful of the language and fashions. Others I haue heard speake very ill of Italy, whereas there is no Countrey in the World more commodious, to him (as they say) Chi sa far'i fatti suoi, that is, who knowes to doe his owne businesse: We betray our ig|norance or our selfe loue, when wee dispraise forraigne things without true iudge|ment, or preferre our owne Countrey before others, without shewing good reason thereof.

35 They erre no lesse, who like critickes or the Poet Aristarchus, omitting the vertues of other Nations, discourse onely of all their vices. Againe, it is no lesse vnfit to praise forraigne things without good iudgement, as I haue heard some, beyond measure ex|toll the bridge of Prage in Bohemia, the monuments of Saint Dennis in France, and poore antiquities of Rome . This argues a vulgar man, since the vulgar praise small things, admire meane things, and haue altogether no feeling or apprehension of great things.

26 Also I admonish him, after his returne home, to renew his old friendships: and as Souldiers in a good Commonwealth, when the warre is ended, returne to the works of their calling, (like the followers of Mercury, aswell as of Mars), so that he returning home, lay aside the spoone and forke of Italy, the affected gestures of France, and all strange apparrell, yea, euen those manners which with good iudgement he allowes, if they be disagreeable to his Countrey-men: For we are not all borne reformers of the World. Dancing teacheth good carriage of the body, yet we must not alwayes dance; so diuers strange manners teach vs good behauiour, yet we must not vse incon|stancy of manners: Thou didst wisely forbeare abroad to offend strangers, with whom thou didst liue but from day to day, either with thy apparrell or diet, or aulte|rity of thy Countrey manners, and why shouldest not thou

much more forbeare, at home to offend thy own Countrymen, with whom thou art to spend al the rest of thy life, or prouoke them to scoffe at thee for the foresaid vanities disagreeable to them. Alexander the Great himselfe, though he were a most powerfull King, and most graci|ous in his Subiects loue, could not vse the Persians apparrell and fashions whom hee had ouercome, without the great offence and repining of his Macedonians.

Many at the first sight may iudge me to erre in that I perswade the Traueller, when he returneth home, not to vse those manners which in good iudgement hee allowes, in case they be not approued, and vsed by his Countrey-men: But this is good in my iudgement, for confirmation whereof I will onely yeeld one example. The Italian be|ing a great and somewhat viciously curious obseruer of ceremonious complements, when hee hath saluted one, and begunne to entertaine him with speech, if he chance to espy another man, with whom he hath very great businesse, yet will hee not leaue the first man without a solemne excuse: But an Englishman discoursing with any man, (I meane in the house or any chamber of Presence, not in the streetes), if hee spy another man with whom hee hath serious occasion to speake, will suddenly without any ex|cuse turne from the first man, and goe to conferre with the other, and with like negli|gence will leaue and take new men for discourse, which an Italian would take in ill part, as an argument of disrespect. This fashion, and the like curiosities, I would haue an Englishman to leaue when hee returnes out of Italy, as tasting of affected nicenesse, and not in vse: Except hee bee of such place, authority, and grace at home, as he may haue confidence to bring any good forraigne custome or manner into vse and fashi|on in his owne Countrey: 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 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.

Yet I doe not giue this admonition so much, that he may not offend others, as that he may not be offended himselfe by others: For I will be bold to maintaine this posi|tion against the vulgar opinion, namely, that sharpe sences, subtill wits, curious beha|uiour, and like nice properties, sauouring of either extreme, are to be accounted a|mong the owners calamities, and that a certaine dulnesse (in some meane, not in extre|mity) doth giue the owner great ease and quietnesse. For since all the obiects of hu|mane life, are more often accompanied with noysomenesse, then pleasure, it comes to passe, that he who hath a quicke smell, is troubled with more stinkes, then hee is re|freshed with sweet odours, that an eye offended with any the least errour in building, with the very houshold stuffe neuer so little disposed out of order, with negligent at|tire, 36 (though it be not slouenly or sluttish), and with like vnpleasing sights, is more often offended, and sometimes redeemes the pleasing of his eye with extraordinary charge to the purse: That one of a nice taste, finding few things that like his appetite, seldome is pleased with any meat, Cooke or Host, while in the meane time they who haue more dull sences, vse many things with pleasure, and are more rarely offended; That a subtil wit, by all arguments and meanes enlarging each il accident, makes them seeme vnsupportable, and therewith is driuen into phrensie, whiles other men of more dull apprehension, though indeed they be oppressed with worse fortunes, yet

being not able to search the bottom of their distasters, by blockish obliuion giue their soules much rest: For discussing hereof, out of one particular learne to resolue of all. As ho|nour is not in him that receiues it, but in him that giues it, so loue is not the excellency of the party beloued, but the fancy of the louer. Hence it comes, that witty men wound themselues with the edge of their owne wit, while in the meane time they snort in sound sleepe, which are more dull then that loue or like fancies can disturbe their rest: yea, since selfe loue is the very roote of loue, this blind loue of all that our selues doe or thinke, makes the Ouidian enamoured persons faine in their winding imaginations a gracefull comelinesse in meere deformity, as they who see an AEthio|pian Woman blacke, yet loue her vpon the conceipt of her white teeth and soft skin, and so they repute their Mistresse much fairer and more vertuous then indeed shee is, and the more they feed and nourish these fictions of their owne braine, the more they loue her for them, euen to desperate madnesse and meere Idolatry, while in the meane time the duller louers more trusting to their eyes, then to their wits, cannot find out these subtill arguments to deceiue themselues, and so make them loue a blacke More, a squint-eyed, lame, or deformed Mistresse. Hence it is also, that howsoeuer there is but one true beauty, yet diuers fancies find seuerall beauties in each complexion, or rather imagine them such to please their owne fancies.

To conclude, hence it is, that he who at home ties himselfe to the curious manners of Italy, and finds that others obserue not the like towards him, is often enraged, as if he were disrespected, and so takes euery thing for an iniury, being distracted with these falsly conceiued offences, which are taken by him, but not giuen by them who ob|serue not the same nice rules of behauiour as he doth: And my selfe, though neuer very ceremonious, speake this of experience, which hath confirmed my iudgement, that a Traueller must cast away all customes smelling of vnpleasing curiosity, and howsoeuer hee doth well to obserue curiously all forraigne customes and ceremonies, thereby to enritch his knowledge and confirme his iudgement, yet hee must vse them sparingly in his conuersation at home.

27 Lastly, I aduise him, that after his returne, he sparingly and not without intreaty, re|late his iourneys and obseruations. Such must a Traueller be, as may be hired with a crust of bread to hold his peace or to speake: how little then doth it become him to be so talkatiue, as he would hier one to heare him? My selfe haue heard many, who had scarce seene the Lyone of the Tower, and the Beares of Paris h-Garden, (as I may well say in com-Paris on of their small iourneys and experience with other mens), so in|grosse all the talke of the Table in relating their aduentures, as if they had passed the pillars of Hercules: nothing could be asked which they could not resolue of their owne knowledge, hauing well learned the precept of Ouid to Louiers:

Et quae nescieris vt bene nota refer;
What thou know'st not, boldly relate, as if thou knew'st thereof the state.

And this they did with great applause of the ignorant, and no lesse derision of ex|perienced men, who in their discourse had often found them lyers, and well knew that as many hastning out at one gate, passe more slowly, so vessels full of good li|quor, sound not so much as the emptie, and they who vnderstand much, are not so free in imparting it. And these be the men who haue branded Trauellers with the tytle of Lyers, but a wise man ought to distinguish such sponges, from praiseworthie Trauellers. For in all arts, profes-

sions, and courses of life, some take vpon them the skill and facultie of the best, who are commonly most ignorant and impotent therein, 37 and it were great iniustice to ascribe the weaken effe of the one, to any defect in the o|ther, or in the art and course it selfe. Therefore,

Nauita de ventis, de Taur is narret Arator. Let Marriners of the winds force, And Plowmen of their Buls discourse.

but I would haue a Traueller after his returne (like an Orator or Poet) so well instru|cted in all subiects of discourse, as nothing should be altogether strange to him, yet so discreete also, as hee should not but vpon some faire occasion speake of those things, whereof he could discourse most eloquently and iudicially. And since stale Harlots by this art make their putrified wares saleable, how much more shall Trauellers, whose discourse more pleaseth in the stomack then in the mouth, make the very stones and insensible creatures to daunce and hang vpon their mouthes, as they are said to haue been moued by the eloquence and musick of Vlysses and Orpheus.

2

6.13 CHAP. III.

Of the opinions of old Writers, and some Prouerbs which I obserued in fir|raigne parts by reading or discourse, to be vsed either of Trauellert them|selues, or of diuers Nations and Prouinces.

OLD Writers affirme, that the Northerne men, in respect of their heate kept in by the cold, are generally greater ea|ters [Note: Uoraciti] then Southerne men. Thus they proue it; Because all men haue a better stomacke in Winter then in Sum|mer, because Northerne men passing towards the South, daily leese their appetite; and because both men and beasts of the South are more leane, then those of the North. This opinion is of it selfe true, but the arguments for proofe admit some exceptions; for the Turkes to|wards the South be fatter generally, then our men of the North, not that they eate more, but that they are Eunuches, and giuen to idlenesse, I say therefore, that the opinion is generally true, but by many accidents proues false, namely, in places which suffer not the extremity of cold in the North, or of heate in the South, and comparing barren Pastures in the North, with fertile pastures in the South, and vpon like accidents, hindting the true effects.

The fortitude of the minde, and the strength of the body for the same reason they attribute to Northerne men, and shew by Histories that hereupon they were [Note: Forti|tude and strength.] euer Conquerours, as the Medes against the Assirians, the Assirians against the Chal|deans, the Greekes against the Persians, the Parthians against the Greekes, the Romans against the Carthaginians, the Gothes aginst the Romans, the Turkes against the Arabians, the Tartars against the Turkes, the English against the French, euen in France, though the French called in by the English could neuer conquer them.

Lastly, they conclude that the Scythians are most valiant, and the best Souldiers of the World: The truth is, that the Romans were ouerrunne by barbarous people of the North, yet not for their want of valour, but by their dissention, and the vastnesse of their Empire, falling with his owne weight: yet the same Romans subdued, and long held in subiection many Nations of the North, as France, the Low-Countries, and Britanny. And no doubt the hope of spoile, not valour or strength, made the barbarous people ouerrunne the Romans, who might haue beene quiet from them if they had been poore. No man will fish with a golden hooke for a halfe penny fish. Againe, the riches of the Romans, made them effeminate, which likewise incouraged the bar|barous people to assaile them.

But it were fitter to say, that wisdome and wit, rather then heate or cold, make men 38 to be valiant. For no man contemnes death, or hath due respect of honour but hee, with whom reason preuailes more then nature. Nature hath his force, as the Eagle begets not a Doue, but reason, rather then nature, is the cause, that when common Souldiers runne away, yet Gentlemen chuse rather to dye, then escape by flight. Not so much because they are borne of a Noble race, as because they will not be a re|proach to themselues, and their race. Not because Gentlemen dye with lesse paine then the common sort, but because they better vnderstand that the soule is immortall, that he dies in a good cause

who fights for his Country, and that an honorable death is to be preferred before a disgracefull life. In all great Empires, valour and learning flourished together, and decayed together, with the ruines of the Empires following their decay: as in those of the Assirians, Persians, Medes, and the Empires more knowne to vs by Histories, of the Greekes, and Romanes. Therefore howsoeuer strength, and an innated boldnesse, are propagated, and come by Nature, yet true fortitude is not found in the North, nor in the South, nor proceedes from nature, but where learning flourisheth, and cowardise is reputed basenesse, and where the word of God teaching the immortality of the soule, and the vanities of mortall life, most raigneth, there men are most valiant.

Also they affirme, that the Southerne men are more wittie, and more wise, then Northerne, because the barbarous Gothes and Northerne people, when they got [Note: Wit and wisdome.] great victories, yet could not make true vse of them, but lost Prouinces for want of wit and wisedome, in as short a time, as they got them by their valour and strength.

Surely variable fortune did exercise and tosse part of the Gothes, and vandales, yet other part of the Gothes, and the Longobards, subdued the plaine Country of Italy, and these setled a long lasting Kingdome, calling it Lombardie. And though Hanni|bal were a Southerne man, yet of him, after the field woone by him at Canna, it was first said. Hannibal thou knowest how to ouercome, but thou knowest not how to make vse of thy victorie. Besides that wit and wisedome cannot generally be thus ioy|ned in one subiect, except we will graunt that women commonly most wittie, are also commonly most wise. There is a mediocrity required in wisedome. Nolt altum sa|pere. Be not too wise, cuen as Salomon aduiseth not to be too lust, (meaning in out|ward appearance, for the inward man cannot be too iust.) But mediocrity (perhaps) will be iudged rather to be found in the inhabiters of the worlds middle regions. Againe, howsoeuer wee may graunt, that the Italians, in the founding of their Em|pire, by valiant acts and learned writings, left notable markes and euidences of their wisedome, yet in our age they may (perhaps) be preferred to others, for some indow|ments of Nature, but must yeeld the preheminence of valour and learning to some other Nations. The vaine wisedome of man tires it selfe in vaine, while it attributes so many and so great changes in the world, to this or that Clime, or Starre, or any na|turall cause, rather then to looke backe to the first mouer of all humane things, and acknowledge his finger in the disposing of them.

They affirme that the Northerne people are most cruell, and Tacitus accuseth the Germanes, Transsilnanians, and olde Brittaines, of cruelty. Bodine disputes wittily [Note: Crueltie.] against this opinion, first because fat men, as the Northerne, are better men then those who are leane, as the Southerne men be, and he calls Caesar to witnesse, who was not afraid of the fat men, Anthony, and Dolabella, but of the leane men, Brutus and Castius.

In my opinion, fat men, whose heate is decayed, are thereby lesse bold for any great enterprise. Onely I admire Luther, who alone, and weake, did wonderfully op|pose himselfe to the great multitude of Papists, and power of the Popes. But I re|member that Melancton, a leane man, and skilfull in the Greeke and Hebrew tongues, and vniuersally learned, did assist him, yea the Germanes say that Melancton was more learned, and Luther more bold. So as, according to the course of the world, it is like|ly, that Melancton did much in that great worke, whereof Luther bare the name. Besides that we must attribute the happy and wonderfull reformation of Reli-

gion, to higher causes then those vnder the Moone, namely, not to the naturall heate of 39 men, but to the boldnesse proceeding from the diuine heat of the holy spirit.

Bodine affirmes, that Northerne men, because they are fat, are lesse prone to the ex|tremities of good or euill, and so concludes them to be lesse cruell, which he shewes by examples, in that the Carthaginians, and other people of the South, vsed to pull out eyes, to pull off the skinne, to burne with a slow fier, and to impale or set vpon stakes, and to vse like cruelties towards condemned men, and that those of America, vse to smeare their children with the blood of their enemies: whereas on the contrary, the Romans were mercifull, first beheading condemned men, then by the law of percins, forbidding Citizens to be beaten with rods, after punishing by staruing and by banish|ment. In my opinion he might haue added the lenity of the Britans, being more north|ward, where the greatest offences are punished with hanging, except [...], [...] drawing and quartering are added, yet the seuerity thereof is commonly [...], by letting them hang till they be dead. Bodine addes, that Northerne men did alwaies assaile with open force, and were soone pacified, whereas Southerne men assuled with Foxlike craft, and were cruell to those that submitted to them: But in the end, while he confesseth, that the Germans being Northern, break the bones of condemned men vpon the wheele; and that the Greekes being southerly, put to death by [...] of the Hemlocke, and that in Chios they mingle water to make them die without paine, by these contradictions he rather obscures then illustrates that which he would proue.

For my part, while I consider these and like examples, so contrary in both kindes, together with the great changes of the World in diuers times, so as they, whom one age were cruell, become in another age mercifull. While I consider the old in egrity of the Romans, when they reproched the Carthaginians to be breakers of faith, and find them after to become greater breakers thereof, concluding that no faith is to be kept with Heretikes, with which note they brand any enemy at pleasure and bringing in diuellish equiuocation, the plague of integrity, which takes away all faith among men; and lastly, prouing these things not with words, but with fier and sword. Vpon these considerations, I am induced to conclude, not onely for cruelty, but for all vices and vertues: That Southerne men, as more witty, if they be good, proue best, if ill, proue worst, and that the degrees of good or ill, proceed not from wit, but from the application of it to good or ill. Therefore not the North, nor the South, but Phyloso|phicall precepts, godly lawes, and the knowledge of Gods word, or otherwise the wants thereof, make men good or ill, and where knowledge, religion, and good lawes flourish, there vertues are practised, but among barbarous and superstitious people, liuing in Cimerian darkenesse, all vices haue euer, and will for euer flourish. Abraham conceiued iust feare lest for his Wiues beauty he should suffer violence and death, on|ly because the feare of God was not in those places where he soiourned: for this feare of God in himselfe mercifull, and so commanding his children to be mercifull, doth restraine the most fierce natures from offering any wrong to their neighbours. Also Philosophy did keepe the very Heathen within limits of honesty and Iustice, which as the Poet saith;

Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros: Doth soften manners with remorse, And keepes them from a furious course.

In like sort old Writers affirme, that Northern men are most perfidious: but nothing [Note: persidiousnesse] is more easie then in all sorts of men to find ex-

amples of perfidiousnes. [...] witnes|seth that the old Egyptians were naturally most perfidious, yet are they most souther|ly. In like sort, the Southerne Carthaginians were of old most infamous for treache|rous acts. On the contrary, many Histories taxe northerne men, for breaking leagues: Also the Northerne Gothes and Southerne Spaniards, obiected mutuall breaches of faith one to the other. Therefore (as I said) knowledge and religion are the causes of all vertues, as ignorance and atheisme or superstition, are the causes of all vices, neither are these causes hereditary to any clime or nation, but are dispersed through the world by supernal distribution diuersly at diuers times.

They write that Southerne men are rather sparing and frugall then couetous, and that Northerne men are prodigall and giuen to rapine, but the Egyptian Cleopatra [Note: couetous|nes and pro|digality.] passed the Romans and all others in luxury: And at this day nothing can be added 40 to the rapacitie and couetousnesse of the Turks, and more specially of those most to|wards the South, daily exercised both against Christians and among themselues. And this seemes to be attributed to their corrupt and tyrannicall forme of gouernment, and to their ignorance of Religion, as also of liberall and manuall Arts, not to the situation of the Prouinces. I confesse that in generall Southerne men are now more frugall in diet and apparrell then Northerne. But the Iewes and Southerne men are and euer haue beene great vsurers, extortioners, and amassers of treasure, so as they must also be reputed couetous. And as the Italians are most frugall, so haue the Ro|manes in their riches beene monsters for Luxurie. So as rhe clime cannot be the cause. But indeede riches are cause of Pride and Luxurie, as the examples of all times and nations doe teach. And the same riches are cause of couetousnesse, according to the Poet. Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit, As money growes so groweth auatice. Prodigality at this day, not for the climes sake but for some other cauies, may iustly be imputed to Northerne men, yet this vice dispersing treasure vitiously, is not so great a vice as that of rapine and couetousnesse, hiding those treasures, and burying them from vse.

Olde Writers taxe Southerne men most for Iealousie. No doubt the most sharpe [Note: usie.] sights are sometimes dimmed, and so for what cause so euer, it must be confessed, that the sharpe witted Southerne men are to this day madly iealous, alwayes tormenting themselues with this restlesse passion, and vsing their wiues like slaues, yet no whit more freed thereby from fatall hornes, though to preserue their wiues chastitie they permit the Stewes, and that because they liue among men, who no lesse vexe them|selues in finding meanes to enioy these forbidden Loues, then the other are vexed in the courses to preuent their enioying thereof, and because their wiues so watched, thinke themselues to bewray simplicity and ignorant folly, if they omit any occasion of offending this way, though it were with neuer so base a man.

Hauing taxed the wittie Southerne men with iealousie, yet they in generall con|clude, that Northerne men are most suspitious, and that vpon a contrary cause, name|ly [Note: Suspition.] the defect of wit. No doubt they who are most guilty of their owne defects, take in worst part the whisperings and priuate laughters of those that are in their company. Yea I wil say of experience, that I found the Italians nothing nice to shew their strong Forts to me and other strangers, and that in Northerne parts the same were not to be seene by strangers, or at least with great difficulty. By which and like arguments casie to be brought, I am induced to thinke that want of true iudgement is the cause of su|spition,

but not the sole nor yet the chiefe cause thereof. To omit many other causes, sometimes an ill conscience makes men suspitious, as we reade that our tyrant Richard the third, vpon the least shadow or shaking of a leafe, had his hand vpon his dagger. Againe the best and wisest men are iustly suspitious, when they liue among wicked men, or haue necessarie affaires with them. Therefore let Southerne men consider, whether they vse not more to wound their owne consciences with guiltinesse of wic|ked deedes, then Northerne men vse to doe, and whether they be not more iustly to be accused of treacheries, poysonings, and like high crimes, then the other. For no doubt the iealous Southerne men by guiltinesse of these crimes in spite of their wit and wisedome, shall become in all kinds most suspitious.

Olde Writers affirme, that Southerne men are more prone to madnesse then the Northerne, and they report that infinite numbers of mad men are found in Affrique, [Note: Madnesse.] where many Almeshouses are built onely to receiue the sicke of this kinde, and that the South parts of Spayne doe abound with distracted men. And this is agreeable to nature, and the Rules of naturall Philosophie. For howsoeuer the situation of pla|ces cannot properly be the cause of any vertue or vice, yet it is probable, that it may cause diseases or health.

Bodine against the iudgement of Hipocrates, proueth that Northerne men are more venerious then Southerne. First, because our bodies haue greater inward heate in [Note: Venerie.] Winter then in Sommer, and so in Winter are more apt for the act of generation, the same reason being of a Northerne and Southerne bodie, as of Winter and Sommer. I should thinke that the hot and dry Southerne men are most prone 43 to venery, but that the colde and moist Northerne Men are most potent therein.

Againe Aristotle saith, that they who ride most, are most venerious, which Bodine also obiecteth against Hipocrates, who falsely holds that the Northerne mens riding makes them lesse fruitfull in generation. It is most certaine by our and all mens expe|rience, that great part of Asia, and especially the Southerne Prouinces, lie at this day waste or little inhabited, though Poligamy be permitted among them, (I meane the hauing of many wiues for one man), and that all Europe on the contrary is wonder|fully populous, and especially in the most Northerne parts, though no man hath more then one wife allowed him: By this one argument it is most manifest that the Nor|therne men are most potent for generation; And it is no lesse manifest that Southerne men haue more desire, by the multitude of their wiues, their libidinous vsing the loue of boyes, and all mens consent so generall, as it needs no further proofe; yea, men of experience say, that Northerne men only trauelling towards the South, are more and more troubled with this restlesse desire.

Bodine disputes that Southerne men are longer liued then Northerne, (contrary to the opinion of Pliny): First because Elephants, who (as Aristotle saith) haue the longest [Note: [...]] liues of all other, are onely found in the South. I remember that the Turkes at this day repute them old weomen, or past the age of loue, who are come to the age of 25 yeeres, and that my selfe did see few or no men in Asia, who had gray beards, and it any had grey hayres, it was not for the number of their yeeres, but because they grow old soo|ner then Northern men. I cannot so well speake of other Nations, where I liued a short time, and as a stranger; but I remember, that in Benerly a Towne of Holdernes in England, there liued in our age one Iemings a Car-

penter, whom the men of those parts report, to haue liued 120 yeeres, and that he married a young woman some few yeeres before his death, by whom (being of good fame) he had foure children, and that his el|dest sonne by his first wife, then liuing, was 100 yeeres old, or thereabouts, but was so decrepite, as he was rather taken for the father then the sonne. And lest I should seeme by one Swallow to make summer, as the Prouerbe is, the men of Hereford-shire can witnes, that such examples are not rare in England, where in the raigne of King Iames, they made a morrisdance of fifteene persons, all borne in the same County, or within the compasse of 24 miles, who made 1500 yeeres betweene them, some being little lesse then 100 yeers old, and some faire passing that age. Many such examples are not wan|ting in England and Ireland, to proue that Northerne men are longest liued. My selfe haue knowne some, and haue credibly heard of many more weomen, of one 100 yeers age, in these Kingdomes. The Irish report, and will sweare it, that towards the West they haue an Iland, wherein the Inhabitants liue so long, as when they are weary and burthened with life, their children in charity bring them to die vpon the shoare of Ire|land, as if their Iland would not permit them to die. In our-time the Irish Countesse of Desmond, liued to the age of about 140 yeeres, being able to goe on foote foure or fiue miles to the Market Towne, and vsing weekly so to doe in her last yeeres, and not many yeeres before shee died, shee had all her teeth renewed. Againe, Bodine may best be confuted with his owne argument: for as he saith that Sortherne men are longest li|ued, so he confesseth that they are most giuen to venery, whereas they that are like the Cocke Sparrow, cannot be long liued: And whereas old writers affirme that the Inha|bitants of the middle regions are of shortest life, because Southerne men vsed to great heate, and Northern men vsed to great cold, can easily beare them both: but the Inha|bitants of the middle regions, being oppressed both with cold and heate, are sub|iect to these changes of the Ayre, which breed diseases and old age. This seemes to me as if they should say, that custome makes extreme things, but not temperate things, to be tollerable; since those of the middle regions are no lesse vsed to the changes of their temperate ayre, then the others are to the extremities, and their changes.

Giue me leaue to say, contrary to the vulgar opinion, that the purenes or any pro|perties of the ayre, doe not so much cause long or short life, as the changes of ayre by long iournies, or by remouing mens dwellings from one ayre to another, which 42 changes are more powerfull, the more violent they are, and that to men of all climes, whether they iourney or remoue dwelling, from the North to the South, or from the South towards the North. This experience teacheth by many examples. First, of great trauailers, whereof infinite nombers in youth die before they returne home. Secondly, of those that dwell in the Fennes of Lincolnshire, and of Essex in England, where they that are borne, and liue all their dayes in those Fennes, and in that vn|healthfull ayre, liue to be of very olde age, and with good health; but it they remoue dwelling to a purer ayre, soone die, as likewise they that are borne in purer ayre, and come after to dwell in those Fennes, liue very short time. This in generall I say, be|cause many very aged people are found in those Fennes, but particularly I am con|firmed in this opinion, as by many other, so by one pleasant example, of a Husband|man, whom my selfe did see in Essex, who dwelling in the Fennes not farre off, was threescore yeares olde, healthfull, and like to liue long, and within

few yeares past had married and buried eight wiues, all which hee had brought to his house in the Fennes, vpon one Nagge of some fortie shillings price, for these women borne in purer ayre, soone died after they came to dwell with him in the Fennes.

Many proue that Southerne men are most religious, by their sumptuous Churches (in which it is a great trespasse so much as to sper,) by the very Princes of Affrick en|tring [Note: Religion.] the profession of Monkes, by their Fasts, frequent praying, whipping of them|selues, lawes made against irreligious persons, and the Pontificiall habit of their Kings. On the contrarie they affirme that Northerne men (as women and children soone make and as soone breake leagues of amitie) doe soone and greedily imbrace any Re|ligion, and no lesse speedily cast it off againe. As the Ostrogothes and Visigothes, being driuen from their seate, became Christians vnder the raigne of the Emperour Valens, and soone after terrified with burnings, fell from the Christian Faith. And the Gothes in Italy first became Christians, then Arrians. Yea, Gotland soone recei|ued the Christian Faith, and presently returned to their Idolatrie. And the Turkes soone fell to the Arabians Religion. As also Tartares were easily drawne on both hands for the point of Religion. And lastly, the Germanes taxing the Papall frauds (together with their neighbours) did of their owne accord fall from the Popes obe|dience, without any force or violent constraining. But on the contrarie, that Sou|therne men euer did slowly imbrace any new Religion, and howsoeuer they were of|ten diuided into Sects, yet could neuer be drawne to change their Religion without miracles and force of Armes. So as Antiochus by no torment could draw any one of seuen brethren, or their mother that exhorted them to be constant, so much as to tast Swines flesh. It is easie to oppose examples and arguments to the fore-said exam|ples and arguments. If we behold the Temples, Monasteries, Bels, and other old or|naments or religious vestures of our Northerne Iland England, no doubt they farre paste those of the South, where neither the present Churches building, nor the ruines of like olde building, shew the like (if any) magniffcence. Yea, rather the Sepulchres then the Moschees (or Churches) of the South, may be thought sumptuous. Neither want we examples of Northerne Kings (as of the Saxons in England, and Gothes in Italy) who put on Monks habits: nor yet of Nations in Europe, who haue violently with much suffering maintained their rites of Religion. Moreouer, see how these men omit to distinguish superstition from Religion. They confesse that the Northerne men first discouered the Papall fraudes, yet they will also haue them more simple, whence it followes, that the sharpe-witted Southerne men did first see these fraudes, and couer them for feare of the Popes persecutions, or because they esteemed Religion onely a State policie, and knowing the truth yet abstained from reformation. Surely Petrarch, Dantes, and other free wits of Italy did see the Papall frauds before the Ger|manes, and though fearefully, yet plainly pronounced Rome to be Babylox. But our Northerne Luther, when at Rome he had seene the licentious Romanes, and their cri|minall frauds, could not abstaine, but he must needes diuülge these impostures of Re|ligion, and being weake for his defence, yet could not but oppose himselfe to most powerfull enemies. Northerne men are soone drawne with the loue of Religion, the [...] 43 of feare due to God, they like Foxes, may command ouer Lyons, which our good Epimethei at last by the euents perceiuing, doe so much abhorre all hypocrisie and whorish painting of Religion, as by no danger they can

bee frighted from professing truth, whose constancy in suffering persecution for the same is abundantly witnessed, by the multitude of them burnt in France, as Sleyden writes of his owne sight, and by the more violent, at least, more lasting persecution of them by fier vnder Marie, late Queene of England. Therefore let vs say, that Northerne men are easily drawne to the true Religion, and by no terrors can bee kept from reforming corruptions grow|ing therein: for in that without torments, and of free will they are drawne to professe the truth, this proues them most religious; and in that Southerne men still hold their old opinion, this proues, that they preferre the peace of the World, before the peace of Conscience. And in that the Northerne Magistrates (I speake of our Reformed Churches) seeke rather to reach and perswade Religion, then to force it by fier and sword, this proues that they are more godly and milde, then those of the South, who tyrannically persecute their owne subiects differing from them in Religion. Shall I a|tribute it to the constancy of the Spaniards, that they dare not lift vp a finger against the tyrannie of their Clergie? or rather to the basenesse of their minds, and the vnspea|kable tyranny of the Inquisition, punishing innocent and nocent without distinction if they neuer so little crosse the ambitious pride and couetousnesse of the Clergie|men. They who liue in the Kings, and generally approued Religion of their Coun|trie, inioying all priuiledges, these in this particular may rather bee thought secure then religious, and they who dare professe the Religion which they iudge to bee true, though it bee done against their Kings Edicts, and with losse of goods and life, (of which kind wee haue notable examples in Northerne parts) these men doe more feare God then man, and truly deserue to be called religious. Besides it must not bee granted, that all Northerne people haue thus voluntarily and speedily yeelded to the profession of the reformed Religion: for in Ireland farre towards the North, few or none are found of the Natiues, who in this so cleare light of the Gospell haue cast of the Roman Religion. Yet is not this to be attributed to their constancy in Religion, but rather to the lenitie of the reformed profession, which thinkes that the conscience must not be forced, or perhaps to the Magistrates fault, hauing taken small or no good orders to haue the people instructed in the truth, or lastly and most of all to the igno|rant blindnesse of this Nation, which doth not willingly receiue any Rules and Lawes of ciuill life, or religious reformation, or rather frowardly opposeth the same, and so as children prise their bables, they more obstinately retaine the outward Pharisaicall holi|nesse of the South, in burning wax light, hauing Images, and externall pompe of Copes and Processions, and like humane traditions. Lastly, if we shall consider well the aboue mentioned position of old Writers, namely, that Northerne men are more blockish and ignorant, by that reason it will follow, that Northerne men are more hardly drawne from any receiued opinion. For ignorant men are also suspitious, and hardly admit any that bring innouations, the rather because they are lesse capable of their perswading arguments. So the Philosopher said of a Citie in Greece, that the Ci|tizens were so blockish, as they could not be led by eloquence. In like sort the Pro|fessors of Alchumy seldome deceiue any ignorant persons, who would answere as Cicero speaketh of Southsayers: thou promisest mee Kingdomes, and yet beggest a groat of mee: but wee daily see, that witty men and learned, are often caught and drawne to expence by their abstruse darke arguments. Therefore in my opinion it should bee said, that the Religion of Southerne

men, by the outward ceremonies, is, like Sepulchers, sumptuous without, but that the Religion of the Northerne men is glorious within. Or if, setting humane experience aside, we will waight this by the ho|ly scales of the Sanctuarie, wee shall finde vndoubtedly, that wee can neither in North nor South come to God, or flie from him at our pleasure, but that God in what Countrie soeuer, imparteth his light to his chosen children, which hee hides from potent Kingdomes, and men more wise and nightie in their owne sight.

44 Old Writers affirme, that Northerne men haue softer skinnes then Southerne [Note: Softnesse of skinne.] men, as women haue them in generall softer then men. Whereupon Bodine saith, that the transulpine men comming into Italy, are much troubled with Fleaes, and biting Flies. But in my opinion, howsoeuer wee may truly say, that Northerne men haue whiter skins, and many times by the accident of fatnes softer then the com|mon sort there, yet the Ethiopians and other people of Affrique dwelling neere the extremest South on this side the line, as they haue properly white teeth, so is their skinne (howsoeuer tanned) farre softer then the skinnes of any nation whatsoeuer, by the common consent of all men.

They account Southerne men to be most cleanly and neat of body, as well for their frequent vse of Bathing and continuall washings, as for that they will not en|dure [Note: Cleanlinesse] any the least filth or spot vpon their apparrell, especially the Turkes vpon their Tulbent (or white linnen worne vpon their heads,) and keepe their houses in like sort from all filth, but aboue all are curious in keeping their Churches, in which it were no small trespasse so much as to spet, (which in common conuersation they take for an offence, as if he that spets were wearie of their company, and in deede by the Na|ture of the Clime and continuall bathing in hot Bathes, they take away the rheume, so as they are not troubled with coughing and spetting.) It any man obiect that the Germanes vse bathing, if not so continually as the Turkes, yet very often, surely the Germanes vse it not for cleanlinesse, but to dry vp the grosse humours which they get by intemperate drinking, and they are otherwise more slouenly in their apparrell, in their Stoues and all manner of linnen, if they be compared with Southerne nati|ons, and nothing lesse then cleanly if they be compared with other Northerly nations of Europe.

They write that of olde, the Southerne men passed all other in luxurie, as well of apparrell as diet, and they alledge that the Romanes had Oysters out of Britanie, and [Note: Luxurie.] that Anthony himselfe being a Romane, and much giuen to this luxurie, yet was farre surpassed therein by Cleopatra, a more Southerly Queene of Egipt. But at this day it may be confidently said, that they are nothing lesse then luxurious in either kinde, as shall be showed more at large in this volume, and in the Chapter treating of the di|uers diets and apparrell of souerall nations.

The French in Europe, and the Syrians in Asia, but most especially the Greekes in Europe, being all inhabiters of middle Regions, are by olde Writers taxed with leuity. [Note: Leuitie.] Bodine confesseth that the French are more quicke and nimble, and as inhabiters of a middle Region, also more chearefull, since the Northerne men by grosse humours, and the Southerne men by Melancholly, are made more slowe, and in this sence he is content leuity should be imputed to them, for otherwise he brings many arguments, why Northerne men should be light or inconstant, Southerne men should be obsti|nate, and the inhabiters of middle Regions, (among whom he containes the French) should be con-

stant. But how soeuer he cannot haue the patience, to haue leuity (that is inconstancie in word and deede) attributed to the French, yet no doubt by the ge|nerall consent of Nations, the French, in apparrell, gesture, in counsels of peace and warre, and more specially in the raising of ciuill watres, are nothing lesie then con|stant and graue, if they be compared with the wise Italians, and delatorie Spaniards. Besides that leuity, which they put in swiftnesse and nimblenesse, must be attributed to the Irish, aboue any Nation, of the middle, or whatsoeuer Regions.

The olde Writers affirme, that the Southerne Nations are more fortunate, which [Note: Fortunate|nesse.] they proue by many arguments, yet among those, whom they iudge thus fortunate, the Egiptians were euer slaues to more Northerne nations, excepting those ages, wherein their Pharoes, Piolemyes, and Sultans (Rebels to the Emperour,) ruled ouer them. And for the most part Southerne men haue had the fortune to serue others, and no doubt slauerie is no badge of good fortune. If they obiect the olde saying, that all ill comes from the North, it is true that Northerne men haue com|monly conquered the South, and so they bring ill to others, rather then haue it them|selues, and ill may be said to come from the North, rather then to be in the North. 45 But if they iudge the South happy, because it first had the knowledge of Gods word, the Art Militarie, learning, policie, ciuility, and Empires. Some are of opinion that these, and all good or ill things, are circularly caried through the world, and commu|nicated to all Nations at diuers times. And (perhaps) Iustus Lipsius, in our age, ob|seruing this, by the reading of Histories, did thereupon prophecie of an Empire from the West, as if the Spaniards with their West-Indians, should haue the Empireo the World, and all good things that follow it, which hope of theirs, though formerly fea|red our age hath broken. I vndertake not to know future things, as he did, but for the old Writers opinion, this I know that the aboue named fortunate things, came from the East, rather then the South: And if they will needs haue them to come from the South, yet as it first had them, so it first lost them, neither is it so great happines to haue had any good, as it is misery to haue lost it: so as the South may be said to haue beene fortunate of old, but to be miserable now, and the North now inioying these things to be fortunate for the present, yet not to haue been miserable of old in the want of them, which then they knew not, and so neuer desired them: For as the Poet saith; Ignoti nulla Cupido: Vnknowne, vndesired.

Lastly, old Writers affirme, that few or no Diuels are in the South, by reason of the plentifull light, which was thought to driue them away, and the subtilenesse of the [Note: Diuels, and the possessed with diuels.] Ayre, which could not beare them, and that whole Armies of Diuels and Witches were in the North. They are very tender hearted to the Diuels tormented with fier, in giuing them the cold North to in habit: yet of old, they say the gate of hell was at the Lake of Auernus, in the territory of Naples : Haue the Roman Bishops possessed this gate with their squadrons, so as Northerne men can no more passe that way? Hath wickednesse increased? or are they more vnkinde to vs then the Heathen Ro|mans, that now in the age of the World they force Northerne men to find out a new gate at the Mountaine Heela in Iseland? But to speake seriously: The Platonists, and some of the Christian Fathers following them, doe giue bodies both to good and ill Angels. Aristotle and his Peripatetikes, and our Schoolemen following them, hold that Angels are simple and abstract intelligences,

and substances altogether without bodies Zanchius comparing all their arguments, concludes, that Angels may take bodies, and are not in many places at once, but in one place, and moue with these bo|dies as swiftly as the windes, so as nothing can hinder their motion, being made in time vnperceiueable by vs. By which it may be gathered, that their substances, not taking any body, are so subtile, as they need not to be sustained by the Ayre: And if they imagine that Ayry Diuels are sustained by thicke Ayre, yet watry and earthy Diuels, (for such bodies they also giue them), are not hindered by any subtilenesse of Ayre, to compasse the Earth. If Southerne men haue such store of light as they write, let me merrily aske them, why the Southerne, as well Papists, as Turkes burne so ma|ny candles by day-light, which Northerne men vse not in these dayes, nor euer vsed, but as receiued from them: but I grant that the light of the Gospell, (not any other light), driues away Diuels, since the Diuell is the Prince of this World, but not of the Cstildren of light: And the want of the Gospels light makes so many Witches in Lap|land vpon the Baltike Sea, which are most rare in England, (so farre in the North, as the old Romans said they were diuided from the World). Before the preaching of the Gospell, the Druydes in France, the Heathen Priests pronouncing Oracles, and the German weomen foretelling things to come, were as I thinke witches, but all these witchcrafts ceased after the comming of Christ. For Witches and Coniurers, I will not denie them to be here in the North, as in all the World; for the Diuell is euery where ready to deuoure his prey: but prophane Histories, and euen the Holy Scrip|tures witnesse that the Egyptians and Chaldeans, were of old most famous Sorcerers: yea, the very Northerne Weomen, which goe about and tell fortunes, are for the re|putation of their Art called Gypses, and haue their faces tanned, that they may seeme to be Surtherne Weomen, (which sort are in Italy called [...]). In Tripoli of Syria, at Haleppo, and in the Cities of Cilicia, they shew places at this day, where frogs and the very sand are inchanted, with pillars erected ouer the places, lest they should grow [...]

48 Italians loue a fearefull wench, that often flies from Venus sport. To her that at the drinking bench challengeth loue, the Dutch resort.

In loue the Germans are said to be ambitious, the French light, the Spaniards im|patient, the Italians iealous to their great torment.

The Germans gesture or behauiour is said to bee Fencerlike, the Frenchmans soft and gentle the Italians graue, the Spaniards proud.

The German is said to walke like a dunghill cocke, the French in hast speedily, the Italians somewhat slowly, the Spaniards disdainefully.

The Germans looke or countenance is said to be fierce, the French mans flattering, the Italians constant, the Spaniards loftie.

The Germans speech is said to be manly, the Frenchmans sweet and fluent, the Ita|lians winning the Auditors, the Spaniards flexible.

The Germans manners are said to be rusticall, the Frenchmans light, the Italians gracious, the Spaniards magnificall.

The Germans apparrell is said to bee constant without any curiosity, the French|mans luxurious and carelesse, the Italians neate, the Spaniards decent, (me thinks their hose and ruffs are nothing lesse then comely.)

For singing Art, the Germans are said to houle, the Flemmings to sing, the Spani|ards to sob, the French to deskant, the Italians to bleate. Or otherwise: The Italians to lament, the Germans to crie,

the French to sing: or otherwise. The Spaniards weep, the Italians sigh, the English bleate like Goats, the Germans bellow, the French sing.

In speech the Germans are said to be simple, the French ready, the Italians subtle, the Spaniards bragging.

Towards strangers the Germans are said to be vnhospitall (I thinke otherwise), the French Gentle, the Spaniards flattering, the Italians officious (no doubt, if you respect outward Offices)

In conuersation the Germans are said to bee imperious and intollerable (I should say they are peaceable when they are sober, and diuersly affected according to their se|uerall natures, when they are drunken), the French mild (I would rather say trifeling and cerimonious), the Spaniards wary, the Italians wise.

In hatred the Germans are said to be reuengefull (I should grant that they bee cru|ell vpon Victory), the French threatning (sure they depose hatred when the bloud is cold), the Spaniards obstinate, the Italians secret (no doubt, and both they and the Spaniards great reuengers vpon any vnequall termes.)

In businesse, the Germans are said to be industrious, the French carefull, the Spani|ards vigilant, the Italians circumspect.

The Germans are said to bee singular in manuall Arts, the French in Ciuility, the Spaniards in Nauigation, Italians in Learning. But with fauour, I should thinke the Italians were of old more famous for learning, then now they are. And howsoeuer the Spaniards had the fortune to find out the new world, yet they must yeeld to the Brittans and Flemmings in the Art, or at least the practice of Nauigation.

The Italians and Spaniards are said to be wise before the act, the French in the act, th Germans after the act. Otherwise it is said in the Italian tongue: I Spanuoli paieno sauij e sono pazzi: I Francesi paieno pazzi e sono saueij, l'Italiani paieno e sono sauij: I Per|rtughesi ue paieno ue sono sauij: that is, The Spaniards seeme wise and are fooles. The French seeme fooles, but are wise. The Italians seeme and are wife. The Portu|gals neither seeme nor are wise.

In France the Kings Treasurers, in England Dukes, are said to bee fatally misera|ble.

The Germans are said to inuade their enemies land like Lise (that is slowly), the French like Fleaes, (now biting, now driuen away), the Spaniards like Crablise (stick|ing fast.)

The Italian women are said to be giuen to the study of humanity, the French to the 49 learning of languages, the Flemmings especially to the skil of languages, the Germans to houshold affaires.

In apparrell the Italian women are said to be neate and graue (onely the Venetians shew their necks and breasts naked) the French light and variable, the Spaniards proud, the Germans foolish (perhaps because they weare extreme straight sleeues on their armes, and guard one and the same gowne with many and diuers coloured guards), the Flemmings fine (no doubt they, and especially the Brabanders, excell for white and fine linnen, and for generall comlinesse of their garments.)

The Italian women are said to bee sharpe witted, the Spanish blunt (I should hardly thinke it), the French simple (I should rather say most crafty, as most wo|men are euery where), the Germanes good mothers of family (yea exceeding good.)

The Spanish women are said to be painted, the Italians somewhat lesse painted, the French seldome painted, and sometimes the Germaine Virgins (neuer that I obserued, except those of Prussen

haue perhaps borowed this vice of the Moscouites their neigh|bours.)

She is said to bee a faire woman, that hath the face of an English woman, the bodie (from the neck to the nauell) of the French, the other parts of the Flemmish. To this purpose are the verses in Latin;

Triginta haec habeat quae vult formosa vocari Foemina: sic Helenam fama fuisse refert, etc. She must haue thirtie things that faire is counted, In which they say faire Helena surmounted, etc.

the rest I omit for the wantonnesse of them.

The Italians say in their tongue; Queste cose sirichiedono nel'viandante, l'occhio di [Note: Prouerbiall speeches of Trauellers in generall.] Falcone (per veder' lontany), l'orcechie d' Asino (per vdir' bene), il viso di simia (per essere pronto al riso), la hocea di porcello (per mangiar'd' ogni cosa), le Spalle di Camelo (per portar' some conpatienza) le gambe di Ceruo (per fuggir' pericolo) evn' sacchone pien' pieno di danari (perche chi ha danari, signore e chiamato.) That is in English; These things are required in a Traueller, the eye of a Hawke (to see farre off), the eares of an Asle (to heare the least whispering), the face of an Ape (to bee ready to laugh in soothing), the mouth of a Hogge (to eate whatsoeuer is set before him), the backe of a Camell (to beare burthens patiently), the legge of a Hart (to flie from danger) a huge great purse top full of gold (because he that hath mony, is called Lord) We in England vulgarly say, that a Traueller to Rome must haue the backe of an Asse, the belly of a Hogge, and a conscience as broad as the Kings high way.

The Italians say,

Cinque hore dorme vn' viandante, Sette vn' studiante, noue ogni furfante. A Traueller fiue howers doth craue For sleepe, a Student seuen will haue, And nine sleepes euery idle knaue.

The Italians aduise a Traueller: Ch' il suo cauallo sia gouernato d'amico, macaualcato danemico: That he should meate and dresse his horse like a friend, but ride him like an enemie.

The Italian Trauellers say, Da l'hoste nuouo, and da la putana vecchia Die ciguarda: From a new host, and an old Harlot, God deliuer vs.

Of the Cities in Germany, they say in the vulgar tongue: Vlm die reichest, Augspurg [Note: Prouerbiall speeches in particular of Germany, Bohemia, and Sweit|zerland.] die hoffertigest, Trier die eltest, Nurnberg die Witzigest, Strasburg die edlest. That is: Vlms the richest, Augsburg the proudest, Trier the eldest, Nurnberg the wittiest, Strasburg the noblest.

That all Germany is blind, onely Nurnberg hath one eye.

Of the Bishopricks vpon the Rheine. That Chur is the highest (because it is seated vpon the highest Alpes, neere the Spring head of the Rheine), Costnetz the amplest. 50 Basil the sweetest or pleasantest, Strasburg the noblest (because no man is a Canon of that Church, which is not an Earle or a Baron of seuenteene discents) Spire the most religious, Metz the most venerable (as the chiefe among the Electors Clergy-men), Colen the richest, Trier the most ancient.

The Italian Curtisans say, that a German makes loue like a Clowne, doth that worke like an Asse, and paies like a Prince: which the Germans also say in the same words of their vulgar tongue; Eine Deutscher bulet wie ein bawer fúchst wie ein esel, vnd bezalt wie-ein fúrst.

The Germans say, that Suenia alone hath whores, Franconia robbers and beggers, Banaria pilfering theeues, Heluetia hangmen and Baudes, Frasia and Westphalia periu|red persons, and Saxony drunkards, more then enough to serue al long and broad Ger|many.

That the Students of Gena ply the Citterne, those of wittenberg the pot, and those of Leipzig the playing at Cards.

That the Citizens of Lubeck are Lords, those of Luneburg Gentlemen, those of Ham|burg Clownes, and of the Hamburgers these verses are vulgar,

Hamburgenses sunt velu: erses, semper acuti, Praelta poscunt, nec bene noscunt ensibus vti. Hamburgers be, like swords we see, sharpe to dandle, Haue warres they will, yet haue not skill, swords to handle.

That West-Phalians deuoure gammons of bacon, and haue poore Innes (vulgar|ly arme wirish iusen), browne bread (vulgarly cranck broat, that is, sicke broad), thin drink (vulgarly dinne bier) and long miles (vulgarly langhen meylen.) And to this Prouer|biall speech is added in the vulgar tongue; gloubst du night, lauss da, zu beschawen: that is, If thou beleeuest not, walke thither to trie it.

Of Hessen Land they haue this vulgar rime.

Hohe berg, vnd lesse thall, grobe speisse vberall. Hart bett, vnd sawre wein, wer wolt ihm land zu hessen sein. High Mounts, and Vallyes deepe, with grosse meates all annoide: Sowre wine, hard beds for sleepe: who would not Hessen land auoid?

The Silesians in reproch are called Esellfrasser, that is, deuourers of Asses, and the Si|lesians She Asse, is called the mother of Hares. And if any German will put the Aise vpon another cunningly, he will say, that the other was neuer in Stlesia.

The Sweitzers are by the Germans in reproch called [...], that is, Cow mil|kers, because the men vse to milke Cowes.

Bohemia I passed with speede, and was vnskilfull in the language, so as I neuer obser|ued any prouerbiall speech among them of this kind, neither hath it been my chance since that time to reade any such speeches in approued Authors.

Among the Cities of Netherland, Harlam is called great (though at that time the [Note: Prouerbiall speeches of Netherland or the Low-Countries.] designed building of Amsterdam made it much greater in circuit.) Leyden is called faire, Delph rich, Terg Catholike. Those of Bruxelles are called deuourers of Pullin, or Capon-eacers, the Hollanders rude (vulgarly plump) and the Netherlanders in general hasen kopen, that is, Hare-heads, and because they feede much on butter, they are called butter mouthes, and because daily passing to and fro in ships, they vse for auoiding of greater expences in Innes, to carry with them boxes of butter, they are also called but|ter-boxes by the English.

As I passed hastily through Denmarke and Poland, being ignorent in the languages, [Note: Of Den|marke and Poland.] I did neuer heare any such Prouerbiall speeches among them, neither had I euer the hap to find any such in approued Authors.

Touching the Cities of Italy, it is prouerbially said among them. Romala santa, Pa|duoa [Note: Prouerbiall speeches of Italy.] la dotta, venetia la ricca, Fiorenza la bella, Milan o la grande, Bologna la grassa, [...] l'antica, Napols gentile, Genoria Superba. That is: Rome the holy, Paduoa the learned, Ve|nice the rich, Florence [268] the beautifull, Milan the great, Bologna the fat, Rauenna the anci|ent, Naples the Gentile, Geneue the proud.

In generall, the Italians are said to be mad twice in the yeere, at Shroftide (for their 51 vnspeakeable luxury in meate, wantonnesse, and all pleasures), and in Lent (for the no lesse wonderfull superstitions of that time) For speech the Hetrutians

[268] Florence

are said to bee elegant, the Milan esi voluble, the Venetians slow, the Genoesi and Bergmaschi ridiculous. The Milan esi are said to excell in the study of the Ciuill Law, the Florentines in naturall Philo|sophy, the Calabrians in the Greeke tongue, the Neapolitans in the Hetrurian or Tuscane tongue, those of Lucca in Diuinitie. those of Bologna in the Mathematicks, the Venetians in Musick, those of Ferraria, Paduoa and Salernum in Phisick, those of Sienna in Logick, those of Perusium in the Canon Law of the Popes, and those of Pania in Sophistrie. They say, that the Merchants of Florence [269] are crafty, those of Lucca couetous, the Venetians most bold (hazarding all in one ship), those of Milan honest (so as if they bee put to it, they will confesse, that the house they sell is infected with the plague.) The Calabrians are laid to be officious to strangers in hope of gaine, the Neapolitanes to loue all that excell in any ver|tue, those of Lucca to reuerence strangers, and to defend them from wrongs. The Floren|tines to be officious towards them without hope of gaine, and to communicate their for|tunes and counsels to them, if they stay long there. The Venetians to be officious in words. Those of Padnoa to be in hospitall, and likewise those of Genoa , euen towards those who haue deserued well of them. The Bergomaschi to be so inhumane as to hate strangers. The Milan esi to be officious towards them, euen to their owne domage. Those of Parma to be tourtous, but within short time to be weary of them. And those of Ferraria to be secret to|wards a stranger, though they haue eaten a bushell of Salt with him. The Milan esi are said to be little iealous, and to hate fat women. The Mantua ns to loue women that can dance. The Florentines to loue a modest woman, and one that loues home. The Neapolitanes to loue a stately high-minded woman. Those of Lucca are said to loue constantly, the Vene|tians contrarily, and to desire fat women with great dugs, but to loue without choice, and to force them if others haue inioyed. The Ferrarians to hate their riuall. Those of Sienna to be rapt with faire faces. Those of Perusium to loue them white teeth and grey eyes. Those of Padona to loue women with little brests, which makes their women vse the iuyce of Plan|tane to keep them from growing. Those of Genoa to loue feruently, and to desire fat women, to be temperate in the vse of them, and to hate those that smell of perfumes. Those of Pia|cenza to be iealous, and once offended, to practice the murther of their Mistrisse and riuall. Those of Cremona to loue one skilfull in musicall Instruments. Those of Rauenna one ruled at a beck. The Pisanes a plaine dealing open harted wench. Those of Crotona to think them|selues neuer beloued enough, and to kill themselues if they cannot enioy their loue. Those of Pistoia seldom be iealous, but to hate the very wife of him that is of another faction. And those of Viterbo when their lust is satisfied, to set their Mistris to sale for profit. The Nea|politanes are said to wooc by horsemanship and tilting. Those of Milan with feasts, and by slandering the women that refuse them. Those of Ferraria by praises. Those of Mantuoa by maskes or dancing. Those of Perusium by threatning. The Venetians by boasting and mag|nificence. Those of Bologna by gifts. The Florentines by Sonnets. Those of Sienna by fai|ned teares. Those of Lucca by obstinate louing. Those of [270] Verona by obsequiousnesse. The Romans and Aretines by witty iests. In diet, the Neapolitanes are said to be gorgeous or honorable (spending more sugar then bread). The Florentines sparing,

[269] Florence
[270] Verona

but wonderful clen|ly. Those of Lucca (therein as in al things) to keepe the golden meane. The Tyberine peares, and Martiolane cheeses, are accounted dainties. Those of Genoa to be of a most slender diet, and no clenlines. The Mantua ns to feede on base pease. Those of Ferraria to be in hospital. Those of Paduoa to sup with an half-penny worth of fish. The Venetians to spend little for meat. Those of Sienna to keepe an honorable diet, and to hold Kids flesh, and fresh Cheeses for great dainties. Those of Milan to haue a plentiful diet, and to inuite appetite with sharpe things. The Nouocomians to eat without end, and drinke stoutly Those of Piemont to eate after the French manner, and those of Ancona to liue most basely for their diet. The women of Lucca are accounted honest, and skilfull in Cookery. Those of Sienna faire and well affected to Poets. The Florentines delicate, and good at the needle, and matters of the Family. The Pistoians deceiuers. The Perusians delicately handed, and delighting much in fishing. The Nouocomians to blesse their husbands with the Rams horne. The Romans to seeme religious. The Cayetans to be painted and lustful. The Capuans proud, and excellent in nothing. The Neapolitans delighted in flocks of maid seruants and louers. The Beneuen|tants to be of rude beauty. The Picenes desirous to be obserued by their husba ds. The Bo|nonians 52 to be somewhat browne coloured with a body full of iuyce, and louing sighes and teares of their sutors. The Ferrarians robbers of those they loue. Those of Vrbino seeming of a rude nature, but none being more gentle. Those of Parma couetous and hard. Those of Piemont euer begging. Those of Genoa lecherous, talkatiue, faire, bountifull to their Louers, and alwaies adorned with sweete flowers. Those of Sienna (liseiate fin'alla fossa), painted to the very graue. The Venetians of a variable disposition, very iealous, and some of them gi|uing the vse of their bodies freely without reward (but I should thinke there be few such, for they pleasantly scoft'at our English women, that they giue the fruit of loue to their louers for charity (vulgarly per amor' di Dio, as they giue almes to beggers) and affecting to haue yellow haire, white skins, and cherry cheekes, all by art, and to haue short legs. And of the Veneti|an most famous Curtizans, it is prouerbially said, Son grasse di stracci, bianche di calcina, rosse di belito alte di zoccole: They are fat with cloutes, white with chalke, red with painting, and high with shooes. In generall it is said of the Italian weomen: Sono gazze ale porte, Sante in Chiesa, capren'i giardini, Diauoli in casa, Angeli instrada, Sirene alla fenestra. They are Mag|pyes at the doore, Saints in the Church, Goates in the garden; Diuels in the house, Angels in the streete, and Syrens at the window. Of Rome this verse is prouerbiall.

[Note: Particu|larly of the Itali|an Ci|ties.] La corte Romana non vnol' pecora senza lana, Curia Romana non quaerit ouem sine lana:

The Court of Rome cannot abide, To haue a sheepe with a shorne hide.

The old Romans by these letters, S. P. Q. R. did signifie Senatum Populum Que Romanum), the Senate and people of Rome , and they being grauen vpon the gates of the City, one did pleasantly thus interpret them: Stultus Populus Quarit Romans: That is; Foolish people seeke Rome . These verses also are prouerbiall.

Roma vale, vidi, satis est [...]; reuertar, Cum Leno, Macus, scurra, Cynedus ere, Rome farewell, I haue thee seene, well for me, And then I will returne againe to thee. When Lecher, Iester, Ingle, Bawdelle be.

Of Genoa it is said Mar' senza [...], montagne senza legni, huomini senza fede, Donne senza ver|gogna, Mortbianchi, Genoa superba. That is: The sea with-

out fish, Mountaines without wood, Men without faith, Weomen without shame, white Mores, Genoa the proud. Sienna is said to abound with Fountaines, Towers, and faire women: And they say in the vulgar tongue; Sienna di sei cose piena: Di Torre e di campane, di scolarie di putane, di becchie di Russiani. Sienna is full of sixe things, Towers and Bels, Schollers and Whores, Cuckolds and Bawdes. They of Sienna haue a Prouerb: That a stranger once drinking of the Fountaine Brando, must needs stay there (as surprized with the loue of the City). But the Florentines in their reproch say;

Chi beue di Fonte Brando, diuenta-matto. Who of the Fountaine Brando drinkes, becomes a Foole.

The Florentines are said stoutly to reuenge the breach of Faith, and to be mindfull of be|nefits, to haue Armes of Iron (for their industry), and the bodies of Antes, (for their spare dict). It is vulgarly said of them: Chi disse Fiorentino, non disse burla, che ditre cose ti fanno do|uitia. A Die, A Reuederci, vuoitu nulla? He that spake of the Florentine; said well, that they giue plenty of three things: God keepe you, Health till we meet againe; Will you any thing with me? It is vulgarly said: I Bergomaschi hanno il parlar' grosse, and il far' sottile: Those of Bergame are grosse in speech, but subtill in action. Againe, Il bianco and il nero (cioe pepe and cottone) hanno fatto venetiaricca. Blacke and white, (that is, Pepper and Bumbast), haue made [271] Venice rich. Againe, Il Podesta di Senigallia, comanda, e poifa. The Mayor of Senigallia, commands, and then doth it himselfe. In reproch of Modena it is vulgarly said: Mener l' Orsia Modena. To leade Beares at Modena. Againe, Dala Marca Asinie Pedantifamosi. The Marchians haue famous Asses and Schoolemasters: And they say vulgarly that a great lie is, Bugia Marchiana, that is, a Marchian lie. As I hastily passed the vast Empire of the Turks, [Note: Of Tur|key.] and being ignorant of the vulgar languages, I neuer heard any such Prouerbe, neither think that the vnlearued Turks trouble their braines with these Laconicall sentences. Onely a|mong the Italians I heard this Prouerbe in their tongue. In Cipro tre cose a buon' Mercato si danno, il Sale, il Zuccaro, e le putane. In Cyprus three things are good cheape, Salt, Sugar, and Whores. In France they say prouerbially: Qui feit Picard, il feit la hart (dit le Norman): Pour pendre le Norman' Couard (dit le Picard) who made a Picard, made a rope (saith the Norman): [Note: Of France.] To hang the coward Norman (saith the Picard.)

53 Againe, Qui feit Francois, ilseit curtois: Qui feit Breton'il feit larron. He that made a Frenchman, made a curteous man; He that made a Britan, made a theefe.

The French in reproch to the Normans, salute them with this counterfet or made word; Fla-va-gou-la-men, as if they should call him, Flateur, vanteur, goula, larron, Men|teur, that is, flatterer, bragger, glutton, theefe, lyer.

They vulgarly say, Gascon testeverte: Gascon green head, as rash in anger: Bourguig|non Sale: The salted Burgundian, which reproch grew, of a strange cruelty vsed by the Citizens of Aiguesmortes, against a garrison of Burgundians, who in the Raigne of Charles the seuenth, and in the yeere 1422, by a sudden conspiracy cast out and kil|led the Burgundians lying there in garrison, and salted their dead bodies in a vessell of stone, which they shew to this day.

They name three iurisdictions or commonalties, which it seems of old had foolish and great priuiledges; La Basoche de

[271] Venice

Paris : Les Cornards de Rouen: La Mere Folle de Dijon.

Of the Cities they say; Paris la grande (the Great) Rouen la riche (the Rich) Orleans la belle (the Faire) Dijon la Folle (the Foolish). Angers, basse ville, hauts clochers, riches, pu|taines, pounres Escoliers: Low City, high Steeples, rich Whores, poore Schollars.

They say vulgarly, Les Badauts, (the Fooles, or as we say Cocknies) di Paris : Les Cornards (the foresaid society of horned) Di Rouen. Les Gue spins, (the word hath some reference to Vespae, a Latin word, signifying those that carry dead bodies to be buried by night, but the French can hardly giue a true signification of it) d'Orleans. Les Co|pienx, (the copious, for their art in ieasting), de Flesche. Les fanx tosmoings (the false wit|nesses), quatorze pour vn'fromage (foureteene for a Cheese), du Manz: [...] (the no|uices or simple men), de Solongne, qui s'abusent toussiours a leur profit, (which are abu|sed alwaies to their owne profit, as if vnder colour of simplicity, they were most crafty).

Of three Cities of Champaigne: Les Graniers, (the Garners as full of Corne), de Chal|lons. Les Caues, (the Cellars as full of wine), de Reims. Les Bourses, (the Purses as full of money), de Troyes.

They say vulgarly, Ily a plue de Monmartre a Paris , que de Paris a Monmartre. This speech Ily a is ambiguous or of diuers significations: vulgarly it should be thus vn|derstood. It is further from Monmartre to Paris , then from Paris to Monmartre: but in this place it is thus meant. There is more of Monmartre within Paris , then of Paris vpon Monmartre; because almost all the Houses of Paris are plastered ouer, and the matter of this plaster is daily brought into Paris from Monmartre.

Also A Monmartre Ily a plus de Putains, que de vaches: Mais ostes en les Nonnains, Ily au|ra plus de vaches que de Putains. At Monmartre there be more Whores then Cowes: But take away the Nunnes, and there will be more Cowes then Whores. Also, Fromages (Cheeses) d' Auuergne. Angelots (a kinde of Cheese) de Brie. Andouilles (Intrals or Trypes) de Troye. Saueisses (Sawsages) du Pont l'Euesque. Chapons (Capons) du Mans. Moutarde (Mustard) de Dijon, Pruneaux (Prunes) de Tours. Marrons (great Chesnuts) de Lyon. Pain d'espice (Spiced Bread) de Reims. Raues (rape rootes) de Limosin. Pesches (Pea|ches) de Corheil. pain (Bread) de Genesse.

The Italiaus say, that the manner of the French, is; Di non dire quando vogliono fare, di non legger' come Scriuotio, e di non santare come notano. Not to speake that they will doe, not to reade as they write, not to sing as they pricke.

England in generall is said to be the Hell of horses, the Purgatory of Seruants, and [Note: England.] the Paradice of Weomen.

The Londiners pronounce woe to him, that buyes a horse in Smyth-field, that takes a Seruant in Pauls-Church, that marries a Wife out of Westminster. Londiners, and all within the sound of Bow-Bell, are in reproch called Cocknies, and eaters of buttered tostes. The Kentish men of old were said to haue ray les, because trafficking in the Low-Countries, they neuer paid full payments of what they did owe, but still left some part vnpaid. Essex men are called calues, (because they abound there), Lanka|shire egge-pies, and to be wonne by an Apple with a red side. Norsorlke wyles (for crafty litigiousnes): Essex stiles, (so many as make walking tedious), Kentish miles (of the length.) 54 Northumberland men (exercised in roades vpon the Scots) are accounted best light horsemen. Cornish men best horse riders and Wrastlers, and most ac-

tiue men. Lin|colneshire Belles and Bag pipes, Deuonshire Whitepots, Tewksbery Mustard, Banberry Cakes, Kings-Norten Cheese, Sheffeld kniues, Darby Ale, are prouerbially spoken of.

I hastily passed through part of Scotland bordering vpon England, and had no skill [Note: Poland and Ireland.] in the Irish tongue, so as I obserued no such Prouerbs in those Kingdomes.

The second Booke.

2

6.14 CHAP. I.

Of the fit meanes to trauell, and to hire coaches and horses.

HEreof I must intreate briefely, and howsoeuer the subiect be large, yet I wil compendiously restraine this my discourse, [Note: Germany and Sweit|zerland and Boemerland] praying him that desireth more plaine instruction in any particular, to reade the following discourse in this third Part of these Nations diet in generall, and expences in their Innes, as also to gather particular obseruations for his vse out of my daily iournies, related in the first Part.

The greatest part of Germany is a plaine Countrie, with few Hilles, and almost no Mountaines, but it is full of vast Woods, and the soile is either sandy, or for the most part drie, and little subiect to durt, so as they vse commonly coaches for their iournies, which are easily to be found in any City, neither shall a passenger long stay for com|panions to fill vp the coach, so as by this constant manner of trauelling, hee shall not be put to any extraordinary charge. From Hamburg to Nurnberg, being nine daies iourney. I remember that sixe of vs in company, hired a coach for fifty dollers. That fiue of vs for two dayes iournies paid fiue dollers. That foure of vs for three daies ior|ney payed seuen dollers for our coach. But in our iourney from Hamburg to Nurn|berg we paied for our coachmans diet, himselfe paying for his horses meate, whereas in the other iournies he paied also for his owne diet. The ordinary coaches hold sixe consorts, but those of Nurnberg receiue eight, bearing two in each boote on the sides. But if companions bee not readily found to fill the coach, the passengers shall doe better in going forward with such company as they haue, and the coachmen will ra|ther goe for lesse then stay in the Inne, and spend more in expecting the full number. The top of the coaches is made with round hoopes (couered with lether, or for the most part with black cloath) which are buckled together in the middest when it raines, or the weather is cold, for otherwise the hoopes fastned with staples of Iron to the bo|dy of the coach, fall backward to the ends, so as the passengers may sit in the open aire. In lower Germany a passenger commonly payes about foure Lubeck shillings for each meale. In middle Germany he shall pay about foure Batzen. And in higher Germany he shall pay about sixe or seuen batzen each meale, and all passengers sit at one common table. At the foote of the Alpes, where the fall of waters make the waies durty, they vse to ride on horsebacke. Sweitzerland consists of hilles and Mountaines, so as they like|wise trauell on horsebacke. And there the passenger shall commonly pay some fiue or sixe batzen each meale.

The horses in both places are to bee hired for sixe or seuen batzen by the day, but the trauellers expence is doubled, by paying as much for the dayes in which the 55 horse returnes empty: Besides, that hee must hire a Foote-man to bring backe his horse, and must also beare his charges by the way, which greatly increaseth his ex|pence in these Countries yeelding wine, the Foote-men being as good or better dua|kers then the horsemen. In vpper Germany a horse-man shall pay daily about thir|ty Creitzers for Oates, and about sixe for Hey. In lower Germany about [...] shillings for Oates, and almost the foresaid value for Hey.

This I write more particularly, because

he that trauels for Italy, cannot take a more frugall course, then to buy a horse in Germany, which he may sell for gaine in [...], especially if hee sell him by the way, being within few daies of his iourneys end, whence he may passe by hired coach or horse to Padoua: For it he bring his horse thither, those that are to buy him, are such crafty knaues, and will so conspire toge|ther against him, as he shall be forced to sell his horse vnder hand, being made weary with the great charge of his meate: but this frugalty hath some difficulties if the passenger haue no skill in the tongue, (in which case hee must hire an Interpreter), and if he haue not horse-men to accompany him, because they passe alloy coaches, yet if this horse-man will follow the coach, hee may with a small gift induce the coach-man, to teach him the meanes to prouide for his horse: but this [...] is taken away; when he once comes as high as Nurnberg, to which place it is more easie, though deerer, to passe by coach.

It is a matter of small moment, yet not vnfit to bee obserued, that the [...] coach men of Germany, haue this custome, that the coaches comming downe from the vpper parts, giue the way to those that come vp.

All Men speake strange things of the Alpes, and such as will hardly be beleeued by [Note: The Alpes.] those, that haue not seene them. The way from Vienna to Padoua is plaine, yet lying betweene high Mountaines, and fetching many compasses, so as it is sit for horse-men, but I passed that way in the company of a coach, which went slowly in the slo|ny wayes, and was hardly by force of mens shoulders kept from failing. The way from Augsburg to Padoua is like this, and of both thoseiourneys I haue spoken at large in the first Part. My selfe weary of expecting companions and violently carried with the desire to returne into my Countrey, did all a one, without any one in my compa|ny, (which I thinke few or none euer did), passe ouer the Alpes, from Bergame to Chur, saue that sometimes I hired a Foote-man to runne by my horse, and to guide mee for a mile or two. In this iourney through the Grisones Countrey, I sometimes (not without horror) ascended very steepe passages of Mountaines, lying with my face on my horses necke, whose bridle I left free to him, holding my selfe with one hand on his maine, and the other on the saddle. Woe to me, if any Mares had then passed that way, at the sight whereof my horse vsed to be so surious, as many times at straight passages, and steepe fals of the Mountaines into low vallies, I was forced to light from him, and on foote to holde his bridle; and yet sometimes hee was so fierce, as he plunged out of the way vp to the saddle skirts in snow, so as I could hard|ly recouer him. The passages ouer the Alpes towards Geneua and Saucy, especially the Mountaines called Farca and Gothardo, are most dangerous of all others. The fittest times to passe the Alpes, are the Winter moneths, when no snow is newly fallen. and the old snow is hard congealed, or else the moneths of sune, Iuly, and Au|gust, when the snow neere the high wayes is altogether melted: For the middle mo|neths are very vnfit, either by falling of new snow, or by melting of the old, neither can any man passe, before the Officers appointed to haue care of the way, haue ope|ned the same. My selfe passing ouer the more easie Alpes, in the moneth of Iune, did often heare Mountaines of melted snow fall into neere Vallies, with as violent ru|shing, as if whole Cities had fallen by an Earth-quake Ouer the Alpes towards Gene|ua and Sauoy, passengers are sometimes carried vpon sledges, sometimes with gloues and shooes full of nailes, they creepe ouer them on hands and feete, and in both these kindes, their

Guides euer warne them, to turne their eyes from beholding the steepe fals of the Mountaines into most deepe Vallies. For sometimes it hap|pens, that in a turning or winding way, the sledge whereon the passenger sits, is cast 56 out of the way, and hangs downe into a most deepe valley, with the passengers head downewards and his heeles vpward. Woe be to him then, if hee let his hold goe, or the harnesse tying the sledge to the horse should breake: yea, very Mules and Asses, going most slowly, and so most firmely, yet sometimes fall into deepe val|leys, and so perish in the snow. My selfe in my iourney from Padona to Augsburg, being a lesse difficult passage, did see an horse boggling at a casuall noise, tumble halfe a mile into a valley, with his heauy loade vpon his backe, yet haue no harme, the snow being so congealed as it bore him vp, so as his Master by a large cir|cuite brought him safe againe vp to the rest of his horses, on the Moutaines top.

Bohemia is all plaine, but often rising into low and fruitfull hils, so as there (as in Germany) they iourney most in coaches. A passenger in this Kingdome shall pay some fiue Bohemian Grosh, or vpon the Confines towards Nurnberg, some eight|teene or twenty creitzers, for each meales meate: yet at Prage in most Innes, the Bo|hemians themselues vse to diet by the meale, but vpon account, the Hosts hauing lit|tle or nothing for diet in the House to sell, but buying most things without dores for the Guests.

In the Low-Countries Trauellers passe most in long narrow Country Waggons, [Note: Low-Coun|tries.] the sides thereof being like Rackes for horses, and acrosse ouer them short and some|what narrow boards, being fastened for Passengers to sit vpon, two in a ranke, so as they hold some eight or tenne passengers; And they haue goodly Mares to draw these Waggons, vsing their horses for the troops in their Army, or exporting them (as sometimes their Mares also) to sell in forraigne parts. I did neuer see the meanes of passage so ready in any place, as these Waggons here at all times are, before the doore of the Waggoners Inne nor consorts so readily found to all places, whereof the num|bers are infinite passing both by Waggon and boate: Neither did I euer see Trauel|lers passe at so easie rates, (I meane for their passages, not for the Innes), so they haue not heauy luggage: For in that case, the Waggons being left and taken at the gates of the Citie, (as I thinke not to weare the bricke pauements with their wheeles), and the waggons being often changed in each dayes iourney, this carriage to his Inne and from it so often, must needes be a great burthen to his shoulders, or charge to his purse: The Waggoners being commonly drunken, driue their Mares like mad men, yet without danger of turning ouer their Waggons, because the wayes are most plaine, faire, and sandy. From Delph to Hage, being two houres iourney, with con|sorts I paied two stiuers for my Waggon, and alone I paide seuen. The way lies be|tweene ditches, and is plaine and safe, the Countrey people continually repairing it: For otherwise the wayes in this low watry soyle, could not be so drie and sandy as they are. And because they cast vp sand vpon the passengers, some curious men vse spectacles of glasse to preserue their eyes.

On all sides from City to City, they haue ditches cut, vpon which boates passe almost euery hower to and fro, and giue passage at a low rate, and the wind being faire, they beare sayles, otherwise they are drawne by horses or by Marriners, with a rope fastened vpon a pole, set vp in the hinder part of the boate, and the Marriners being commonly drunke, through their too much hast and negligence, it often hap|pens, that the ropes wherewith the boates are drawne, catch hold on some

posts and stakes by the way, or chance to be intangled with the horses or roapes of other boates, meeting them, and so ouerturne them in the water, with no small danger to the pas|sengers The rates of passages by boate are diuers, but euer small. My selfe haue passed three miles for foure stiuers, seuen miles for sixe stiuers, and foureteene miles (as from Amsterdam to Harlingen) for eight stiuers. The Marriners vse not to deceiue strangers in the rates, neither can they easily doe it, they being vulgarly knowne to euery child. Euery day and at a set hower, the boates must goe away with those passengers they haue, and may not stay for more, and if at any time some few passengers, or any one alone, will pay the whole fraight of the boate, then they must without any delay transport those passengers or that one man. This I 57 will illustrate with one example. A Barke must euerie day at a set hower set sayles from Harlingen a Citie in Freesland to Amsterdam a Citie in Holland (and like are the customes of other Cities for mutuall trafficke), neither may the co|uetous Marriners stay one minute after the hower, and after it is neuer so little loosed from the strand, it may not come backe to the shoare, though neuer so many passengers should come suddenly, and desire to bee receiued into it, but these new passengers must hire another barke, the price whereof is vulgarly knowne, and that being offered by them or any one passenger, the Marriners may [...] to goe presently away. Sometimes it happens, that one Barke receiues so many passengers, as the owner gets tenne Flemmish guldens for one fraight; for if great number of passengers comes before the appointed hower, that turnes to the Marriners profit. But if one man alone, or few men, doe after the appointed hower, offer to giue fiue guldens for the said passage, they may not reruse presently to transport him or them. The like custome is kept in other Cities for small boates and short passages, namely, that tenne conforts (which are most readthe found) shall pay each man three stiuers for his passage; and if one or two being in haste will pay these thirty stiuers, the boate without delay must carry him or them. I cannot denie, but these rates of hiring barkes or boates are subiect to change. For in the passage from Harlingen to Amsterdam my selfe paid eight stiuers for my transporting, which of old was but fiue stiuers a man. As likewise for small boats we then paid three stiuers for a passage, which of old was but one blanck. But in the meane time these increases are not raised by the Marriners couetousnesse after their pleasure, but by the publike authority of the Magistrate in lawfull and decent manner.

In the publike Innes a passenger paies some ten or fourteene stiuers [...]: but if he drinke wine, that will cost as much more, by reason of the great impositions vpon the Wines. Besides that, the Flemmings his consorts drinking beere stiffely, especial|ly if they light vpon English beere, and drinke being put into the common reckoning of the company, a stranger shall pay for their intemperancy.

The Danes haue such and the same waggons, as the Flemmings, which a man alone [Note: Den|mark.] or few or more consorts may hire some foure miles (being a short dayes iourney), for 20 or, 24 Lubeck shillings, or about that rate, Trauellers vse not to passe on horsebacke. The coachmen pay for their owne diet and their horses meate. My selfe commonly paid each meale for my diet sixe Lubeck shillings, reckoning three for beere apart, and in some places ioyntly for both foure Lubeck (that is eight Danish shillings. Lastly, I was carried in a boate foure miles by the Sea-coast for eight Lubeck shillings.

Poland for the most part (or almost all) is a plaine Countrie, fit for the passing of

co|ches, which may be hired in Cities, and a [...] to those of Germany. From Dantzke to [Note: Poland.] Crakaw (being ten daies iourney) a coach may be hired for some 44 German guldens. My selfe paid there for my part six guldens, leauing the coach after foure daies iour|ney, because the horses were tired. And for my diet two of those dayes vpon our guides reckoning, my part came to two guldens, but I am sure he deceiued vs. In one Citie by the way, fiue of vs paid 2 dollers for one supper, but my selfe after passing alone, commonly dined in villages for 2 or 3 grosh, and supped for 4 or 6 grosh. They vse to carry a bed in the coach, and to sit vpon it in the day time, for otherwise no beds are to be found, but onely in great Cities, which are very rare. And they who will haue wine, must also carry it with them, for it is not to be had but onelie in great Ci|ties. Our horses (as I said) being tired, we left our coach, and by the Kings letter or warrant granted to one of our company we tooke vp horses, and that for small prices, namely, one or two Grosh for a Polish or Dutch mile: But the Polonians for the most part ride on horsebacke, and the most conuenient and frugall course for passengers, is to buy horses and sell them in Italy after their iourney, neither shall they want horse-men to beare them company from City to City: but he that is a horse-man, cannot carrie his bed, and so must haue patience to rest vpon a bench, til he shall find beds vpon the confines of Germany. In the meane time his long horsmans coat (which the Poloni|ans and Hungarians generally vse) may (with straw) make his logding more co uenient, 58 especially if it be lined with Woolues skinnes, or like furres, for the Winter time. Neither shall he neede to feare any cold, since the Polonians vse hot stoues (as the Germans haue), and do also lodge all the family therein at night vpon straw and ben|ches. horsemeate will cost some two or three grosh at noone, and some foure or fiue grosh at night.

In Italy they vse few or no coaches, but onely in the State of [272] Venice, where, from Treuiso to Padoua, being twelue miles, my selfe and my companions hired a coach for eighteene Venetian lyres. For other parts of Italy, Traueliers for iourneys vse [Note: Italy.] horses or mares in Lumbardy, and otherwhere vpon hilly Countries, and in the Plaine towards Naples , they vse Mules and Asses much more commonly, then horses, and the same beasts in like sort are vsed for all carriages. Post-horses are to be hired in eue|ry City, and for one they commonly pay a siluer crowne, that is seuen Venetian lyres, for ten miles. But I do not remember to haue seene any vse Post-horses as we do for galloping, the Italians vsing to ride a slow pace. And if any passenger thinke this rate deare, he may take a more frugall course, by enquiting after Post-horses of returne, so called, because they must returne home empty, if they find no passengers by chance to vse them: for these horses may bee had at a lower rate, and if the passenger find them not readily at euery stage, it will not be vnpleasant for him to walke on foote to the next stage, where or by the way he shall commonly find such horses, so as the want of consorts, or heauy baggage, make not his walking on foote vnpleasant; for other|wise the fields and waies are most pleasant, and the Cities, Townes, or dwellings most frequent. But if he ride vpon a post-horse of returne, he must take heede that he light from his horse at the Towne-gate; for if he ride to the Inne, the Post-master will force him to take a new Post-horse, or else to goe away on foote, whereas if he come to the Inne either on foote, or vpon an hackny, it is free for the horse-letters to furnish him and

[272] Venice

his company with hackney horses. These horse leuers are called Vettarini, and let their horses at a lower rate, especially if the passenger haue two or three consorts, and they will send a seruant on foot to seede the horses by the way, and to bring them backe, except their iourney be short, as of one or two dayes, in which case they will let a horse to a passenger being alone, with caution that hee shall meate him by the way, and at the iourneys end leaue him at the Inne which they appoint, without further cure of his meate or returne. Yea, if the passenger wou'd ride his horse beyond that Inne, the Hoste or his seruants, knowing the horse, will stay him, and take the horse in|to their keeping. Also ordinary Carriers from Citie to Citie vse to let horses, and leade passengers with them My selfe hired a horse of returne from Bologna to Rimini, being thirty fiue miles, for tenne poali; from Sienna to Lucca, being forty fiue miles, a Vetturines horse, for foureteene poali, or giulij; from Lucca to Pisa, being renne miles, for two giulii; from Pisa to [...] being fortie one miles, for apiastro, or siluer crowne; and from Milan to Cremona, being fifty two miles, a carriers horse, for fiue lyres besides horse-meate. Hee that hath his owne horse, or a Vetturines horse left to his keeping (as I said for a short iourney), shall pay for horse-meate after these rates. At Lucca in the State of Florence [273] , hee shall pay each night some twelue creitzers for oates, and eight creitzers for the stable (that is hay, straw and stable roome) and at Vicenza and in the State of [274] Venice, some eighteene soldi for Oates, and twentie soldi for the stable. The Italians ride vpon most hard saddles, hauing commonly a le|ther cushian of their owne to fasten vpon the pummell of the saddle. Touching the charge of diet by the way, a passenger in the State of [275] Venice shall haue his supper and bed for forty soldi, and in the vpper parts of Italy for three giulij, and he may dine con|ueniently for one giulio vpon reckoning, or at most for a giulio and a halfe: but if hee will eate at the ordinary, he shall pay three. Many agree with the Vetturine, not onely for horses and horsemeate, but also for their owne diet: but for my part, I would ra|ther liue at my owne charge and discretion, then at theirs, excepting the iourney from Rome to Naples , in which, for the great hast, especially at dinner times, and for the famili|arity which the Vetturines haue with the Hosts, all men vse to agree with them, aswel for diet as for horses and horse meat, which if they should not doe, they should spend 59 more, and hardly be vsed so wel In Italy the passenger must be content with a hard flock bed; for by reason of the heate of the Country, they vse no feather beds: He shall haue cleane sheetes, at least if he be curious to demand them: but because the beds are sus|pected for filthinesse of the Venerian disease, passengers vse to weare lumen breeches of their owne. It is good to lodge in the best Innes, especially in Italy, for in them hee shall be best vsed, and shall be most safe from dangers. For other particulars let the passenger reade the more full handling of them, in my daily iournies through Italy, in the first Part, and the following Chapter of the Italian diet in this third Part.

In the Turkish Empire they trauell not, as we doe, sometimes one man alone, some|times two, three, or more consorts, at pleasure; but as theeues there goe in troopes to [Note: Turkey.] spoile, so Merchants for their security, ioyne together till they haue some two or three hundred

[273] Florence
[274] Venice
[275] Venice

Cammels, loaded with goods, and a conuenient number of men to attend them. And this Company is called vulgarly a Carrauan, to which passengers ioyne themselues, for their better safety. This Company, to auoide the heate of the Sunne, vseth to beginne their iourney in the euening, and to continue the same till two how|ers after Sunne-rise, resting all the day in Tents: And euery man carries his owne meate, or prouides it by the way. Malem signifies one, that leades Merchants goods, and Muccaro signifies him that lookes to the beasts, and to the loading of them; and these Men let Cammels, horses, and Mules, to passengers, for the whole iourney, at reasonable rates, and doe waite vpon the passengers to feede the bealts, and to loade them, as also to buy and dresse meate for the Men. My selfe and my Brother Henry, in our iourney from Tripoli in Syria to Haleppo, paied nine Py|astri for two Asses to ride vpon, and for them meate; and for some tributes (vul|garly Cafars) of twenty Meidines or thereabouts, due by the way. And in our iourney from Haleppo to Constantinople, wee paide to our Muccaro bearing the charge of the beasts meate, seuenty and one Pyastri, for a horse and a Mule to ride vpon, and for a Cammell to carry our prouisions, of Bisket, Wine, Damaske Prunes, and some such comfortable things: For wee pitched our Tents neere Villages or Cities, from whence wee bought Egges, Hennes, and Ryce, as wee needed them, and sometimes had opportunity to supply that which wee had consumed, of those prouisions which wee carried with vs. One Cammell will beare a passenger, and good store of necessary prouisions with him, but the pace thereof is very harde, and shaketh the body of the Ry|der, the hinder parts of the Cammell being higher then the fore parts. The horses either goe a foote pace, or gallop, but are not taught the paces of amb|ling or trotting: yet in regard that in these iournies the passenger goes slowly, following loaded Cammels, their horses are easie enough to ride vpon. The Mules naturally haue easie and slow paces, and are most commodious, especially for sicke men. Besides these Carauans, a passenger may light vpon other commodities of taking his iourney, namely, when Bashaes or other Turkish Gouernours are re|called from their Gouernements, and returne with their families to Constantinople. For these Magistrates are often changed in Turkey, and so these commodities of passage are frequent. Onely the passenger must bee commended to the prote|ction of this Basha or Gouernour, which vpon a small present or gift hee will easily vndertake, and sweare by his head, touching it (as their manner is to sweare), that hee will bring him safely to his iournyes ende. And the passenger who together with this caution, hath a Ianizare to protect and guide him, shall neede to feare no danger, so as hee receiue this Ianizare from an Ambassadour, Consull, or Christian Merchant, who will aske account of the passengers safe|tie from the Ianizare at his returue.

They haue a third commodious way for iourneys, in the company of a Troope of horse, (vulgarly called Cassenda), which often carries the Turkes Treasure vp to Constantinople. And not onely the chiefe of this Troope, vpon a small gift, will protect any passenger, but also this course of all others is most 60 commodious for iournies, because they ride a good pace, being not troubled with loaded Camels, and so come speedily vnto their iournies end.

The French seldome vse coaches for iourneys, but at Paris he that will hire a coach about the City, shall pay seuen or eight ryals by the day. Likewise at Paris , [Note: France.] very Notaries and ordinary men, hire horses and foot cloathes to ride about the Ci|tie, and they pay ten

soulz for the horse, and fiue for the foot-cloath by the day. But for iournies, the French haue three sorts of horses; The first is of post-horses, let for a stage of some three miles, shorter or longer, for which a French man shall pay fif|teene, perhaps a stranger twenty soulz, and as much for a guide, besides some fiue soulz of free-gift. The second sort are called Cheuaux derelais, that is, horses to be left at a place. And for the hiring of these for a like distance of miles, a passenger payes some tenne soulz, and hee needes no guide to bring backe the horse, because he is to leaue him in a place appointed at the end of the stage. But hee may not ride these a false gallop, as they vse to ride post-horses; for if he that receiues the horse, can find either by the note deliuered him, or by the swetting of the horse, that hee hath ridden an extraordinary pace, hee shall pay ten soulz, the ordinarie penaltie for that wrong. The third sort are called Cheuaux de louage, that is, hired horses, and these a passenger may hire to what place hee will for some fifteene or twen|tie soulz by the day, for so many dayes till the horse may bee sent backe, and at the iournies end hee deliuers the horse with a note to some friend of the ow|ner, and by the way hee payes for his meate, some fiue soulz at noone, and ten at night. I will adde one example of my owne experience. From Roane to Diepe are twelue or fourteene miles, to bee ridden in some foure howers, but the hor|ses being weake, passengers vse to bate at a Village called Totes in the halfe way; and howsoeuer before the ciuill warre, a horse of hire for this short iourney was let for ten soulz, yet at the time when I passed that way, they demaunded and tooke thirtie soulz, reckoning three dayes for the iourney, and the sending backe of the horse. Hee that hired this horse from Roane to Diepe, and backe againe to Roane, paid no more, so he returned within three dayes. But if his occasions were to make any stay at Diepe, or to sayle from thence to England, or to iourney from thence to any other place, then he paid the foresaid thirty soulz, and left the horse with an host, still paying for his meate some eight or ten soulz by the day, till he could be sent backe. Yet passengers are so frequent there, as the host doth not onely soone free the passenger of this charge for the horses meate, but easily gaineth himselfe some ten or more soulz from him, that vndertakes to carry the horse backe to Roane. In generall, the Traueller must be content with hard saddles, and sometimes with a rope for a bri|dle, who hath them not of his owne. The French in their Innes vse to eate at an ordi|narie table together for the most part. In Totes the foresaid Village of Normandy be|fore the great ciuill war, assoone as a Traueller lighted from his horse, they brought him water to wash, and presently set bread and wine before him (for without some re|fection, the French haue not patience to stay for supper.) Then at supper commonly they gaue mutton, a capon or pullet and a patridge, or like meates, with some banque|ting dishes (as apples, cherries, grapes in Summer, and chesnuts, rice; dried grapes and fruits in winter. Then they brought cleane sheets to be aired before the passenger at the fier. Lastly, in the morning they gaue him his breakfast (as buttered tosts, or some morsell of flesh), and for all this and his horsemeat, he was wont to pay no more then some 12 soulz. As likewise for his dinner and horsemeat some 10 soulz. But after the ciuil war, when I passed these parts, sometimes I paid 12, sometimes 15 soulz for each meale, and for my horse-meate at noone fiue soulz, at night tenne soulz; but an horse-man paid nothing for his bed. And if any desired to breake his fast, hee paid for it apart, but a small matter. Neither at this time was there any or|dinarie Ta-

ble (which they call Table de l'hoste, the Hosts table), for since French|men vse not to leaue it where any such is, I should otherwise haue seene it, besides, that they pay not apart for breakfasts, where Ordinary Tables are held, as wee did in these Innes. 61 The horseman hath his bed freely, the footman paies some three soulz a night. In some places, as vpon the confines of France towards Flanders, the Hosts onely giue Linnen, bread and wine; and when the guests will eate, Cookes bring in trayes of diuers meats ready for dressing, and when the guests haue chosen their meate, and agreed for the price, they carry it backe, and after it is prepared, bring it in warme with sauces. Is the passenger haue a horse of his owne (which he may buy here to sell with good gaine in Italy) he shall pay for his meate (as I said) fiue soulz at noone, and some ten soulz at night. The French haue also long Waggons couered with cloath (such as our Eng|lish Carriers vse), wherein women, and such as can indure the slownesse thereof, vse to trauell from Citie to Citie. My self after I had been robbed in Champaigne, passed in such a Waggon from Challons to Paris , and paied two gold Crownes of the Sunne for my passage. Alwaies it is to be vnderstood, that in most Kingdomes and places a stranger shall pay somewhat more, then one that is borne in the Country.

In England towards the South, and in the West parts, and from London to Barnick, [Note: England] vpon the confines of Scotland, Post-horses are established at euery ten miles or there|abouts, which they ride a false gallop after some ten miles an hower sometimes, and that makes their hire the greater: for with a Commission from the chiefe Post-master, or chiefe Lords of the Councell (giuen either vpon publike businesse, or at least pre|tence thereof) a passenger shal pay two pence half-penny each mile for his horse, and as much for his guides horse: but one guide will serue the whole company, though many ride together, who may easily bring backe the horses driuing them before him, who know the way aswell as a begger knowes his dish. They which haue no such Com|mission, pay three pence for each mile. This extraordinary charge of horses hire, may well be recompenced with the speede of the iourney, whereby greater expences in the Innes are auoided, all the difficultie is, to haue a body able to endure the toyle. For these [...] the passenger is at no charge to giue them meat, onely at the ten miles end the boy that carries them backe, will expect some few pence in gift. Some Nobleman hath the Office of chiefe Post-Master, being a place of such account, as commonly he is one of the Kings Counsell. And not onely hee, but other Lords of the Councell, according to the qualities of their offices, vse to giue the foresaid Commission signed with their hands ioyntly or seuerally: but their hands are lesse regarded then the Post|masters, except they be fauourites, and of the highest Offices, or the businesse bee im|portant. In the Innes men of inferiour condition vse to eate at the Hosts Table, and pay som six pence a meale: but Gentlemen haue their chambers, and eate alone, ex|cept perhaps they haue consorts and friends in their company, and of their acquain|tance. If they bee accompanied, perhaps their reckoning may commonly come to some two shillings a man, and one that eates alone in his owne chamber with one or two seruants attending him, perhaps vpon reckoning may spend some fiue or six shil|lings for supper and breakfast But in the Northerne parts, when I passed towards Scot|land, Gentlemen themselues did not vse to keepe their chambers, but to eat at an ordi|narie table together, where they had great plentie of good meate, and especially of choice kinds of fish, and each man paid no more

then sixe pence, and sometimes but foure pence a meale. One horses meate will come to twelue pence, or eighteene pence the night for Hay, Oates and Straw, and in Summer time commonly they put the horses to grasse, after the rate of three pence each horse, though some who ride long iournies, will either keepe them in the Stable at hard meate as they doe in Win|ter, or else giue them a little Oates in the morning when they are brought vp from grasse. English passengers taking any iourney, seldome dine, especially not in Winter, and withall ride long iournies. But there is no place in the World where passengers may so freely command as in the English Inns, and are attended for themselues and their horses as well as if they were at home, and perhaps better, each seruant being ready at call, in hope of a small reward in the morning. Neither did I euer see Innes so well furnished with houshold stuffe. coaches are not to be hired any where but only at London; and howsoeuer England is for the most part plaine, or con|sisting of little pleasant hilles, yet the waies farre from London are so durty, as hired 62 coachmen doe not ordinarily take any long iournies, but onely for one or two daies any way from London, the wayes so farre being sandy and very faire, and continually kept so by labour of hands. And for a dayes iourney, a coach with two horses vsed to be let for some ten shillings the day (or the way being short for some eight shil|lings, so as the passengers paid for the horses meat) or some fifteene shillings a day for three horses, the coachman paying for his horses meate. Sixtie or seuenty yeeres agoe, coaches were very rare in England, but at this day pride is so farre increased, at there be few Gentlemen of any account (I meane elder Brothers), who haue not their coaches, so as the streetes of London are almost stopped vp with them. Yea, they who onely respect comlinesse and profit, and are thought free from pride, yet haue coaches, because they find the keeping thereof more commodious and profirable, then of horses, since two or three coach-porses will draw foure or fiue persons, be|sides the commodity of carrying many necessaries in a coach. For the most part Englishmen especially in long iournies, vse to ride vpon their owne horses. But if any will hire a horse, at London they vse to pay two shillings the first day, and twelue, or perhaps eighteene pence a day, for as many dayes as they keepe him, till the horse be brought home to the owner, and the passenger must either bring him backe, or pay for the sending of him, and find him meate both going and comming. In other parts of England a man may hire a horse for twelue pence the day, finding him meate, and bringing or sending him backe; and if the iourney bee long, he may hire him at a conuenient rate for a moneth or two. Likewise Carriers let horses from Citie to Citie, with caution that the passenger must lodge in their Inne, that they may looke to the feeding of their horse, and so they will for some fiue or sixe dayes iourney let him a horse, and find the horse meate themselues form so me twenty shillings. Lastly, these Carryers haue long couered Waggons, in which they carry passengers from City to City: but this kind of iournying is so tedious, by reason they must take wag|gon very earely, and come very: late to their Innes, as none but women and people of inferiour condition, or strangers (as Flemmings with their wiues and seruants) vse to trauell in this sort.

In Ireland since the end of the Ciuill warre, some Lords and Knights haue brought [Note: Ireland.] in coaches to Dublin, but they are not generally vsed, neither are there any to bee hi|red, though the waies be most plaine and generally good for coaches. They ride for the most part vpon their owne horses, but they are

also to bee hired for some twelue pence, or eighteene pence the day, finding the horses meate, which in the stable will cost some twelue pence each night, and at grasse little or nothing. In euery City there be some knowne houses, where an ordinary is kept for diet, and beds may be had, and the Ordinary is commonly twelue pence each meale. By the way in poore Hamlets, at this time of peace, there bee English houses, where is good lodging and diet, and where no such are, passengers must goe to the houses of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Husbandmen English, and Irish-English, where they cannot want intertainement in some good measure, these inhabitants much louing hospitalitie, but all other houses are full of filth and barbarousnesse. But there are not any Innes in the very Cities, which hang out Bushes, or any Signes, only some Citizens are knowne, who will giue stable and meate for horses, and keepe a table where passengers cate at an ordinarie, and some Citizens haue cellers, wherein they draw wine, if not al the yeere, yet as long as their wine lasts: but they haue no Tauerns with Iuy bushes or signes hung cut, saue onely some few at Dublin.

In Scotland a horse may be hired for two shillings the first day, and eight pence the day vntill he be brought home, and the horse letters vse to send a footeman to bring [Note: Scotland] backe the horse. They haue no such Innes as bee in England, but in all places some houses are knowne, where passengers may haue meate and lodging: but they haue no bushes or signes hung out, and for the horses, they are commonly set vp in Stables in some outlane, not in the same house were the passenger lyes. And if any man bee acquainted with a Townes-man, hee will goe freely to his house, for most of them will entertaine a stranger for his money. A horseman shall pay for Oates and Straw (for 63 hay is rare in those parts) some eight pence day and night, and he shall pay no lesse in Summer for grasse, wherof they haue no great store. Himself at a co mon table shall pay about sixe pence for his supper or dinner, and shal haue his bed freesand if he will eate alone in his chamber, he may haue meate at a reasonable rate. Some twenty or thirty yeeres agoe the first vse of coaches came into Scotland, yet were they rare euen at Edenborough. At this day since the Kingdomes of England and Scotland were vnited, many Scots by the Kings fauour haue been promoted both in dignitie and estate, and the vse of coaches became more frequent, yet nothing so common as in England. But the vse of horse-litters hath been very ancient in Scotland, as in England, for sickly men and women of qualitie.

2

6.15 CHAP. II.

Of the Sepulchers, Monuments, and Buildings in generall; for I haue spoken particularly of them in the first Part, writing of my daily iournies.

AMong all the Sepulchers that I haue seene in Europe, or in Turkey, that in Westminster erected to Henrie the seuenth, [Note: Sepulchers in generall.] King of England of Copper mettall, adorned with vulgar precious stones, is the fairest, especially considering the stately Chappell built ouer it. The next to that in my opinion is the Sepulcher at Winsore, made of the same met|tall curiously carued, at the charge of Cardinall Wolfye, had he not left it vnperfected, so as none hath yet been buried vnder it. The next place I would giue to the Sepulchers of the Turkish Ottomans, whereof the fairest is the monu|ment with the Mosche (or Chappell) built ouer it, for Sultan Soloman at Constantinople. The other monuments of the Sultans are built more low, with a little round Mosche ouer them, all of the best Marble, the top being a round Globe of brasse or leade, and for the better shew, they are commonly set vpon hilles. The insides are round, and lightsome with windowes, and in the very middest lyes the Sultan, with his sonnes round about him, which (according to their custome) are strangled by the command of their eldest brother, assone as the father is dead, and his Sultana is laid by his side when she dies. These are all laid in chests of Cypresse, lifted vp from the ground, with their Tulbents ouer their heads, which liuing they woare vpon their heads, with some Iewels at the crowne. And these chests are compassed with a grate of iron, with|out which is a round Gallerie or walking place, spread with Tapestry, vpon which the Zantones or Priests that keepe the Sepulcher, continually sit, as if the Sultans would not be left alone without attendance when they were dead. I speake not of the Turkes common Sepulchers, which haue no beauty, being in common fieldes, with three stones erected, at the head, the breast, and the feete. Neither did I see any other stately monuments erected to the Turkish Visiers and Bashaes. In the next place is the monument of the Saxon Elector Mauritius, at Friburg in Germany (being of black Marble, three degrees high, with faire statuaes) and the monuments of English No|blemen in Westminster, and Saint Pauls Church at London (of greater magnificence and number, then I haue seene any otherwhere.) In the next place are the Sepulchers of the French Kings at Saint Dennys, neere Paris , and of the Palatine at Heydelberg in Ger|many. I speake not of the Prince of Orange his Sepulcher at Delph in Holland, which is a poore monument, farre vnfit for so worthy a Prince, who deserued so wel of the Low-Country men. But they haue few or no stately monuments, nor almost any ordinary Sepulchers erected to the dead. Of the same degree with the French Kings Sepul|chers, or rather to be preferred before the most of them, are the Sepulchers of Italy, but they are of another kind. Some of them at Rome , and that of the King of Aragon at 64 Naples , and some few other, are stately and beautifull. The rest are crected little from the ground, and sometimes Pyramidall, but the Altars built ouer them, are adorned with rare pictures, Porphery, Marble, and Lydian siones, and vpon these Altars they sing Masses and prayers the dead lying vnder them.

As I said that all the Turkes, except-

ing the Sultans or Emperours are buried in the open fields, so I haue seene in Germany some fields without the Cities, compassed with faire square walles of stone, wherein Citizens were buried. Of these the fairest is at Leipzig, the walles whereof are built with arched Cloysters, vnder which the chiefe Cittizens are buried by families, the common sort onely lying in the open part of the field, and at one corner of the wall there is a Tarras, couered aboue, but open on the two sides towards the field, and paued on the ground, wherein stands a Pulpet. This place is called Gotts aker, that is, that Aker or field of God. The like burying place I haue seene at Geneua, without the walles of the City. At Pisa in Italy they haue a pub|like place of buriall like in fashion to these, but within the walles of the Citie, and the building compassing it, is very stately, and much to be preferred before that of Leip|zig. This place is called Campo santo, that is the holy field, either of the vse, or because the Emperour Frederick Barbarossa, returning from the holy Land, and taking that earth for ballast of his ships, did after lay the same in this place.

The Exchange, or publike place for the meeting of Merchants, and for the selling [Note: Publike buildings for Mer|chants to meete.] of smaller or richer wares at London, being built of Free-stone by Sir Thomas Gresham Knight and Merchant, is the most starely building in that kind that I haue seene in Eu|rope or Turkey. For that of Antwerp, in imitation whereof this is said to haue been built, was neuer seene by me, and I haue heard many preferre this before that. Ancona in Italy hath such a place, much lesse, but very beautifull, and that of Hamburg in Ger|many is much to be commended. That of Constantinople called Besensteine, is markable rather for the precious wares and iewels, then for the building, which is onely of Bricke, and therein also they sell captiues for slaues.

For publike houses built for the meeting of the Senate, there be many in Germany [Note: Senate-houses.] which are very starely, and among them that of Hamburg seemed to mee the fai|rest.

The Germans, Low-countrimen and Sweitzers, haue in each City publike houses, [Note: Publike places for recreation.] where the Citizens meete to walke, and for exercises, as shooting in the peece and Crossebow, and where they also drinke and feast together. Those of Sweitzerland are lesse sumptuous for building, but much more pleasant, hauing trees, within the boughes whereof they haue roomes or arbours built vpon the bodies of the trees, whereof diuers containe three or foure Tables, besides that water is drawne vp by pipes to the top of the tree, for washing of glasses, and like vses.

Among the Stables of Princes, that of the Duke of Saxony at Dresden in Germany, is [Note: Stables.] the fairest of all other, and a rare building for that purpose.

For Clocks, that of Strasburg in Germany is most artificiall, and to bee won|dred at, and is much to bee preferred before that of Lubeck, or any other in the [Note: Clockes.] World.

In Italy there be many wonderfull ruines of old Theaters, water Conduits, and [Note: Theaters and water Conduits.] like monuments in many places: but these ruines belong not properly to this dis|course, and there be few like built of late. Onely the water Counduit at Rome , newly built by Pope Sixtus Quintus, is a Kingly worke. And the Theater at Vicenza now standing and in vse for Comedies, is faire and starely. The Theaters at London in Eng|land for Stageplaies, are more remarkeable for the number, and for the capacity, then for the building.

The Bridge at London is worthily to be

numbred among the miracles of the world, [Note: Bridges.] if men respect the building and foundation, laid artificially and stately ouer an ebbing and flowing water, vpon 21 piles of stone, with 20 arches, vnder which Barkes may passe, the lowest fou dation being (as they say) packs of woll, most durable against the force of the water, and not to be repaired, but vpon great fall of the waters, and by 65 artificiall turning or stopping the recourse of them. Or if men respect the houses built vpon the bridge, as great and high as those of the firme land, so as a man cannot know that he passeth a bridge, but would iudge himselfe to be in the streete, saue that the houses on both sides are combined in the top, making the passage somewhat darke, and that in some few open places the Riuer of Thames may be seene on both sides. In the second rancke, is the bridge of our Lady at Paris in France. The next place be|longs to the bridge of [276] Venice, called Realto, consisting of one, but an high Arch, and built partly of marble, partly of freestone, and to be ascended by many staires on both sides, and hauing low shoppes vpon the ascents and on the top, and for the building of the whole bridge, being more stately then that of Paris . In the fourth rancke is the bridge of Florence [277] , ouer the riuer Arno; and for bare bridges, hauing no buildings vpon them, the bridge of Dresden in Germany, and many other bridges in England, in my opinion might be preferred before that of Florence [278] , had it not those houses built vpon it: But the bridge of Rome , called Sant' Angelo, is not worth the naming, howsoeuer the Italians (after their bragging manner) haue made the same appeare famous to men that neuer saw it, as likewise they haue spread the fame of the Roman Riuer Tybe|ris, which at Rome and running vnder this bridge, deserues rather to be accounted a little brooke, or a ditch, then a Riuer. And as for the inundations thereof, they are ra|ther to be attributed to the narrownesse of the bed, then the greatnesse of the Riuer, onely increasing vpon the fall of raine, or melted snow from the neighbour moun|taines, and making no Hauen at the very mouth, where it enters into the Sea.

Surely howsoeuer the Italians were of old very magnificent in many things, yet by obtruding their Latin tongue to all Nations they conquered, they did likewise make them conceiue of euery spring, brooke, and porch, as of the Worlds miracles. And there be some among them at this day, who in their sleeues laugh at Trauellers, curi|ously searching after these Antiquities, thus made famous by old Writers, and who take pleasure to delude this their simplicity, (for such they esteeme it, howsoeuer wee doe but by the way search after them, hauing more profitable ends of our iournies in|to Italie).

There be some other bridges of exceeding length, as those of Strasburg and Wien, (more knowne by the name of Vienna) in Germany, but they being onely built of tim|ber, and laid ouer with loose peeces of timber, (that vpon danger of Armies and inun|dations, they may be more easily broken and built vp againe), and so being nothing lesse then durable, I doe onely here mention them.

The Goldsmiths shops at London in England, (being in diuers streetes, but especially that called Cheapc-side), are exceeding richly furnished continually with gold, and sil|uer [Note: Golde|smiths shops.] plate and Iewels. The Goldsmiths

[276] Venice
[277] Florence
[278] Florence
[279] Florence

shops vpon the bridges at Florence [279] and Paris , haue perhaps sometimes beene as richly or better furnished, for the time or some nup|tiall Feast of the Princes or like occasion, with Plate and Iewels borrowed of priuate persons for that purpose: but I may lawfully say, setting all loue of my Countrey apart, that I did neuer see any such daily shew, any thing so sumptuous in any place of the World, as in London.

I will not speake in this place of Churches and Academicall Colledges, but referre them to their proper places, where in the last Part, I shall treat of Religion and Vniuer|sities. [Note: Chur|ches and Colledges] Onely here it shall suffice in a word to say; that the Churches in England, and Colledges in the Vniuersities thereof, (considering due circumstances) are to be much admired, and preferred before any in the World.

Munster affirmeth that the Romans built in Germany beyond the Riuers Danow and Rheine, more stately Cities, then are to be seene in other parts thereof: But for my part [Note: Buil|dings in Germany] I would say that Nurnberg, Dresden, Brestawe, (the chiefe City of Silesia) and the Cities vpon the Sea Coast towards the North, (called Hans stetten, that is, free Cities), are much fairer, and farre more magnificently built, then those that he nameth. The Cities within land (excepting Ertford, those of Hessen, and some like, which are built of tim|ber, clay, and plaster, or of durt, and couered with tiles of wood), are built of great polished and carued free stones, foure or fiue stories high, with an high 66 roofe bearing windowes, and couered with tiles. Some of the foresaid Cities on the Sea Coast are built of free stone, but for the most part of bricke, and in the lower fore roome being commonly large, they haue great dores (like gates) towards the streetes, which being open by day, expose to the eies of passengers, the bright puter dishes, and other like vessels of tin and brasse, which vse to be set forth in the vpper end of that roome: And not onely the priuate houses, but the publike streetes, are notable for clen|linesse, vniformity, and beauty. The houses and buildings vpon the Alpes (excepting some few Cities, which are equall to the foresaid built within land, as Insprucke, lying in the way betweene Augsburg and Padoua) are built much lower, most commonly of free-stone, and couered with tiles of wood, and for three parts of the yeere, they are continually couered with snow; and as through all Germany the casements of the win|dowes are little, so in these parts they are much lesse, so as a man can hardly put his head out of them, and the windowes on the Inside are all to be shut close with wood|den windowes, they vsing all possible art to keepe the cold out, and to retaine the heat of the stoaues within. Noblemens Castles in Germany, are for the most part answera|ble to the building of the Cities within Land, but they shew more antiquity, and are more built for strength then beauty: And the more stately Pallaces of Cities, and these Castles, in some places (as my selfe obserued at Augsburg) but very rarely, are couered with copper, which Germany yeeldeth, but neuer with leade, whereof they haue none of their owne. The building of houses in the Townes, is for matter like to that of the Cities, but lower, and the Villages for the most part are built of timber, clay, and plaster, or durt, and couered with tiles of wood, or the worst of them with straw. In generall, at the most frequented dores of euery house, they haue ropes, that men without by the ringing of a bell may be let in, and those within may open the dores by the pulling of a roape without going to them, and the dores likewise by waights are made to shut of themselues at the heeles of him that comes in, without the helpe of any hand. The win-

dowes in generall are of a thicke glasse, with little case|ments closed in wood, not in iron, which they seldome open, that the stoaues may be kept warme. To conclude, Germany yeelds to no place in the World for the number or stately building of Cities, yet so as respecting the greatnesse thereof, it hath not so frequent and little distant Cities, as Netherland, and other lesse Dominions haue.

Among the Cities of Sweitzerland, the building of Bern is most vniforme and faire; being of freestone, with arched Cloysters towards the streete, (as in some parts [Note: Of Sweit|zerland.] of Italy), vnder which men walke drie footed after the greatest raine: but most of the Cities (as of the Townes and Villages) are fairely built with timber, clay, and plaster, and commonly are seated on the declining sides of Mountaines and hils.

Of the last sort, are the houses of Boemerland, saue that the wals and foundations [Note: Of Boemer|land.] are made of whole bodies of trees, as they are cut downe, euen couered with the bark, and ioined together with clay and morter: And these houses are generally couered with tiles of wood, not with slates.

In the vnited Prouinces, the houses are most of bricke, aswell in Cities as in Villa|ges, and so vniforme, as if they had all beene built at a time, and by the same worke|men. [Note: Low. Coun|tries.] The fronts of them towards the streetes are commonly narrow, (excepting some few that are broade and high), and so are built inward in length, with narrow windowes, and nothing at all cast out from the wals, and the roofes haue windowes for vse of the roomes, being couered with tiles, or peeces of wood in the same forme. At Leyden and Delph the houses are built very high of many stories, and the roofes are steepe, and haue also windowes for vse. At the Hage, being a most pleasant Village, where the States keepe their residence, the building is like; but the Castle in which Count Maurice dwelt, and some few Gentlemens houses, are built of freestone, and in some outlanes many houses are couered with straw. The wares of Merchants, the ves|sels of tinne and brasse, (being kept most cleane) and like ornaments, lie open in the lowest and greatest roome, by large dores to passengers view, (as I formerly said of the Cities on the Sea coast of Germany). They build with very slender timber, so as the 67 new built, threaten falling, and vpon little force totter and shake. The floares are pa|ued with plaster, boards being more costly, and apt to take fire. And these floares are daily cast ouer with sand, to keepe them from durt, onely by sweeping away the sand at night.

In the Kingdome of Denmarke, there is onely one Citie compassed with walles, cal|led [Note: Of Den|mark.] Kopenhagen, in which (as in the other little Cities, Townss, and Villages) the houses of the Citizens are for the most part of timber, clay and plaster, seldome of freestone. The Kings Castle there is built of free stone, but with no magnificence. His second Castle at Elsenure, is very stately built of freestone, and also strongly fortified, to com|mand one side of the straight sea, where great tribute is exacted of all ships entring or going out of the Sound.

In Poland there be but few Cities for so large a Kingdome, but the houses of them [Note: Of Poland.] are built of free stone, much like to the Inland Cities of Germany, saue that in some places the houses are arched towards the streete, like the Cloysters of Monaste|ries. Some of the houses in the Villages are of timber, clay and plaster, but the greatest part of meere durt, and couered with straw. Few of the Noble mens houses are of free stone, but the greater part of timber, clay, and plaster.

The Italians are exceeding rich in their owne commodities, and by trafficke, [Note: Of Italy.] which the Gentlemen and Princes scorne not to vse, and they spending little in house-keeping or apparrell, all their pride is to build stately houses, water Coun|duits, Fountaines, and to haue rich Iewels, and like permanent things. All the buildings haue Thrasonicall inscriptions, either ingrauen or painted vpon them of the founders praise, and almost of his pedegree. The houses of Citizens, and of the common sort are of vnpolished stone, and commonly of little flints, low|ly built, with a roofe almost lying flat (without windowes), and couered with tiles. The Gentlemens Pallaces are most frequent, and are built (as well in Ci|ties, as in the Country) of carued freestone and marble, and most of them al|together of diuers coloured Marbles. For they haue many Quarryes of marble, so as the same being not farre fetcht, the magnificence of their building is rather in shew, then in charge, to bee preferred before our buildings of polished free|stone. Many of their Pallaces seeme fit to receiue a King with his Court for the stately building, but not for the capacity, the Italian Families being small and solitary. The building of them is in such fashion, as the first vpper chamber is large, and as long as a gallerie, fit to intertaine great companies, with feastes and dancing, the win|dowes being great, and lying open to admit ayre, and couered with Arras to leane vpon, and hauing on the inside windowes of wood to close by night. The rest of the Chambers are on each side of this Gallerie, richly furnished with Hangings, Beds imbrodered, and sumptuous furniture, and Tapestrie spread vnder feete where the chayres stand, but the roomes are narrow, and haue little windowes couered, but not with glasse. For the windowes of all Italy are coue|red with linnen cloth, or paper, onely the Citie of [280] Venice boasts of the singula|ritie, that the windowes thereof are commonly glazed, yet so are also the win|dowes of some few Pallaces in other parts. The Italians more willingly spend their money in building (wherein they delight to haue coole chambers, with o|pen Tarrasses, lying vpon waters and shades, on the sides of the house where the Sunne least comes), and likewise in adorning Fountaines with shade, seates and images, in making caues vnder the earth, and water-conduits, then in any earthly thing, their mistresse alwaies excepted. And because they cannot indure labour (for their diseased ioynts, or the heate of the Countrie), they striue to make their staires very easie, and by much compassing to raise the ground by lit|tle and little, wherein they vse so great Art, as in some places a horseman may with ease, and almost vnsensible ascent, ride vp to the top of high Towers. The floares of their vpper chambers are not boarded, but paued with plaster, or with a matter made of lime and tiles. Some Cities, as Bologna, Padona, and others in the Dukedome of Mantua , are built with arches towards the streete, like Cloysters of 68 Monasteries, and how soeuer the streete is durty, yet vnder them is pleasant and dry walking, euen in rainy weather. For other Cities, the streetes whereof lie open, at Rome they are paued conueniently with flints, at Sienna beautifully with brickes, at Florence [281] , Pistoia, Lucca and Naples , stately with Freestone, very broad and easie.

Touching Tarky, in the Greeke Ilands, in Asia and Affricke, commonly the houses [Note: Of Turkey.] are built of vnpolished stones and flint, onely one roofe high, and many times with arches towards the street, alwaies with windowes

[280] Venice
[281] Florence

not glased or couered but open, and the floare on the top of houses, is beaten plaine with plaster, and compassed with a wall, indented on the top some yard high. And here in the open aire they eate, and walke by day, and lodge at night, so as a man may see all his neighbours in bed about him. For they are seldome (some once or twice in the yeere, about September) trou|bled with raine. Particularly at Ierusalem, for their locks, the keyes be made of wood, not of Iron. At Constantinople and in the Prouinces adioyning, the houses are com|monly of impolished stone and flint, or of timber and clay plastered, or of earth for|med like bricke, but not hardned by fier, and are built some two stories high, and with a roofe almost lying flat, without windowes, and couered with tiles, much after the common building of Italy. In generall the houses haue large windowes, not closed with glasse, or other thing, but altogether open, only by night to be closed with wod|den windowes, after the Italian manner. The streetes of Constantinople are narrow, raised on each side for the passage of men and women, but there also narrow, the mid|dle part of the streetes being so broad, as one Asse or like beast loaded may passe, for they vse no coaches or Carts. The Sultans or Emperours Pallace (vulgarly called Saray, and by the Italians Seraglio) is of some three square Courtyards, built round a|bout of Freestone, and pieces of Marble, with arches towards the yard like Cloysters, which are paued with broad stones, and this Pallace hath a very spatious Garden round compassed with a stone wall. Some few Pallaces of the Visiers or Bashaes in this Ci|ty, are built of polished Freestone, two roofes high with the highest roofe almost flat, after the manner of the Italian Pallaces. And it is worth the obseruation, that each Mosche (or Turkish Church) rising in the top with diuers Globes, and they being co|uered with brasse or Copper, they make a beautifull shew, especially the Sunne shi|ning, and more especially, because they are seated vpon hilles. The Turkish Bashacs laugh at them, who tell how beautifull and stately the Christians Pallaces are builton the out-side, as if they onely respected the inward magnificence. But Christians doe also desite this inward beauty, some more some lesse. And that the Turkes neglect outward beauty, the desire of inward beauty is not the true reason thereof. For as they place all religion in the shew and outward things, so no doubt they would in this also greatly respect the outside, were it not that they liue vnder such a tyrannical Gouern|ment, which makes all the Empire full of desolation, so as they doe not preserue the houses they conquered from Christians in their wonted magnificence, much lesse themselues erect such stately building' yea dare not haue any rich housholdstuffe, at least to be vulgarly seene, lest their riches should make them a prey to their Magistrates or souldiers, finding nothing so safe vnto them, as the sordide shew of pouertie. And this is the cause that many of them hide and bury their treasure vnder the earth, whereof the free vse would proue dangerous to them, and as the Poet saith,

Quò mihi diuitiae? Sinon conceditur vti. What doe riches profit me? Who to vse them am not free.

But the Turkes, and especially the Christians subiect to them, being borne and from infancy bred vnder the yoke of perpetuall slauery, and hauing neuer tasted the sweetenesse of liberty, doe beare with ease this burthen, which we thinke vnsupporta|ble.

In France the houses of Paris are of vnpolished great stones, couered ouer with plaster, and are built stately three or foure, sometimes sixe roofes high (with the [Note: Of France.] highest roofe, which

hath windowes), and they are couered with tiles. The buil|ding of other Cities, is commonly of timber, clay and plaster, sometimes of freestone, 69 and foure or fiue roofes high, whereof each as it is higher, so is more proiected into the streete, much darkening the same, and causing the raine to fall into the middest thereof. The streetes are no broader then for two Carts to meete, and passe one by the other. Almost vnder euery house is a Cellar to lay vp wine, Perry, Cyder, and alll kinds of drinke, and few of the windowes are glazed, which are also darkened with grates of wood, the rest are altogether open, to be shut by night with windowes of wood. The building of the Villages is like ours in England, commonly of timber and clay, and thatched ouer. The Gentlemens houses are built like those in the Cities, whereof I haue spoken: but the Pallaces of great Lords for the most part are stately built of free stone; yet more beautifull and stately are the Kings Pallaces, commonly of free stone curiously carued, with pillers of marble, and sometimes of brickes, with pecces of marble in the parts most open to the eye. Among these Pallaces of the King, that of Fontainebleau, is the most stately and magnificent that I did see, and most pleasant for the gardens and sweete Aire.

Caesar in his Commentaries, saith; that buildings of England were then like those of France. Now at London the houses of the Citizens (especially in the chiefe streetes) [Note: Of England] are very narrow in the front towards the streete, but are built fiue or sixe roofes high, commonly of timber and clay with plaster, and are very neate and ommodious within: And the building of Citizens houses in other Cities, is not much vnlike this. But withall vnderstand, that in London many stately Pallaces, built by Noblemen vp|pon the Riuer Thames, doe make a very great shew to them that passe by water; and that there be many more like Pallaces, also built towards Land, but scattered, and great part of them in backe lanes and streetes, which if they were ioined to the first in good order, as other Cities are built vniformely, they would make not onely faire streetes, but euen a beautifull City, to which few might iustly be preferred for the magnificence of the building. Besides, that the Aldermens and chiefe Citizens houses howsoeuer they are stately for building, yet being built all inward, that the whole roome towards the streets may be reserued for shoppes of Tradesmen, make no shew outwardly, so as in truth all the magnificence of London building is hidden from the view of strangers at the first sight, till they haue more particular view thereof by long abode there, and then they will preferre the buildings of this famous City to many that appeare more stately at the first sight. Great part of the Townes and Villages, are built like the Citizens houses in London, saue that they are not so many stories high, nor so narrow in the front towards the streete. Others of them are built in like sort, of vnpolished small stones, and some of the Villages in Lincolneshire and some other Countries, are of meere clay, and couered with thatch; yet euen these houses are more commodious within, for clenlinesse, lodging, and diet, then any stranger would thinke them to be. Most of the houses in Cities and Townes, haue Cellers vnder them, where for coolenesse they lay Beere and Wine. Gentlemens houses for the most part are built like those in the Cities, but very many of Gentlemens and Noblemens Pallaces, aswell neere London, as in other Countries, are stately built of bricke and free stone, whereof many yeelde not in magnificence to like buildings of other Kingdomes, as Homby, built by Sr Christopher Hatton, Tybals lately belonging to the Earle of Salisbury, seated neere London, and the Earle of Exceter his

house neer Stamford: by which Pallaces lying neere the high way, a stranger may iudge of many other like stately buildings in other parts. The Kings Pallaces are of such magnificent building, so curious art, and such pleasure and beauty for gardens and fountaines, and are so many in number, as England need not enuie any other Kingdome therein. Among them being manie, a stranger may see neere London, the King Pallaces, of Hampton Court, of Richmond, of Greenewich, of Nonsuch, of Otelands, of Schene, of Winsore, and in London the Pallace of White Hall.

In Scotland the Citie Edenborough, is fairlie built of vnpolished stone, but the galleries of timber built vpon the fronts of the houses, doe rather obscure then adorne them: [Note: Of Scotland] And the Kings Pallace at one end, and the fortified Castle at the other end of the City, are more statelie built then the rest, but all the beautie of the Citie con|firsts 70 of one large streete, the by lanes being few, and full of beggery. The houses in Villages, and scattered in the Countrie, are like to those in England, but the Gentle|mens and Noblemens houses are nothing so frequent, nor so stately built as the better sort of the English. Neither are their I ownes and Cities in number, building, or plea|santnesse, comparable to those in England. Lastly, the Villages of clay couered with straw, are much more frequent then in England, and farre lesse commodious within. Among the Kings Pallaces, that at Edenburg, and that of Sterling for the building, and Fawkland for the pleasure of hunting, are the chiefe.

The houses of the Irish Cities, as Corke, Galoway and Lymrick (the fairest of them for building) are of vnwrought free stone, or flint, or vnpolished stones, built some two [Note: Of Ireland.] stories high, and couered with tile. The houses of Dublin and Waterford, are for the most part of timber, clay and plaster, yet are the streetes beautifull, and the houses commodious within, euen among the Irish, if you pardon them a little slouenlinesse, proper to the Nation. In generall, the houses very seldome keepe out raine, the tim|ber being not well seasoned, and the walles being generally combined with clay only, not with morter of lime tempered. The Irish haue some quarries of Marble, but on|ly some few Lords and Gentlemen bestow the cost to polish it. Many Gentlemen haue Castles built of free stone vnpolished, and of flints, or little stones, and they are built strong for defence in times of rebellion, for which cause they haue narrow staires, and little windowes, and commonly they haue a spatious hall ioyning to the Castle, and built of timber and clay, wherein they eate with their Family. Neither are many of these gentle mens houses void of filth, and slouenlinesse. For other Irish dwellings, it may be said of them, as Caesar said of the old Brittanes houses. They call it a Towne, when they haue compassed a skirt of wood with trees cut downe, whether they may retire themselues and their cattle. For the meere barbarous Irish either sleepe vnder the canopy of heauen, or in cabbines watled, and couered with turfe.

The Germans long inioying settled peace, the French and the Nitherlanders for [Note: Of Forts in generall.] many yeeres distracted with warres, haue many Cities strongly fortified with ditches and earthen walles. The Turkes, Polonians, Sweitzers, Bohemians, Danes, English, Scots and Irish haue few Forts or fortified places. The Kings of England, haue caused such to be dismantled and puld downe, as incouragement to the Nobles to contemne their authoritie, onely at Barwick against the bordering Scots, and at [...] a|gainst the neighbouring French, they haue maintained fortifications to hin-

der incur|sion. The Turkes neither fortifie themselues, nor maintaine the strong places they haue conquered from Christians. In Denmarke the Citic Kopenhagen, and in Poland Crakaw and Warsaw are in some sort fortified. And in Ireland the English of late haue made small Forts vpon some few Hauens to preuent forraigne inuasion, and in some inland territories to suppresse the rebellious inclination of some Irish Lords. Other|wise in the said Kingdomes, if any Cities be compassed with walles, they are ready to fall for age, and are rather fit to resist the first fury of ill armed mutiners, then to indure a sharpe siege, or the very sight of the Cannon. Like are most of the Cities in Italy, only at Naples and at Milan there be two strong forts, and at Rome a strong Castle, and in Lombardy, and especially in the State of [282] Venice, many Cities and some Forts made as strong, as huge charge and exquisit art can make them.

71

[282] Venice

2

6.16 CHAP. III.

Of Germany, Boemerland and Sweitzerland, touching the Geographicall de|scription, the situation, the fertilitie, the trafficke, and the diet.

THE Geographers search out the greatnesse of the Globe, and of all the parts in the superficies thereof, by the helpe [Note: In generall of Geogra|phy.] of the Celestiall circles, fitted to the Conuex or bending of the earth. The circles of heauen are of two sorts, the grea|ter and the lesse. The greater are sixe in number, the AEqua|tor, Zodiake, two Colun, Meridian and Horizon. Of which the Geographers in the description of the World, onely make vse of the AEquator and Meridian. The [Note: Equator,] AEquator compasseth the middle swelling of the [...] Sphere betweene both the Poles of the world, and the greatest conuexitie or bending therof, from the East towards the West, to which circle when the Sun is come by his proper motion (in each yeere twice) it makes two Equinoctials (that is, day and night of equall length), one in the Spring, the other at the fall of the leafe. The circle in the conuex or bending superficies of the earth, that is directly and perpendicularly vnder the said AEquator, is called the AEquator of the earth, and compassing the earth from the East to the West, diuides it into two Hemispheres (that is, halfe Spheres), the Nor|therne and the Southerne The Meridian Circle is drawne through the Poles of the Heauen (in which the Meridians meete) and through the verticall point (that is the [Note: Meridian.] point right ouer head) of each place, whether the Sunne being come by his accidentall motion (in each day) it makes noone aboue the Horizon, and midnight vnder the Ho|rizon (or with the Antipodes.) The Circle in the conuex or bending of the earth, di|rectly and perpendicularly vnder this circle Meridian, passing by the extreme points of the earth that are vnder the Poles, and by any appointed place in the superficies (or vpper face) of the earth, is called a Meridian of the earth. And because there is no cer|taine number of particular places on the earth, it follows that the Meridians are innu|merable, so as euery place distant from another towards the East or West, hath his owne peculiar Meridian, diuers from the Meridian of another place. Yet for making of maps, and like vses, the Geographers appoint one hundred eighty Meridians, name|ly, ninty Easterly, and nintie Westerly.

The lesser circles are called Paralells, that is, equally distant, because hauing relation [Note: Paralells.] one to the other, or to any of the great circles, they are in all parts equally distant For al lesser circles haue relation to one of the greater, and are called the paralells of this or that greater circle. But here onely mention is made of the Paralells referred to the AE|quator, which are lesser circles drawne neere the AEquator, from East towards West, or contrary, by the vertical points of seueral places in heauen, or by the places themselues in the vpper face of the earth, and they are the greater, the neerer they are to the AEqua|tor, the lesser as they are more distant from the same towards either Pole, and the Geo|grapheis call them Northerne Paralells, which are neare the AEquator in the Nor|therne Hemisphere and Southerne Paralells, which are so drawne in the Southerne Hemisphere. Also as there is no certaine number of particular places, so the Paralells are innumerable, in so much as each place vpon the vpper face of the

earth, distant from another towards the North or South, hath his pecular verticall Paralell. Yet vsually the Geographers number 180 Paralells, namely, ninty Northerne, and ninty Sou|therne. Of this number are the foure Paralells which include the foure Zones (or [Note: The fiue Zones.] girdles), by which the vpper face of the earth is distinguished into Climes, and the AEquator in the middest of them, and greatest of them is ioyned to them, and makes the fifth Zone. 72 The whole circle of the AEquator or Meridian, containes 360 degrees, whereof each [Note: Degrees] consists of 60 minutes. About 500 stadia make a degree, 125 paces make a stadium, an I|talian mile makes 8 stadia, a French mile 12, a German mile 32, so as 1 degree containes 62 Italian miles and a half, or 15 common German miles, and a half, and half quarter.

Although the earth be conuex (or bending) and sphericall (orround), yet in a cer|taine respect they giue to the same, from West to East, or contrarily, a Longitude in [Note: Longi|tude and Latitude] the AEquator and Paralells; and like wise from the South to the North, or contrari|ly, a Latitude in the Meridians. And howsocuer the earth in his vpper face, by nature hath neither beginning nor ending, yet they appoint the artificiall beginning of the Longitude in the Meridian Circle, drawne by the Fortunate or Canary Ilands; and therefore call it the first Meridian, and so proceeding from it towards the West or the East, they reckon the Longitude of the earth. For example, two Meridians being drawne, the first by the Canary Ilands, the second by any place whose situation is in|quired, as many degrees as are sound in the Paralell circle proper to the said place, from the first Meridian to the proper Meridian of the place, of so many degrees is the Longitude of that place said to be. In like sort the circle AEquator and the Paralell circle of the place whose situation is inquired being drawne, as many degrees as are in|cluded in the Meridian circle of that place, from the AEquator to the Paralell of the place, of so many degrees is the Latitude of that place said to bee. As the Paralells are of two sorts, so is the Latitude, namely, Northerne from the AEquator towards the Northerne Pole, and Southerne from the same towards the Southerne Pole. Also the Longitude in like sort, but imaginarily, is said to be Easterly and Westerly, beginning at the first Meridian. The places situated vnder the AEquator, are said to haue no latitude and the places vnder the first Meridian, no longitude. The Zones compassing the earth [Note: Zones] like girdles, according to the Longitude thereof, deuide it by the AEquator, and foure paralells into fiue parts, whereof two are temperate, and three intemperate. One of the intemperate, being the middle, lies vnder the AEquator, betweene the two Paralells called Tropici, and this is called the Torride or burnt Zone, because it be|ing vnder the Ecliptick line, of the Sunnes yeerely course, is continually burnt with the beames thereof. This Zone in the Superficies or vpper part of the earth, containes the greater part of Affrick towards the South, yea, almost all Affrick, (excepting Egypt, and Mauritania, towards the Northerne Pole, and the furthest parts of Afirick towards the Southerne Pole), and it containes the chiefe Ilands of the East Indies. Next to this middle torride Zone, towards the North, lies one of the temperate Zones, seated be|tweene the two Paralells, called the Tropick of Cancer, and the Artick circle, and it containes the greatest part of America, the Northerne part of Affrick and almost al Eu|rope and Asia. The other temperate Zone lies by the middle torride Zone, on the other side of the AEquator towards the South, seated betweene the two Paralells, called the Trop-

ick of Capricorn, and the Antartick circle, and containes the part of Ame|rica called Peru and the extreme Southerne parts of Affrick, and great part of the Southerne World as yet vndiscouered. Next to these temperate Zones lye the o|ther two Zones called intemperate for cold, as the first are for heate, and one of them lies vnder the Northerne Pole of the world, containing Noruegia, and the part of Tar|taria lying within the Artick circle, the other lies vnder the Southerne Pole, which part of the World is not yet discouered.

Clymes are tracts compassing the earth circularly from the West to the East, and they are much more narrow then the Zones, and not of equal Latitude among them|themselues, [Note: Clymes.] but as Zones are the greater, the neerer they are to the AEquator, and the narrower, the more they are distant from the AEquator, towards either of the Poles, so are the Clymes. The Latitude of each Clyme is so great, as from the beginning to the end of it, the greatest Solstitial day may increase halfe an hower. And because this variation of the day, in parts most remote from the AEquator, happens in shorter di|stances of the earth, therefore the Clymes also most remote from the AEquator, are made more and more narrow. In our age wherein great parts of the World are dis|couered, which were of old vnknowne, this distribution of the earth from the Artick circle to the Antartick, may be made into 23 clymes, the Equinoctial clyme not being numbred. But this property must euer bee obserued, that the Solsitiall day of the fol|lowing 73 clime, is euer half an hour longer, then the solstitial day of the foregoing clime. The first clime aswell from the Equator towards the North, as from it towards the South is placed, where the greatest day containes 12 houres and a halfe, and that is next to the AEquator on either side. The second where the greatest day containes 13 houres. The third where it containes 13 houres and an halfe. The fourth where it containes 14 houres. And so forward, till you haue numbred the 23 clime, making the day of 23 houres and a halfe, and so come to one of the said circles, Arctick towards the North, or Antartick towards the South, where in the Solstitial day of the one half of the yeere, the Sun shines 24 houres aboue the Horizon, and the night is but a moment, and on the con|trary, in the solstitial day of the other halfe of the yeere, the Sun is hidden 24 hours vn|der the horizon, and the day is but a moment: but beyond these circles, this distribution of the earth into climes ceaseth, because after the day is no more increased by halfe houres, but the oblique horizon, on both sides, hideth certaine portions of the Eclip|tick, about the solstitial points, which are perpetual appearings or hidings, and when the Sun passeth them, it makes continual day for some weekes, yea, for some moneths, or the like continuall night, til you come to one of the Poles, vnder which there is conti|nual day for the six summer moneths, and likewise continual night for the sixe winter moneths. The Earth is diuided into fiue parts, Asia, Africk, Europe, America, and Terra Australis, or Southland (not yet discouered). Now I must speake of the parts of Europe. [Note: Parts of the World.] and Asia, seated in the temperate Zone towards the North, and vnder the Northern lati|tude and Easterly longitude, which must alwaies be obserued for the vnderstanding of the descriptions now following. The oriental longitude, (namely from the first me|ridian towards the East) of Germany, with Sweitzerland and Boemerland, from the 23 de|gree [Note: Of Germa|ny, Sweit|zerland, and Bohemia.] to the 46 degree, extends it selfe 23 degrees. The Northern latitude, (namely from the Equinoctial to the North), of the same Countries, from the paralell of 45 degrees

and a halfe, to the paralel of 55 degrees and a halfe, extends it selfe 10 degrees. Germany is diuided into the vpper and the lower. The vpper lying vpon the Alpes, and neere the Ri|uer Danow, is subdiuided into 11 Prouinces, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Athesis, Rhetia, Vindelicia, Bauaria, Sucuia, Heluetia, (or Sweitzerland) Alsatia, and the Tract vpon the Ri|uer Rhein to Metz. 1 Austria was of old called the vpper Pannonia, of the bridges, or of [Note: Vpper Ger|many, con|taining Sweitzer|land:] the Peones comming out of Greece to inhabit it) and also Auaria, now it is vulgarly cal|led Oestreich, that is, the Easterly Kingdome. Danow the great riuer of Europe (which go|ing on the course, is called Isther) runs through it, and diuides it into Austria on this side, and on the far side of Danow. It hath many ancient and famous Cities, whereof the chiefe is Uienna, (vulgarly Wien) built vpon the banke of Danow, famous not so much for the Vniuersity, and the trafficke of the place, as for that it is most strongly fortified to keepe out the Turkes, and it is subiect to the Emperour, as he is Arch-duke of Austria. 2 Styria of old called Valesia and Iapidia, is a small region in the midst of the Alpes, and was at first onely a Marquisate, whereupon it is vulgarly called Stoirmark, but after by the Empe|rour Fredericke Barbarossa, was raised to a Dukedome, and was at this time subiect to a Prince of the House of Austria, by diuision of inheritance. The Cities thereof are Vo|lenburg, Hal, and Griets, (the chiefe City.) It hath two Riuers, Mour and Draw.

3 The Inhabitants of Carinthia, are called Carni, vulgarly Kerntheine. The Easterly and Southerly part thereof is called Carniola, vulgarly Krein, and the inhabitants thereof were of old called Iapides. Here are the spring heads of the Riuers Drauus and Sauus, in the middest of the Alpes. The Cities Philac and Clagefort are of small moment. 4. The Athesine Prouince lies vnder Banaria towards the Alpes, between Carinthia and Heluetia (or Sweitzerland) and hath the name of the riuer Athesis, vulgarly called Etsch, which runs into Italy by Trent and [283] Verona , and is there called l'A|dice, and so falles into the Riuer Po. This Prouince is commonly called the County of Tyrol, the Cities whereof are Brixia and AEnipons (vulgarly Inspruck, a faire Citie.)

5. The names of Rhetia, Vindelicia and Norira, in these dayes are out of vse, and the li|mits of them are often co founded. That is properly Rhetia, which lies between the lake of Constantis (or Costnetz towards the North, and the high top of the Alpes towards the South, whose chiefe City is Bregants, and the inhabitants of these Alpes are vulgarly called Grisons.)

74 6 Vindelicia is the other part of that tract, lying betweene the Danow and the Alpes, which hath faire Cities, as Augusta Vindelicorum, (vulgarly Augsburg, a famous City), Vlme, Ingolstad, Ratisbona, (vulgarly Regenspurg) and Passaw. Obserue that the old limits of Rhetia, did reach to [284] Verona and Como in Italy, but now great part of it is laid to Sueuia in Germany, as namely the Cities, Augsburg and Vlme, aforesaid.

7 The Countries of Bauaria, and of the Bishopricke of Saltzburg, were of old called Vindelicia Noricum, and the Inhabitants thereof, Taurisci, and it hath these Cities, Scher|dung, Saltzburg, and Lintz.

8 Sueuia stretcheth into old Vindelicia, and that which at this day is so called, con|taines the greater part of Rhetia and Vindelicia. The Sueuians (vulgarly Schwaben) of old forsooke their dwelling vpon the Riuer Elue, and inuaded vpper

[283] Verona
[284] Verona

Rhetia, which to this day they hold. The Cities thereof are Nerlingen, Gepingen, and the foresaid Vlme and Augsburg.

9 Heluetia (or Sweitzerland) was of old part of Gallia Belgica, now is reckoned as part of Germany. The head spring of the Rheine, (the second Riuer of Germany, next in greatnesse to the Danow), is in the highest Alpes of Heluetia, where it riseth in two heads, and the Northerly head falling from the Mountaines Furca and Gotardo, is cal|led the fore Rheine, and the Southerly head, falling from the Lepontine Mountaines, is called the hinder Rheine, both which running towards the East, are vnited at Chur, and then with the name of Rheine, it fals towards the North violently from the Moun|tains. Heluetia hath many and very famous Cities, namely, Schaffhusen, (as the houses of boats or ships) Constantia (vulgarly Costnetz), Tigurum (vulgarly Zurech) Solodurum (or Solothurn), Bern, Lucern, and Geneua, with Losanna, which two last of old were reckoned in Sauoy, but now are confederate with the Sweitzers. The Inhabitants of Heluetia are commonly called Sweitzers, and among themselues they will be called Eidgenossin, that is; partakers of the sworne league. The part of Heluetia betweene the Rheine and the lake of Constantia, is called Brisgoia, vulgarly Brisgaw, (Bris signifies a price, and Gaw a meadow), and therein is the spring-head of the Riuer Danow, and the Townes thereof are Rotwill, Brisach, Friburg, (an Vniuersity) Basil (a famous Vniuersity), of old belonging to Alsatia, now confederate with the Sweitzers.

10 Alsatia, so called of the riuer Illa running through it, is diuided into the vpper and the lower: The vpper from Basil to Strasburg is called Singaw, and the Inhabitants of old were called Tribocchi, and Tribotes: some hold Strasburg of old to haue beene the chiefe City thereof, but it hath now three Cities, Basil, Selestade, and Rusach. The lower lying aboue Strasburg to the Mount Vogasus, hath these Cities, Haganaw and Sa|bern.

11. For the Tract vpon the Rheine: first, aboue Alsatia towards Metz, the Ne|metes (whose chiefe City is Spira), and the Vangiones (whose chiefe City is Worms), possesse the West side of the Rheine. The tract adioyning is called Vetus Hannonia (vulgarly Alt-henegaw.) Something further from the Rheine towards the Dukedome of Luxenburg, are these Prouinces. The County Sweybrucken (also called Bipoutanus in Latin, of two Bridges), and the Cities are Sweybrucken and Sarbrucken. Secondly, Au|stracia (vulgarly Vestreich, as a vast Kingdome.) Thirdly, the Territory of the Elector Bishop of Trier, whereof the chiefe Citie is Treueris (vulgarly Trier.)

On the other side of the Rheine towards the East, the Marquisate of Baden lyes next to Heluetia, whose inhabitants of old were called Vespi. Next lies the Dukedome of Wirtenburg, the Cities whereof are Tubinga and Sturcardia, whereof the former is an Vniuersitie. Then followes the Palatinate of Rheine, the Inhabitants whereof were of old called Intuergi and Phargiones, and are now called Phaltzer, and Heidelberg, seated vpon the Riuer Neccar is the chiefe Citie, and the seate of the Pala|tine [Note: 19 Prouin|ces of lower Germany, among which Bo|hemia is reckoned.] Elector.

The lower Germany is deuided into nineteene Prouinces, Franconia, Bohemia, Mora|uia, Silesia, Saxonia, Lusatia, Misnia, Turingia, Marchia, the Dukedome of Branswicke, the Dukedome of Mecklenburg, Hassia, Iuliacum, Cliuia, Westphalia Frisia Orientalis, Peme|rania, Borussia, and Linonia, (for I omit Gallia Belgica to be handled in his proper place.)

75 1 Franconia is an ancient and no-

ble Nation, the inhabitants wherof driuing the Ro|mans out of Gallia, possessed the same, and gaue the name of France to that Kingdome. This Prouince hath old and faire Cities, namely, Bamberg (a Bishops seate), Rotenburg, Francfort (famous for the yeerely Marts or Faires), Wirtzberg (a Bishops seate), Mentz or Metz (the seate of the chiefe Elector Bishop), and Nurnberg (a famous City, which some hold to be in Bauaria, but the Citizens doe more willingly acknowledge them|selues to be Franckes.) All the Prouince (excepting the free Cities, and the three Ci|ties belonging to Bishops) is subiect to the Margraue of Brandeburg.

2 Bohemia hath a language proper to it selfe, and hath two Prouinces belonging to it, Morauia (hauing his proper language), and Silesia (vsing the Dutch tongue) and these three make a Kingdome, which is subiect to the Emperour, and it is ioyned by Geographers to the Prouinces of Germany, because the same compasseth it almost round about. Bohemia is not deuided into Counties, but according to the Teritories, belonging to the King, or to Noble men and Gentlemen; this being called the Kings land, that the land of the Baron of Rosenberg, or the land of the Popells, and so of the rest. The chiefe City and seate of the Emperour their King, is Prage. The Riuer Blue hath his head spring in Bohemia, being the third Riuer of Germany, and it runs through Saxony to Hamburg, and after falls into the sea. The inhabitants of Bohemia came out of Dalmatia, as their language witnesseth.

3 Morauia was of old inhabited by the Marcomanni, and had subiect to it Bohe|mia, Silesia, and Polonia: but at this day it is onely a Marquisate, subiect to Bohemia, and hath the name of the Riuer Moraua. The chiefe City thereof is Bromia, vulgarly Prim.

4 The inhabitants of Silesia were of old called Lugij, Dantuli, and Cogni. The Riuer Viadrus, or Odera, runnes through it into Pomerania, and so falles into the sea. Silesia is annexed to Bohemia, and so is likewise subiect to the Emperour, as King of Bohemia, and the chiefe City thereof is Vratislauia, vulgarly Bressell, and the inhabitants of this Prouince are Germans, as well in language as manners.

5 Saxony containes all that lies betweene Hassia, Silesia, Polonia, Bohemia, and the Baltick sea, so as at this day, Lusatia, Misnia, Turingia, both the Markes, and the Duke|domes of Brunswick, and of Meckleburg, are contained therein.

6 Lusatia is a little Region, annexed to the Kingdome of Bohemia. In the vpper part are the Cities Gurlitz (an Vniuersity), and Pautsan, and Siltania. In the lower, So|rauick and Cotwick, and the Riuer Sprea runnes through them both.

7 Misnia was of old inhabited by the Hermondari, and Sorabi, of the Sclauonian Na|tion. It is a fertill Region, and therein begin the Mountaines which ptolomy calles Su|diti, in which are mines of mettals, and especially of siluer. The Cities thereof are Mis|nia (vulgarly Misen), Torg, Leipzig, and Witteberg (two Vniuersities), Fryburg (the fields whereof haue rich mines of siluer), Dresden (the seate of the Saxon Elector), Rem|nitz, and Suicania.

8 The Prouince of Turingia is said of old to haue been inhabited by the Gothes, because the chiefe City is called Gota. The Metropolitan City is Erford, being large and ancient, and one of the free Cities of the Empire. This Prouince is subiect to the Duke of Saxony, with the title of Langraue, as Misnia is also, with the title of Mar|quis.

9 The Riuer Odera hath his head spring in Marchia, and runnes through it, deuiding it into the new Marke, and the old. The chiefe Citie of the old is Franckford vpon the Odera, (so called in difference of the

more knowne Franckford vpon the Maene. The new Marke hath these Cities, Berlin, the seate of the Elector, and Brandeburg, of which the Elector of Brandeburg hath that stile, and both the new and old are subiect to the said Elector.

10 Brunswick giues the name to that Dukedome, and hath the name of Bruno that built it, and is a free Citie of the Empire, strongly fortified, and not any way subiect to the Duke of Brunswick, though vpon some old title hee hath the name thereof, and possesseth the rest of the Dukedome, holding his Court at Wolfenbriten, not farre di|stant from Brunswick.

76 11 The Dukedom of Meckelburg, was of old inhabited by the Pharadini, as Ptolo|my writes. It hath two Cities, both on the Seaside, Wismar, and Rostoch (an Vniuersity.)

12 Hassia is a mountanous Country, in which Ptolomy placeth for old inhabitants the Longobardi, the Chatti, the Teucteri, and the Chriones. At this day it is subiect to the Family of the Landgraues of Hassia. It hath these Cities, Casseits (the chiefe seat of the elder brother of that Family) Hersphild, and Marpurg (an Vniuersitie.) The tract vpon the Riuer Louia, is deuided into the County of Nassaw (whereof the chiefe Towne is Dillenberg) and the County of Catzmelbogen (so called of the Chatti inhabitants, and Melibots a famous Mountaine.) The Bishoprick of Colen giues title to one of the Cler|gie Electors, and was of old inhabited by the Vbij, of whom the chiefe Citie was first called Vbiopolis, which Marcus Agrippae repaired, and called it Agripina Augusta: but Marcomirus King of the Francks or French, conquering it, called it Colonia. It is a small Country, and the Bishop Elector hath most part of his reuenues from other places.

13 Iuliacum is a little Region, and hath title of a Dukedome.

14 The Dukedom of Cleue was of old inhabited by the Vstpetes, and the City Cleue is the seate of the Duke.

15 Westphalia is a large Region, inhabited by the Cherusci, Teucteri, Bructeri, and the Vigenoues, and it hath these Cities, Padeborn, Munster (which the Anabaptists held in time of Luther), Breme (a free city of the Empire, fairely built vpon the Riuer Visurgis), and Mindawe.

16 Easterly Freesland lyes vpon the Riuer Aniesus, vulgarly Emms, and is a Coun|ty, subiect to the Count of Emden, who hath his name of the chiefe Citie Emden: but of late vpon some difference he was for a time driuen out of that City, so as it seemes hee hath not absolute power ouer it.

17 Pomerania was of old inhabited by the Hermiones, and lies vpon the Baltike sea or Oest sea, and is subiect to the Duke thereof. It hath these Townes, Stetin, coberg; (both on the Sea-side), Sund, Stutgard, and Grippwalt (which lies also on the sea, and is an old Vniuersitie, but hath few or no Students.)

18 Bornssia or Prussia, is at this day subiect to the King of Polonia, by agreement made betweene the Polonians and the Knights of the Tentonick order, but the inhabitants are Germans, both in speech and manners. The chiefe Cities are these, Dantzk (a fa|mous Citie, acknowledging the King of Poland for tributes, yet so, as they will not re|ceiue him into the Citie, but with such a traine as they like.) Another Citie is Konigs|perg (the seate of the Duke of Prussen, who is of the Family of the Elector of Brande|burg, but hath the Dukedome in Fee from the Kings of Poland, to whom it fals in want of heires males.) The other Cities are, Marieburg, Elbing and Thorn (which lies vpon the con-

fines of Poland, and witty Copernicus was borne there.)

19 Ltuonia is a part of Germany, but hath neither the speech nor the manners there|of. It was subdued some two hundred yeeres past, and was brought from the wor|shipping of Idols and Deuils, to Christian Religion, yet in the Villages they haue not at this day fully left their old Idolatrie. It is inhabited by the old Saxons, and hath these Cities, Refalia (on the sea-side) Derbt (within land), and the Metropolitan Citie Riga (on the sea-side, which the Duke of Moscony hath often, but in vaine, attempted to subdue)

Old Writers affirme (as Munster witnesseth) that the Germanes had perpetuall Winter, and knew not Haruest for want of fruites. This opinion no doubt proceeded [Note: The situati|on of Ger|many.] rather from their neglect or ignorance of tyllage and husbandrie, then from the indis|position of the ayre or soyle. Yet I confesse that they haue farre greater cold then England lying more Northerly, especially in lower Germany and the Prouinces lying vpon the Baltick or Oest Sea, more especially in Prussen (part of that shoare, which the more it reacheth towards the East, doth also more bend towards the North) where in September my selfe did feele our Winters cold.

And since the Baltick sea is little subiect to ebbing and flowing, and the waters ther|of are not much moued, except it bee vpon a storme, it is daily seene, that in win|ter vpon a North or North-West wind, this sea for a good distance from the land is frosen with hard yce, to which the inland Riuers are much more subiect, which 77 argues the extreme cold that this part of Germany suffereth. Also neare the Alpes, though Southerly, that part of Germany, hauing the said Mountaines interposed be|tweene it and the Sunne, and feeling the cold winds that blow from those Moun|taines perpetually couered with snow, doth much lesse partake the heat of the Sunne, then others vnder the same paralell, hauing not the said accidents. Vpon these Alpes (whereof I haue formerly spoken in this booke) the snow lyes very deepe, and couers all the ground for nine moneths of the yeere, yet notwithstanding the vallyes and dis|cents of them lying open to the South Sunne, and taking life from the heate thereof, are very fruitfull. Lastly, in generall through all Germany, the aboundance of Lakes and Mountaines, doth increase this cold of the aire in diuers places, except they bee something defended from the same by Woods adioyning, and in some places (as namely at Heidelberg) where the Cities are almost fully inclosed with Mountaines, the cold windes in Winter doe more ragingly breake in on that side the Mountaines lve open, the more they are restrained and resisted on the other sides. As likewise by ac|cident the Sunne beames in Summer reflecting against those Mountaines (though in a cold Region) are so violently hot, as the Cities at that time are much annoyed with multitudes of flies, which not onely vex men, but so trouble the horses, as they are for|ced to couer them with cloathes from this annoyance. The foresaid intemperatenesse of cold pressing great part of Germany, in stead of fier they vse hot stoues for remedie thereof, which are certaine chambers or roomes, hauing an earthen ouen cast into them, which may be heated with a little quantity of wood, so as it will make them hot who come out of the cold, and incline them to swetting if they come neare the ouen. And as well to keepe out cold as to retaine the heate, they keepe the dores and win|dowes closely shut; so as they vsing not only to receiue Gentlemen into these stoues, but euen to permit rammish clownes to stand by the ouen till their wet clothes be dri|ed, and

themselues sweat, yea, to indure their little children to sit vpon their close stooles, and ease themselues within this close and hot stoue (let the Reader pardon my rude speech, as I bore with the bad smell), it must needes be, that these ill smelles, neuer purged by the admitting of any fresh ayre, should dull the braine, and almost choke the spirits of those who frequent the stoues. When my selfe first entred into one of them, this vnwonted heate did so winde about my legges, as if a Snake had twined a|bout them, and made my head dull and heauy: but after I had vsed them, custome became another nature, for I neuer inioyed my health in any place better then there. This intemperatenesse of cold, is the cause that a Lawrell tree is hardly to be found in Germany, and that in the lower parts towards Lubeck, they keepe Rosemary within the house in eartherne pitchers filled with earth, as other where men preserue the choice fruits of the South, yet can they not keep this Rosemary (when it prospers best) aboue three yeeres from withering. For this cause also, they haue no Italian fruits in Germa|ny, onely at Prage I did see some few Orange trees, preserued in pitchers full of earth, by setting them fourth in the heate of the Summer dayes, and after drawing them in|to houses, where they were cherished by artificiall heate. And the like fruits I did see at Heidelberg in the Pallatine Electors Garden, growing open in Summer, but in win|ter a house being built ouer them, with an ouen like a stoue, and yet these trees yeelded not any ripe fruit, when as at London and many parts of England more Northerly then those parts of Germany, we haue Muske Mellons, and plenty of Abricots growing in Gardens, which for quantitie and goodnesse are not much inferiour to the fruits in Italy. Also this cold is the cause, that in Misen (where they plant vines) and in the highest parts of Germany on this side the Alpes (where they make wine thereof) the Grapes and the wine are exceeding sower. Onely the wines vpon Neccar, and those vpon the West side of the Rheine, are in their kinds good, but harsh and of little heate in the stomacke.

The cherries called Zawerkersen, are reasonable great, but sower. And the other kind called Wildkersen, is little and sweete, but hath a blacke iuyce, vnpleasing to the taste. They haue little store of peares or apples, and those they haue are little, and of small pleasantnesse, onely the Muskadel peare is very delicate, especially when it is 78 dried. And the Germans make good vse of those fruits they haue, not so much for pleasure when they are greene, as for furnishing the table in Winter. For their Peares, and Apples, they pare them, and drie them vnder the Ouen of the stoue, and then dresse them very fauorly with Cynamon and Butter. In like sort they long preserue their cheries drie, without sugar, and the greater part of their cheries they boyle in a brasse cauldron, full of holes in the bottome, out of which the iuce falles into another vessell, which being kept, growes like marmalade, and makes a delicate sauce for all roasted meates, and will last very long, as they vse it. The Italians haue a Prouerb, Dio da i panni secondo i freddi; that is, God giues cloathes according to the colds, as to the cold Muscouites hee hath giuen futtes, to the English wooll for cloth, to the French diuers light stuffes, and to Souther|lie people stoore of silkes, that all Nations abounding in some things, and wan|ting others, might be taught, that they haue neede of one anothers helpe, and so be stirred vp to mutuall loue, which God hath thus planted betweene mankind by mutuall trafficke. For this must be vnderstood not onely of clother, but also of all o|ther things necessary for human life.

Germany doth abound with many things necessary for life, and many com-

modities [Note: The fertility of Germany] to be transported. For great Cities, and Cities within land (of which Germany hath store) those argue plenty of commodities to bee transported, and these plenty of foode to nourish much people. And since that paradox of Cicero is most true, that small causes of expence rather, then great reuenues, make men rich, surely by this rea|son the Germans should bee most rich. They neuer play at Dice, seldome at Cardes, and that for small wagers. They seldome feast, and sparingly, needing no sumptuary Law es to restraine the number or costlinesse of dishes or sawces. They are appar|relled with homely stuffes, and weare their clothes to the vttermost of their lasting, their houshold stuffe is poore, in gifts they are most sparing, and onely are prodigall in expences for drinking, with which a man may sooner burst, then spend his patri|mony. They haue Corne sufficient for their vse, and the Merchants in the Cities vp|on the sea coast, export Corne into Spaine, aswell of their owne, as especially of that they buy at Dantzke. They want not Cattle of all kinds, but they are commonlie leane and little, so are their horses many in number, and little in stature, onely in Bo|hemia they haue goodly horses, or at least great and heauy, like those in Freeseland: but I remember not to haue seene much cattle, or great heards thereof, in the fields of any Towne, the reason whereof may be gathered out of the following discourse of the Germans diet. Their sheepe are very little, bearing a course wooll, and commonly blacke, which they export not, but make course cloath thereof for the poorer sort, the Gentlemen and for the most part the Citizens wearing English cloath. The li|bertie of hunting commonly reserued to Princes, and absolute Lords, and they haue great store of red Deare, feeding in open Woods, which the Princes kill by hun|dreds at a time, and send them to their Castlas to be salted, vsing them in stead of beefe for the feeding of their families. They haue no fallow Deare, except some wild kinds vpon the Alpes. They haue great store of fresh fish in Lakes, Ponds, and Riuers, a|mong which the Lakes of Sweitzerland are most commended. At Hamburg they catch such plentie of Sallmons, as it is a common report, that the seruants made coue|nant with their Masters, not to bee fed therewith more then two meales in the weeke, and from thence great plentie of Sturgeon is exported. Either the cold driues away birds, or else they labour not to take them; for I did seldome see them ferued at the table, but onely Sparrowes, and some few little birds.

In all their Riuers I did neuer see any Swannes, yet they say, that at Lu|beck, and about priuate Castles of Gentlemen, they haue some few. They say that they haue some mines of Gold: but surely they abound with mines of Sil|uer aboue all Europe, and all mettals where so euer found, are by a Law of the Golden Bull appropriated to the Emperour, and to the Electors, in their seuerall dominions. Also they abound with copper and brasse, where with they couer many Churches, but within forty yeeres past, the English haue brought them Leade, which 97 they vse to that and other purposes. Also they haue great plenty of Iron, and they haue Fountaines yeelding most white Salt, in Cities farre within the land, which Ci|ties are commonly called Halla. Austria beyond the Danow yeelds excellent Saffron, and at Iudiburg in Styria growes store of Spica Celtica (as the Latin Herbalists call it.) In the season of the yeere yellow Amber is plentifully gathered vpon the Sea coast of Prusfia and Pomerania. The Germans export into forraigne parts, and there sell ma|ny curious and well prised workes of manuall Art. And it is worth the con-

sideration, that the Citizens of Nurnberg, dwelling in a sandy and baeren soile, by their industrie, and more specially by their skill in these manuall Arts, liue plentifully, and attaine great riches, while on the contrary, the inhabitants of Alsatia the most fruitfull Pro|uince of all Germany, neglecting these Arts, and content to enioy the fatnesse of their soyle in slothfull rest, are the poorest of all other Germans. Moreouer, the vpper part of Germany abounds with Woods of Firre, which tree (as the Lawrell) is greene all Winter, and it hath many Okes also vpon the Alpes, and not else where, and lower Germany, especially towards the Baltick Sea, aboundeth with Woods of Oke. They conuey great store of wood from the Alpes into the lower parts, by the Riuer Rheine, cutting downe whole trees, and when they are marked, casting them one by one into the Riuer, to be carried downe with the violent streame thereof, or otherwise binding many together, to floate downe, with men standing vpon them to guide them. And at many Cities and Villages, they haue seruants, which know the trees by the markes, and gather them vp in places, where they may best be sold.

The Cities that are one the Sea-coast on the North side of Germany, haue very great [Note: Of the tra|fick of Ger|many.] ships, but more fit for taking in great burthen, then for sayling or fighting, which the Netherlanders more commonly fraught with their commodities, then the Germans themselues, neither are the German Marriners much to bee commended. The German Sea in good part, and the Baltick Sea altogether, are free from Pyrats, which is the cause that their ships are little or not at all armed, onely some few that trade into Spaine, carry great Ordinance, but are generally made large in the ribs, rather fit for burthen, then fight at Sea. I neuer obserued them to haue any common prayers mor|ning or euening, as our English ships haue while they bee at Sea, but the Marriners of their owne accord vse continually to sing Psalmes, and they are punished by the purse who sweare, or so much as once name the diuell, from which they ab|horre.

And herein they deserue to be praysed aboue the Holanders, in whose ships a man shall heare no mention of God or his worship. The said free Cities of Germany lying on the Sea-coast, are called Hansenstetten, that is, free Cities, because they had of old in all neighbour Kingdoms great priuiledges, of buying any wares as wel of strangers as Citizens, and of selling or exchanging their own wares to either sort at pleasure, and to bring in or carry out all commodities by their owne shippes, with like immuni|ties equall to Citizens in all the said Dominions, and no lesse preiudiciall to them, then aduantageous to themselues.

In England they were wont to dwell together at London, in the house called the Stil|yard, and there to enioy these liberties, which long since haue laine dead, the Germans seldome bringing ought in their ships into England, and the English hauing now long time found it more commodious to vse their owne shipping, and iustly com|plaining, that the English had not the like priuiledges in the said free Cities; for which cause the priuiledges of the Germans were laid dead in England, though not fully taken away. Caesar witnesseth, that the Schwaben inhabiting Suenia, then containing great part of Germany, admitted Merchants not to buy any thing themselues, but onely to sell the spoyles they got in warre. But Munster a German writes, that these Sueuians or schwaben are now the onely forestallers of all things sold in faires or Markets, and that for this cause they are excluded from buying any thing

through Germany, except it bee sold in their owne Townes of trafficke.

In generall, the Germans doe applie themselues industriously to all trafficke by land, which onely the free Cities on the Sea-coast exercise somewhat coldly by sea. At 8o home the Germans among themselues spend and export an vnspeakeable quantity of Beere with great gaine, which yeelds great profit to priuate Citizens, and to the Prin|ces, or publike Senate in free Cities, there being no Merchandize of the World that more easily findes a buyer in Germany, then this. For the Germans trafficke with strangers, I will omit small commodities (which are often sold, though in lesse quanti|tie, yet with more gaine then greater) and in this place I will onely speake of the com|modities of greater moment, aswell those that the Country affords, as those that buy in forraigne parts to be transported in their owne ships. The Germans export into Italy, linnen clothes, corne, wax (fetcht from Dantzk and those parts) and coyned fil|uer of their owne, which they also exchange vncoined with some quantity of gold. In|to England they export boards, iron, course linnen clothes (and of that kind one sort called Dyaper, wrought in Misen), and bombast or cotton. Into Spaine they export linnen cloth, wax, brasse, copper, cordage, Masts for shippes, gun-powder, bombast or cotton, and Nurnberg wares (so they call small wares.) Againe, they receiue all kinds of silkes from Italy, whereof they vse little quantity for their owne apparrell, but send great store ouer land, to those Cities on the Sea-coast, where the English Merchants reside, to be sold vnto them.

For the English Merchants had their Staple first at Emden, the Count whereof vsed them well, yet in the warre betweene England and Spaine, this place grew dange|rous for them, for the enemie often tooke their goods, and made them prisoners, at the very mouth of the Harbour. Whereupon they remoued to Hamburg, where being oppressed with new impositions, and being denied the publike exercise of their Religion, they went from thence, and settled their Staple at Stoade. In like sort the English Merchants trading for Poland and those parts, first had their Staple at Dantzk in Prussen (by Staple I meane their residence in a City, giuing them priuiledge to stop any forraigne wares, intended to be carried further, and to force the Merchant to sell them there, except hee had rather returne with them to the place from whence hee came.) But when the Dantzkers vnder pretence of the Sueuian warre, exacted of them a doller for each woollen cloath, and asmuch for a last of any other goods, and after when the warre was ended, would remit nothing of this imposition. And further when they forbad the English by a Law to dwell in Poland, the commodities whereof were onely sold there, left they should learne the language, and find the mysteries of the trade. And lastly when they exacted as much weekely of an Englishman dwel|ling in the City, as they did of a Iew dwelling there. The English made agreement with the Senate of Meluin for eleuen yeeres, to pay them sixe grosh for each cloth, or other last of goods, and to pay as much more in the Citie Kettle, to the Duke of Prus|sen, for his giuing them free passage to Meluin, and so they settled their Staple there. Wherupon the Dantzkers being offended with the Citizens of Meluin, and the Ham|burgers no lesse with those of Stoade, procured the free Cities by a publike writing to outlaw, not onely Meluin and Stoade for receiuing the English, to the common preiu|dice of the rest, but also Koingsperg (the seate of the Duke of Prussen), and the free Citie Lubeck, for fauouring the English in this course, and permitting them being strangers to sell

their goods to any other, then the Citizens of each seuerall Ci|tie.

But I will returne to the trafficke of Germany. I formerly said, that the Germans receiued all kindes of silke stuffes from Italy. From the English they receiue woollen clothes, lead, and such like things. From Spaine they bring in their owne ships wine, fruites, oyle, salt, wooll, and more commonly coined siluer. And because the trade of Prussen (a German Prouince, but lately annexed to Poland) is of great importance with all strangers, I will adde this, that the English bring thither great quantitie of tynne, and woollen cloathes, with copper, and like things. And that they bring from thence Pitch, liquid Pitch, Hempe, Flaxe, Cables, Masts for shippes, boards and timber for building, Linnen cloates, Wax, minerall Salt (which in Poland they dig out of pirs like great stones, and the same being put to the fire is made pure, and being blacke, his co|lour is more durable, and lesse subiect to giuing againe, then our boiled salt.) Also they 81 bring from thence pine ashes for making of Soape, and great quantity of Corne. Yet the English seldome haue neede of their Corne for the vse of England, which many times of their owne they transport to other Nations, but they buy it as the free Cities doe, to transport it to others, and the Low-Countrey men buy it as well for them|selues, as to serue Spaine therewith, so as great quantity thereof is distracted into all parts of Europe. The Amber that is brought from these parts, is not gathered at Meluin or Dantzke, but on the sea side of Konigsperg (where the Duke of Prussen holds his Court), and all along the Coast of Curland, where howsoeuer it lies in great quan|tity scattered on the sand of the Sea, yet is it as safe, as if it were in warehouses, since it is death to take away the least peece thereof. When it is first gathered, it is all coue|red ouer with drosse, but after it is polished, becomes transparantly bright. At Dantzke I did see two polished peeces thereof, which were esteemed at a great price, one inclu|ding a frogge with each part cleerely to be seene, (for which the King of Poland then beiyg there, offered fiue hundred dollers), the other including a newt, but not so tran|sparant as the former. Some thinke this Amber to be a gumme distilling from trees, and by these peeces falling vpon frogges and like things, this opinion should seeme true, but those trees from which they hold this Amber to distill, abound in Germany, yet Amber is onely found vpon this Coast of the Balticke Sea Others thinke rather that Amber is generated by the Sea, and it is most certaine that Marriners sounding farre from the Land, often find sand of Amber sticking to their plummets, whereof my selfe was an eye witnesse. And Munster holds them to be deceiued, who thinke Amber to be a gumme distilling from trees, and because it is fat, and burnes being put to the fier, concludes it to be a fat clay, or bituminous matter, affirming that it is not onely found vpon the Sea Coast, but often caught at Sea in nets, and he adds that be|ing liquid, it often fals vpon, and includes little beasts, which growe with it to the hardnes of stone, and that it smels of mirh.

The diet of the Germans is simple, and very modest, if you set aside their intempe|rate drinking: For as they are nothing sumptuous, but rather sparing in their apparell [Note: The Ger|mans diet.] and houshold stuffe, so they are content with a morsell of flesh and bread, so they haue store of drinke, and want not wood to keepe their stoaues warme. And in generall, since they affect not forraigne commodities, but are content with their own commo|dities, and are singular as well in the Art as industry of making manuall workes, they easily draw to

them and retaine with them forraigne Coynes. The free Cities vse to haue alwaies a yeeres prouision of victuals laid vp in publike houses, to serue for homely food for the people, in case the City should happen to be besieged. They commonly serue to the Table sower Cabbages, which they call Crawt, and beere (or wine for a dainty) boyled with bread, which they call Swoope. In vpper Germany they moreouer giue veale or beefe in little quantities, but in lower Germany they supply the meale with bacon and great dried puddings, which puddings are sauory and so plea|sant, as in their kind of mirth they wish prouerbially for Kurtz predigen, lange worsten, that is; Short sermons and long puddings. Sometimes they also giue dried fishes, and apples or peares first dried, then prepared with cinamon and butter very sauourily. They vse many sawces, and commonly sharpe, and such as comfort the stomacke of|fended with excessiue drinking: For which cause in vpper Germany the first draught commonly is of wormewood wine, and the first dish of little lampreys, (which they call mine augen, as hauing nine eyes) serued with white vineger; and those that take any iourney, commonly in the morning drinke a little Brant wein, (that is, their Aquauita) and eate a peece of Pfeffer kuchen, (that is, Ginger-bread) which vseth to be sold at the gates of the City. They haue a most delicate sawce (in my opinion) for rosted meats, of cherries sod and brused, the iuice whereof becomes hard like Marmalade, but when it is to be serued to the Table, they dissolue it with a little wine or like moisture. And as they haue abundance of fresh fish in their Ponds and Riuers, so they desire not to eate them, except they see them aliue in the Kitchen, and they prepare the same very sauourly, commonly vsing anniseeds to that purpose, especially the little fishes, wher|of they haue one most delicate kinde, called Smerling, which in Prussen I did eate, first 82 choked, then sodden in wine, and they being very little, yet sixty of them were sold for nineteene grosh. The foresaid sawce of cherries, they thus prepare and keepe, They gather a darke or blackish kind of cherry, and casting away the stalkes, put them into a great cauldron of brasse set vpon the fier, til they beginne to be hot, then they put them into a lesse cauldren full of holes in the bottome, and presse them with their hands, so as the stones and skinnes remaine in this cauldron, but the iuice by the foresaid holes doth fall into another vessell. Then againe they set this iuyce vpon the fier, continu|ally stirring it, lest it should cleaue to the bottome, and after two howers space, they mingle with it the best kind of peares they haue, first cut into very small peeces, and so long they boile it and continually stirre it, till it waxe hard, and notwithstanding the stirring beginne to cleaue to the vessell. This iuyce thus made like a Marmalade, may long be preserued from moulding in this sort. They which desire to haue it sweete, mixe sugar with it, and others other things according to the taste they desire it should haue. Then they put it into earthen pitchers; and if it beginne at any time to waxe mouldie, they put these pots into the Ouen, after the bread is baked and taken out. Also these pitchers must be close stopped, that no aire may enter, and must be set where no sunne or continuall heate comes. Lastly, when they will make ready this sawce, they cut out a peece of the said iuice, and mingle with it a little wine to dissolue it, (with vineger, or sugar, or spices, according to their seuerall appetites), and so boile it againe some halfe hower.

In Saxony, Misen, and those parts, they sometimes serue to the Table a calues head whole and vndeuided into parts, which to vs strangers at the first sight seemed a terri|ble dish gaping with the

teeth like the head of a Monster, but they so prepare it, as I neuer remember to haue eaten any thing that more pleased my taste. They vse not for common diet any thing that comes from the Cow, neither haue I obserued them to haue any butter in Saxony, or the lower parts of Germany, but they vse a certaine white matter called smalts in stead of it, not tasting like our butter. They doe not common|ly eate any cheese, neither remember I that I euer tasted good cheese there, excepting one kind of little cheese made of Goats milke, which is pleasant to eate: but salt and strong cheeses they sometimes vse to prouoke drinking, for which purpose the least crum is sufficient. These Cheeses they compasse round with thred or twigges, and they beginne them in the midst of the broade side, making a round hole there, into which hole, when the cheese is to be set vp, they put some few drops of wine, that it may putrifie against the next time, when they eate the mouldy peeces and very cree|ping maggots for dainety morsels, and at last the cheese becomes so rotten and so full of these wormes, that if the said binding that compasseth it chance to break, the cheese fals into a million of crums no bigger then moates. They haue a kind of bread brow|nish and sowrish, and made with aniseeds, which seemed very sauoury to me. They serue in stead of a banquet, a kind of light bread like our fritters, saue that it is long, round, and a little more solid, which they call Fastnacht kuchen, Shroftide baking, because then and vpon S. Martini day, and some like Feasts they vse to make it. They vse not in any place almost, to offend in the great number of dishes, onely some few Innes of chiefe Cities giue plentifull meales. And for the Saxons, they for the most part set on the pot or roast meate once for the whole weeke: Yet in the golden bull they haue a law, that Hosts shall not serue in more then foure dishes, the price of them to be set by the Magistrate, and that they should not gaine in the reckoning more then the fourth or at most the third penny, and that the guests should pay seuerally for their drinke, the Germans drinking so largely as it was vnpossible to prescribe the rate thereof. It were to be wished by strangers, that not onely drinke shouid be paid for a part from meate, but that each man should pay the share himselfe drinkes, and no more, so the charges of sober passengers in Germany, hauing all things reasonably cheape, would not in such measure increase, as otherwise they doe through their companions intem|perancy. The said Saxons set the dishes on the Table one by one, for the most part grosse meates, whereupon I haue heard some merrily compare them to the Tyrants of Sirily, of whom one being dead, stil a more terrible Monster succeeded him. Here and 83 in these parts of the lower Germany, they vse to serue in sower crawt or cabbage vpon a voide circle of carued Iron standing on three feete, vnder which they serue in one large dish, roast flesh and pullets, and puddings, and whatsoeuer they haue prepared, which dish a Country man of mine did not vnproperly compare to the Arke of Noah, containing all kinds of Creatures. Also in Saxony, for the first dish they serue in stew|ed Cherries or Prunes, then tosted or sodden Pullets, or other flesh, and last of all Bar con to fill his bellie that hath not enough. Almost all their Tables are round, and of so great a compasse, as each dish being serued one by one, (not as we vse to haue the Table fully furnished with meate), they that sit at the corners of the Table, are forced to stand on their feete as often as they cut any meate. The Germans seldome breake their fasts, except it be in iournics, with a little Ginger-bread and Aquauity. They sit long at Table, and euen in the Innes as they takes iournics, dine very largely, neither will they rise from

dinner or supper, till though slowly, yet fully they haue consumed all that is set before them. And they cannot speak more reprochsully of any Host, then to say; Ith hab mich da nicht satt gefressen, that is, I did not eate my belly fu'l there: Yea, at Berne, a Citie of Sweitzerland, they haue a Law that in Feasts they shall not sit more then fiue howers at the Table. And at Basell, when Doctors and Masters take their degrees, they are forbidden by a Statute, to sit longer at Table, then from ten of the clocke in the morning, to sixe in the euening, yet when that time is past, they haue a tricke to cozen this Law, be it neuer so indulgent to them, for then they retire out of the publike Hall into priuate Chambers, where they are content with any kinde of meate, so it be such as prouoketh drinking, in which they haue no measure, so long as they can stand or fit. Let the Germans pardon me to speake freely, that in my opinion they are no lesse excessiue in eating, then drinking, saue that they onely protract the two ordinary meales of each day, till they haue consumed all that is set before them, but to their drinking they can prescribe no meane nor end. I speake of their ordinary diet, especiallie at Innes by the way as they trauell: In Feasts their prouision is rather full then sumptuous. At Leipzig for meere curiositie, I procured my selfe to be inuited to a marriage Feast, in one of the chiefe Citizens houses, the marriage was in the after|noone, and at supper they serued in a peece of roasted beefe hot, and another cold, with a sawce make with sugar and sweet wine, then they serued in a Carpe fried, then Mut|ton roasted, then dried Peares prepared with butter and cinamon, and therewith a piece of broiled Salmon, then bloted Herrings broiled, and lastly a kind of bread like our fritters, saue that it is made in long roules, and more dric, which they cal Fastnacht kuchen, that is, Shroftide baking, together with Cheese. And thus with seuen dishes a Senators nuptiall Feast was ended, without any flockes of fowle, or change of fishes, or banquetting stuffe, which other Nations vse, onely their was endlesse drinking, whole barrels of Wine being brought into the Stoaue, and set by vs vpon a Table, which we so plied, as after two howers, no man in the company was in case to giue ac|count next morning, what he did, said, or saw, after that time. To nourish this drink|ing, they vse to eate salt meats, which being (vpon ill disposition of my body) once dis|pleasing and vnholsome for me, and I complaining therof to my Host, he between ieast and earnest replied, that the vse of Salt was commended in Scriptures, alleadging that text: Let allyour speeches be seasoned with salt, and then said he much more should our meates be thus seasoned. Salt thus pleaseth their pallat, because it makes the same dry, and prouokes the appetite of drinking. For which cause also, when they meet to drink, as they dine with dried pork, and beefe heauily salted, together with cheese sharpe like that of Parma, so when the cloth is taken away, they haue set before them rawe beanes, waternuts, (wstich I did see onely in Saxony), and a loafe of bread cut into shiues, all sprinckled with salt and pepper, the least bit whereof will inuite him to drinke that hath least need. And to say truth, Porke dried, or Bacon, is so esteemed of the Ger|mans, as they seeme to haue much greater care of their Hogges then of their Sheeps, or other Cattle. For in the morning when they turne them forth, they scratch them with their fingers, as Barbers doe mens heads, and blesse them that they may safely returne, and in the euening when they are to come backe with the Heard, 84 a seruant is commanded to attend them, who washeth the dust from them as they passe by the fountaine, and so followes them till they come home of their owne ac|cord, without

any beating or driuing. The price of a fat Sow is at least fiue, some|times foureteene Guldens, yea, at Heidelberg, it was credibly told me, that a Sow, being so fat, as shee could not at one feeding eate a raw egge, all her intrels being closed vp with fat, had lately beene sold for fifty Guldens. With this fat they larde many rosted and broiled meates, aswell flesh as fish: And they neuer eate any Pigges, but nourish them to full growth, so as my selfe and some of my Countrey-men at Wittenberg, de|siring to eate a Pigge, hardly bought one for halfe a doller, and were our selues forced to kill, dresse, and roast it, the seruants abhorring from such a strange worke, neither could we intreat any one to eate the least bit thereof. When they roast a shoulder of Mutton, they beate the vpper part thereof with the backe-side of an Hatchet, or like Instrument, before they put it on the Spit, to make that part tender, which they carue as the most dainty part: yet vse they seldome to carue any man, lest they should seeme to desire that morsell themselues, for they hold it a point of ciuility not to take that is carued, but to force it vpon the Caruer. They dip their bread in sawces, but thinke it ill manners to dip meat therein, as likewise to reach bread with the point of a knife, and not rather to call for it by hand. Lastly, when the Table is to be taken away, they think to offer him curtesie whose trencher they offer to take vp, and put into the Voyder, and will in curtesie striue to doe it. Hee that will abide in any City, may easily ob|taine to be entertained for bed and board at a conuenientrate, by some chiefe Citizen or Doctor, as I haue formerly said.

Now something must be said of Innes by the high way. Erasmus Roterodamus faith, that the Inne keepers of Germany are sordide, that is, base or slouenly: but I would ra|ther say, they are churlish and rudely proud, or rather graue and surley. When you come in, you must salute the Hoste, and happy you if he salute you againe. You must drinke with him, and obserue him in all things. For your carriage, you must lay it in the common eating roome, yet there it shall be most safe; and if you will put off your bootes, you must doe it in the same roome, and there lay them aside. You must expect the hower of eating, for they nothing regard him that desires either to hasten or pro|tract it. You must take in good part what is set before you, demanding nothing for your owne appetite. The shot demanded, must be paid without expostulation, for the Hosts seldome deceiue strangers or others, and neuer remit one halfe penny of that they demand. Aboue the table hangs a bell (especially through all lower Germa|ny), by founding whereof they call the seruants to attend. And at Nurnberg there hangs such a little bel vnder the table, which they found if any man speake immodest|ly of loue matters or any like subiect, and though it bee done in sport, yet it serues to remember a wise man of his errour. In lower Germany after supper, they leade the guests into a chamber of many beds, and if any man haue no companion, they giue him a bed-fellow Lastly, all things must be desired and intreated, as if the guests were intertained of free cost, for the Host thinkes you beholden to him for your intertaine|ment, without any obligation on his part.

Through all Germany they lodge betweene two fetherbeds (excepting Sweitzerland, where they vse one bed vnder them, and are couered with woollen blankets) and these fetherbeds for softnesse and lightnesse are very commodious, for euery winter night the seruants are called into the warme stoue, whereof such fethers as are reserued, they pull the fethers from the quill, vsing onely the softest of them for making of beds. The bed lying vnder is great and large, and that

aboue is narrow and more soft, betweene which they sleepe aswell in Summer as Winter. This kind of lodging were not incommodious in Winter, if a man did lie alone but since by the high way they force men to haue bedfellowes, one side lies open to the cold, by reason that the vpper bed is narrow, so as it cannot fall round about two, but leaues one side of them both open to the wind and weather. But in Summer time this kind of lodging is vnplea|sant, keeping a man in a continuall sweat from head to foote. Yet in Country Villa|ges, and many parts of Saxony, passengers haue no cause to complaine of this annoy|ance, 85 since all without exception, rich and poore, drunken and sober, take vp their lod|ging among the Cowes in straw, where sometimes it happens, that hee who lying downe had a pillow of straw vnder his head, when hee awaketh finds the same either scattered or eaten by the Cowes: yea; where they haue beds, I would aduise the pas|senger to weare his owne linnen breeches, for their sheets are seldome or neuer cleane. They aduise wel, who wish passengers to offer the seruant drinking mony, that he may shew them the best bed, yet when that is done, this best bed will proue farre vnfit to be entered naked, though perhaps the seruant will iudge it very pure and cleanly. This by experience I often found, once with extreme laughter obseruing the seruants spe|ciall curtesie to me, who taking my reward, brought me to a bed with cleane sheetes as he called them, wherein he swore deeply that no body had lien but his owne mother, which was an old trot of 90 yeeres age. These seruants in Innes expect as it were of du|ty drinking money from all passengers, and boldly demand it, as if it were their right whether the passenger will or no, which they doe rudely in the lower parts of Germa|ny, by offering them a pot to drinke at parting, and more ciuilly in the vpper parts, the maide seruants offering a nosegay to each seuerall guest. This is peculiar to the Ger|mans, none serue or attend more rudely, none more boldly challenge reward.

I haue formerly aduised English Trauellers, first to passe by Germany, that they may there learne patience by seruing themselues. For if you come to a shop to buy shooes, the Master bids you to find out your selfe those that will fit you, and then to put them on your selfe, which done, he askes the price, whereof he will not bate one halfe penny, and when you haue paid his asking, then the Prentices challenge drinking money as of duty, and the like manner is obserued in all other shops, wherein you buy any thing. In the meane time, if in your Inne, you bid the seruant reach any thing to you, the same man that when you take horse will in this sort exact drinking money of you, will not reach that you call for, but mumbling that you haue as many feete and hands as he, will goe away, as if he heard not, or regarded not what you said. The Germans of Prussia neere Poland, are much to be praised for Hospitality, who not one|lie entertaine strangers at a good rate, and wich much cleanlinesse, and good fare and lodging, (wherein they giue cleane sheetes, and if the passenger stay long, change them often, as once each weeke, which in so cold a clime may seeme lesse requisite), but also haue in custome, (I speake of the Cities of Meluin and Dantzke), to giue their guests weekely a bath to wash their feete, and as often besides as they returne from any iour|nie, which curtesie I neuer remember to haue beene offered vnto me, but once in Ger|many at Lubecke. The Innes of Germany hang out no signes at their gates, but they are vulgarly knowne, and so may be easilie found out, besides that many of them may be knowne by thn Armes of Noblemen and Gentlemen: For they hold it a point of reputation, to passe other Innes

in the number of these Armes, fixed on the front of their Inne, and vpon the wals of the common eating roome, so as I haue numbered three hundred or foure hundred such Armes in one Inne. Howsoeuer Germany a|bounds with all necessaries for life, yet the expence by the way is greater, by reason of the Dutchmens large drinking. In lower Germany, where they drinke beere, a passen|ger shall pay each meale commonly three or foure grosh, or about 4 lubeck shillings. In vpper Germany, where they drinke wine, he shall pay commonly sixe or seuen bat|zen each meale, and if he haue a seruant, he shall pay asmuch for him as for himselfe. I passed from Stoade to Emden, in the disguised habit of a seruant, where I first by experience found, that he who vilifies himselfe, doth not thereby saue one penny, since poore fellowes sit at the same Table with Gentlemen, and pay to the vttermost far|thing as much as they, howsoeuer they sit lower, and aswell at board as for bed, are more coursely handled. Yet I say not but such a man may saue the poore expence of drinking money, which the seruants perhaps wil not expect from men of base con|dition. All Dutch consorts drinke stiffely, and assoone as euer the cloth is taken away after supper, except you presently rise before they set the pot of Schlaffdruncke, (or slee|ping cup) on the Table, and if you doe but slip one drop, you shall besides your ordi|nary pay, equall share with those that drinke all night, till they be drunke and sober a|gaine.

86 And to say truth, the Germans are in high excesse subiect to this vice of drinking, scarce noted with any other nationall vice, so that as their Doctors and Artisans, affe|cting the knowledge onely of one science, or manuall art, doe become excellent there|in, so this nation in generall, and euery part or member thereof, practising night and day the faculty of drinking, become strong and invincible professors therein. In Saxony, when the gates of the Cities are to be shut, while they that dwell in the subburbs, pas|sing out, doe reele from one side of the streete to the other, as if it were too narrow for them to walke in, while they stumble and fall in the durt, while they by stradling with their legges as if a Cart should passe betweene them, doe for the most part beare vp them selues from falling, yet iostle euery post, pillar, and passenger by the way, while the gates of the City seeme not wide enough for them to passe, except the wals also were pulled downe.

Spectatum admissi risum teneatis amici?

Friends sdmitted to behold, from laughter can you then withhold.

For howsoeuer the richer sort hide this intemperance for the most part, by keeping at home, surely the vulgar yeeld this daily spectacle. Yet in truth it is no shame, especi|ally in Saxony, euen to spew at the Table in their next fellowes bosome, or to pisse vn|der the Table, and afterwards in their beds. And I know not how the fellowship of drunkards is so pleasing to them, as a man shall with no other quality make so many friends as with this, so as he that wil be welcome in their company, or desires to learne their language, must needs practice this excesse in some measure. When they drinke, if any man chance to come in and sit in the roome, though he be a stranger of another Nation, they doe not onely coniure him to pledge them by the bond of friendship, of his Fathers Nobility, and his Mothers chaflity, but (if need be) compell him by force therunto, vulgarly crying, Kanstunight sauffen vnd fiessen, so kanstu keinem hein wol die|nen; If thou canst not swill and deuoure, thou canft serue no Master well. In the meane time, they like not to drinke grear draughts, wherein our Countrey men put them downe, but they will spend an Age in swoping and sipping.

Their coachmen are in this kind so tender hearted to their horses, that out of a fellow feeling of thirst, they will suffer them to drinke in standing water, scarce couering their shooes, when they sweat by the high way. The Germans repute it such honour to them to haue abun|dance of wine, as the very Princes striue, as for a Princely preheminence, who shall haue the hugest and most capable vessels in his Cellar. Some of these vessels containe more then a thousand measures, each of seuenty Cans or Pots, and are ascended by twenty or thirty staires. Out of this vessell they daily draw wine, and being halfe emp|tied, they fill it vp againe: but at the birth of a child, or any like feast, they turne this Monster loose for all commers, to tame it, and drinke it out to the bottome. Passengers in the Innes of lower Germany, so make their reckoning at dinner, as they reserue a grtat proportion to drinke before they take coach. Once I obserued that my selfe and seuen consorts after dinner vpon a full gorge, had sixteene great pots to drinke at par|ting, at which time one of our consorts being a horseman, and not fit to ride, was ta|ken into our coach, and sitting by me, now laughing, then weeping, and often knock|ing his head against mine, at last defiled me by casting his stomacke in my bosome, with no reproch to himselfe among his Countreymen, but vnspeakeable offence to me. When they are sit downe to drinke, if any man come in by chance, each one at the Table salutes him with a Cup, all which garausses he must drinke as for a fine, before he can be admitted into their number, for they are very iealous that any man being so|ber, should behold their quaffing, so as a man had better fall among the thickest of his enemies fighting, then into the company of his friends drinking. He that reades this, would thinke that they drunke sweet Nectar at the least, or some like drinke inuiting excesse; but in lower Germany, sometimes and rarely they drinke Rhenish Wine, com|monly Beere, and that so thicke and ill smelling, and sometimes medicinall, as a stran|ger would think it more fit to be eaten (or cast into the sinke), then to be drunke, wher|of a drop once falling on my hand, seemed to me foule puddle water. Their Wines in generall are sharpe, and those of the Rheine small, which are to be had in their Cities, 87 and when I first passed to Leipzeg, and being ignorant of the language, was forced to commit my selfe to a Conducter, and after my couenant with him for my diet, desired him to carry some glasse bottels of wine in our coach, yet he could not in the way vse it temperately, but either would allow vs no wine at all, or at one meale drunke off a whole great bottell, as if he thought it a shame to taste it, and not drinke all out at once. Thus as often it fals out in Princes Courts, that a stranger may die of thirst, but he that is acquainted in Court, shall hardly escape sober, so he gaue me either no wine, or too much. In vpper Germany for the most part they drinke wine, and that with some lesse excesse, then is vsed in the lower parts, yet so as in this vice they degenerate not from their Countreymen. The Germans of Prussia formerly praised by me, must par|don me if I taske them with this vice as much as the rest. When I passed from Meluin to Dantzke, my companion by the way shewed me a Towr called Groske, where cer|taine Husbandmen being vpon a wager to drinke twelue measures of wine, which we call lasts, and vse for proportions of Merchants wares, not for wine or beere, did roast vpon a spit one of their consorts, because he left them before the taske was performed, and to saue their liues for this murther, paid their Prince as many siluer grosh as could lie betweene that Tower and the City of Dantzke. In generall, the Ger-

mans want not many exemplary punishments and effects of this vice: For many quarrelling in drink are killed and he that kils, neuer escapes if he be taken. I remember that a Gentleman of Brunswicke, riding from Hamburge to his home, when he was extremely drunken, was next day found torne in many peeces, by the striking of his horse when he fell out of the saddle, which was a miserable and exemplary kinde of death. And the like mischiefe befell another while I was at Torge in Misen. And a Physician a fami|liar friend of mine, tolde mee that many Germans dying suddenly vpon excesse of drinking, were ordinarily (for hiding of the shame) giuen out to die of the falling sickenesse. In their drinking they vse no mirth, and little discourse, but sadly ply the buisinesse, sometimes crying one to the other, Seyte frolich, Be merry, Drinke aus, Drinke out, and as (according to the Prouerbe) euery Psalme ends in Gloria, so euery speech of theirs, ends in Ich brings euch, I drinke to you. For frolicks they pinch, and that very rudely their next Neighbours arme or thigh, which goes round about the Table. So for equality they drinke round, especially in Saxony, except in curtesie they sometimes drinke out of course to a Guest; and this equall manner of drinking, they say had his first originall from a pleasant or rather wicked Act, of an vndutifull Sonne, who receiuing a boxe of the care from his Father, and daring not strike him againe, did notwithstanding strike his next Neighbour as hard a blow as hee receiued, desiring him to passe it round about the Table as a frolicke, in these wordes: Lasset vmb gehen, so kriagt der vatter auch [...], Let it goe round, so my Father shall haue it in his course, and so more modestly or lesse wickedly hee re|uenged himselfe. While all drinke in this manner circularly out of one and the same pot, they scoffe at him that drinkes the last remainder, saying prouerbially that hee shall marry an old trot. At Nurneberg, and some other Innes of higher Germany, each guest hath his peculiar drinking glasse set by his trencher, which when he hath drunke out, if he set it downe with the mouth vpward, it is presently filled againe, (in which filling the seruants vse a singular dexterity, standing in great distance from it), but if hee turne the mouth downeward, they expect till in signe of thirst it bee turned vpward; for they are such Masters in this Art of drinking as they are serued by dumbe signes without speaking a word. In Saxony two vse to begin a pot to two, and when each receiues the pot, or giues it to his fellow, they curiously looke vpon certaine pegs or markes set within of purpose, that they may deuide the drinke by the equall ballance of Iustice. Sometimes they take three glasses at once vpon 3 fingers, and beginning to another, drinke them all of at once, which kind of karaussing they call the crowning of the Emperor. If you begin to any man, you must fill the cup for him with your owne hands, or at least deliuer it to him your self, or otherwise for a panelty you must drinke it againe, and some doe willingly make these errors, that they may seem to be compelled to this pleasing penalty. When 88 they are extraordinarily merry, they vse a kind of garaussing, called kurlemurlebuff, wherein they vse certaine touches of the glasse, the beard, some parts of the body, and of the Table, together with certaine whistlings, and phillippings of the fingers, with like rules, so curiously disposed in order, as it is a labour of Hercules to obserue them. Yet he that erres in the least point of ceremony, must drinke the cup of againe for pe|nalty. They hold it a point of reputation, if themselues hauing sense and memory, can send their guests home voide of sense or reason, or full (as they more gently call drun|kenesse); and the better to performe this, they will now

and then goe out of the warme stoue to ease their stomacks by casting, which vse makes easie and familiar to them. They seldome or neuer drinke with their hats on, for sitting in a warme stoue bare headed, they find their heads more speedily eased of the vapours that arise from drinking. Many of the Germans going to sleepe, doe by the aduice of the Physitian, put little stones into their mouthes, to keepe them open: for as a boyling pot better secthes the meate if it be couered, so the fier be moderate: but if it be extraordinarilie great and hot, the potlid must be taken off, lest it boyle ouer; so it is good to helpe a mans concoetion, if he sleepe with his mouth shut, so his diet be sparing or moderate: but in such excesse as the Germans vse, not onely the mouth, but (if it might be) the ve|ry brest is to bee opened, that the heate of the inward parts may haue vent. The Ger|mans sparingly and rarely giue any gifts to those with whom they drinke: but if they doe, then (contrary to the custome of the Turkes and Polonians) they willingly make them good when they are sober. And for the most part Merchants, and all traffiquers of businesse, make all their contracts of buying and selling and otherwise with the counsell of the pot. Likewise when they sell houses or lands, they bring a tun of beere or vessell of wine into the strecte, and seale the bargaine by drinking with their neigh|bours, in like sort concluding all their contracts, which agreed vpon when they are halfe drunken, yet are confirmed by them when they are sober.

At Prage I remember the Germans did scoffe at a Polake Gentleman, to whom a Dutch Abbot giuing a gold ring in his cups, the Polake in requitall gaue him his horse of price, and though he did earnestly refuse so great a guift, by instance forced him to accept it, yet in the morning being sober sent for his horse againe. To con|clude, hardly any man will giue his daughter in marriage to a man whom he hath not seene drunken, by which in a moment they are confident to coniecture what life shee shall leade with him, since in drinke men liuely bewray their dispositions, which they can cloake and dissemble when they are sober. And they find by experience, that in drinke cholerikemen are prone to quarrels, sanguine men to dancing and imbracing, men possessed with melancholy to teares and complaints, and they who are flegma|tike to dull astonishment and spewing. The trade of brewing is more commodious among the Germans, then any other trafficke. So as at Torg, (where the best beere is brewed and from thence distracted to other Cities) onely the Senate hath the priui|ledge to sell the same by small measures (as also to sell wine), and in the rest of lower Germany, as onely the Senate buies and selles wine, so the chiefe Citizens by turnes brew beare, admitting troopes of poore people into their houses to drinke it out. As the gaine of brewing is great, so Princes raise great impositions from it, and the most rich Citizens or Aldermen (as I said) not onely disdaine not to brew, but euen greedi|ly expect their turne, at which time they also sell it by cannes, and haue their lower roomes full of drinking tables for the common people, where euery man payes for his drinke before his canne be filled, that at least their purse may teach them measure, which otherwise they cannot obserue. Yea, my selfe, not without wonder, haue seene in a Senators house, poore soules pawne their cloths for drinke, and goe home halfe naked, yet sufficiently armed with drinke against the greatest cold.

The beere of Torge is most esteemed in higher Saxony, and the most part at Leipzig drinke no other, yet for their seruants brew a small beere called beere of the couent, and a kind of most small beere, which the students call Rastrum, that is

rake. Their is an Imperiall Law in the golden Bull against Hosts, Mariners, and Carters, who either in Cellers, or Carriage by the high-way, mingle brimstone or water with wine, wherein 89 notwithstanding they daily offend, putting in brimstone to make it heady strong, and water to fill vp the measure. There be in the same golden Bull many Lawes made a|gainst drunkennesse, at such time as the Germans hauing warre with the Turkes, be|ganne to looke into themselues, for reforming of notorious vices, wherein it is de|creed, that Courtiers giuen to this vice, should be expelled the Courts of Princes, and that all Magistrates should search out drunkards, and seuerely punish them: But giue me one Prince free of this vice, who may thus punish his Courtiers. My selfe being at a great Dukes funerall, did see a Prince his neere cozen, drinke so stiffely to expell sorrow, as all his sences and almost his spirits were suffocated there with, and of many Princes there present, (pardon me to speake truth) I did not see one sober at this funerall Feast, what would these Princes haue done at a Marriage? Princes haue a custome to drinke by Attourney, when they are sickely or ill disposed, and many times they reward this substitute strongly bearing much drinke, as for a good seruice to the Common wealth, yet except they be very sicke, few are found which will not in person performe their owne taske. Giue me one Magistrate of so many thousands, who with his owne innocency is armed with boldnesse to punish others. Giue mee one, (I am ashamed to say it, but truth is truth); I say giue me one Minister of Gods Word, who preacheth against excesse of drinking. My selfe haue heard some hun|dreths of their Sermons, yet neuer heard any inuectiue against this vice.

Turpe est Doctori, cam eulpa redurguit ipsum, The teacher needs must be ashamed, Who for the same offence is blamed.

Onely the Weomen of Germany are most temperate in eating and drinking, and of all I did euer see, most modest in all kinds of vertue: yet the Weomen of Bohemia vse as great (or little lesse) excesse in drinking, as Men, not without a staine to their reputa|tion of chastity. The Weomen of Germany haue a custome to helpe their Husbands or Friends, by sipping of the cup; but I did neuer see any chast woman, (as most of them are) drinke largely, much lesse to be drunken: But for Men of all sorts whatso|euer.

Si quoties peccant, toties sua fulmina mittat Princeps, exiguo tempore inermis erit: If the Prince smite, as oft as they offend, His Sword and Arme will faile him ere the end.

Thus howsoeuer the Germans be honest, deceiuing neither stranger nor Coun|trey man, and haue abundance of all things to sustaine life, yet strangers, by reason of the generall in temperance of the Nation, are either allured to participate this vice of drinking with them, or at least by ill custome are drawne to partake their punish|ment in paying of the shot, and through their churlish rusticity are ill entertained, and yet forced to reward the seruants, whose attendance deserues nothing lesse.

It remaines that I should enforme passengers how to apply themselues to the Ger|mans in this drinking custome, so as at least with lesse hurt or offence, they may passe throught their territories. For those who passe suddenly through the same without long abode in any place, nothing is more easie then to shunne all participation of this nice, by consorting themselues with fit companions in their journey, so as they being the greater part as well in the coach, as at the Table, may rather draw the lesser part in sobriety, then be induced by them

to excesse. But they who desire to conuerse with the [...], and to learne their language, cannot possibly keepe within the bounds of [...], and must vse art to shunne great or daily excesse. Such a passenger sitting do [...] Table, must not presently drinke of all the Cups begunne to him from others: for the Germans are so exceeding charitable to all Men, as they will furnish him presently with new Cuppes on all hands for feare that hee should 90 suffer thirst. He shall doe better to set the cups in order before his trencher, and first to drinke of, those of lesser quantity, but euer to keepe one or two of the greatest, to re|turne in exchange to him that drinkes to him. For this kind of reuenge (as I may terme it) the Germans feare, more then the Irish doe great gunnes, and to auoide the same, will forbeare to prouoke him with garausses. For they loue not healths in great measures (which they call Infloribus), but had much rather sip then swallow In this kinde I remember a pleasant French Gentleman much distasted them, who inuited to a feast, and admonished, that hee could not possibly returne sober, did at the very be|ginning of supper, drinke great garausles, of himselfe calling for them, besides the small healths commended to him from others, which vnwonted kind of skirmishing when they disliked, he presently replied: Why should we leese time? since we must be drunken let vs doe it quickly, the sooner, the better; and therewith hee so tyred those at the table, as hee found no man would in that kind contend with him. But to the purpose. If the cuppes set about his trencher increase in number, he may easily finde occasion (as when his consorts goe out to make water) either to conuey some of them to their trenchers, or to giue them to the seruant to let away. After supper he may nod and sleepe, as if he were drunken, for,

Stultitcam simulare loco prudentia summa. Sometimes the foole to play, Is wisdome great they say.

And so hee shall bee led to a bed, which they haue in all their stoues, and call the Faulbett, that is, the slothfull bed. Otherwise hee may faine head-ach, or feare of an ague; or if these excuses preuaile not, as seldome they doe while hee states in the roome, because they cannot indure to haue a sober man behold them drinking, then as if hee went out to make water, or speake with some friend, hee shall doe best to steale away, and howsoeuer hee haue confidently promised to returne, yet to come no more that night, no not to fetch his cloake or hat, which are al|waies laid vp safely for him, especially if hee foresee the skirmish like to bee hot. But aboue all, let him take heede of the old fashion to take leaue of his com|panions and bid them good night, for the Germans vpon no intreaty or excuse will suffer any man to goe to bed so sober. If there bee musicke and dancing, their dances being of no Art and small toyle, hee had much better daunce with the women till midnight, then returne to the table among the drinkers, for one of these foure he must doe, drinke, sleepe, daunce, or steale away, no fifth course re|maines. Lastly, let him warily chuse his companions of that Nation, with good triall of their honest dispositions. But with strangers, as English, French and Po|lakes, let him carefully eschew excesse of drinking. For these, and especially the English, when they are heated with drinke, are obserued to bee mad in taking exceptions, and in the ill effects of fury, being more prone to quarrels then the Dutch, and hauing no meane in imitating forraigne vices or vertues, but with Brutus, that they will, they will too much.

For Bohemia and Switzerland, that seated in the center of Germany, this on the [Note: Boemer|land and Sweit|zerland.] Northwest side of the

Alpes, I haue contained their Geohraphicall description in that of Germany, and haue spoken something of them in this discourse of Germany. It remaines to adde something of them, touching the particular subiects of this Chapter. The Bohemians drinke the Wines of Hungarie, being much better then those of Germany, and haue much better Beere, in regard they haue great plen|of Corne, and the Sweitzers drinke the delicate Wines of Italy. Neither of their [Note: Of both in gene|ral!.] traffickes is comparable to that of Germany, because Bohemia is farre within land and hath no great commodities to bee exported, and Sweitzerland is addicted to the mercinarie seruice of foraigne Princes in their warres, changing their cattell for the VVines of Italy, and content with their owne, so they want not plenty of good drinke.

Some Cantones of the Sweitzers make great gaine of spinning wooll, whereof they [Note: Sweitz. particu|larly.] make pieces of cloth some 134 elles long, and lest couetousnes of priuate men might 91 preiudice the common good, they appoint ouerseers to this trade, who punish all fraudes seuerely and some capitally. For foode, they abound with Hony, Butter, and Milke, and haue plenty of Venson found in the wilde Alpes, and especially of ex|cellent sorts of fish, by reason of their frequent Lakes. In publike Innes a meale is gi|uen for sixe or seuen batzen. They are hospitall towards strangers, and among them|selues, they haue publike houses where they meete, and shoote with Crosebow and musket, with like exercises. There they sometimes eate together and inuite guests to these houses as to a Tauerne. And to the end all things may there be done with more modesty, the tables of the Magistrates and all other sorts of men, are in one and the same roome. In meates they vse moderation, and for drinking vse farre lesse excesse then the Saxons, somewhat lesse then they of vpper Germany. They haue strict lawes to imprison Drunkards for a yeere, and at solemne feasts, the vulgar sort are admoni|shed to behaue themselues modestly, yet drunkennesse hath such patronage among the best sort, as it cannot be banished. They bragge of their ancient temperance, and say, that excesse came into the Commonwealth, together with the accepting of milita|ry stipends from forraigne Princes.

Bohemia abounds with Corne, Cattle, Fish (as plenty of Salmons), Woods, good horses, but heauy like those of Freesland, and with Niter, which it is death to carry out, [Note: Dohemer|land parti|cularly.] yet for gaine of fifty in the hundred, there want not who hazard that danger. I say it hath the commodities, and also produceth Wines, but very sharpe and vnpleasant, and hath some mines of mettals. Howsoeuer it bee much more Southerly then Eng|land, yet the Italian fruits (as figges) are there most rare, which in Winter they keepe in cellers, and onely in Summer time set them abroad in Gardens, and in like sort, but with great difficulty they preserue Rosemary, but they haue no Lawrell at all. The men drinke (if it be possible) more then the Germans, and are much more subiect to gluttony, and their women swill Wine and Beere daily, and in great excesse, which to the Germans is most reprochfull. In the Innes they giue large dyet for some fiue Bo|hemish grosh a meale, and vpon the confines of Germany towards Nurnberg, for some twenty creitzers a meale. But the Bohemians eate often in the day, and sit almost con|tinually at the Table, and since at Prage, and in many other places, all things are sold out of the Innes, after the maner of Poland, the Bohemians seldome eat at an ordinary, but demand what meate they will vpon a reckoning. For the rest, Boemerland and Sweitzerland lit-

tle differ from Germany, for the diet, the Hosts, the Innes, excesse of drin|king, or any like things.

2

6.17 CHAP. IV.

. Of the vnited Prouinces in Netherland, and of Denmarke and Poland, tou|ching the said subiects of the precedent third Chapter.

THE longitude of Netherland lyes, or extends seuen degrees and a halfe, from the Meridian of twenty two degrees and a halfe, to that of thirty degrees, and the Latitude lyes or extends fiue degrees, from the paralell of forty eight de|grees and a halfe, to that of fifty three degrees and a halfe. It is called Netherland, as a Country lying low, and the people for language and manners hath great affinitie with the Germans, both being called Dutchmen by a common name. Of old this Country was a part of Gallia transal|pina (that is, beyond the Alpes from Italy) which was sub|deuided into Comata and Narbonensis, and againe Comata (so called of the peoples long haire) was subdeuided into Aquitanica and Celtica, or Lugdunensis, and Belgica. This part called Belgica, containes the Lowcountries, whose dominion hath been by marriage 92 deriued from the Burgundian family to that of Austria, and some diuide this Countrie into seuenteene Prouinces, whereof some still remaine subiect to the King of Spaine, others (of which I am to speake) being vnited in league, haue recouered their libertie by the sword, and at this time did make warre with the Spaniard about the same. But some Maps, among these seuenteene Prouinces reckon the County of Valkenburg, which is part of the Dukedome of Limburg, other Maps make Mechlin and Antwerp to bee Prouinces, which are both contained in the Dukedome of Brabant. There|fore I better approue those, who diuide the whole Country into fifteene Prouinces, namely, the Counties of Artois, of Flanders, of Hanaw, of Zeland, of Holland, of Zut|phan, and of Namurs, and the Dukedomes of Luxenburg, of Brabant, of Limburg, and of Gelderland, and the territories, of West-Freesland, of Groning, of Vtrecht, and of Transisola.

1 The County of Artois hath many faire Cities, whereof Arras is the chiefe, giuing the name to the Prouince, and to those rich hangings, wherwith our great men adorne their Pallaces.

2 Flanders is the largest County, the chiefe Cities whereof are Ghant (where the Emperour Charles the fifth was borne), and Bruges (whether great concourse of Mer|chants was made of old, so as the strangers hearing no other name but Flanders, did by custome impose the name of Flanders on all the fifteene Prouinces, and the name of Flemmings on all the inhabitants.) Flanders hath other Cities, namely, Calleis, Dun|kerk, Ostend, and Sleuse, all lying on the Sea coast; whereof Sleuse is a Municipall Vil|lage of Bruges, but at this time was it selfe strongly fortified, and Ostend taken from the Spaniards by the States of the vnited Prouinces, was at this time committed by them, and vnder their pay, to the custody of an English Garrison vnder Sir Edward Norreys Knight. This Prouince yeelds plenty of Corne and Flax, and is very rich with making Linnen and Woollen Cloathes. It hath excellent pastures, and is inriched with Cheese, Butter, Oyle made of Rape-rootes, Salt, and the fishing of Herrings, but it yeelds no Wine. The famous Wood Arduenna lies in the confines thereof towards land, where it aboundeth with Wood, but towards the Sea they burne Turfe, made of earth, and also burne Cow dung.

3 The County of Hanaw hath the

Principality of Arscot, vnited to the Duke|dome of Brabant, by which the Dukes sonne hath the title of Prince. The chiefe Cities of this County are Mons and Valinciennes. It hath mines yeelding Leade and Marble of many colours, and a good kind of Coales.

4 The County of Zeland is by situation, the first of the Vnited Prouinces, consi|sting of many Ilands, whereof seuen are principall, and the chiefe is Walcherne, the chiefe Citie whereof is Midleburg, famous for trafficke, and the Staple for Spa|nish and French Wines. Neere that is the City Vlishing, strongly fortified, being the chiefe of the Forts then ingaged to the Crowne of England, and kept by an English Garrison, vnder the command of Sir Robert Sidney Knight (for the se|cond Fort ingaged to England, lyes in another Iland, and is called Brill, being then kept by an English Garrison, vnder the command of the Lord Barrows.) All these Ilands are fertile, and yeeld excellent Corne, more plentifully then any other Prouince, so as one aker thereof is said to yeeld double to an aker of Brabant. But they haue no sweete water, nor good aire, and for want of wood burne turffe. They take plenty of sea-fishes, which they Salt, and carry into other Countries. Madder for dying of wooll, growes there plentifully, which likewise they export, and grow rich by selling these commodities, as likewise Spanish and French Salt, and like trafficke.

5 The County of Holland called of old Battauia, and inhabited by the Chatti (as Tacitus writes), is in situation the second of the vnited Prouinces, but the first in dig|nity. The Cities whereof are Amstelrodam (famous for trafficke), Rhoterodam (where Erasmus was borne), Leyden (an Vniuersity), Harlem, Dort (the staple for the Rhenish Wines), and Delph, all very faire Cities. And I may not omit the most pleasant Vil|lage of the Hage, called Grauenhage, because the Counts Court was there, and it is now the seate of the vnited States, wanting onely wals to make it numbred among the most 93 pleasant Cities, being no doubt a Village yeelding to none for the pleasant seat. This Prouince doth so abound with lakes, pooles of water, and artificiall ditches, as it giues passage by water as well as by land to euery City and poorest Village, (which are infinite in number). And these ditches itoweth for the most part to the Riuer Rheine.

For the Rheine of old running towards Leyden, did fall a little below it into the Sea, but at this day by reason the Land is low and subiect to ouerflowings it hath changed the bed, and at Lobecum in the Dukedome of Cleue, deuides it selfe into many bran|ches. The first runnes to Arnheim, (a City of Gelderland) then to Vaua, Rena, and Bat|touodurum, where Lecca receiues his waters, and takes away the name from the Rheine, [Note: The first branch of Rheine.] yet so as a little branch thereof still holds the name of Rheine, which running to Ma|stricht, there deuides into two, one whereof fals into Vecta, and so into an arme of the Sea neere Munda, the other runnes by Woerden, and after a long course, necre Leyden is deuided into fiue little branches, whereof three fall into a lake, and the fourth turnes to Renoburg, and leeseth it selfe in mountaines of sand, neere the Village Catwicke. I re|member that the water falling through Leyden is called Rheine, so as I thinke it proba|ble that all the standing waters lying betweene the seuerall pastures there, come from the Rheine after it hath lost the name. I said that the Rheine at Battouodurum is called Lecca, which runnes to Culenburg and to Viana, where in a ditch is the fountaine of Isa|la, which runnes to [...]. Thus (to omit the little branch at Battouodurum) the first branch of the Rheine is lost in the Riuers Lecca and Isala. The sec-

ond branch bends from Lobecum to Neomagum, and fals into the Brooke Meroutus (taking the name of [Note: The second branch.] the old Family of Kings among the Gals, where is an old Castle compassed with the Brooke, and of the same name), then running to Dort in Holland, it receiues the fore|said Lecca and Isala, and so neere Rhoterodame fals into the Mosa, and vnder that name fals neere Brill into the German Sea. The third branch of the Rheine running from Lobecum, within two miles of Arnheime, fals into the ditch of Drusus, (or rather of [Note: The third branch.] Germanicus) and so runnes to Dewsborows (the City of Drusus) where it receiues the old Isala, (springing in Westphalia), and by the name of Isala or Isell, running to Zutphane, and then to Deuentry, fals into Tatus at Amstelrodame, and by an arme of the Sea is car|ried to West-Freesland, and so fals into the German Sea neere the Iland Flye.

5 To returne to my purpose, Holland is little in circuite, but abounds with people and dwellings, and being poore of it selfe, is most rich by industrie, and wanting both Wine and Corne, yet furnisheth many Nations with both. Neither Wooll nor Flax grow there, but of both brought in to them, they make linnen clothes much prised and also Woollen, both carried to the very Indies. I need not speake of Holland Cheeses so vulgarly knowne and much esteemed. Lastly, Holland is famous for the traffique of all commodities, and the Romans so highly esteemed the Fortitude and faithfulnes of the old Battani, as they had a Band of them for their Guard.

6 The County of Zutphane is accompted part of Gelderland, and subdued by the States Arinie, was ioyned to the vnited Prouinces in the yeere 1591.

7 The County of Namures so called of the Cheese Citie, hath Mines of Iron and plenty of stony Coale, contrarie to all other Coales in that it is quenched by the infu|sion of Oyle. It hath also an ill smell, which they take away by the sprinckling of Salt, and it burnes more cleere hauing water cast vpon it. This County hath also quar|ries of Free-stone, and of Marble of diuers colours.

8 The Dukedome of Luxenburg hath the name of the chiefe Citie, and the inha|bitants of the vpper part are Germanes, but they of the lower parts, are like the French in language and Manners.

9 The Dukedom of Brabant hath faire Cities, namely Antwerp, most famous be|fore the ciuil War, because Maximilian, of Austria, brought thither fro Bruges in Flan|ders, the famous traffique of all Nations, by a ditch drawne to Sluce (onely to bee failed vpon at the flowing of the Sea tides). At this day forsaken of Merchants, it lies ouergrowne with grasse, and the said trafficke inricheth Holland and the vnited Pro|uinces. The next City is Brissell, of old the seate of the Dukes, and now of the Spanish Gouernours. Then Louan a famous Vniuersity. Then Mechlin subiect to the vnited 94 States. Then Bergen-apzome a fortified City, at this time committed to the custody of Sir Thomas Morgan Knight, with an English Garrison. The Inhabitants of this Duke|dome were of old called Tungri.

10 The Dukedome of Limburg hath Mastricht for the chiefe City, and the Bishoprick of Licge pertaines to it, wherein the City of Liege is the Bishops seate, and the territory thereof yeelds a little quantity of a small wine, and hath Mines yeelding a little Iron, some leade, and brimstone, and a very little quantity of good gold. The Mountaines yeeld a black Alablaster, with marble and other stones, especially stony coales in great quantity, which being there found at first, are now called generally Liege Coales.

11 The Dukedome of Gelderland, was

of old inhabited by the Menappij and Sieam|bri, and aboundeth with excellent pastures and meadowes, so as great Heards of Cat|tle brought thither out of Denmarke to be sold, are for great part fatted there. The chiefe City is Nimmengen, the second Harduike, a fortified City subiect to the vnited States, and the third Arnheim, also subiect to them.

12 The Territory of West-Freessand is diuided, as Holland, with artificiall ditches, and aboundeth with eocellent pastures for fatting of the greatest heards of Cattle, and yeeldeth it selfe all kinds of cattle of extraordinary bignesse, as horses of Freesland vul|garly knowne. It hath many Cities, where of the chiefe are Lewerden, Dockam, Fronikar (an Vniuersity) and Harlingen, not to speake of nine other Townes, fortified with wals and ditcbes. This Territory is subiect or associated to the vnited States.

13 The Territory of Groningen, made part of Freesland by Cosmagraphers, is also subiect to the States, and hath the name of the chiefe City, strongly fortified and seated in a fenny soyle.

14 The Territory of Vtrecht is also associated vnder the same vnited States, whose chiefe and very pleasant City is called Vtrecht.

15 The Territory of Transisole, vulgarly called De land ouer Ysseli (the Land beyond Yssell) is also associated to the vnited States, whereof the chiefe City is Deuentry, which besieged by the States Army in the yeere 1591, was then subdued, and it lies neerer to the Sea. It hath another City called swoll.

The vnited Prouinces of Netherland, (through which onely I did passe) haue a most intemperate Aire, the Winter cold being excessiue, and the Summers heat farre excee|ding [Note: The situati|on.] the ordinary heate of that clime. The reason of the cold is, that the Northerne winds of themselues ordinarily cold, doe here in a long course on all sides glide vpon the German Sea, thereby gathering farre greater cold, and so rush into those plaine Prouinces, no where stopped either by mountaines or woods, there being no Moun|taines, scarce any hils, no woods, scarce any groues, to hinder them from vio|lent passage with their vttermost force. Like reason may be giuen for the heate: For the same open Plaine, no way shaddowed from the beames of the Sunne by op|position of Woods or Mountaines, must needs in Summer be subiect to the heate of the Sunne and winds from land. Adde that in Winter the frequent Riuers, Lakes, and Pooles or standing waters, infinitely increase the coldnesse of the aire. These waters aswell running as standing, are almost all Winter frosen ouer with a thicke ice, so as they will beare some hundreths of young men and women, sliding vpon them with pattins, according to their custome. Yea, the Arme of the Sea called Zwidersea, lying within land, betweene Holland and Freseland, though it be large and deepe, hauing on|ly two flats or shoales, yet being compassed with Ilands and the Continent, is many times in Winter so frosen ouer, as Victualers erect Tents in the middest of it, hauing Beere and Wine, and fier made vpon iron furnaces, to refresh such as passe vpon sled|ges, or sliding vpon iron patterns from one shoare to the other. This cold is the cause, why their sheepe and cattell are kept in stables, to bring forth their young. And how|soeuer the same be done in Italy, subiect to great heate, yet it is not of necessitie, as here, but out of the too great tendernesse of the Italians, towards the few cattle they haue And this is the cause, that how soeuer they vse not hot stoaues, as the Germans doe, yet the Weomen, as well at home, as in the Churches, to driue away cold, put vn|der them little pannes of fier, couered with

boxes of wood, boared full of holes in 95 the top. And this sordid remedy they carry with them, by the high way in waggons, which the Danes or Mosconites vse not, though oppressed with greater cold: onely some of the more noble Weomen, disliking this remedy, choose rather to weare bree|ches, to defend them from the cold.

In this distemper of Aire, it cannot be expected that there should be plenty of flow|ers [Note: The fer|tility of the vni|ted Pro|uinces.] and summer fruites. No doubt, in regard of the fatnesse of the soile, watered with frequent ditches, and through the foresaid heat of the Summer, they might haue plen|ty of flowers and fruits, were it not impossible or very difficult to preserue them from perishing by the winters cold, and were not the Inhabitants carelesse of such dainties, though in later times, as they haue admitted forraigne manners, so luxury hath more power with them; then formerly it had. I haue oft seene one Apple sold for a blancke, and those great Cherries which are brought into England, grow not here, but in Flaun|ders, and the Territories within Land. They haue abundance of Butter, Cheese, and Rootes, and howsoeuer they haue not of their owne full sufficiency of other things to maintaine life, yet they abound with the same brought from other parts. Some pro|uinces, (as the Bishoprick of Vtrecht) yeeld corne to be transported, but in generall the vnited Prouinces (of which only I discourse in this place) haue not sufficient corne for their owne vse, yet by traffick at Dantzke, they furnish themselues and many other nati|ons therewith. They haue little plenty of Riuer fish, excepting onely Eales, but in the Mosa, as it fals from Dort to the sea, they haue plenty of Salmons, and other fish, which fishing did of old yeeld great profit to the Prince and Merchants. And for Sea fishes salted and dried, they make great trafficke therewith. My selfe lying for a passage in the Iland Fly, did see great quantity of shellfish sold at a very low rate. Great heards of Oxen and Calues, are yeerely brought into these parts out of the Dukedome of Holst, vnited to the Kingdome of Denmarke, (in which parts they feed most on dry and salt meates), and these Heards are fatted in the rich pastures of Gelderland and Freesland. There is great abundance of Sea Fowles, (especially in West-Freesland) and they want not land Fowles. They carefully nourish Storkes, as presaging happinesse to an Ari|stocraticall gouernement, making them nests on the tops of publike houses and puni|shing any that driue them away, or trouble them. In which kind also they preserue Hernes making nests in those groues, which are onely in few Cities. They haue a race of heauy horses, and strong, which they sell in sorraigne parts, vsing onely their Mares to draw Waggons, and for like vses at home. The Prouinces on the Sea Coast (as I formerly said) burne their owne earth, by the frequent digging whereof, they say the Sea or lake at Harlem was first made. And of these tnrffes they make fiers, both cleere and of good smell, without smoke, and commodious to dresse meat, to starch linnen, and like vses.

They are notable Marriners, yet in that to be blamed, that being at Sea, they vse no publike prayers, that euer I heard: And seuerall Cities haue great numbers of ships, [Note: The tra|ficke.] wherein they trade with such Industry and subtilty, as they are in that point enuied of till Nations.

The very Italians, who in foreseeing wisdome, would bee accounted PRome thei, were by them made Epimethei, wise after the deed, too late repenting, that when they came first to settie their trade in Flaunders, they tooke youug youths of that Nation to bee their Cassiers, who by writing letters for them, learned the secrets of that trade, and af|ter, to the Italians great

preiudice, exercised it themselues. Some three Flemmings, brethren or partners, vse to settle themselues in as many Cities of great trade, where they keepe such correspondency, as by buying all things at the well head, where they are cheapest, and transporting them farre off, where they are dearest, and especially by liuing sparingly, both in dyet and apparrell, and not shaming to retaile any commodi|ty in small parts (which great Merchants disdaine to sell, otherwise then by whole sale), they haue attained the highest knowledge and riches of trading. Thus they buy rawe silke of the Turkes, and weaue the same into diuers stusses in Italy, which they sell not there, but transport them into England, and the Northerne parts, where they beare highest price, and there retaile them by the smallest proportions. They haue of 96 their owne, very fine Linnen, and Woollen cloathes, of diuers kindes, and many clothes of Cotton, Arras hangings, plenty of Hops (aswell on the Sea-coast of Bea|bant, as in the East part of Holland) and great store of Butter, Cheese, and Fish salted and dryed, all which they transport. Againe they bring from Dantzke store of Hemp, whereof themselues make Ropes and Cables, neither transport they any rude matter, but by working it at home, inrich many populous Cities. Also from Dantzke they bring corne, all kindes of pitch, and other commodities of that place, and from Italy many kindes of silke stuffies. Also by the diligent fishing, especially of Hertings, on the Sea-coast of England, they grow rich, selling the same to all Nations, and to the very English, who are not so industrious in that trade. Lastly, they draw the com|modities of all Nations to them, and fetch them from the very Indies, and in like sort they transport them to the remotest parts, where they yeeld most gaine.

It is not amisse to adde the very words of Marchantius, writing of the olde trade of Burges in Flanders, since what I haue written, is onely to bee vnderstood of the vnited Prouinces. Thus he saith. Lodouicus Crassus in the yeere 1323. granted a staple to Bruges, which his sonne Malanus confirmed. The Staple is a priuiledge of staying forraine Commodities in the place, except the seller and bringer chuse rather to returne whence they came. Bruges hath a Market place, with a house for the meeting of Merchants at noone and euening, which house was called the Burse, of the houses of the extinct Family Bursa, bearing three purses for their Armes, engraueu vpon their houses. The Marchants of England, Scotland, France Castilia, Portugal, Aragon, Nanar, Catnlania, Biscaia, the Hans Cities of Ger|manie; (namely Lubeck, Hamberg, Rostoch, Dantzk, eRiga, Renel, and diuers o|ther Cities,) the Marchants of [285] Venice, Florence [286], Genoa, Luca, and Milan (name|ly fifteene Nations,) had each their Colledge or house here. The Italians brought Chamblets and Grogram in made of Goates hayre, in Galatia a prouince of the Lesser Asia, they brought Hides, thred of Silke, of Siluer, and of Gold, and cloathes made of them, they brought Iewels, Wines of Candia, Allum, Brim|stone, Oyle, Spices, Apothecary Wares, Mithridate, Rhubarb, Mummy, Sena, Cassia, and the soile of Brasse. The French brought Salt, Red and white Wines, Oyle, and Paper. The English brought Wooll, Leade, Tynne, Beere, Woollen cloathes, especially those so make vailes for the Low countrey women. The Scots brought skinnes of sheepe Conneys and other, and course woollen cloathes.

[285] Venice
[286] Florence

The Spaniards and Portugals, brought graine for Scarlet Dye, Gold, Siluer, raw Silke, thred of Silke, the wood Guiacum, Salsaparilla, Vnicornes Horne, and Spices. The Germans, with the Danes and Polakes, brought Honey, Waxe, Corne, Salt-Peter, Wooll, Glasse, rich Furs, Quick-siluer, Armes, Rhenish Wines, Timber for building. Againe, they exported out of Flanders, faire and great horses, fat Beenes, Butter, diuers kindes of Cheese, pickeld and fumed Hertings, diuers Sea-fishes sal|ted, Woollen and Linnen clothes, Tapestry of great variety and beauty, rare pictures, and all manuary workes. Thus Flanders gaue the name to all Netherland. Bruges [...] in the yeere 1414. got a priuiledge, that they who were free of that Citie, by Birth, Gift, Buying or Marriage, should be free from all confiscation of their goods, which exceedeth the priuiledges of any other Citie in Netherland, for those of Ypre hauing the like, yet loose it vpon any Force offered to the Prince. The trade at Bruges be|ganne to decay in the yeere 1485, partly for the narrownesse and vnsafety of the Port of Sluce and the Riuer leading from thence to Bruges, partly by the Fame of the large and commodious Riuer Scaldis at Antwerp, and partly by the ciuill Warres. For first the Portugals hauing taken Callicut in the East Indies, carried their famous Spices to the Fayre of Antwerp in the yeere 1503. and contracting with that Citie, drew the Fuggari and Welfari German Merchants thi|ther. And after the Merchants of Florence [287] Lucca, and the Spinolae of Genor, and those of other Nations (excepting part of the Spaniards) leauing Bruges, seated themselues at Antwerp about the yeere 1516. And they were inuited thither by the priuiledge of Marriage Dowries, which became shadowes to many frauds. 97 For when Husbands either breake in life time, or be found banckerouts at death, the Wiues are preferred to all debters in the recouery of their dowry. Notwithstanding Bruges at this day by the third generall taxe of Flaunders yet in vse, payes something more then Ghant for publike vses. These be the words of Iacobus Marchantius.

The foresaid trade of the vnited Prouinces, hath at home much commodity and increase by the Riuers, (as the Rheine bringing downe the commodities of Germany), and by the standing or little mouing waters, which are most frequent, and by channels or ditches wrought by hand, and bearing at least little boates for passage to each City and Village: but these waters for the most part ending in standing pooles, by reason they fall into a low ground neere the Sea, the Ayre is vnholsome, the waters are nei|ther of good smell nor taste, neither doe they driue Mils, as running waters doe else|where, of which kind they haue few or none. My selfe in a darke rainy day passing one of these said narrow channels, numbered an hundred little boates at least, which passed by vs, (and are hired at a low rate) whereby the great trade and singular indu|stry of the Inhabitants may be coniectured. Adde that besides, the German Sea, lying vpon diuers of these Prouinces, they haue many Armes of the Sea, that runne farre within Land. All the Riuers fall from Germany, which in this lower soyle often ouer|flowing, haue changed their old beds, and falling into ditches made by hand, doe no more runne with their wonted force, but (as I haue said in the description of Holland) doe end (as it were) in lakes. By reason of the foresaid industry of the people inhabi|ting the vnited Prouinces, the number of their ships, and the commodity of their Seas and waters, howsoeuer they want of their owne many things for necessity and de|light, yet there is no where greater abundance of all things, neither could any Nation indowed with the great-

[287] Florence

est riches by nature, haue so long borne as they haue done a ciuell warre, and intollerable exactions and tributes, much lesse could they by this mischiefe haue growne rich, as this people hath done. One thing not vsed in any other Countrey, is here most common, that while the Husbands snort idly at home, the Weomen especially of Holland, for trafficke sayle to Hamburg, and manage most part of the businesse at home, and in neighbour Cities. In the shops they sell all, they take all accompts, and it is no teproch to the men to be neuer inquited after, about these af|faires, who taking money of their wiues for daily expences, gladly passe their time in idlenesse.

Touching this peoples diet, Butter is the first and last dish at the Table, whereof they make all sawces, especially for fish, and thereupon by strangers they are merrily [Note: Dict.] called Butter-mouths. They are much delighted with white meats, and the Bawers drinke milke in stead of beere, and as well Men as Weomen, passing in boates from City to City for trade, carry with them cheese, and boxes of butter for their foode, whereupon in like sort strangers call them Butter boxes, and nothing is more ordinary then for Citizens of good accompt and wealth to sit at their dores, (euen dwelling in the market place) holding in their hands, and eating a great lumpe of bread and butter with a lunchen of cheese. They vse to seeth little peeces of flesh in Pipkins, with rootes and gobbets of fat mingled therewith, without any cutiosity; and this they often seeth againe, setting it each meale of the weeke on the Table, newly heated, and with some addition of flesh rootes or fat morsels, as they thinke needfull, and this dish is vulgar|ly called Hutspot. They feed much vpon rootes, which the boyes of rich men de|uoure raw with a morsell of bread, as they runne playing in the streetes. They vse most commonly fresh meates, and seldome set any salt meates on the board, except it beat Feasts to prouoke drinking. They vse no spits to roast meat, but bake them in an earthen pipkin as in an ouen, and so likewise seeth them: And these meates being cold, they often heat and serue to the Table, so as I haue come into an Inne, and being in the Kitchen, could see nothing ready for supper, yet presently called to supper, haue seene a long Table furnished with these often heated meats, which smoaked on the outside, yet were cold on the inside. This people is prouerbially said to excell in ba|ked meates, especially in baking of Venison; yet to my knowledge they haue no red Deare in these Prouinces, neither haue they any inclosed Parkes for fallow Deare, nor 98 any Connygrees. Onely Count Mauritz hath of late had out of England some Buckes and Does of fallow Deare, which runne in the groue at the Hage, and there be some Connies neere Leyden vpon the sandy banke of the Sea, which are not suffici|ent to serue the Inhabitants of those parts, but are accounted good and pleasant to eat. Neither in forraigne parts doe they much desire to feed on Connies, either because they are rare, or because the flesh is not sauoury. They vse to eate early in the mor|ning, euen before day, and the cloth is laid foure times in the day for very seruants, but two of these times they set before them nothing but cheese and butter. They seeth all their meate in water falling of raine, and kept in Cesternes. They eate MushRome s and the binder parts of frogges for great dainties, which frogges young men vse to catch and present them to their Mistresses for dainties. I haue seene a hundreth of Oysters in diuers Cities sold sometimes for eight or twelue, yea for twenty or thirty stiuers. They dresse fresh water fish with butter more then enough, and salted fishes sauourly with butter and mustard: where they eate not at an Ordinary, but vpon recko|ning (as they doe in Villages and

poorer Innes), there they weigh the cheese when it is set on Table, and taken away, being paid by the waight; and I haue knowne some waggish Souldiers, who put a leaden bullet into the Cheese, making it thereby weigh little lesse then at first sitting downe, and so deceiuing their Hosts: But in the chiefe Innes, a man shall eate at an Ordinary, and there Gentlemen and others of inferiour condition sit at the same Table, and at the same rate.

The Innes are commodious enough, and the Cities being frequent scarce some eight miles distant one from the other, commodities of lodging are as frequent, yea, they hang out signes at the doore, (which fashion is not in vse in may Cities of Germa|ny, in Denmarke, Poland, Scotland, and Ireland, where the Innes are onely knowne by fame); and this made me maruell, that notwithstanding this signe obliging them to lodge strangers, my selfe though well apparelled, haue diuers times beene refused lod|ging in many of those Innes, which seemed to me a scorne and flat iniury. At the faire City of Leyden not wanting many faire Innes. I was refused lodging in sixe of them, and hardly got it in the seuenth, which made me gather that they did not wil|lingly entertaine Englishmen: neither did I attribute this to their in hospital nature, but to the licentiousnesse of our Souldiers, who perhaps had deserued ill of them thereby, or perhaps by ill payment, for which I cannot blame the English in that case, butra|ther the vnequall Law of England, giuing all to the elder brothers, lying sluggishly at home, and thrusting the younger brothers into the warres and all desperate hazards, and that in penury, which forcibly driueth the most ingenious dispositions to doe vn|fit things. By reason of the huge impositions (especially vpon wines, the passengers expence is much increased, for the exactions often equall or passe the value of the things for which they are paid. And though a man drinke beere, subiect to lesse impo|sition and lesse deere then wine, yet he must vnderstand that his companions drinke largely, and be he neuer so sober in diet, yet his purse must pay a share for their intem|perance. After supper passengers vse to sit by the fier, and passe some time in mirth, drinking vpon the common charge, and to warme their beere till it haue a froth: yet doe they not vse these night drinkings so frequently nor with such excesse, as the Ger|mans doe.

I remember that hauing beene at Sea in a great storme of wind, thunder, and light|ning, about the moneth of Nouember, when such stormes are rare, and being very wea|rie and sad, I landed at Dockam in West-Freesland, where at that time some yong Gen|tleweomen of that Countrey, passing through that City towards Groning, accor|ding to the fashion of those parts, we did eate at an ordinary Table, and after sup|per sat downe by the fier, drinking one to the other; where after our storme at Sea, the custome of Freesland did somewhat recreate vs: For if a woman drinke to a man, the custome is that shee must bring him the Cup and kisse him, he not mouing his feete nor scarcely his head to meete her, and men drinking to them are tied to the like by custome. A stranger would at first sight maruell at this custome, and more specially that their very husbands should take it for a disgrace, and be apt to quarrell with a 99 man for omitting this ceremony towards their wiues, yet they interpret this [...] as if they iudged their wiues to be so foule or infamous, or at least [...] as they [...] them vnworthy of that courtesie. In the first Book of this third Part and in the Iour|nall of the first Part, I haue particularly set downe the rates of expences for [...] through those parts. They greatly esteeme English Beere, either for the [...] wine, or indeed the goodnes

thereof; and I haue obserued some in their cups thus to magnifie it, English Beere, English verstant, English beare makes an English wit. So in the Sea townes of England they sing this English rime; [...] of mutton and English Beere, make the Flemmings tarry here. They say that there be [...] brewers at [...], and there they imitate the English Beere, and call that kind Delphs English. But with no cost could they euer make as good as the English is, though they prouided to haue English Brewers, either by reason of the difference of the waters, or rather (as by experience I haue found), because our Beere carried ouer Sea (whereby it worke a new, and goes a better fauour) doth drinke much better then that we haue at home. They say that of old there were more then 700 brewers at Torgaw, till vpon the water [...] or cor|rupted, they forsooke that place. It is not lawful to sel Rhenish wine and French white wine in the same tauerne, lest they should be mixed: but one man may sell French [...] wine and Rhenish wine, which cannot well be mixed, without being [...]. And for the same cause they may not sel in one place diuers lands of the same country wine, and of the same colour. The Netherlanders vse lesse excesse in drinking [...] Saxons, and more then other Germans. And if you aske a woman for [...], she takes it for an honest excuse, to say he is drunken and sleepes. But I will truly say, that for euery day drinking, though it bee farre from sobernesse, yet it is not with so great excesse as the Saxons vse, neither in tauerns (where they, and specially the com|mon sort most meet) and in priuate feasts at home, doe they vse so great excesse as the Saxons. Neither doe drunken men reele in the streets of Netherland so frequently, as they do in those of Saxony. Only I did once see, not without astonishment, a man of honorable condition, as it seemed by his apparrell, of Veluet, and many rings on his fingers, who lay groueing on the ground, close by the carte rutt of the high-way, with two seruants distending his cloake betweene the Sun and him, and when wee lighted from our waggon, to behold more neerely this spectacle, thinking the man to be killed or sore wounded, his seruants made signes vnto vs, that wee should not trouble him, who was onely drunken, and would be well assoone as he had slept a little. At this we much wondred, and went on our iourney. At feasts they haue a fashion to put a Ca|pons rump in the saltseller, and to contend who shall deserue it, by drinking most for it. The best sort at feasts for a frolike will change hats, whereby it happens that Gallants shal weare a Burgers cap, and a Burger an hat with a feather, crying, Tousfoiz a mo|de de Liege, All fooles after the fashion of Liege. Some wanting companions to drinke, lay down their hat or cloke for a companion so playing the selues both parts, of drin|king to, and pledging, till they haue no more sence or vse of reason then the cloke or [...] hath. Lastly, all bargaines, contracts, and solemnities whatsoeuer are done in [...] caps.

The longitude of Denmark and Norway, extends 8 degrees and a [...], from the Me|ridian [Note: Denmarke.] of 27 degrees and a halfe, to that of 36 degrees. And the latitude extends 10 de|grees, from the paralell of 58 degrees, to that of 68 degrees. The Kingdome of Den|mark is diuided into sixe parts, Finmark, Norway, Gothia, Scandia, Seland and Iutland.

1 Finmark reacheth towards the North, beyond the Artick circle, to the Castle Warthouse, and therefore must needs be desart and barren.

2 Norway in the Germans tongue signifies the way to the North, and it is so large, as of old it had and still retaineth the name of a Kingdome, and towards Finmark it reacheth to the Artick circle. The Cities

are named, [...] not farre from the narrow Sea, called Der Soundt, and Nidrosia, formerly called Trondia. lying vpon the same sea, and Bergis the seate of a Bishop, and Solzburg a Citie of traffick. In Norway they catch great store of Stockfish, which they beate with cudgels, and dry with cold, and great store of a fish, from the Greeke word called Plaise, for the bredth thereof, and they sell great quantity of this fish to the German Cities vpon the sea, which they keep to feede the people, in case the cities should be besieged.

100 3 The Iland Gothia is annexed to the Crowne of Denmark, yet the Succians tooke it in our time, but the Danes recouered it againe. Histories, report, that the Gothes came out of this Iland, yet old Writers vnder the name of Scandia containe all the tract of the neck of Land, lying from the Hyperborian Sea, betweene the Northerne Ocean, and the Bodick Gulfe; from whence it is more probable, that the Gothes came out, then onely from this little Iland, who after seated themselues vpon the Euxine sea, and the banke of Danow, and from thence made incursions vpon the Roman Empire. And hereupon the said tract, containing not onely Scandia and Gothia, but all Norway and Suecia, was by old Writers called the shop and sheath of Nations. The Iland Gothia yeelds the rich Furres called Sabels.

4 The Iland Scandia is also called Scondia, and Scandinauia, and Schonlandia, that is, faire land, the beauty whereof the Danes highly extoll, and for the firtiltie preferre it to Sealand, though it passe the same in the buildings of the Kings Court and other houses. The Cities thereof are Helsenburg, Lanscron, and London the Metropolitan Citie.

5 The Iland of Seland, (whence they hold the Zelanders of Netherland to haue come into those parts), is beautified with the City Copenhagen (that is, the Hauen of Merchants) where the King hath his Court, and there is an Vniuersity. It hath also the strong Castell Cronemburg, built in the Village Elsenar, and the City Roschild, so called of a Fountaine, being the seate of a bishop, where the Kings are buried. Be|tweene the Castle Cronembirg in Seland, and the Castle Helsenburg in Scandia, is the fa|mous straight of the Sea, called Der Soundt, by which the ships enter into the Baltick Sea, and returning from Dantzk and Righa, laded with precious commodities, pay great tributes to the King of Denmarke, both at the entrie and going [...] of that Straight.

6 Iutland signifying a good land in the German language, is the Northerne part of the Cimbrian Chersonesus (that is, necke of land) whence the Cimbri came, who made war vpon the Romans. And this Iutland with the foresaid Seland, are properly called Denmarke, the other parts being peculiar Regions, at diuers times annexed to that Crowne. The chiefe Townes of Iutland, are Aleburg, Nicopia and Wiburg. The rest of the tract of the Cimbrian Chersonesus, containes the Dukedome of Holst, vulgarly called Holstein, which of old was part of Saxony, but so, as the Danes often forced it to the paying of tribute, and at last about the yeere 1465 they fully subdued it. Part of this Dukedome lying vpon the Brittan Sea, betweene the Brooke Idera and the Riuer Elue, is called Ditmarcia, all fenny, so as by casting downe certaine bankes, they may drowne al the Countrie, and by this strength, the inhabitants keeping their enemies out, long preserued a rude or rurall liberty, but at last in our time, Frederike King of Denmarke, vpon aduantage of a great frost in those Fennes, suddenly assailed and sub|dued them, ioyning that Country to the said Dukedome of Holst. Of which Duke|dome the chiefe Townes are Flensburg, Slesuick (where of old the

Dukes held their Court) being seated on the Sea towards the East, and Gottorp, and Meldorp in Ditmar|cia vpon the Sea towards the West. Vpon the confines of Holst lye the faire Imperi|all free Cities Lubeck and Hamburg, to the freedome whereof the Dukes of Holst were great and neere enemies, challenging the same to bee built in their soyle, for which cause the Kings of Denmark possessing that Duke-dome, are much suspected by these Cities, whom they more and more feare, as their power more increaseth. Some reckon the Ilands Orcades for part of Denmarke, and they say, that the inhabitants speake the Gothes language: but Histories witnesse, that howsoeuer of old they be|longed to the Danes, yet they haue long been subiect to the Kingdome of Scot|land.

Denmarke lying neere the Artick circle, must needs be subiect to great cold, howsoe|uer the mistie aire, caused by the frequent Iles, doth in some sort mitigate the extre|mity [Note: The situa|tion.] thereof.

In regard of the clime, it cannot be expected, that fruites should grow here, which are onely ripened by the heate of the Sunne. They haue corne sufficient for their own [Note: The Fertilty] 101 vse, and plenty thereof (as of all other commodities) is brought to them from Danizk and all other parts, by reason of the frequent concourse of Merchants into the Sounat, which they inioy at good rates, and with much ease.

The Danes exchange great plenty of dried and salted fishes, and of other smal com|modities; [Note: The traf|fake.] for necessaries to clothe and feede them; and being in both these kinds frugal and sparing (as the Germans are) they also attaine to some small riches by this poore traffick. And since they feede for the most part on dried fishes, bacon, and salt meates, and little vse fresh meates as veale and mutton, they carry great heards of oxen and calues out of Holst into Netherland. Lastly, since they haue no other commodities of their owne to transport, and Merchants that passe the Baltike Sea, of necessity landing at Elsenar, bring them all necessaries from forraigne parts, and also take of them such commodities as they can spare, surely howsoeuer the ships of Denmark are in strength sayling and lasting next to the English, yet their Merchants seldome make any other voyages then towards the Northerne Iles to take fish. In diet they are much like [Note: The [...].] the Germans and especially the neighbouring Saxons. Their dainties are bacon and salt meats, but the common people feeds much on diuers kinds of dried fishes, which at the first view of them a stranger-may wel perceiue, by their leane and withered faces, and they likewise feede on bread very black, heauy and windy. I did see no common Innes at Copenhagen, Elsenar, or Rosehilde, but some are there licensed to keepe Tauerns for selling of wine, where the common table for that purpose is alwaies ready couered with linnen. But passengers must obtaine diet and lodging with some Citizen, and in their houses they shal find honest manners, moderate diet, and cleane beds and sheets. To conclude, the Danes passe (if it be possible) their neighbour Saxons in the excesse of their drinking.

Poland hath the name of Pole in that language signifying a plaine, and is a vast king|dome. [Note: Poland.] The longitude thereof extends 16 degrees from the Meridian of 38 degrees, to that of 54 degrees, and the latitude extends 9 degrees from the paralel, of 47 degrees to that of 56 degrees. It is diuided into the greater and the lesse.

1 Of the greater Poland these are the chiefe townes Bosnan seated on the Brooke Bar|ta, and Genesua, and Ladis-

tauia seated vpon the Riuer Vistula or Wexel.

2 The lesser Poland lies towards the South, wherein is Craconia (vulgarly Crakaw) the seat of the Kings. The inhabitants come of the Scithians, and the manners of the com|mon people at this day little differ from the old Sarmatians. This Region is fenny, and great part thereof is woody, but it so aboundeth with corne and pastures, as it sup|plies all Europe with corne, and the neighbour Countries with heards of Cattell. It hath no vines, but it yeelds plenty of pit-coale, and much wax and hony, and it no lesse aboundeth with many kinds of the said cattell, aswell wilde as tame.

Other Prouinces are annexed to this Kingdom, namely, Samogitia, Massouia, Lithu|ania, Volhinia, Russia, and Podolia, for I omit Borussia, though subiect to this Kingdome vnder a free yoke, because I formerly said, that it is numbred among the Prouinces of Germany, the inhabitants being Germans in language and manners, and because I haue in that place formerly described the same.

3 Samogitia hath no walled Towne, but the people liue in Cottages, and being rude and of great stature, only apply themselues to the plough, and feeding of cattle, not knowing any vse of mony, scarce the seruice of God.

4 The Metropolitan City of Massouia is Warsouia (vulgarly Warsaw), where the Par|laments of the Kingdome are held.

5 Lithuania giues the title of Great Duke, and is a most large Prouince, fenny and woody, so as in Summer there is no passage into it, but in winter when the Fenns are frozen, Merchants trade with the inhabitants. Vilna is the Metropolitan city, and seate of the Bishop. It hath very few Townes, and the Villages are commonly distant 20 German miles one from the other. They haue plenty of hony, wax, a kind of beast like an oxe called Alce, wilde beasts and rich furres, but they scarce know the vse of mony.

6 Volhinia is the most fertile prouince of that Kingdom, and fullest of faire townes and Castles.

102 7 Russia or Reutenia hath many Townes, whereof the most knowne is Leopolis (vul|garly Leimpurg) and it is famous for swift and good horses, not to speake of the rich furres and other commodities.

8 Lastly, Podolia aboundeth with excellent Pastures, but hath few Cities or Townes.

In general, Poland is subiect to as great cold, as the lower part of Germany, lying vnder [Note: The situati|on.] the same Parallel, and the Countries, as they lie more Northerly, so they suffer more cold; for the coast of the Baltike Sea, the more it lyes towards the East, the more it still bends to the North, besides that, the plainenes of the Countrie, and the frequen|cy of Lakes and Fennes, doe more increase the cold. They vse stoues heated with ear|then ouens, for remedy against cold, as the Germans doe.

The reuenews of the King and Gentlemen are moderate, scarce sufficient to main|taine a plentiful table, and to exchange with Merchants for Wines and Spices (which [Note: The fertilty] they much vse, especially in dressing of fish) and for forraigne Stuffes and Clothes of Silke and Wooll. Poland aboundeth with beasts, aswell wild as tame, and yeeldeth excellent horses, not great, but quicke and stirring. Neither doe the Gentlemen more delight in any thing, then in their horses, so as they hang gold chaines and lewels at their eares, and paint them halfe ouer with exquisite colours, but in that vncomely, that they are not naturall for horses, as the Carnatian colour, and their hinder parts they adorne with rich Furres and

skinnes of Lions and Leopards and the like, aswell to terrifie their enemies, as to adorne and beautifie their horses. Poland likewise a|boundeth with Flesh, White-meate, Birds, fresh-water-Fish (it being farre within land), and al kind of Pulse, as Pease and the like. It hath some, but very few mines of Gold and Siluer towards the Carpatian Mountaines of Hungary, and of Iron and Brimstone. It abounds with Hony, which they find in hollow trees and caues of the earth, besides the Husbandmans hiues. It yeelds great quantity of Wax, Flax, Lin|nen clothes made thereof, Hempe, Pich of both kinds, Mafts for shippes, Beares and Timber, rich Furres, Salt digged out of pits, Amber, Soape-ashes, and all kinde of Graine, especially Rye, which hath made Daniske famous, for relieuing all Nations therewith in time of dearth.

No maruell then if Merchants bring vnto them Silkes of Italy, Cloth of England, Wine of Spaine, and the very Spices of India, with most remote commodities, since [Note: The traffick.] they not onely sell them at what price they list, but also bring from thence such preci|ous foresaid commodities. Poland is all farre within land, excepting Borussia (vulgarly Prussen), which with immunities is subiect to this Kingdome, though I haue descri|bed it among the Prouinces of Germany, because the people are Germans in language and manners. And the very inhabitants of Borussia haue but few ships, vsing strangers to export their commodities. Poland aboundeth with the foresaid most necessary commodities, and the people liue content with their owne; yet are they not rich, be|cause they want the foresaid forraigne commodities farre brought, and so deare. And they haue so little Gold and Siluer, as despising all in respect of it, they sell all commo|dities at a most low rate, especially those which are for daily foode, and vnfit to be ex|ported.

And in truth, my selfe hauing in Poland and Ireland, found a strange cheapenesse of [Note: The dyot:] all such necessaries, in respect they want, and so more esteeme, Siluer. This obseruation makes me of an opinion much contrary to the vulgar, that there is no more certaine signe of a fluorishing and rich commonwealth, then the deare price of these things (ex|cepting the yeeres of famine), nor any greater argument of a poore and weake State, then the cheape price of them, and it makes me confident to conclude, that old wiues snared with papisticall superstition, doe foolishly attribute the late deare prices to the change of Religion in our time, while they ignorantly extoll former times, wherein twenty foure Eggs were sold for a penny: for in our Age, our Kings haue more roy|all Tributes, our Nobles farre greater reuenews, our Merchants much greater wealth, then euer our progenitors had, and this is the cause that all things for diet and appar|tell, and our very wanton desires, are sold at much higher prices then in former ages, 103 because our riches make vs not able to want any thing to serue our appetite, at what price soeuer it is set. Againe for Italy, it hath no great store of flesh, birds, fish, and like things for food, in regard of the populousnesse thereof, yet the Inhabitants holding it no disgrace to be sparing in diet, and modest in apparell (so it be clenly), in regard of this generall temperance, and that the Nobility disdaineth not to weaue silkes, and trade for them, being the sinew of that Countrey, howsoeuer all things are sold there at most deare prices, yet no Princes (considering things to be considered) no Gentlemen, no Merchants of the vniuersall World, haue greater treasures and wealth, then those of Italy. I haue said that Poland doth abound with all kinds of flesh, whitmeates, fresh-water

fish, and all things necessary for foode, and that it yeelds no Wine, which the Inhabitants seldome drinke, but in place thereof they vse Beere, which they of Dantzk brew very strong and good, and they make a drinke of Hony, which they esteeme almost as much as wine, and the best composition thereof is made in the Prouince of Masjouia. They haue such store of Butter, as I haue seene them anoint Cart wheeles therewith, but it is more white and lesse sauoury then ours. This Kingdome hath few Cities, and if a stranger will for a time soiourne in any of them, he shall easily find a German or Netherlander to be his Host, who will entertaine him more commodiou|sly then any of that Nation, though perhaps at extraordinary rates, as my selfe found, abiding with a Netherlander at Crakaw.

The Innes in the chiefe Cities, affoord conuenient beds, and plenty of flesh and fresh-water fish. And these fish they dresse with pepper and spice more then enough, for which kinde of Cookery, the Polonians are praised aboue the Germans or any other Nation, yet the spite being farre brought and deerely sold, makes the sawce farre more costly, then the fish it selfe. There is scarce any Gentleman who hath not the skill, and doth not vse to dresse fish for his owne eating. In Villages and small Cities, by the high-way a passenger shall find no bed, but he may carry a bed in his coach, and fit vpon it conucnicntly. Others vse to sleepe vpon straw, lapped with a furred horsemans coate, which they vse to weare, and if they haue no such coate, they must be content to sleepe vpon cleane straw: And all the passengers lie together in the warme stoaue, with those of the Family, both Men and Weomen. Neither shall they find in such places any Wine or choice meates, which they vse to bring from Cities in their coaches. For the Innes in such places are poore naked houses, hauing nothing to sell, but close by them are the shambles, the Bakers and Brewers hou|ses, where the passengers buy beere and such meat as they like, and bring it to the Inne, which a poore Hostesse will dresse, affording them onely fier, and a course Table|cloth. And it seemed to me, that the Lord of the place vseth to impose vpon some vassall this charge to entertaine strangers: for the Hostesse will giue her labour for nothing, except in curtesie you desire her to eate with you, and if you freely giue her a small reward, as three pence for the whole Company, shee will thinke you deale bountifully with her, but shee will aske you nothing Also you may freelie carrie away in your coach, flesh, bread, wine, or anie thing that remaines, which I haue seene done many times. No Countrey in Europe affoordes victuals at'a lower rate. My selfe and a Companion, did in a Countrey Towne inuite two Guests, and our dinner for foure persons came but to foure Grosh and a halfe. I haue formerly set downe the ordinary expences generally, in a Chapter treating of that Sub|iect in the first Booke of this thirde Part, and particularlie, in the iourney through Poland in the first Part. Now I will onelie adde, that in the Villa|ges and little Cities by the high way, I haue bought tenne Egges for one Grosh, a Goose for three, a Partridge for two, a loine of Mutton for two, a Pigge for three Grosh, and all like things at a very small price. So as if a passenger haue a Cooke in his companie, or haue himselfe any skill to dresse meate for his owne appetite. I thinke hee shall there want nothing for necessary or delicate foode. But hee may not expect, that a Countrey Hostesse should seeke out, or curiously dresse any daine|ties for him.

104 Lastly, the Polonians are as stout drinkers as the Germans, and passe them all, excep|ting onely the Saxons, yea aboue all that euer I obserued giuen to this vice,

they see|med to me to be mad in this kind, that in drinking they are prone to quarrels, braw|ling and fighting. Giue me leaue to adde one obseruation, which to me seemed very strange. At Meluin and Dantzke in Prussen, betweene Michaelmas and Christmas, the Country people bring in sledges laded with dead Hares, all foozen ouer, which are so preserued aswell and better, then if they were powdred with Salt, till our Lady day in Lent, about which time the frost begins first to breake. And if they will eate a Hare in the meane time, they thaw it at the fier, or the ouen of the warme stoue, or by casting it into water, and so they presently set it to the fier, either to be rosted or boyled. In like sort they preserue Phesants, or any kind of flesh, being frozen ouer, aswell as if they were salted. And if any man thinke this a Trauellers fiction, let him know, that a most credible person told mee, of his certaine knowledge and experience, that the Moscouites in Russia, bring the dead bodies of men in winter thus frozen ouer, and so lay them on heapes in the Bellfrees of the Churches, where they lie without rotting, or ill smell, till about our Lady day in Lent the Snow begins to thaw, and the earth to be fit for digging (for till that time the earth is couered with deepe and hard snow, and if it were not so couered, yet is so hard by continuall frosts, as it cannot bee digged.) And at that time each family takes the bodies of their dead, and takes care to burie them.

CHAP. V. Of Italy touching all the subiects of the third Chapter going before.

THE Longitude of Italy extends fourteene degrees and a halfe from the Meridian of twenty seuen degrees and a [Note: Italy.] halfe, to that of forty two degrees. And the Latitude ex|tends eight degrees from the paralell of thirty eight de|grees to that of forty sixe degrees Italy of old was called Saturnia, Ianicula, Oenotria, and Ausonia, and lastly it had the name of Italy. It was called Saturnia of Saturne, who banished from his Country, taught the Inhabitants of this Country the Art of Husbandry, as Poets fable, and is accounted the first King of this people, then called Abori|gines, as borne there, not comming from any forraigne part to inhabite there It was called Ianicula of Ianus or Noha, whom they affirme to haue come thither after the de|luge, and to haue taught them the art to plant vines and sow corne, and to haue built the Citie Ianua, now called Genoa . It was called Oenotria, either of the excellent wines, or of Oenotrius King of the Sabines, as likewise it had the name [...] of Ausonius, the son of Vlisses. Lastly, it was called Italy of Italus King of Sicilie, or of an old Greeke word signifying oxen, and shewing the inhabitants to haue been Heardsmen. Ptolomy de|scribes it in the forme of a Chersonesus (that is, necke of land) or Peninsula (that is, al|most an Iland), and Pliny in the forme of an Oaken leafe, but others more aptly com|pare it to a mans leg, from the thigh to the sole of the foote.

Old Writers diuiding Italy from Gallia Cisalpina, or togata, inclose Gallia with a line drawne from the Riuer Varus beyond Genoa , by the Apenine Mountaine to the Brooke Rubico, where it falles into the Sea neere Rauenna, and this line is obliquely stretched from the East to the West, and so they diuide it from Italy, and make Picmount, the Dukedome of Milan , the Dukedome of Ferrara, the Treuisan Marquisate, and all Histria, to be a peculiar part of Europe. But these Prouinces being at this time part of Italy, it is better inclosed and confined by a line drawne from the head of the Brooke Varus, through the Coccian Alpes to the Mountaine Adula, (which lies vpon 105 the Alpes of Furca or Mount Gothard) and so through the Rhetian Alpes towards the East, to the Brooke Arsia, (confining Histria), and the

rest of Italy is compassed with the Sea. Also the Mount Appenine deriued from the Alpes, runnes all the length of Italy, in the forme of a fishes backe bone, and almost in the midst deuides it into two tracts, one lying towards the vpper or Adriaticke Sea, the other towards the nether of Tyrrhene Sea. For howsoeuer the Appennine about Ancona, seemes to bend towards the Adriaticke Sea, and there to end; yet after it turnes from thence, and deuides the rest of Italy, till it ends vpon the straight of the Sicilian Sea. Italy worthily called the Queene of Nations, can neuer be sufficiently praised, being most happy in the sweete Ayre, the most fruitfull and pleasant fields, warme sunny hus, [...] thickets shad|dowing groues, Hauens of the Sea, watering brookes baths, wine, and Oyle for delight, and most safe forts or defences as well of the Sea as of the Alpes. Neither is any part of Europe more inhabited, more adorned with Cities and Castles, or to be compared thereunto for tillage and husbandry.

The Prouinces thereof are numbred 14. First beyond the Appenine towards the Tyrrhene Sea, lie fiue Prouinces, Liguria, Tuscia, Campania (suodeuided into Vmbria, Latium, and Campania, the happy): Lucania (vulgarly [...]), and Calabria, (the vp|per and the lower). Also on this side the Appenine towards the Adriaticke Sea, lie fiue Prouinces, (going backe from the East to the West), Salentinum, Apulia, Samnium, vulgarly Abrotzo), Ptcaenum, (vulgarly Marca Ancomtana) and Flaminia (vulgarly Romandiola), whereof part beyond the brooke Rubico, reacheth into Gallia Cisalpina. Againe in the part called of old Gallia Cisalpina, are foure Prouinces, Lombards, Mar|ca, Trenisana, Forum Iulij, and Histria.

1 The chiefe City in Liguria, is Genoa , a free City, (or at least hauing the shew of li|berty), to which all this Prouince is subiect, which heth all vpon the Tyrrbene Sea, and is now vulgarly called La Riuiera di Genoa , being of all Italy the most rocky and barren tract: yet whether by Husbandmens art and labour, or by lying vpon the South Sun, I know not; but sure I am, and well remember, that passing that way in the beginning of Winter, I tooke great pleasure in the plenty and goodnesse of the fruites thereof: Besides that, all Men extoll the fertility of Mount Ferrate, (a part of Liguria, inclosed and watered by the Riuers Tanoro and Po.)

2 Tuscia had the name of Franckensence, which they vsed for Incense, and was for|merly called Hetruria, at this day named Toscana. It was an old Dukedome erected by the Longobards, and after was deuided into many territories of free Cities and Commonwealths, the liberty whereof (namely of Florence [288] , Pisa, and Sienna) the Fami|ly of Medici, inuaded in the time of the Emperour Charles the fifth, and now posses|seth all Toscany with title of great Duke, onely the City of Lucca still preseruing the old liberty of that Commonwealth. It hath very many Cities, of which these are the chiefe; Florence [289] , Pisa, (an Vniuersity), Sienna , and Lucca, (which still is free City).

3 Campania (vulgarly Campagna) is subdeuided (as I said) into Latium, Vmbria and Campania the happy. Latium hath the name of the Fable of Saturne, lurking there in banishment, and it is the Fountaine of the famous Latin tongue, and the head City thereof is Rome , which City together with the whole Prouince, is at this day subiect to the Pope, and the Prouince is vulgarly called Campagna di Roma. The second part is Vm|bria, which was held part of Latium, and lieth be-

[288] Florence
[289] Florence

yond Rome , amidst the Mount Apenine of whose shaddow it had the name of Vmbria, but is now called the Dukedome of Spo|leto, to which dignity it was raised of old by the Lombards, and it is subiect to the Pope of Rome . The Cities thereof are Volgineum, Assisium, Spoletum, Perusium, and Otri|coli. The third part is Campania the happy, vulgarly called Terra di Lauorae, hauing the name of the most fertile Plaine of Capua, seated vpon the banke of the Riuer Volturnus, and to that Citie it was of old subiect, but at this day it is the chiefe Prouince of the Neapolitan Kingdome, the head Citie whereof is Naples , of old called Parthenope, and Dysiarchia, now adorned with stately Pallaces, of Dukes, Earles, and Gentlemen, especially those of the Duke of Grauina, and the Prince of Salerno, these Noble men 106 dwelling there the greatest part of the yeere. The Capuan delights, corrupting the Army of Hanniball, are knowne to all the World. This Prouince is an earthly Para|dise, where Bacchus and Ceres striue for principalitie. I passe ouer Cuma, of old a famous Citie, and Linternum, famous for the banishment and Sepulcher of Scipio the Afri|cane, since at this day onely remaine some ruines of Cuma, and scarce any memory of Linternum. Necre Suessa, is the Mountaine Valerius or Falernus, famous for the wine it yeeldeth, and the famous Mountaines Gaurus, Massicus and Vesunius. The Moun|taine Vesunius is now called Somma, out of the top whereof, of old great flames broke out, burning the neighbour places, in which flames Pliny (liuing in the time of Traian) was choaked and perished, while hee curiously searched the cause of those flames. In our age this Mountaine burned, and now daily fire breakes out of it. Here the beau|tie of all the World is gathered as it were into a bundle. Here be the famous dwel|lings of the Romans, in the Territorie of Napies. Here are the Acherusian Fennes, the Lake of Auernus, the Ditch of Nero, the Bridge of Caligula, and other wonders celebrated by Poets. The Kingdome of Naples is subiect to the King of Spaine, which together with the Dukedome of Milan , also subiect to him, is thought to containe more then halfe Italy, besides the Iland of Sicily, annexed to this Kingdome, whereof this is the chiefe Prouince, and the bounds of it reach to the Sea, and so lye backward on this side the Apennine towards Samnium, where it is confined, and diuided from the Mark of Ancona, by the Brooke Truento.

4 Lucania, vulgarly Basilicata, is a small Territory, the Cities whereof are Folia and Laina.

5 Calabria a Prouince of this Kingdome, is diuided into the vpper and the lower. The vpper is called great Graece, being of old inhabited by the Greekes, and vsing still that language corrupted with the Italian. The Cities thereof famous of old, are Ru|dia (where Ennius was borne), Croto (where Milo was borne, who carried an Oxe), Ta|rentum now the chiefe City, and Locris. The lower Calabria is called Brutium, the chiefe City whereof is Reghio, so called, because Sicily is said to haue been there diuided from Italy by an Earthquake.

6 Salentinum vulgarly Terra di Ottranto hath the Cities Ottranto, and Brundusium.

7 Apulia vulgarly Puglia, is diuided into Peucetia and Daunia.

In Pencetia or Mesapia, vulgarly called Terra di Barri, are the Cities Basigno and Bitonto. In Daunia, vulgarly called Puglia Piana, are the Cities Mansfredonia, Beneuen|tum (made a Dukedome by the Lumbards), Asculum, and the Village Cannae, famous by the old defeate of the Romans. And here is the Mountaine Garganus, vulgarly cal|led Sant' Angelo.

8 Samnium of old called Aprusium, at

this day hath the name of Abrozzo, where is Sulmo, in which Oxid was borne, and here the Kingdome of Naples is confined on this side the Apenine Mountaine.

9 Picaenum, vulgarly Marca Anconitana is subiect to the Pope, and hath the name of the chiefe City Ancona, so called of the crookednesse of the Hauen, which is held the best Hauen of Italy. Pesaurum, vulgatly Pesaro, belongs to this Prouince.

10 Flaminia or Romandiola, vulgarly Romagna, hath faire Cities, Vrbinum, subiect to the Duke thereof (which some make part of Ptcanum), Rimini, Bologna, subiect to the Pope, and ancient Rauenna, which with the greatest part of this Prouince is subiect to the Pope, who erected Vrbine from a County to a Dukedome, with couenant of vassalage (which the Popes seldome omit) yet some part of the Prouince is subiect to the Venetians.

11 Lombardy of old was part of Gallia Cisalpina, which the Riuer Padus (vulgarly Po, and of old called Eridanus) diuides into Cispadan (on this side the Po) and Transpadan (beyond the Po.) Cispadan (of old called Emilia, now vulgarly di qua del' Po) con|taines Pigmont (so called, as seated at the foote of the Mountaines), whereof the chiefe Citie is Turin (of old called Augusta Taurinorum), and this Prouince is subiect to the Duke of Sauoy, Also it containes the Territory of Parma, subiect to the Duke thereof, wherin are the cities Parma and Piacenza. Transpadane, vulgarly di la del' Po, containes the 107 Dukedome of Milan , the chiefe City, whereof is Milan o, and it hath other Cities, namely Como, where both Plimes were borne, seated on the most pleasant Lake [...] vulgarly di Como, abounding with excellent fishes. Also Ticnum vulgarly [...], (where the French King Francis the first, was taken prisoner by the Army of Charles the fifth). Lastly, Cremona, among other things famous for the Tower. This Duke|dome is the largest and richest of all other, (as Flaunders is among the Counties) and it is subiect to the King of Spaine.

12 Also Transpadane Lombardy containes the Dukedome of Mantua , (subiect to the Duke thereof) and Marca Treuisana, or Triuigiana (subiect to the State of [290] Venice). Mantua is the chiefe City of the Dukedome, and Marca Treuisana hath the famous Cities, [291] Venice, Padoa, [...], [292] Verona , Vicenza, Brescia, and Bergamo The [...] of old inhabited all Cisalpina Gailia, who gaue the name to the Iyrrhene Sea and were ex|pelled by the Galles, and of them the Insubres inhabited the Transpadan part, and there built Milan o, and the Senones inhabited the Cispadane part.

13 Histria is deuided into Forum Iulij, and Histria, properly so called. Vorum Iulij vnlgarly Frieli, and Patria (because the Venetians acknowledge they came from thence), was a Dukedome erected by the Lombards, the chiefe City whereof is the most ancient Aguilegia adorned with the title of a Patriarchate, which at this day is al|most fallen to the ground. Neere that City is a Towne, in which they write that S. Marke penned his Gospell: Now the chiefe City is Frioli. The confines of this Re|gion lie vpon Marca Trenisana, and all the Prouince to the Riuer [...], is sub|iect to the State of [293] Venice. The other part is subiect to the Arch-Dukes [...] Austria. Here growes the wine Pucinum, now called Prosecho, much celebrated by [...]

14 Histria, properly so called, is almost

[290] Venice
[291] Venice
[292] Verona
[293] Venice

in the forme of a Peninsule (almost an Iland) and the chiefe City is Iustinopolis, vnlgarly Capo d'Istria, and all the Prouince is subiect to the State of [294] Venice.

Italy in Winter time, (namely the moneths of December, January, and February) hath [Note: The situati|on.] a temperate cold, with little or no frosts or Ice: And howsoeuer my selfe did see, not onely the Riuers of the State of [295] Venice, but the very Inland Seas of [296] Venice, frozen and couered with thicke yce, for the space of three weekes, yet the Venetiaos find it was a rare accident. In Summer the heate is excessiue, and the dew falling by night is very vnwholsome, as also thunderings and lightnings are frequent, which doe great hurt both to man and beast then abroad, as sad experience often shewes them. But in the Dog-daies no man is so hardy as to put his head out of his dores, or to goe out of the City. For they prouerbially say; Quando il Sole alberga in Leone, [...] sano, guadagna assai: that is, When the Sunne lodgeth in the Signe of the Lion, he that pre|serues his health, gaines enough. This excesse of heate they carefully auoid, by inhabiting vpon the sides of the Mountaines and Hilles towards the Sea, which cooleth the windes, and by retiring into vaults vnder ground, or open Tarrasses lying vpon Riuers, and free from the Sunne. Yea, some haue found the meanes, by an artificiall Mill, to draw Winde into a vault, and from thence to disperie it into any roome of the house. All Italy is diuided with the Mount Apennine, as a back is with the bone, and vpon both sides thereof, as well towards the North as South, the Hilles and Plaines extend towards the Tirrhene and Adriatike Seaes, in so narrow compasses, as many times a man may at once see both the Seas, from the top of the Mountaine, so as the fresh windes blowing from each Sea, doe not a little mitigate the heate of the clime. For the Sea windes blowing from any quarter whatsoeuer, while they gather cold by long gliding on the water, must needes refresh where they blow, as on the contrary, winds sweeping vpon the earth, increase the heate. Thus in the West part of Sicily, when the South East wind blowes, and sweepes vpon the plaine, parched by the Sun, it brings excessiue heate, yet the same wind, yea the very South wind in his nature most hot, when they sweepe vpon the Sea, and after beate vpon the Mountaines of Liguria, doe bring a pleasant coolenesse with them.

Touching the fertility of Italy, before I speake of it, giue me leaue to remember, [Note: The [...],] that IeRome Turler writing of Trauell into forraigne parts, relates that a Prince of Na|ples 108 hauing a kinseman to his pupill, who desired much to see forraigne Kingdomes, he could not deny him so iust a request, but onely wished him first to see Rome , whe|ther he went, and after his returne, the Prince tooke an accompt of him, what he had seene, and finding him sparingly to relate his obseruations in that place, he made this answere to his request: Cozen, you haue seene at Rome faire Meadowes, Plaines, Mountaines, Woods, Groues, Fountaines, Riuers, Villages, Castles, Cities, Baths, Amphitheaters, Play-houses, Temples, Pillars, Statuaes, Colosses, triumphall Arkes, Pyramides, Academies, Gardens, Water-Conduits, Men good and ill, learned and vnlearned, more you cannot see in the vniuersall World; then be content, and stay at home. And so he restrained the young Man in his desire to trauell, wherein perhaps he rather sought to get liberty then experience. This I write, to shew that the

[294] Venice
[295] Venice
[296] Venice

Italians are so rauished with the beauty of their owne Countrey, as hauing by sharpenesse of wit more then the true value of things, magnified and propounded to strangers ad|miration, each Brooke for a Riuer, each vice for the neighbour vertue, and each poore thing, as if it were to be extolled aboue the Moone, they haue thereby more wronged themselues then vs. For we passing through Italy, though we find our selues decei|ued in the fame of things, yet still we heare and see many things worthy to be obser|ued; but of the Italians, holding Italy for a Paradice, very few sharpen their wits with any long voyage, and great part of them haue not seene the Villages and Cities within ten miles of their dwellings. Hence it is that great part of the Italians haue nothing to boast of, but their naturall wit, while our Nations beyond their Alpes, besides na|turall gifts, haue wisdome gained by experience. Italy is most populous, so as Gentle|mens Palaces and Lands belonging to them, are commonly confined within some few inclosures. The Castles, Cities, Villages, and Pallaces, are most frequent, whence it is, that the Land being narrow, and not well capable of so much people, they plant and sow in the very ditches of the high wayes, in the furrowes of Land, vpon the wals and ditches of Cities and Castles, yea, to the very dores of priuate houses, fitting each least corner, as well to profit as beauty. Onely Lombardy hath large and open fields, with pastufes to feed Sheepe and Cowes, and with plenty of whitmeats: For they haue delicate Butter, which is not otherwhere to be found, except in the valey of Pisa, (or of the Riuer Arno), all other places vsing Oyle in stead of it. Neere Parma and Piacenza, it yeelds excellent Cheese, much prized of very Princes in forraigne parts, whether great quantity thereof is transported, and greater extracted into other parts of Italy.

Lombardy also affoords sheepe to Toscany, and other parts of Italy, as Sicily doth Corne, whereby of old it deserued to be called the Garner of Rome . Italy hath great store of Goates, the milke whereof is so nutritiue, as they giue it to the weakest bodies for a restoratiue. Great Heards of cattle are brought into Italy out of Hungary, and from diuers Countries of the Alpes, but the Hungarian Oxen growing leane with driuing farre, and finding in Italy no Pastures wherein they may be fatted, this makes Italians basely to esteeme of Beefe. Out of Lombardy the Italians haue few or no Ca|tle, all Italy being like a most pleasant Garden, and hauing few Pastures: And this makes the Italians so tender towards the few Cattle they haue, as for feare of cold for|sooth in that hot Clime, they leade them into stables, when they are to bring forth their young. In the plaine Countrey of Lombardy they vse horses, and especially Mares, (of an exceeding little race) to ride vpon, and for bearing of burthens; and Oxen to draw Carts, and sometimes Caroches, (vulgarly Carozzi): but in the Mountaines and hilly Countries they vse Asses and Mules, seldome horses to ride vpon, and for burthens. In the Roman territory I haue seene mauy Beasts called Buffols, like Oxen, but greater and more deformed, hauing great hornes with foule nostrels cast vp into the Ayre: It is a slow and dull Beast, yet being prouoked, hath malice enough, and the backe thereof is commonly bare of haire, and euer almost galled. They eate not the flesh thereof, but trade with the hides, as with those of Oxen, and this beast is held commodious for Husbandry and patient of labour. They haue no race of horses for beauty or seruice, but onely in the Kingdome of Naples . Asses are commonly sold for 10 crownes a peece, and a Mule for 50 or 60 gold crownes, which Beasts are onely vsed in all Italy, excepting onely Lombardy.

Of the Mule I obserued, that he will goe 109 vnder a heauy burthen from day-breake in Summer, to darke night, without any ba|ting or rest by the way, onely his meate is tied in a net before his mouth, so as he eates while he goes, and his pace is slow, and when his burthen is taken off at night, he tum|bles and rubs his backe in the dust to coole it, and is thereby more refreshed from wea|rinesse, then a horse can be with lying halfe the night, otherwise he lies not downe in the stable scarcely once in sixe moneths. A Mule is begotten betweene a horse [...] and a shee Asse, but a Mule mounting a she Mule, an Asse, or any beast whatsoeuer, doth neuer in gender of them, and the heate of his seed is yeelded for cause thereof. Narrow Italy cannot beare red or fallow Deare, onely the woods of Toscany yeeld some few wild Boares, which are preserued for the great Dukes game, otherwise a few wild beasts might soone make great spoile in so rich and well tilled fields, as be these of Italy.

The hils and mountaines thereof lying vpon the South Sunne, are in generall most fertile or fruitfull of all other, such are the fields and hils or the Neapolitane territo|ry, such are the mountaines and hils of Liguria, lying vpon the Tyrrhene Sea, such is the territory about the Lake of Gardo, (vulgarly Il lago di Gardo) lying at the feete of the South-side of the Alpes. The fields of Lombardy are lesse happy in yeelding fruites, but giue excellent pasture and corne, where the Husbandman makes vse of the very furrowes betweene the Akers, for as in the Aker he soweth Corne, so in the furrowes he plants Elme Trees, the loppings whereof serue him to burne, and likewise plants Vines, which shoote vp in height vpon the bodies of those trees, but these vines yeeld but a small wine, by reason they grow so high, and in a plaine Country. In the vpper part of Italy, they plant in one and the same field, Oliue and Almond trees, and vnder them sow Corne, and in the furrowes plant Vines, which shoote vp, resting vp|pon short stakes, and yeeld strong wine of diuers sorts, because they grow not high, and the ground being hilly, hath more benefit from the Sunne beating vpon it. The soyle of Toscany being hilly and stony, seemed to me at the first sight to be barren, but after I found it not onely to yeeld fruites plentifully, but also good increase of Corne, as of one measure sowed, commonly eight or ten measures, often fourteene, and some|times twenty fiue; neither doe they giue the ground rest by laying it fallow, as we doe, but each second yeere they sow part of it with Beanes and Pulse, yeelding plentifull increase, and then burying the stubble to rot in the ground, make it thereby fat to beare wheate againe. My selfe obserued, that at the foot of the South-side of the Alpes, they gather Wheate and Rie in the moneth of Iune, and then sow the same fields with lighter kinds of Graine, which they gather in the moneth of October: yet by reason of the multitude of the people, and the narrownesse of the Land, the Italians not onely carry not any grane into forraigne parts, but also the Merchants bringing grane to them, are cherished by the Princes, with faire words and rewards, that they may come againe, more specially by the Duke of Florence [297], who takes care to prouide for his Countrey, not onely grane from Sicily and all other parts, but also sheepe out of Lombardy, which he diuides among his Subiects, at what price he list, taking this charge vpon him to see that his people want not victuals, as wel for the publike good, as his owne great gaine. Italy yeelds plenty of Oranges, which Tree is most plea|sant to behold, yeelding fruit three times each yeere, and bearing at one time ripe and greene Oranges, and buds.

[297] Florence

They haue like plenty of Citron, Limon, and Cedar trees, which in Lombardy grow vpon the bricke wals of Gardens, as Vines doe with vs, and are kept in earthen vessels, but vpon the mountaines and hils of vpper Italy, the fields abound with these Trees, which both in body and fruit are as bigge as our Apple|trees, and they transport great store of these fruites into foraigne parts. There be ma|ny woods of Chesnuts, which they little esteeme, onely poore people eating them, and with the rest they feed Hogges, as with Acornes. The Chesnut tree is not vnlike the Oake tree, but that it is more small, high, and straight There be some woods of Pine trees, which are high, without any boughs or leaues to the very top, where they haue a round tuft, and they beare at one time the fruit of three veeres, one pine Apple round and sharpe at the top, hauing some hundreth or more knobs like hasell nuts, 110 in which knob the kernell is of little bignesse, but of such vertue to prouoke wanton|nesse, as they serue it at all feasts. All the fields are full of figtrees, not small as with vs, but as big in the body as some Appel-trees, and they haue broad leaues. The fruite hath the forme of a long [...], and a blacke skinne, and a red iuyce, being to be suck|ed like sugar in taste. Neither doe I thinke any fruite to bee more pleasant then this pulled from the tree, I say pulled from the tree, because the drie figges exported are not in taste comparable thereunto. In the fields of vpper Italy are great plenty of Al|mond trees, so as you would say, that a whole Prouince is but one Garden. Like plen|ty haue they of O iue trees, which yeeld a sweet oyle, vsed by them in stead of butter, and in soraigne parts for wholsomnesse, yet I cannot think that it can be whok some when it is heated, as the Italians vse it to fry meates. They haue some, but not to great plenty of Pomegranates, which tree is not vnlike that of the white Role, but the leaues are little, and the flowers and the buds of a red colour. The Husbandmen make ditches about the rootes of all these fruite trees, and the inhabitants of pleasant taly are notable in all kind of husbandrie. The Cypresse, Popler and Oake trees, grow in many places, but are little esteemed, as bearing no fruite. Italy vpon the Hilles and Mountaines lying towards the Sunne, yeelds rich Wines, and very nourishing, yet some out of experience say they are not wholsome for fat men, as causing obstructi|ons, and hindring the passage of the vrine, and other cuacuations: but I am sure they are more pleasant in taste, then any other wine whatsoeuer brought into England that euer I tasted. But of all the kinds of Wine to be named in my following discourse, I haue spoken more at large in the first Part, writing my iournall through Italy.

I haue seene Pease, Artichokes, cloued Gilly flowers, and other flowers of the best kinds, sold in the Market-place of Saint Marke in [298] Venice all the moneth of Februarie, but they had not the odoriferous smell of Summer-flowers. Also at Genoa in the moneth of December, I did see the same flowers and fruits sold, and many of them for one bolineo, yea the flowers were odoriferous in smell, and newly gathered, which made me thinke, that those I did see at [299] Venice, were preserued by Art, and not newly gathered. And they of Genoa acknowledge, that they learned the art to make flowers grow in Winter, of Cowes by chance nipping-offsome budds in Summer, which they obserued to bud and put forth againe in Winter for the Gareners vpon this obser|uation, did themselues nip offsome buds newly put forth in Summer, and forbearing to water that roote all

[298] Venice
[299] Venice

Summer time, did vpon approach of Winter digge about the route, and sow cloues about it, to make the Winter-flowers haue the better [...], and then couering the roote with earth, began daily to water it, and with this Art sooner or later vsed, they make the earth yeeld Roses, or any flowers in what moneth of the yeere they will, to that the ground lye vpon the South Sunne, and fenced from cold windes.

The Gulfe of [300] Venice affoards fishing to serue that City in good plenty, the Sea of Rome affoards lesse, and that of Genoa none at all. But in the Sea of Genoa neare the Ilands Sardinia and Corsica, they fish Cora's, sold at Genoa for three lyres the ownce. In the markets at [301] Venice they haue great ovsters, but in no great plenty, and diuers kinds of shel-fish, as Cockles, Scalops, and Rasers, called in the Italian tongue Cape tonde, (round Cape) Cape Sante (holy Cape) and Cape longe (long Cape), and these they haue in more plenty, then in most parts of England: but the Oysters are very deare, some twenty for a lyre; and I doe not remember to haue seene shelfish in any other City of Italy, but onely in Venite. Neither haue the Italians any store of fresh-water fish, so as most of their Markets are furnished in very Lent-time with salted and dried fishes, or at least newly dead, which the Germans cannot indure, vsing to see them aliue be|fore they will cate them. They haue at certaine times of the yeere reasonable plentie of birds, but not great in number or variety of kinds, but Hens, and especially those of Turkey or the Indies seeme more plentifully serued in the Markets, because the com|mon sort feedes onely vpon rootes, diuers kinds of pulse, hearbs, and small meates dri|ed or salted. I remember not to haue seene any Storkes in Italy, no not in the free Ci|ties and States, where fabulous Writers say, they most willingly liue, as vnder more III iust Lords and Gouernours. The Italian Gentlemen much delight in the art to catch birds, and in Gardens fitted to that purpose, with nets, bushes and glades, sparing no cost or industrie in that kind.

Not onely the Gentlemen, but euen the Princes of Italy openly prosesse to be Mer|chants (which our men, with leaue may I say, foolishly [...]) and onely permit the [Note: The traffick] retailing of their goods to men of inferiour sort, keeping all trade in grosle or whole sale to themselues, or at least by their treasures (commonly great) and authoritie (such as it is) drawing the chiefe profit thereof into their owne purses. And by this course they keepe the Patrimonies discending from their Ancestors, and daily increase them (while our Gentlemen prodigall in expence, and ashamed to make honest gaine, de|stroy their Families.) But of all trades, they are most inriched by silke and clothes made of it, especially they of Florence [302] and Lucca, where the Gentlemen for exercise of this trade, keepe open shops.

The Silke-wormes are vulgarly called Farfalli, which infold themselues in a piece. [Note: Silk wormes] of silk they weaue of an ouall forme and yellow color, and some of them so infolded, are let out for preseruation of the kind, by clipping that piece of silke they weaued; the other pieces are set in the Sunne, that the infolded wormes may die, whereby [...] is made excellent, which otherwise would bee little worth. They feede on the leaues of Mulberry trees, and the Duke of Florence [303] plants these trees in the ditches vpon the highway, from which if any passenger pul

[300] Venice
[301] Venice
[302] Florence
[303] Florence

a bough, he paies a great penalty. Wondring at this making of silke, and the art to weaue the same, after I returned into Englond, by acquaintance with som that for experience kept these wormes, I found, that about the moneth of August they cast seed vpon paper or linnen cloth wheron they are laid, and soone after die. That this seed laid aside al winter, is set forth in the Sun the next May, or assoone as the Mulbery trees yeeld leaues to feede the wormes. That by the Suns heate, the wormes take life of that seede in the forme of an horse haire at the first; after growing to a strange bignes, feeding greedily vpon those leaues. That they begin then to be sick, and growing of a yellow color leaue their feeding. That they are then put in|to a place fitted for their work, with corners little distant one from the other: that they then weaue and infold themselues in their webs (as I said.) That part of the webs are laid aside to preserue the wormes, out of which they eat out their way, and come forth winged like butterflies, but little vse the wing, and these webs yeeld no silke thread, but being dressed and seuered, do serue for baser vses. That the rest of the webs are put into an ouen, to choke the wormes, which webs yeeld excellent silke, disloluing it selfe into small threads Lastly, that the wormes preserued by spoiling their webs, out of which they eate their way, do (as I said) cast a seed or glutinous matter vpon a paper or lin|nen cloth, and then die. And that all these things, namely, to come to life to be fed vp, to weaue their web, to leaue seede for generation, and to die, are finished in the space of foure moneths.

After taking my iourney into Turkey, I did see infinite numbers of these wormes in the greater and lesser Asia, where I found, that these wormes grow to full bignes from the moneth of February to the moneth of May, then leaue their meate, then haue hou|ses made of reedes for them of purpose like the hiues for Bees, but more large, where (as I said) they inuolue themselues in their owne webs, which being set in the Sunne, the wormes die within them, and the webs moistned with hot water, are with wheeles drawne into small threads. That some of these webs for preseruation of the kind, are laid aside within the houses, where the wormes eate out their way, and comming forth winged, are laid vpon a linnen cloth, vpon which they leaue the foresaid seed or gluti|nous matter, and so die. That these clothes are laid aside in winter, but in the moneth of February next following, are set out in the sun, or more frequently caried in the bo|soms of country people, both men and women, by which heat the seed yeelds worms at first no greater then a graine of mustard seed, but after growing to the length of a mans haire as he vsually weares it on his head, and to the thicknes of a mans little finger. Formerly in the chapter of Prouerbs, I said that prouerbially the Mercha ts of Florence [304] were called crafty, those of Lucca greedy, those of [305] Venice bold (ventring al in one vessel) [Note: The traffick] 112 those of Milan faithfull (professing if neede be, that the plague is in the house they desire to sell.) And I there mentioned this prouerb of the Venetian trafficke; Ilbi|anco and il Nero (cioè pepe and cottone) hanno fatto venetia ricca. Black and white (that is, pepper and cotton) haue made [306] Venice rich. English Merchants bring into Italy Tinne, Leade, Herrings (especially dried, which they esteeme among dainties), Conny skin, Veches, Kersies, and sometimes English Corne. They also bring thither diuers

[304] Florence
[305] Venice
[306] Venice

com|modities from Dantzk, as Cordage, Hempe, Cauiale, Tallow, Waxe, Indian Hides, and like commodites of Poland and Moscouy. The Netherlanders bring into Italy dri|ed fishes, and the commodities of all Nations (with which they trade both here and in all places.) Into England, Netherland, and ouer parts, the Italians send Veluets of Genoa , Taffaties of Florence [307] and Lucca, Sattens of Bologna and other Cities, Stuffes of Milan as Fustians, and diuers kinds of Silke wouen and in thread, Gold and Siluer, Clothes of gold and siluer, Alom, and like commodities brought to [308] Venice out of Turkey. From the Ilands of the Mediterranean Sea subiect to [309] Venice, they send to vs Malmsies and Muskedine wines of Candia, Corrands of Zant and Cephalonia. The ships of our parts which bring Corne or any victuals into Italy, are receiued with all cour|tesie, especially by the Duke of Florence [310] in the hauen of Ligorno, and euen by the Pope in the hauen of Ciuita Vecchia. The Italians haue great traffick with the Turks in the Mediterranean Sea (whereof we shal speak more hereafter) but out of the straights of that Sea, they trade little in our age, or nothing at all, (except sometimes into Spaine) with their owne ships. And for Nauigation (whereof I must speake in the Chapter of Commonwealths) they haue small skill in that art. Their ships are of great but then to receiue commodities, and well furnished with Ordinance against the Turkish Py|rates, but they are slow, and not easily turned, so as sometimes the Turkes lesse daring at sea, yet take some great Venetian ships with their small barques or gallyes. For the Italians and Turkes make their Nauall fights with gallies, and no other ships, where|of the Venetian and Spaniard haue great numbers in this Sea. Wee reade, that the Pope made league with the Venetians and Spaniards for bearing some charge of war against the Turkes, and it is likely he hath some galleys, in that one sole hauen of Ciui|ta Vecchia belonging to him, but I neuer chanced to see any of the Popes gallies. The Duke of Florence [311] at this time had ready armed to spoile the Turks some 5 or 6 gallies: the other Princes haue none at al. These gallies are much different in bignes, and haue their names of the number of the oares rowing them, as Trtremes of three oares on each side. Quindeciremis of fifteene oares, and the Mediterranean Sea, being subiect to small ebbings or flowings of tides, and little subiect to stormes, these galleys safely row betweene the neighbouring shoares, and euery night put into some Hauen or Baye. The Italians are so much inamored of their owne land, as they desire to see no other soyle, and abhorre from venturing themselues at Sea, so as they seldome proue expert in Nauigation, neuer bold. The Venetians haue a Law, that euery ship shall carry a young Gentleman of [312] Venice in it, allowing him diet and a stipend, and also shall bring vp a Venetian boy in [...]. Thus their wise Progenitors tooke care, that neither Gentlemen, nor the inferiour sort should be ignorant in Nauigation. But the Gentle|men at this day so they may haue the benefit of the Law, by receiuing the stipend and the value of their diet for the Voyage, care not for the experience, and rather desire to stay at home, then trouble the ship any further. And for this cause the Venetians al|together vse Greekes aswell for common

[307] Florence
[308] Venice
[309] Venice
[310] Florence
[311] Florence
[312] Venice

Marriners as for Officers and Masters of their ships. And these Greekes (as I haue often found by experience) except they can see the shoare (which by reason of the narrownesse of the Sea, and frequent Iles, may often be seene), are often in doubt, sometimes ignorant where they are, and the least storme arrising, make such a noise and confusion, as they bewray their ignorance and want of courage. Our English ships comming forth of the Harbour of [313] Venice together with a Venetian ship, will saile into Syria and returne backe againe, before the Venetian ship can come thither. Whereof two reasons may be giuen. One that the English Marriners are paide by the voyage, not by the dayes or moneths of absence, contrarily the Greekes are paide by the Italians after the dayes of absence 113 not after the voyage. The other reason is, that not onely the Italian ships are huge and great and slow of saile, but also the Masters, vpon the first change of wind, or fore|seeing of ill weather, either for feare, or because they are paid by the day not by the voyage, presently put into some Hauen, whence commonly they cannot come forth, but with one or very few windes, whereas the English on the contrary haue not onlie nimble swift ships, but themselues are so expert and bold, as in regard their losse Is the greater the longer they are from home, they either saile if the winde be any whit fauo|rable, or lye at hull, if the winde be full contrary, and so are reedy to take the first blast of winde seruing their turne.

Concerning the diuers kinds of diet in diuers Italian Cities, I haue before related [Note: Their diet.] these things prouerbially said. The Neapolitans are magnificall, spending more su|gar then bread. The Florentines are of spare diet, but wonderfull clenlinesse. Those of Lucca keepe golden mediocritic in all things. The Tyberine Peares and Martio|line cheeses are great dainties. Those of Genoa are of most spare diet, and no clenlines. The Mantua ns feede on base beanes. The Ferrarians are in hospitall. The Padoans sup with halfe a penniworth of fish. The Venetians liue sparingly. The Siennesi magnifically, and their dainties are Goates flesh, and fresh cheese. The Milan esi liue plentifully, and prouoke appetite with sharpe sawces. The Nouocomenses eat with|out end, and drinke stoutly. Those of Piemont diet after the French manner, and those of Ancona basely.

And these things may perhaps be truly said, if the Italian Cities be compared one with the other, but many things may seeme lesse aptly said, if generally they be compa|red with the Cities of forraigne parts.

The Italians generally compared with English or French, are most sparing in their diet. Generally they require small preparation or furniture of their table, they eate neately and modestly but as they are not like the Spaniards, who are said to eate spa|ringly at their owne cost, largely at other mens tables, so howsoeuer they are not so great flesh-eaters as the Northerne men, yet if the bread bee weighed, which one of them eates at a meale, with a great Charger full of hearbes, and a little oyle mixed therein, beleeue mee they haue no cause to accuse Northerne men for great ea|ters.

They seldome make feasts, but if they make any, then out of their innated pride, disdaining to be surpassed by any, they make them sumptnous, and that much more then ours, alwaies making the com-Paris on equal of one degree against the other. And this is most certaine, that they infinitely passe vs in the expences about their Gardens, in fitting places for birding, in drawing water to them, and adorning the Conduits head with Ima-

[313] Venice

gry, in Chapels, and other buildings, of which things some yeeld them fruite, the other last perpetually: for they bestow their money in stable things, to serue their posteritie, where as our greatest expences end in the casting out of ex|crements, which makes me lesse commend our expences in great prouisions of meate, as well at feasts as daily diet.

And giue me leaue to hold this paradox, or opinion against that of the common sort; that the English were neuer more idle, neuer more ignorant in manuall Arts, neuer more factious in following the parties of Princes or their Landlords, neuer more base (as I may say) trencher slaues, then in that age, wherein great men keept o|pen houses for all commers and goers. And that in our age, wherein we haue better learned each man to liue of his owne, and great men keepe not such troopes of idle ser|uants, not onely the English are become very industrious, and skilfull in manuall Artes, but also the tyranny of Lords and Gentlemen is abated, wherby they nourished priuate dissentions and ciuill Warres, with the destruction of the common people. Neither am I moued with the vulgar opinion, preferring old times to ours, because it is apparant, that the Cloysters of Monkes (who spoiled all, that they might bee be|neficiall to few), and Gentlemens houses (who nourished a rabble of seruants in idlenesse, and in robbing by the high waies) lying open to all idle people for meate and drinke, were cause of greater ill then good to the Common|wealth. 114 Yet I would not bee so vnderstood, as if I would haue the poore shut cut of dores, for I rather desire, that greater workes of charitie should be exercised towards them, to which wee should bee more inabled by honest frugalitie, then by foolish pro|digalitie; I call it foolish, and thinke the vulgar sort of prodigals worthy of all igno|miny, who with huge expences keepe many kennels of dogs, and casts of hawkes, and entertaine great numbers of strangers, sometimes not knowne by name, often scof|fing at the entertainer, alwaies ingratefull, and so not only vse them to liue vnlawfully without labour or sweate of their browes, but also in the meane time themselues will haue a brother for their Buttler, and are so niggardly towards their kinsmen, yea, chil|dren and wiues, as they prouide not necessaries for them, and haue no care of their ad|uancement, education, and meanes to liue, but preferre vaine-glory before these reli|gious cares. How much better were it for these prodigall men to lay aside some good part of their reuenue to nourish learned men, to procure good Preachers for their companions and guides, to relieue vertuous men in their wants, and to spend the same to like noble and princely ends.

But I returne to my purpose. A stranger may liue in Italy with lesse expence, then in Germany, where he must beare the charge of his consorts excessiue drinking. And if any obiect the dearth of victuals, and wickednesse of Hosts in Italy, he shal find, that this is his owne want, not any ill of the Country; and when he hath experience to do his owne affaires there, he will be of my opinion. The Italians haue small moneys of brasse, and for the least of them a man may buy bread, little papers of spice, or any such thing that is to be sold. These small moneys, the aboundance of people in a nar|row land, and the common peoples pouerty, but most of all their innated pride, such as they had rather starue for want, then beg, these things make them doe any seruice for a stranger for a small reward, and make the passages of Riuers, or Channells (as at [314] Venice), and all necessaries, to be affoorded for a small piece of money. Nei-

[314] Venice

ther is it a small commoditie of these little brasse moneys, that it makes the meaner sort more ready to giue almes. This benefit the English may well know by the want of like mo|neys, whereby the hire of Porters, all rewards and each almes being giuen in siluer money, and the small pieces thereof being rare, all expences are much increased. The women of Italy know not the price of any thing, or euer goe to Markets (scarce are al|lowed to go to Church) neither do they trust their seruants to make their market, but the richest of all Italy, and most noble (especially in [315] Venice) daily buy their owne vi|ctuals and other necessaries. And in all Market-places stand little boyes with baskets, to carry any thing that is bought to their houses, which they easily find, knowing all streetes and allyes, and neuer faile to performe this honestly, though the buyer leaue them, and (according to their custome) goe about his other affaires; for if they should fayle, they cannot escape punishment, being easily to be found in the Markets where they vse daily to stand, and well knowne by face and name. Yet in truth the Italians dyet is so sparing, as almost strangers alone vse these little Porters, and the very Gentle|men of [316] Venice (which notwithstanding arrogate to themselues a preheminence aboue all Gentlemen of Italy with the singular title of Clarissimi), carry home what they buy to eate, either in the sleeues of their gownes, or in a cleane handkercher. They spend much bread and oyle, and the very Porters feede on most pure white bread, almost without any other meat, except it be some roots. And those that are richer, do for the most part feede on bread, neither remember I to haue euer seene brown bread in Italy, only they eate sailets of hearbs with their bread, and mingle them with oyle. And I remember that I saw a barrell of oyle sold for twenty lyres, and a bushell of Wheate (containing forty eight measures, called Sata by the Latines, and vsed by the Hebrews) for 120 lyres, but the very Gentlemen buy their bread of the Bakers. Many times, es|pecially in short dayes of Winter, they will breake their fasts with a bit of cake-bread or sweet bread (called vulgarly pasta reale, ciambolini, and generally Gentilezze), and a cup of sweete Wine, and so abstaine from dinner.

For the most part at table they vse blacke or bay salt, which the Venetians hauing of their owne; for bid the vse of any white salt brought into the territory, so as it is 115 onely sold by stealth, and with danger of penaltie. The Magistrate daily vseth to set the price of flesh, and all things sold in the Market, especially in the vpper parts of Ita|ly, and namely at Sienna , where strangers liue very commodiously, and by this cu|stome, a stranger can no more be deceiued, then one of the Country. In the State of Florente, and especially at Sienna , a stranger may liue more commodiously, then in any other part of Italy, because the inhabitants are most curteous (so as at Sienna they ad|mit strangers to conuerse and dance with the chiefe Gentlewomen of the Citie), and because the language, especially at Sienna , is held the most pure, as also for that victuale are very cheape, and strangers neede not stand in feare of being murthered, as in Lom|bardy they doe. In the State of Milan , there is plenty of all kinds of flesh, especially of mutton, and abundance of whittmeates, being commended aboue all other parts of Italy for delicate butter (not to be had otherwhere, except in some few large Valleys), and excellent cheeses (whereof great quantity is transported into forraigne parts.) And they no lesse then the Netherlanders, serue in butter and cheese euery meale for

[315] Venice
[316] Venice

the first and last dishes. In the Market places of [317] Venice, there is plenty of mutton and veale, sold in little portions and by weight (there as in all Italy), and there is also plenty of fish, hennes, egges, Turkey hennes, and some store of birds, with great abundance of red herrings and pickled herrings, Sardelle, anchone, and like pickled fishes, of Cauiale (a salt liquor made of fish) and Botargo (as I thinke the rone of a fish), of Piacentine cheese, and cheese of Parma, of mushroms, snailes, the hinder parts of frogs (all held for great dainties). And these things are to be had in more abundance, because the com|mon sort eate little or no flesh, or fish, or birds, but onely hearbs, pulse, snailes, and rootes, with white bread. I haue spoken formerly of their fishing at Sea, and their shell-fishes (which they much esteeme), and Sea-fishes are indeed rarely found, but onely at [318] Venice. Also they haue little store of fresh-water fish, onely there is great a|boundance of eeles, where the RiuerPo endes in a Lake, neere the Adriatick Sea, in the Dukedome of Feraria. The vpper parts of Italy yeeld the same things, but in a farre lesse quantity, and in Toscany they frequently eate young Goates flesh, which is very good and sauory, and sometimes there will be wild Bores to be sold, and they de|light much in fresh curds newly pressed, and made into little cheeses. The Italians sell al kinds of flesh in little pieces, and all things for diet in little portions, that the meaner sort, if they list, may at least taste the greatest dainties. The inner parts of Goates (vul|garly Animale), and the stones of Rammes and Regles, (vulgarly Granella), are estee|med great dainties, especially in Toscany, which we cast away, being very good meate fried. And because the land is more populous then plentifull in victuals, they eate layes and other birdes, which we esteeme vnwholsome.

In generall the Italians, and more specially the Florentines, are most neare at the Table, and in their Innes from morning to night the Tables are spread with white cloathes, strewed with flowers and figge leaues, with Ingestars or glasses of diuers co|loured wines set vpon them, and delicate fruits, which would inuite a Man to eat and drink, who otherwise hath no appetite, being all open to the sight of passengers as they ride by the high way, through their great vnglased windowes. At the Table, they touch no meate with the hand, but with a forke of siluer or other mettall, each man being serued with his forke and spoone, and glasse to drinke. And as they serue small peeces of flesh, (not whole ioints as with vs), so these peeces are cut into small bits, to be taken vp with the forke, and they seeth the flesh till it be very tender. In Summer time, they set a broad earthen vessel full of water vpon the Table, wherein little glas|ses filled with wine doe swimme for coolenesse. They vse no spits to roast flesh, but commonly stew the same in earthen pipkins, and they feed much vpon little fishes and flesh cut and fried with oyle. They haue no skill in the Art of Cookery, and the meate is serued to the table in white glistering and painted dishes of earth (wherof the finest are much esteemed with vs.) They are not willingly inuited to eate with other men, esteeming basely of those, who liue at other mens trenchers, calling them vulgar|ly seroccatori d'ipasti, shifters for meales. And the reason hereof is, that they would not 116 be tied to inuite others againe, which in their pride they would doe, if they should be inuited to them, and this is the chiefe cause that makes them nice to conuerse with strangers. Of the Florentines, though

[317] Venice
[318] Venice

most courteous, yet sparing, other Italians ieast, saying, that when they meete a man about dinner time, they aske Vos' Signoria ha desinato, Sir, haue you dined? and if he answer, I, they replie as if they would haue in|uited him to dinner: but if he answere no, they reply Andate Signor, ch'èotta, Goe Sir, for it is high time to dine. They thinke it best to cherrish and increase friendship by meetings in Market places and Gardens, but hold the table and bed vnfit for conuer|sation, where men should come to eate quickly, and sleepe soundly. Thus not prouo|king appetite with variety of meates, or eating with others for good fellowship, they must needes be more temperate, then others intised by these meanes to eate beyond hunger. In Cities, where many take chambers in one house, they eate at a common table, but each man hath his owne meat prouided, the Hostesse dressing it, and seruing each man with his owne napkin, glasse, forke, spoone, knife, and ingestar or glasse of wine, which after meate are seuerally and neately laid vp by the Hostesse. And at the table, perhaps one man hath a hen, another a piece of flesh, the third potched egges, and each man seuerall meat after his diet: but it is no courtesie for one to offer ano|ther part of his meate, which they rather take to be done in pride, as if he thought that he that had a sallet or egges, could not haue a hen or flesh if hee listed for want of mo|ney. To conclude, they hold it no honour or disgrace to liue plentifully or sparingly, so they liue of their owne, and be not in debt, for in that case they are esteemed slaues. Thus liuing of their owne, they giue due honour to superiours, so they returne due respect to them, otherwise they dispise him that is richer, saying in scorne, Let him dine twise a day, and weare two gounes if he will, it is enough for mee to haue conuenient diet and apparrell. They haue a very delicate sauce for rosted meates, called Sauore, made of slices of bread, steeped in broath, with as many Walnuts, and some few leaues of Marioram, beaten in a morter, and mingled therewith, together with the iuyce of Gooseberries, or some sharpe liquor put in when it is set on the table.

In some Cities and Vniuersities, especially for the Germans soiourning there, and vnwilling to buy their owne meate, they haue ordinary tables to be paid by the weeke or moneth, at the rate of some eight or ten Crownes the moneth, which liuing they call a la dozina (that is, by dosens or by the great); but it is much more commodious for him that hath some experience and skill in the tongue, to buy his owne meat, since in Camere locande (that is, hired chambers) the Hostesse at a reasonable rate of the cham|ber, is tied to dresse his meate, and giue him napkins with like necessaries, and there wants not good commoditie to buy al things he wants, and to liue cheapely, as I haue shewed in the expences of my iournies through Italy.

The Italian Hosts are notable in fawning and crouching for gaine, so as they meete passengers at the Cities gates, and emulously inuite them to their houses, with pro|mise of all dainties, as if they would giue them for nought, but when they are once come into the houses, all things threaten famine, and for that meate they haue, if the passenger first agree not for the price, they extort so vnreasonably, as nothing can bee added to their persidiousnesse and couetousnesse. The Germans say, these are faire|spoken, and most obsequious men in all things, till they come to the shot: for if any man loue honourable titles, capping, bending of knees, and an humble looke, they will obserue him to the full, but in the end the shot will be intolerable, and he shall pay for their sained courtesie and lowlinesse. And this extortion is not to be auoided by the best expe-

rienced, if they stand not continually vpon their guard with these Fencers, especially in both the Marks (or Marquisates) where they are not Hostes, but deuou|rers of passengers: And howsoeuer the Italian Hosts are more excusable in their ex|tortions, because the Princes granting licenses to keepe these Innes, doe not sheare but indeede deuoure them, and he that buyes, must needs sell, yet the Marchians inhospi|tall nature is singular and aboue all others. For the Florentines oppressed with like or greater exactions, yet vse strangers much more curteously. I would aduise the vnex|perienced passenger, that there being in these Italian Innes two ordinarie courses of 117 eating, one alconto, that is vpon reckoning, the other al pasto, that is, by the meale at a set rate (seldome exceeding three Giulij) the passengers for cheapnes should take his breakfast vpon reckoning, or carry about him some almonds, figs dried, or Raysons, that dining vpon reckoning, in case the Hosts set an excessiue price on me it (for wo to him that eates without first knowing the price), he may seeme content to eate of his owne, taking onely bread and wine, (whereof the prices are knowne and ordinary), and so may containe their rapacity within some reasonable bounds: But at night be|cause of his bed, he shall doe well to sup at the Ordinary, and before supper to know his bed and get cleane sheetes: yet he must not expect a feather bed, which that clime beares not, as too hot for the [...], but an hard mattresse, onely he shal haue cleane sheetes, at least if he curiously demand them. Howsoeuer against the worst euent, he shall doe well to carry linnen breeches, and to weare them in the ordinary sheetes; for the Italians if they haue no kind of the French pox, yet for the most [...] are troubled with an itch, witnesse the frequent cry in their streetes of Vnguento per [...], Oint|ment for the Itch. I formerly said that a passenger needs haue no care of his horse by the way, for it is the custome to agree for their meate as well as hire with the Vettu|rines, (so they call those that let horses, and goe on foot or send a seruant to meate them): But since the same Vetturines will also offer a passenger to agree with him in like fort for his owne diet, surely (as I haue said in the Chapter of the manner to take iournies) the passenger is in ill case, that is dieted by them, neither would I aduise any so to doe, except onely in the way from Rome to Naples and backe againe, where a passenger in such a tumultuary iourney, and by reason of that old custome, should otherwise be worse entreated. Lastly, a passenger shall doe wisely, especially at nighe to goe to the best Inne and of most fame, that he may be more safe from the losse of his money or hazard of his life.

The Italians hold it a great shame to be drunken, they sometimes salute one ano|ther with a cup, in manner of a health, but leaue it to his pleasure when he will pledge them, and then he salutes him that drunke to him, as well as him to whom he drinkes, saying; Faccie ragione a vos' signoria, brindisia vos Signoria. Sir I pledge you, and I drink to you Sir. The word Brindisi comes of the Dutch phrase, Ich brings each, I will bring it to you, vsed when they drinke to any man, and this shewes the custome is borrow|ed from the Germans, and vsed by the obsequious Italians to please them, yet abhor|ring from drunkennesse, so pleasing to the Germans.

Italy yeeldes excellent Wines, and the common red wine is held very nourishing, so as the fairest Weomen will diue with the same, and a sop of bread dipped in it, thin|king it will make them fat, (which kind of Women the Venetians most loue, all things else being equall), yea, and more faire: So as they Prouerbially say; Chibeue branco, piscta bianco, a chi beue rosso, auanza il colore. He that drinkes white,

pisses white, he that drinkes red, gaines the colour: These are the most famous Wines of Italy. [...] di Christe, (the teare of Christ) and like wines neere Cinqueterre in Liguria: La [...], and the white Muskadine, especially that of Montefiaschoni in Toscany: Cecubum and Falernum in the Kingdome of Naples , and Prosecho in Histria. In generall the grapes that grow high vpon Elme-trees in the plaine, as in Lombardy, and especially the grapes of Modena, yeeld very small Wines, but those that grow vpon hils and mountaines, resting on short stakes, yeeld very rich Wines. In the shops where they sell Muska|dines, there be continually boyes attending with little wigges of sweete bread and Iunkets, which the Italians dip in the wine; and hauing thus broke their fasts in winter time, they commonly eate no more till supper.

Early English Books Online

2

6.18 CHAP. I.

Of the Geographicall description of Turkey, the Situation, Fertility, Trafficke, and Diet.

THE Longitude of Turkey extends fifty fiue degrees and a halfe, from the meridian of forty foure degrees and a halfe, to that of an hundred degrees, and the Latitude ex|tends forty degrees from the Paralell of tenne degrees, to that of fifty degrees. The Prouinces of this Empire in Europe, are thus numbered. Illyris, Albania, Epirus, Gracia, Macedonia, Thessalia, Thracia, Mysia, Dacia (or I ransilua|nia), Hungaria, and the Ilands vnder him, that lie in Eu|rope.

1 Illyris a part of Sclauonia, is subiect partlv to the Turkes, partly to the House of Austria; the chiefe Cities whereof are Zara, (which together with the territory thereof, the Turkes tooke from the Venetians, the rest of the Prouince being still subiect to the House of Austria): and Scordona, lying vpon the Sea, as doth the former City, and all the Prouince: Also Croatia vulgarly Cranaten, and of old called Liburnia, belongs to this Prouince. 2 Albania hath these knowne Cities, Dirachium, (vulgarly Dorazzo, of old called Epidaurus), and Vallona. 3 Epirus hath these Townes Chimera, Meiandria, Butrinto, Cestrina, and Nicopolis. Of old part of Epirus was called Acarnania. Of the roiall blood of this Prouince was Alexander Scanderbeg, who brought vp in the Great Turkes Court, and vpon occasion falling from him, did so much trouble that vast Empire!

4 Gracia was of old diuided into Peloponesus and Helles. Peloponesus, of old called Aiggealia, Appta, and Pelasgia, is at this day named Morea, and it is a Chersonelus, that is, a necke of Land almost an Iland, onely ioined to the continent with an Isthmus, that is a narrow peece of Land. The rest is compassed with the Sea, and was of old diuided into Sutionium (which hath the Cities Sution and Carinthus); Argo'is (which hath the Cities Argos and Neapolis), Achaia or Elis, (whereof the chiefe City was Elis); and Ar|cadia (whose chiefe Townes are Psofis and Arcomenus.) And here the Riuer Emaus, or Erimanthus, springeth, and ioyning with the Brooke Alpheus, fals into the gulfe of Arcadia. Also the Riuer Inachus springs in the Mountaine Parthenius, and fals into the gulfe of Neapolis. Moreouer Peloponesus hath a fifth Prouince called Lacedemonta or Laconia, (whereof the chiefe City was Lacedemon or Sparta, most famous of old). The sixth Prouince is Messena, in which is the City Metona, now called Modon. The straight necke of Land ioyning Peloponesus to the Continent, was against the Turkes fortified with a wall by the Christians, but the Turkes cast downe the wall, and tooke all the Prouince. Helles or Achaia, the second Prouince of Greece, containes Attica, Megaris, Boetia, Phocis, Regio Locrorum, and AEtolis. Attica is more famous then the rest, in which was the famous City Athens. Megaris is a small Region, the chiefe Ci|ty whereof was Megaria, in which Euclides was borne Boetia is a very large Region, so called of an Oxe leading Cadmus thither, who built the Boetian Thebes, so called for difference from nine other Cities called Thebes. The Mountaines Thermopula, deriued from the Mountaines Acroceraunij, lying vpon Epirus, deuide Greece from the 119 West to the East, (as the Apenninediuides Italy), and the famous mountaines Otris Pelion and Ossa, are parts thereof. Of old Aulis was a famous City of Boetia, in which Iphigenia Daughter

to Agamemnon was sacrificed. Phocis is a small Region, the townes whereof were Elatea, and Delphis seated at the foot of the Mountaine Parnassus, hauing the Temple of Apollo, not in the Towne, but vpon a Rocke of the Mountaine, where springs the Castalian Fountaine, sacred to the Muses, and the Mount Helicon lies neere the same. The Region of the Locri is small, and the chiefe City is now called Lepanto. Of old a people called Pieres, comming out of Thrace, dwelt vnder Farnassus, of whem it was called the Pierian Mountaine, and the Muses were called Pierides. Doris per|taines to the Region of the Locri, and the chiefe City is Doricum, whence came the Do|ric Dialect. The last Prouince of Helles and of all Greece, is AEtolia, deuided from Ept|rus by the Riuer Achelons, falling from the Mount Pindus, and the chiefe Townes thereof are, Naupactus, now called Lepanto, neere the gulfe whereof, the Christian Na|uy vnder the commaud of Don Iuan of Austria, gaue a famous ouerthrow to the Tur|kish Nauy in our Age. The other City is called Chaledon, whence was the Chale|donian Boare, sung of the Poets.

5 The fifth Prouince of Turky is Macedonia, of old called Migdonia, and Emathea, the chiefe City whereof is Thessalonica, vulgarly now called Saloniche, to the Citizens whereof S. Paul wrote his Epistle. The Mountains of this Prouince Olimpus Pelion Ossa, are famous by the fables of the Giants, and Athos is fained to passe the clouds with his top. 6. The lower part of Macedonia is called Thessalia, or AEmonia, of Thessalus the son of AEmon, (or as others say of Iason) the chiefe Towne whereof was Pharsalos, whose fields are famous by the victory of Caesar against Pompey. 7 Thracia hath faire Cities, Trimontium (of old called Poneropolis and Philippopolis), Adrianopolis, and the head Ci|ty Constantinopolis, (of old called Bysantium, now Stambol) seated vpon the Bosphorus of Thracia. It hath famous Mountaines, Rhodope, Mela and Ismarus: Vpon Propontis the Thracian Chersonesus (or necke of Land) lies vpon the Hellespont, in which are the Townes Sesto and Callipolis. 8 The vpper Mista is deuided into three parts, Rascia, Bos|nia and Seruia, and the lower Misia into three parts, Bulgaria, Wallachia and Moldauia. In Bulgaria the Riuer Danubius beginnes to be called Isther, which fals into the Euxine Sea, with foure strong and three lesser channels. 9 Dacia or Transiluania, was of old possessed by the Saxons, who there built seuen Cities or Castles, of which the Pro|uince is called Septem-Castrensis, vulgarly Sieben burgen, and of old it belonged to the Kingdome of Hungary, but at this day is tributary to the Turks. 10 Hungaria so called of the people Hunnt, was of old called Fannonia the lower, and of right belongs to the German Emperour, but of late the Turkes haue subdued the greater part thereof. It hath many and strongly fortified Cities, as Debrezinum, Varadinum, Segedinum (vul|garly Seget); Castrum (taken by the Turkes) Strigonium vulgarly [...] (taken by the Turkes in the yeere 1543) Alba Regalis (at that time also taken by them) Quinqueccle|siae (the feate of the Bishop) Buda seated vpon the Danow; (twice or thrice taken and re|gained on both sides, of old the Kings seate) called vulgarly Offen, and Pesta (seated on the other side of Danow) vulgarly called New offen. The Hungarian Nation yeelds to none in strength and courage, not vnlike the Scithians in language and manners.

11 The Ilands of Europe, in the Ionian Sea are these, Corcira (vulgarly Corfu) Cephala|nia, and Zaintos, (in Latin Zacinthus, vulgarly now called Zante); all three subiect to the Venetians. All the Ilands in the AEgean

Sea, are subiect to the Turke, being in|numerable, among them are the Cyclades, so called because they lie round together, the chiefe whereof are Cytnos, Cyphnos, (vulgarly Sifano); Parus (now called Paris , fa|mous for the Marble), Tenos (now called Tenasa), Naxus, Andros, and Delos the chiefe of all, where Apollo and Diana were borne. Next them, are the Sporades, so called of lying dispersed, among which are Melos, Lera, Nicaria, AEgina, and Lemnos (vulgarly Stalemine, whether they fable that Vulcane was cast downe.) The Iland Ibea, now vul|garly Negroponte is attributed to Greece, being separated from the continent with so little distance, as it can hardly be named an Iland, and it lies close to the City of A|thens.

120 The Turke hath great part of Asia, deuided into Asia the lesser and Asia the grea|ter. The lesser is now called Natolia or Anatolia of a Greeke word signifying the East, being a kinde of Isthmus or necke of land, lying betweene two Seas, the Euxine to|wards the North, and the Mediterranean towards the South, as it hath the Thracian Bosphorus (as passable by an Oxe swimming) and Propontis (as lying before the Sea) and Hellespont and the AEgean Sea) towards the West, and is confined with the Riuer Euphrates towards the East. This lesser Asia is all subiect to the Turk, and hath 16. Pro|uinces. Bithinia, Fo tus, Paphlagonia, Capadocia, Gallatia, Frigia (the greater and lesser) Misia, Ionia, Charia, Lidia, Pamphilia, Lacaonia, Licia, Cilicia, the lesser Armenia and Chomagena.

1 Bithinia is at this day called Migtonia, and the chiefe Cities thereof are Nicea (the Metropolitan Citie, famous for the Councell in the yeere 314. of 318. Bishops mee|ting to beat downe the Arrian heresie, and there making the Nicene Creed), Lybissa (where Hannibal was buried,) Chalcedo (where one of the eight olde Councels was held by 530 Bishops,) Heraclia, Nicomedia, Phrasso, (where Esculapius was born,) and Bursa seated ouer against Constantinople, where some Turkish Emperours lye buried, and thither the great Turkes eldest sonne is sent to gouerne, (or in a kinde of exile, for he neuer sees his Father more till he be dead,) and thither he is sent assoone as hee is circumcised. 2. Some accompt Pontus for part of Bithinia, 3. Paphlagonia is the third Prouince. 4. Capadocia the fourth so called of the Riuer Capadocis, and the chiefe Citie is Trapesuntium, now called Genech. And here the Amazones are said to haue liued from the destruction of Troy, to the time of Alexander the Great. 5 Frigia the lesser was called Frixis of Frixus sonne to the King of Thebes, flying with his sister fro his step|mother, who mou ted on a Ramm with a golden Fleece (perhaps a ship so called) his sister being drowned, and giuing the name to Hellespont, and he came himself to this part of Asia, which at this day is called Palormi, and yeelds a most excellent Wine, and in this Prouince are Illium (or Troy) the Mountaines Ida and Tinolus, and the Riuer Pactolus. The ninth Sybilla that prophesied of Christ, was a Frigian, and here raigned King Tantalus by couetousnesse leesing the vse of his goods, of whom the Poets so fable. The greater Frigia is within Land. 6 The chiefe Cities of Misia are Traianopolis built by Traian and Adramitbium, whereof mentiou is made in the seuenteenth Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, and where Gallene was borne, who liued 140 yeeres. 7 Gallatia or Gallogrecia, was possessed by the Gals vnder Brennus, whereof the chiefe City is Laodi|cia, and to this Prouince belongs Pisidia, the chiefe City whereof is Antiochia. 8 The chiefe Cities of Ionia are Ephesus, (where was the Temple of Diana; which Ero|strates a Gothe did

burne, to be famous), Miletum (where Thales and Anaximines were borne) and Smyrna. 9 The chiefe City of Charia, was of old Halicarnassus (in which was the Sepulcher of Mausolius the King, held for one of the seuen miracles of the World). 10 The chiefe City of Lydia was Sardis, where Craesus raigned. 11 The chiefe City of Pamphilia was Zelotia, and in this Prouince is the Mountaine Chimera, vpon the wild top whereof Lyons were found, as in the middle part yeelding grasse, Goates did feed, and in the bottome were Serpents, whereof came the fiction of the Monster. 12 In Lacaonia of old were these cities, Iconium (Metrapolitan) and Lysire, where Timothy Saint Pauls Disciple was borne, and the Riuer Xanthus runnes through this Prouince 13 Licia lies vpo the Sea, between Pamphilia and Charia. 14 Cylicia lies vnder the Moun|taine Taurus, vpon the furthest bosome of the Mediterranean Sea, or Iccian Gulfe, where Alexander the Great ouercame Darius, and there is Tarsus, now called Bias, in which Towne Saint Paul was borne. 15 Armenia the lesser, is thought by some to be the Land Ararat, vpon the Mountaines whereof the Arke of Noah rested after the deluge. Vnder this Prouince some comhrehend 16 Chomagena, being ful of Mountaines, and confining vpon Asia the lesser towards the East.

The Geographers diuide Asia the greater into fiue parts, according vnto fiue Em|pires, the first of the Duke of Moscouia, the second of great Cham ouer the Tartars, the third of the Persian King, the fourth of diuers Indian Kings, the fifth of Ottomen ouer the Turkes. And this last onely belongs to my purpose, therefore omitting the rest, I will speake of it. The great Turke hath these Prouinces in Asia the greater, namely, Syria, Arabia, Babylonia, Chaldea, Assyria, and diuers Ilands.

121 Siria is vulgarly called Sorya, and containes Palestina, Phaenitia, Caelosyria, Damaseena, Sirophaenitia, (and as some account) Mesopotamia, Palestina of old called Canaan, is sub|deuided into Idumaea, Iudaea, Samarta, Galilea. Idumea of old called Edom, is not vnfertil, and abounds with Palme-trees, but where it confines vpon Arabia, is said to bee bar|ren, and there are the Mountaines called Sur in Scriptures. It had these chiefe Cities of old, Maresa, Ascalon, Asotos. Iudea is the second Prouince of Palestina, so called of the Tribe of Iudae, and Ierusalem the chiefe City thereof is at this day called Chutz. The most famous places therof are Bethlehem, Bethania, Mount Oliuet, Ierico, Ioppe where S. Peter raised Dorcas from the dead,) Lydda (where he healed the man sicko of the Pal|sie,) Arimathia (where Ioseph was borne), and Hebron (where Saray the wife of Abra|ham and foure Patriarkes lye buried), The Hebrewes say, that the vally called Sittim by Moses, was most [...], where now is the Lake Asphaltis, and in this valley stood So|dom and Gomora. Beyond Iordan is the desart of Betabora, where Iohn baptised, and the Land Gilliad, where the Amonites and Moabites dwelt of old. Samaria the third Prouince of Palestine, had these Cities, Sichim, Capernaum, seated vpon the Lake Geneseret, Nahim, where Christ raised the widowes son, Betzaida and Coratzen, and beyond the Lake Gadera is Samaria, the chiefe City of the ten Tribes, that fel from Iuda. Galilea the last Prouince of Palestine, is deuided into the vpper and the lower. The vpper cal|led Gallile of the Gentiles, containes the Kingdome Basen, and hath these Cities, Chana the Greater, Cesarea Philippi, Seleutia, and Gaulon, and this Prouince had the title of Te|trarch. The lower had the same title, and containes the Regions of Decapolis, and Tra|conitis, beyond Iordan. The chiefe Cities thereof were Betsaida, Chana the lesser, and Nazaret. And

here is the Mount Tabor, where Christ was transfigured: And the Riuer Iordan running through all Palestine, hath two heads, Iar and Dan vpon the Mount Antilibanus, and running thence into the lake Asphaltis, by the way makes two Lakes, Samachonitis (vpon the confines deuiding the two Galilies), and Genezaret or Tyberias, (vpon the confines betweene the lower Galily and Samaria). Phenicia the se|cond part of Syria, lies vpon the Sea, and reacheth to Serophenicia, from the City Dora vpon the Sea, to the Mount Carmelus, where it is confined with the Mount Lybanus. The chiefe Cities thereof were, Dora, Ptolemais, Acon, Tyrus, Sarcpta, and Sydon. Selosiria the third part of Syria, so called as crooked or hollow, had of old the title of Tetrarch, in which is the City Damascus, which giues the name Damascena to the fourth part of Syria, and here Allabaster growes, of which they make vessels. Damascus is thought to be built by the seruants of Abraham, and neere the City is a place, where Christ ap|peared to Saint Paul, and the Sepulcher of Zachartas is said to be there; and they shew a place, where Caine is said to haue killed Abell. The soile is most fertile, so as Writers and the consent of all Men witnesse, that grapes grow there all the yeere, and that there is plenty of Quinces, Figges, Almonds, and Damasco Prunes. Sirophenitia the fifth part of Syria, hath these Cities, Beritum (of old called happy Iulia) Biblus, Iripolis, Lan|dicia, Antiochia (of old called Reblatha) which after it had beene decaied by a great Earthquake, was rebuilt by the Emperour Iustinian and called Theopolis, a famous City in which the Professours formerly called Disciples, first had the name of Christians, and Histories testifie that Saint Peter was the first Bishop thereof. Mesopotamia the last part of Syria, is so called as lying betweene two Riuers, swift Tygris (so called of the swiftnesse, Tygris in the Medes tongue signifying an Arrow) and Euphrates. And by the yeerely ouerflowing of these Riuers after the Solstice (as Egypt by that of Nilus) the soyle is made most fertile, whereof Writers report wonders, namely that one mea|sure sowed, yeeldes fifty and in some places sixty measures, and that plants perpetu|ally flourish there, yet that the inner parts want water, so as the Inhabitants finding a spring, vse to keepe it secret, that it may not be knowne to their enemies. At this day the Turkes call this Prouince Diarbecke, the Cities whereof are Edessa and Carra (which Moses in the twelfth Chapter of Genesis cals Haram) where Abraham dwelt when hee came out of Chaldea.

2 Arabia is the second part of the Turkish Empire in Asia the greater, which is sub|deuided into Petrea (rocky), desert, and happy Arabia. The Israelites liued forty yeeres 122 in rocky Arabia, being full of Mountaines and barren, whereof proceeded their mur|murings. There is famous Mount Sinay, vpon which Gods Law was published, and ouer against it Mount Horeb. In Sinay is the Region Nabathea, and the City thereof Petra (after called Arech) is in the Scriptures called Petra of the desart, and neere it lies the Region Agra or Agara, the Inhabitants whereof were called Agarens, as comming of Hagar Concubine to Abraham. Desert Arabia is barren, destitute of waters and couered with deepe sand, the Inhabitants whereof doe liue in Tents, hauing no cer|taine abiding; but neere Euphrates some dwellings are, where is the famous Towne Tapsacum, after called Amphipolis. Happy Arabia lies almost in the forme of a Chersonesus or necke of Land, betweene the two great gulfes of the Sea, the Arabian gulfe and the Persian, and it yeelds Cinnamon, Franckensence, Mirh, the Gumme La|danum, and other precious Odours, and abounds with Hony, Waxe, and all kinds of Cat-

tell, excepting Swine onely. It is said that Granes of Gold as bigge as Acorres are found here among the cloddes of the Earth. It hath the Bird Phaenix, of which kinde there is neuer more then one onely, which by striking of stones together, kin|dles a fier and burnes her selfe in her nest of myrh, and of the Ashes comes a worme, which becomes a Bird and so the Phaenix liues againe. They fish pearles in the Ara|bian gulfe, and Iewels are found vpon the Sea shore. The Nation of the Sabaeans, is more famous then any other in this Prouince, whose Region called Saba, is celebrated for plenty of Franckensence, and it hath woods of Trees, which being cut, yeeld a fro|thy humour that turnes into that odour. The Cities of happy Arabia are, [...] Tolnaby (that is, the City of the Prophet, because Mahomet is said to haue written his Alcorane there) and Mecha (famous by Mahomets Sepulcher.) The Kingdome of Or|mus is part of happy Arabia, hauing a peculiar King but tributary to the King of Spain, as he is King of Portugall, the Metrapolitane City whereof rich in trade, is called Or|mus.

3 Babilonia the third part of the Turkish Empire in Asia, hath the metrapolitane City of old called by the same name, but in these dayes called Bagdet.

4 Chaldea the fourth part lies on the East side of Babilonia, whereof the chiefe City is called Vhrr in the Scriptures, from whence Abraham vpon Gods commandement went to Haran a City of Mesapitania.

5 Assiria the fifth part is so called of Assur the sonne of Shem, whereof the chiefe Ci|ties are Ninus, called Niniue in the Scriptures, (the old seate of the Kings, built by As|sur) and Aruela (famous by the victory of Alexander the Great against Darius the Per|sian King.)

6 The Ilands of Asia are the sixth part of the Turkish Empire in Asia the greater, and they lie either in the Mediterranean Sea, or in the Archipelagus, or in the Indian Seas. In the Mediterranean Sea, lies Candia (of old called Creta) famous of old for hauing one hundred Cities, and by the labyrinth of Daedalus, and it was called Creta of the Earths whitenesse, from whence great quantity of Muskadine Wines are expor|ted into diuers parts of Europe, and it is subiect to the State of [319] Venice. Rhodes lieth in the same Sea, and was of old famous for the residence of the Knights of Hierusalem, but at this day is possessed by the Turkes driuing out those Knights, (who now haue their residence in Malta an Iland, neere that of Sicily). Cyprus is an Iland in the same Sea, and is most fertile, yeelding Canes of Hony, whence Suger is made, and rich Wines, and aboundiug with many things required for life and for pleasure, and this Iland the Turks in the last Age took from the Venetians by force of Armes, the chiefe Cities whereof are Famagosta and Nicosia. The Archipelagus hath innumerable I|lands, whereof the principall and most fruitfull are, Tenedos (small in circuit) but fa|movs by the Nauy of the Greekes harbouring there at the siege of Troy) Lesbos, Lem|nos, Mitelene, (at this day called Metalon of the chiefe City); Samnus of old called Sica|nia, (where Hypocrates was borne) and Chios (now called Zio) more esteemed then any of the rest, for the Marble, Malmesey wine, Masticke, (the iuyce or gumme of the tree called Lentiscus), and no lesse for the many rich commodities it yeelds, then for the goodnes and largenes of the soyle.

123 The Ilands of the Indian Sea belong not to the Turkes, and therefore I will omit them.

The Turkish Empire stretcheth it selfe yet farther, containing great part of Affrica,

[319] Venice

which by the Grecians was called Libia, and the word in the Greek tongue signifying horror and cold, gaue the name to Africa, as being void of cold. The Mountaine Atlas in Affrick (as Taurus in Asia, which in some parts is called Caucasus and Imaus, as the Mountaines of Europe are generally called the Alpes), doth diuide this Countrie into many parts, stretching it selfe towards the East, and so forward to Nilus, which parts or Prouinces are knowne by these names; Mauritanta, Affrica the lesser, Syrenai|ca, Marmarica, AEgyptus, Lybia, AEthiopia, the Regions vnder the Mountaines of Luna, and the Ilands.

1 Mauritania Tingitana, containes two Kingdomes, Fessa (whereof the King of Spaine holds som part) and Morcco (subiect to the Turkes.) Of old it had these townes Tingis (Metropolitane) and Luxon, (neere which are the Gardens Hesperides, which the Poets fable to haue Aples and trees of gold.) At this day the two chiefe Cities are called Fessa and Morocco. At the Straight Sea, betweene Spaine and Affricke, the moun|taines Abila in Affrick, and Calpa in Spaine, are of that forme, as men would iudge they were once ioyned, whereupon the Poets fable, that Hercules deuided them, and did let in the Ocean, and so made the Mediterranean sea, and for this cause the Straight is called the narrow Sea of Hercules, and the Pillars of Hercules were erected on Affrickes side, which the Emperour Charles the fifth added to his Coate of Armes. Mauritania Caesariensis, was also called Numidia; for the people being rich in Cattell, and dwelling in Tents, and when they had eaten the grasse of one place, then remouing to another, were of their pastures called Nomades, and after changing a letter, became to bee na|med Numidae.

2 Affrica the lesse, a most fertile Region of old, is at this day called the Kingdome of Tunis, and the chiefe Citis, are Hippon (Metropolitan, where Saint Austin was Bi|shop), Vtica (renowned for hauing Cato a Citizen), Carthage (where Tertullian was borne), Tunis (at this day chiefe), Madaura (where Lucius Apuleius was borne), and Iacapa (where the Vines are said to yeeld Grapes twise in the yeere.) The Brooke Ru|bricatus is famous for the Serpent killed there by Attilius Regulus in the time of the first Punike warre. The quick-sands or sholes of the Sea adioyning, are much feared of Marriners, lying sometimes deepe, sometimes shallow, as the sands are driuen in|to diuers parts, by diuers winds blowing and stormes, and they are two. The lesse not farre from Carthage, the greater towards Syrenaica. At this day all this Sea-coast is called Barbary, and is subiect to the Turkish Ottoman.

3 Sirenaica hath the name of the chiefe Citie Syrene, which of old had emulation for greatnesse with Carthage, and therein were borne, Aristippus the Philosopher, Cali|machus the Poet, and Eratostines the Mathematician, and (assome say) Symon who car|ried the Crosse of Christ.

4 Marmarica is sandy, and of old therein was the Temple of Iupiter called Ham|mon of the sands, and these two Prouinces are annexed to Egypt.

5 Egypt is most fertile, the very garner of the vniuersall World, and famous for the antiquitie of the Kingdome. The vpper part thereof was called Thebais, the lower (towards the Mediterranean Sea) was called Deltica, of the letter Delta. The Cities thereof no lesse famous in these dayes then of old are these. Alexandria, built by Alexander the great at the mouth of the Riuer Nilus (whose body there buried, was seene by Augustus), and heere Ptolomy was borne, who did ga|ther in this Citie the famous Library of seuen hundred thousand volumes, which were all consumed by fier. The next chiefe

Citie is Canopus, where stood the Temple of Syrapis or Osyris. Then Pelusium, at this day called Damiata, seated vpon the mouth of Nilus called Pelusium. Lastly, the chiefe Citie of all, is Baby|lon, built by the Babylonians permitted to dwell there, which at this day is huge|ly increased, and is called Alcaiero (that is, This Caiero), from whence some fortie 124 stadia distant towards the North, lye the three famous Pyramides. Three dayes iour|ney towards the East, in a Garden called Matarta, being well fortified, of old grew, and still growes the hearb Balsamum, sweating Balsam out of the boughes, and being cut with a knife, yeelding the more precious Opobalsamum, and at this day the same is found euen at Caiero in the Gardens of the richer sort. They say also that Corrall is found in the Red Sea. I had almost omitted the Citie Arsinoe, also called the Citie of the Crocodiles, because the Crocodile was there worshipped. Nilus falles into the Mediterranean Sea in seuen great Armes, which haue the names of the adiacent Townes, namely, Heracleoticum (or canopicum), Boluiticum, Sebamticum, Pati|nicum, Mendesium, Caniticum, and Pelusiacum: the first and the last whereof are one hundred and seuenty miles distant one from the other. The Nilus doth yeerely o|uerflow, and thereby giues incredible fertility to the ground, and the snow melting vpon the Mountaines of Luna, or the constellation of the Moone and Mercury, are thought to bee causes of this ouerflowing. And the same happening to bee grea|ter or lesse then vsuall, or comming later or sooner then vsuall is a signe of dearth to them, whereof Pliny saith, that Egypt in twelue cubites height of the floud, feeleth fa|mine, atthirteene cubites is hungry, but that fourteene makes them merry, fifteene safe, and sixteene brings plenty and dainties. It is strange, that all other Riuers eating and consuming their bankes, Nilus rather increaseth them, by bringing with it a mud, that couers the sand, and doth as it were dung the fields, to make them more fertill. In sixty dayes after the floud, the fields are cleare of water. The floud increaseth from the Summer Solstice, to the Suns entring into Libra, and after the water retires into his owne bed. About the twelfth of October they sow their fields, and in May following reape their haruest. Egypt with the Prouinces belonging to it, hath long been subdu|ed by the Turkes.

6 Lybia hath diuers Prouinces. Biledurgeret, that is, the Region of Dates, is inhabi|ted by the black Getuli. From thence towards the Riuer Niger, lye the Deserts of Ly|bia, waste, and full of Lyons, Pardes, and other fierce and venemous beasts (whereof came the fictions of Medusa and Persues.) The inhabitants of Atsanaga, are of a co|lour betweene tawny and blacke. At the Promontory called the white Cape, is the Citie called Argen, where the Arabians and Portugalls trade together. At the Pro|montory, called the greene Cape, the Riuer Niger falles into the Atlantick Ocean, and the inhabitants are called Nigrite. This tract containes many Kingdomes, namely, Senige, Gambrey, Tambot, Guangara (where the Garamantes dwelt of old), two King|doms of Nubia, and other Kingdomes, which I omit as subiect to their Kings, or to Pretz Ian, and so not belonging to our purpose.

7 AEthiopia is diuided by Nilus into inward and outward. Inwad AEthiopia is di|uided by old Writers into AEthiopia properly so called, Trogloditica, and Barbaria, and in the middes thereof is the Iland Meroe, made by Nilus, in which was a City called Meroe, the seate of the old Kings, after called Saba, whence was the queene which came to Salomon, and the Eunuch of Queene Candaces, whom Philip baptized. The Tro|glodites liue in caues of the earth, and their kingdom is

at this day called Adel. Barbaria extends eight degrees beyond the AEquator, from the promontory called Capo di [...], to the Gulfe of Barbary, and was so called of old. The outward AEthiopia is called AEgisimba by Ptolomy, and containes the Kingdome of Amatzen, and of Van|gue, seated vnder the AEquinoctiall line. All AEthiopia, and part of Libia, are said to bee subiect to Pretz Ian, therefore I say no more of them, nor of the Kingdomes vnder the Mountaines of Luna, as pertaining not to my purpose.

8 Onely of the many Prouinces vnder the Mountaines of Luna beyond the Equinoctiall line, I will adde, that the inhabitants of Capo dibuona speranza (the cape of good hope) are exceeding blacke, and nothing different from the AEthiopians and Lybians, though they haue a greater latitude by thirtie degrees towards the South, equall to the latitude of the farthest part of Spaine, and liue vnder the tempe|rate Zone.

125 9 The greatest Iland of Affrick called Madagascar by the inhabitants, and Saint Laurence by the Spaniards, is of the Mahometan Religion, and is said to abound with the medicinall wood Santalum, with Amber and Elephants. The Canary Ilands called of old the fortunate Ilands are sixe (or more as some write) in number, where|of Canaria the greatest gaue the name to the rest, which are subiect to the King of Spaine, as are likewise the Hesperides, little Ilands seated ouer against the greene Cape. The Turkish Emperour hath (to my knowledge) no other Ile of Affricke vnder him.

The Turkish Empire being so vast, and containing great part of Europe, Asia, and Affrick, the temper of the aire can not bee otherwise described, then by particular parts [Note: The situa|tion.] thereof. But out of the description of this Empire (in the iournall of the first Part), and by comparing the particular Prouinces, with others of the same longitude and la|titude, and by the fruits and exported commodities here to be mentioned, the temper of the ayre may bee knowne, or at least coniectured more easily. To this purpose I will onely adde, that I landing in Palestine about the end of May, found their wheate haruest almost inned, and in the Hauen of Ioppa, bought about a thousand Abricots for sixe Aspers. And the yeere following when I sailed from Constantinople towards Italy, that about the middst of March, I did eate pease and other pulse in the Greeke Ilands.

Lastly in Palestine, Cyprus and those parts, partly I vnderstood by others, part|ly I found by experience, that it seldome raines, and that about September and Octo|ber onely, and not often at that time, but so violently for the time, as if it would beate downe the very houses, falling (as it were) by palefulls at once, and that the fields are watred with night dewes, at the fall whereof no man stirres out of dores, but with his head well couered, for danger of sicknesse, all men vsing to keepe in the house till the dew be dried, while in the meane time by day the heate is so excessiue, as a man can hardly indure his apparrell, though it be of linnen or silke, if it hang not loose but be close about him.

The fertilitie of the soyle generally through this Empire, is exceeding great, and the goodnesse and varietie of the fruits, equalleth and in some places passeth Italy. [Note: The forti|lity.] The wines of Greete, of Mount Libanus, and especially of Palormo in Natolia, are ex|ceeding rich and good. Yet haue the Turkes lesse plenty of all things then Europe, for they very sparingly and onely to serue necessity, either set plant or sow, great part of the people being wasted with warres, and they that remaine, hauing not free fruition of their owne goods, in the great tyranny vnder

which they liue, aswell of the Empo|rour, as of vnder-Gouernours changed at least once a yeere, and the generall rapacity and licentiousnesse of the souldiers. Hence it is that there be vast solitudes and vntil|led Desarts on all sides, where yet the ground of it selfe brings forth diuers wild fruits without tillage. They haue diuers kinds of graine, Wheate, the graine called Milet, Barly, Oates, Rye, Pease, and al kinds of Pulse, which for the kinds are like those of Eu|rope, but the Wheate for the bignesse of the graine, and so the rest, are to bee preferred before them. There is great abundance of Rice, Flax and Cotton growing in the fields. They haue good plenty of all kinds of Cattell, yet are no more industrious in grasing and feeding heards, then in sowing or planting, and so they haue Egges, Hennes, Rice, Hony (which in a composition they drinke), Fruits and Bread for dai|ly foode, they desire no other dainties or greater riches, since they can neither inioy their goods while they liue, nor yet bequeath them at death, and nothing is more dan|gerous, then to be accounted rich. The Caloiri or Greeke Monkes in Candia, with whom I abode for a time, shewed mee sields, which the yeere past had yeelded them ninety fiue measures of graine for one sowed: but Candia, though it lie in the compasse of the Turkish Empire almost on all sides, yet is subiect to the State of Ve|nice.

The Iland Chios (vulgarly Zio) is subiest to the Turkes, and is famous for the plea|santnesse, as also for the fertilitie, yeelding Mastick (the fruit of the tree Lentiscus), and hauing abundance of Patridges, and of all kinds of foule. I haue in my Iornal of the first 126 Part spoken of the most fertile Ilands, Cyprus and Mettilene.

In Syria they haue sheepe of strange bignesse, whereof many haue tailes weighing twenty, and some thirty pounds, bearing wooll, and being wrethed to their heeles, more then the hornes of Rammes are, And let no man thinke this incredible, since the same is reported of Sheepe in Affrick; and this is confirmed by consent of all, who haue been in these parts. Mules are somewhat rare, but they haue innumerable Camels, a beast most apt to carry burthens, and lying patiently downe to receiue them, and most able to beare hunger, and especially thirst. When the male and female ingender, they lye downe on their bellies, with tayle to tayle, and their heades many Eiles distant one from the other, and in the time of the yeere when they are naturally prone to generation, they are fierce with a kind of mad|nesse, so as their masters then take heede of any violence they may doe them. The Turkes also haue many DRome daties, a kinde of beast not vnlike the Cam|mell, but farre passing horses in swiftnesse, and very Cammels in patience of la|bour. Their horses are rather faire then strong, and they make their skin shine, by laying them vpon their owne dung dried. These horses either runne, (which often they put them to for spurts, and in brauery) or goe a foote pace (as they vse to follow laded Cammels in iournies), but they are not taught either to trot, or amble, as ours are, and are good for short iournics, but not able to indure so long iournies as ours doe. Therefore the Turkish Caualtery for warre is of more swiftnesse then strength, and the Germane horses being heauy, they easily ouertake them flying, and as easily flye when they are beaten.

The Turkes haue great plenty of sea and fresh water fish, and of birds and all foule, and for Christian buyers (whereof are great multitudes, especially at Constantinople) they furnish their markets therewith. And in truth at Constantinople, there is as great varietie and goodnesse of these kinds as can be wished. Onely the Oystors, though pleatifull, yet haue not the delicate salt taste that ours haue, the Mediterranean

Sea be|ing nothing so salt as the Ocean. But in generall, the Turkes, by reason of the foresaid tyranny, and of their temperance in diet, doe little vse fishing or fowling, or any like exercise.

Yea, by reason of the same tyranny of the Emperour, Gouernours and Souldiers, [Note: The traffick] the Turkes carelesly and coldly exercise trafficke with Merchants. I grant, that they trade in Natolia, and other parts of their owne Empire after a cold manner, but they make no voyage by sea into forraigne parts, excepting some few that come to [320] Venice. For they doe not labour in any kind more then necessitie forceth, and are so far from the insatiable desire of riches, as they auoide nothing more, then the opinion to bee rich. So as the Iewes, the Greekes subiect to the Turkes, and other confederate Chri|stians, exporting their commodities, they themselues haue very few ships, the Empe|rour onely hauing some twelue great ships, well armed, to bring him necessaries from Egypt to Constantinople. In like sort they haue few Marrines, and those vnexperienced and fearefull, vsing the Greekes their vassals, and other slaues taken in warde, to that purpose, and they much esteeme (that is gently treate) captiues skilfull in Nauigation. Some Townes keepe at their priuate charge a few small Gallies and Barkes, to rob the Christians, and the great Turkes Nauie consists all of Gallies, nothing comparable to those of [321] Venice, and they winter at Constantinople, and another Haurn in Greece, whereof I shall write more largely in the discourse of the Turkes. Common|wealth.

Among other Cities of trade, they haue two very famous, one in Asia, the other in Affrick. That of Asia is called Haleppo, and it being within-land, the Port thereof is called scanderona by the Turks, and Alexandretta, by the Christians, whence the com|modities of Merchants are carried vpon Cammels, and the fifth day arriue at Haleppo, whether the commodities of Persia are brought by the Riuer Euphra|tes, and vpon Cammels backes, from the Citie Taurus; of old subiect to the Persians, but in our age subdued by the Turkes. The Indian commodities are brought thither by the red sea, and the Gulfe of Arabia. The famous 127 Citie for trade in Affricke was called Babylon, and now is named Alcatero, whence the commodities of India, Egypt, and all Affricke are exported. Moreouer, vpon the mouth of the greatest arme of the Riuer Nilus, the City Alexandria is seated vpon the Sea, some few dayes saile from Aleaiero.

The Venetians bring into Turkey woollen clothes, which they call broad, being di|ed Scarlet, Violet, and, of all colours, and they are so strong and well made, as they will last very long, so as the Turks prefer them before out English clothes And because the Venetians furnish them in great quantity, they vse few other clothes of that kind. Al|so the Venetians bring to them Sattins, and Damasks (made in Italy of Dalmatian silk) and great quantity of Gold and Siluer, to buy the pretious commoditties of Turkey. Whence they carry out raw silke. For by reason of the foresaid tyranny, as the Turkes are negligent in Husbandry and trade, so are they in manuall Arts, not drawing their Silke into threads, nor weauing the same into clothes. And howsoeuer they haue infinite numbers of Silke-wormes, especially at Tripoli, and in most parts of Asia, which make great quantitie of Silke, (as I formerly said in the discourse of Italy), yet they sell this Silke raw and vnwonen, and buy of the Venetians the foresaid clothes made of their owne silke, so as the silkewormes, may well

[320] Venice
[321] Venice

be said to bee more diligent, and more to promote the publike good, then the inhabitants; for they swarming in all Gardens, diligentlie finish their web, while the idle inha|bitants yeeld the commoditie thereof to strangers.

The Venetians also export from Turkey, Spices, and Apothecary wares, and great quantitie of the Dye called Indico. They export Galles, Cotten, wooll, Cotton threads, Chamlets or Grograms, made of the finest haires of Goates, not sheared but pulled off from their backes, and wouen in Galatia, a Prouince of the lesser Asia. They export Turkey Carpets, Goates skinnes wrought, and died into diuers colours.

The English bring to the Turkes Kersies wrought and dyed of diuers colours and kinds, but they bring little Broadcloth, wherewith they are aboundantlie furnished from [322] Venice. They also bring to them Tinne, and blacke Conni-skinnes in such quantitic, as the Turkes admiring the same, a Frenchman merily taxing our wo|mens affabilitie, said, that in England there was such plenty of Connyes, and they so tame, as they were taken in the Tauerns. The English export from them Spices and Apothecary wares (for the Trade into the East Indies was not then set vp), they also export the foresaid commodities, raw silke, Indico, and other precious Dyes of Scar|let, Purple and the like, Galles, Mastick growing onely in the Iland Zio, Cotton, and the thread thereof, Turkey Carpets for tables, Chamlets, Grograms of Goates haire. The Merchants comming to Constantinople, hardly find there any commodities to ex|port; therefore the English ships hauing vnladed there, saile empty to Alexandretta, and there receiue the commodities of Haleppo. Againe, the Italians who bring much gold and siluer to Haleppo for the commodities there to bee sold, doe againe receiue gold and siluer for such commodities as they bring to Constantinople, and carry the same backe to [323] Venice. The English lying at the Ilands of Zant and Cephalonia, subiect to the Venetians, and at Petrasso, seated in the Gulfe of Corinth, and subiect to the great Turke) export Corrands: others from Algier (a Port of Barbary) export Sugar: others from the Iland Candia (subiect to the Venetians) export Muskadines: and o|thers from diuers Ilands export earthen dishes and vessels painted, which for the purenesse are much esteemed and vsed in Italy, and in our parts Northward.

The swords of Damasco are famous for the mettall, piercing iron, and cutting a naile in pieces, but the exportation of them is forbidden, though out Christians supply the Turkes with all warlike munitions, which they might shame to haue particularly na|med in this discourse of traffick. The precious Orientall commodities of Persia and the East Indies, haue made the Trade of Turkish Cities to bee famous, namely, their spices and rich dies, and Iewels, which notwithstanding the Turkes haue in part of their owne. For I formerly said, that Arabia yeelds Frankinsence, Mirrh, Cin|namon, and Iewels, and AEgypt yeeldes Balsam, and Opobalsam (the more 128 precious gumme of the Balmetree) in great quantity, omitting many commodities, which besides they haue of these kinds. I speake not of Thessalonica a City of Macedo|nia, now called Saloniche, nor other Hauens and Cities of trafficke in Greece, as being of lesse moment. All the precious traffick of Turkey, by reason of the inhabitants sloth|fulnesse, is in the hands of lewes and of Christians, and was long in the sole hands of the Venetians, but the French in the age past, and the English in our age, haue had (as I may

[322] Venice
[323] Venice

say) a traffickiug league with the Turkes, and so partake that trade. And these three States onely (not to speake of the Germans, who at this time had warre with the Turkes, and neuer saile so farre to exercise trafficke) among so many States of Christi|ans, haue their Ambassadours at the Turkish Court. And if any other Christians ar|riue in that Empire (as the Flemmings often doe), they vsed at this time to come vn|der the Banner of one of these three Nations. The Reader must vnderstand, that when I was in Turkey, the English and Flemmings had not as yet begun their traffick in the East Indies, which is like to destroy the trafficke in Turkey, bringing many rich commodities from the well head.

For their dyet the Turkes liue sparingly, I had said slouenly, but that I remem|bred [Note: Their diet.] their frequent bathings and washings, and the curious clenlinesse of the linnen, and all other clothes which they weare: but I will bee bold to say, they feede negli|gently, and without any pompe or magnificence. The richer sort doe fit at meate like Tailors with their knees bended, vpon carpets, or vpon the grasse when they eate by Riuers sides and in Gardens, as they doe more frequently then in the house. And their table is so low, as they may well reach to it sitting vpon the ground. About this table they cast a long towell to wipe their hands, but passengers by the high-way, and generally the ordinary sort of Turkes, vse grasse in stead of this towell. Others carry about a table of leather coloured red or yellow, which table shuts and opens like a purse, and vpon it they can set but one dish at once, it hanging hollow vpon certaine buckels. Commonly they eate by the high-way vpon the ground, and alwaies with their knees bended like our Taylors. They seeth their meat till it be very tender, so as they may breake it with theit fingers, for they haue no kniues, neither haue they varie|ty of dishes set before them, but all sitting in a circle, fall vpon one dish. Taking meat, they all together say a short prayer or grace, and talke not whilest they eate, but silent|ly fall hard to their worke. They haue aboundance of all things for foode aswell of flesh (excepting swines-flesh) as of birds, and other meates, but they abstaine from fish. They haue plenty of Corne (at least sufficient for their temperate dyet), which is exceeding good, and farre bigger then ours. They are ignorant of the Arts of bir|ding, fouling, hunting, or cookery, and hauing no lasciuicus apetite prouoking them to gluttony, are content with simple meates. Their sobrietie in this kind cannot suffi|ciently be commended, and since their greatest men can bee content to feede on rice, and drinke water, it is no maruell, that with ease they keepe great Armies in the field.

All the Turkish housholdstuffe is contained, in one poore pot to seeth meate in, one spoone of wood, one cup of leather or wood to drinke in, a poore bed or matresse, yea often a single couerled alone, and the earth serues them for bed|steed, table and stooles. They haue no neede of a troope of cookes and sculli|ons to dresse meate, and make cleane dishes. They willingly eate curds turned sower and mingled with bread and water, commonly called Mishmish, and fresh cheese or curds, and haue plentie of milke, aswell of cowes as of goates. In stead of bread, they eate vnleauened cakes, baked on the cinders, which commonly are mingled with a kind of seede. They feede commonly on hens, and rice (either sod alone, or with a hen or mutton, in a vessell full of holes, without any liquor put in when it is set on the fier, so as there being no other iuce, but that of the meat, the rice is made very thick.) With|in these narrow bounds is their most costly feeding restrained. In time of the yeere they feed much vpon fruites, and keepe grapes all

winter, so as you would iudge them fresh. They abhor from swines flesh, as the Iewes do, for the rest I did neuer see, nor heare by relations of others, that the richest of them did affect any other variety of 129 meate, then I haue named, and I haue often seene Men of the better sort eating out of the seething pot, without any dish set before them. The aboue named flesh of Mut|tons is very sauoury, and the sheepe of Syria and the adioyning parts of Asia, are of such greatnesse, as many times a taile of them, hanging to their heeles, and very wool|ly and fat, and close wouen in many plights, doth weigh thirty or more pounds. They haue also Venyson, for in the woodes there be many wild Goates dispersed, and I haue seene a kind of fallow Deare in Syria called Gazelle, of which kind I haue seene some brought out of Barbary into England.

And they much delighting in fruites, haue excellent of many kindes, aud in great quantity, namely Abricots, and muske Melones, and diuers kinds of Pumpions, whereof one called Angouria, as bigge as our Pumpions, is exceeding full of a very cold iuyce, being most pleasant for the coolenesse in any great heat, which coolenesse though I take to be vnwholsome for one sicke of an ague, yet my selfe almost wasted with the burning of that disease, did vehemently desire to eate of this fruite, and found it nothing hurtfull or rather healthfull to me. In the Hauen of Alexandretta (or Scanderona) a Graecian the Master of a Venetian ship, gaue me a present of foure or fiue Apples, which he called (as they vulgarly doe) the Apple of Adam, and I neuer in my life tasted so delicete a-fruite. It was of forme like a long Peare, or rather for the crookednesse like a Cucumer of the lesser sort, and it had a most thinne skinne, of colour like a Peeches skinne, the least part whereof being opened, the iuyce was easi|ly to be sucked out, which was very pleasant, and not much vnlike to the iuyce of a figge newly pulled from the tree. If I should particularise all the kindes of pleasant fruites, I might be infinite therein.

The Turkes when they haue eaten, not while they eate, goe like good fellowes to|gether, and like horses at once drinke for that meale, as greedily as if the water were turned into wine, which kind of drinke those that are zealous of their Law, and those that iourney by the high way, more specially, and all Turkes in generall most com|monly vse, for which cause, those that iourney vse to pitch their tents, vpon the banks of pure fountains or running waters, which they no lesse know, or as curiously search out, as we doe the best Innes or Tauernes: Besides commonly they haue a cup (if I may so call it, being a purse of leather that opens or shuts with strings) hanging at their horses saddle pomell, which as they sit on horsebacke, they put downe into the foun|taines, and draw water to drinke, not omitting to taste a good spring of water, no more then we would a peece of rare Wine. Their water, especially in Prouinces ly|ing neere the Sunne, is in this property contrary to ours, that it loosens the body no lesse, then the rice binds it. In Cities diuers kinds of drinkes are to be sold, some estee|med as much as wine with vs. One kind I remember presented vnto vs in Palestine by the Sobasha of Ramma, which was made of medicinall hearbs, to purifie and coole the blood, and they drinke it hot, so as it seemes a very physicall potion. They drinke sugar or hony mingled with water, and water sodden with grapes, rosewater, and ho|ny: and they haue whole Tunnes of the iuyce of Cytrons and Limons, which they willingly drinke; and all these kinds are to be sold in their Ctties, Wine is forbideen by Mahomets law, which permits Aquauite vulgarly called Harech, which Aqua|uite they often drinke euen to drunckennes. And whether it be out of the common error of

mankinde to desire forbidden things, or out of the licentiousnes of Souldiers, which euery day growes greater then other, howsoeuer in Idlenes they obey theire lawe in not planting Vines, yet not only the Ianizaries, but euen the religious men, will drinke wine largely, euen to drunkennesse, with Christians as well Ambassadours as others, yea, if Christian passengers carry wine by the way for their owne drinking, and haue a Ianizary to protect them, yet they will familiarly come to drinke with them, and if they haue no protector, they will take their wine and whatsoeuer they haue else at their pleasure, so as their false Prophet hath onely prouoked vice by forbidding it. Many Prouinces yeeld rich wines, the chiefe wherof are the Greek wines, (which not|withstanding seemed to me for the most part to be corrasiue, fretting the stomacke and entrals); and as well the white as red wines of Mount Lybanus and Antilibanus, which 130 are carried to Tripoli, and as farre as Haleppo, (the wines about Ierusalem being sharpe and small): but the best wine of all is the white wine of Palorme in Natolia, which is like the Spanish sacke, but more pleasant to the taste, being not so sweete as the Cana|ry wines, nor so harsh and strong as the Sherry sacke. This Wine is carried to Con|stantinople, where also good wines grow, planted by Christians there, but this is most esteemed: For onely Christians plant Vines, and make wine, howsoeuer the Turkes are content to take part of them at the Christians charge.

The Turkish Souldiers being to fight, if they can find no wine, drinke the iuyce of blacke poppy, called Opium, to raise their spirits to a kind of fury, thinking them selnes made more valiant thereby: For howsoeuer we thinke this hearbe, especially taken largely, to be dangerous for the health, yet there is not a Turke from the highest to the lowest, who doth not as it were daily vse it, nothing being more frequently sowed, no|thing more plentifully growing, especially in Natolia, nothing more easily finding a buyer: yea, if their Cammels and Dromidaries faile by the way, or vpon necessity must goe further then they vse to iourney, as sometimes it fals out in Armies and o|ther Iourneys, then they giue them this hearbe, by which they report their spirits so to be stirred vp, as they will goe till they fall downe dead.

In this vast Empire I did see no Iunes, no not in their Cities, and a man shall rarely find any beds among Christians, and if he doe, yet the sheetes are made of cotten, in|tollerable for heate: For in Turkey generally they lie vpon Tapestry Carpets, and sometimes in Cities vpon a mattresse, with a quilt to couer them, and by the high way they lye vpon straw, hey, or grasse. And in all places neere Palestine, they either by night lie vpon the house tops on a plastered floare, or in yards vpon the earth and in open Ayre, hauing the spangled Heauens for their Canopy. And not onely passen|gers, but all Turkes daily weare linnen breeches, so as in these Prouinces not subiect to cold, a man may better endure this poore kind of lodging: But the Turkish passen|gers, in stead of Innes, haue certsine Hospitals, built of stone with Cloysters after the manner of Monasteries, where by charitable legacy of Almes, all passengers may haue meate for certaine meales or dayes, especially the Pilgrims towards Mecha, for whose sake they were especially founded: And these houses are vulgarly called Kawne (or as others pronounce Cain) and the couered Cloysters of them, (built after their manner but one roofe high), are common as well to Turkes as any other passengers to lodge in openly, and like good fellowes altogether, vpon such mattresses as they carry, or vpon the bare ground, if straw be not to be had. For Christian passengers carry such mattresses

and necessary victuals, which failing, they supply them in Cities and euery day in Villages may buy fresh meates, but they must dresse their owne meate.

Neither is the Art of Cookery greater in Turkey then with vs in Wales, for toasting of Cheese in Wales, and seething of Rice in Turkey, will enable a man freely to professe the Art of Cookery.

No stranger vseth to trauell without a Ianizary or some other to guide him, who knowes the places where most commodious lodging is to be had: but passengers by the way vse not to goe into Cities, but onely to buy fresh meates, which done they re|turne to the Tents of their Carrauan, which vse to be pitched in some field adioy|ning. In hot climes neere the Sunne, (as I haue said in the first Part writing my iour|ney through Turkey) the Turkes there dwelling vse to beginne their iourneys towards the euening, and to end them two or three houres after the Sunne rising, resting in their Tents all the heat of the day. Christian passengers shall doe well to goe to the Ita|lians Friers at Ierusalem, and to Merchants their Countreymen, or at least to Christians in Citties of traffick, and to the Ambassadors or Merchants of their owne Country at Constantinople, who being themselues strangers, and not ignorant of the euils incident to strangers, will no doubt in curtesie direct them to get conuenient lodgings and o|ther necessaries.

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2

6.19 CHAP. II.

Of France, touching the particular subiects of the first Chapter.

THE Longitude of France extends thirteene degrees from the Meridian of sixteene degrees to that of twenty nine degrees, and the Latitude extends eight degrees from the Paralell of forty two degrees to that of fifty degrees. France of old was deuided into Cisalpina and Transalpina. In the description of Italy I haue formerly spoken of Ci|salpina, which was also called Togata of Gownes the In|habitants wore, and Tonsa because they had short haire.

1 Transalpina, was subdeuided into Comata and Narbonersis. Comata so called of their long haire, was againe subdeuided into Belgica, (of which I haue spoken former|ly [Note: [...].] in the description of Netherland), into Aquitanica and Celtica, or Lugdunensis. Aqui|tanica the second Part of Comata, was of old called Aremorica, lying vpon the Moun|taines Pyrenei, and they differ in Language from the French, being more like to tie Spaniards: next to the Pyreni dwelt the Ansi or Ansitani, called vulgarly Guascons, com|ming from Spaine. Their chief City is Tolouse, where is a famous Vniuersity, and the Par|liament of that Prouince. Another City called Bordeaux, hath also an Vniuersity, but is more famous by the generall concourse of Merchants trading for French Wines. Beyond the Riuer Garumna running through the midst of Aquitania, dwell the San|tones, an ancient people, whose Countrey is called Santoigne. Next lie the Pictones or Pictaui vpon the Riuer Loyer, whose Countrey is called Posctou, abounding with Fish, Fowle, and all Game for Hunting and Hawking. It hath three chiefe Cities, all seates of Bishops, Poictiers, Lusson, and Maillezais. The necke of Land adioyning is called Aulone, and the Ilands, Noir de Chauet, De Dieu, and Nosire Dame De Bouin, etc. yeeld great quantity of Salt to be transported. The Countrey of the Bituriger is called Berry, and the chiefe City Burges, of old called Auaricum, being an Vniuersity, and the Citizens at sixe Faires in the yeere, sell great quantity of woollen cloath: for the Countrey hath rich pastures, feeding many flockes of sheepe, of whose wooll this cloath is made, besides that it aboundeth also with Wine, Corne, and all kinds of cat|tell. The City is within Land, and is called in Lattin Biturigum of two Towers. Next the same lies the Dukedome Burbonois, and other small territories.

Celtica or Lugdunensis another part of Comata, containes the part of Transalpina, that lies betweene the Riuers Loyer and Seyne, beyond which last Riuer France of old ex|tended, and included good part of Netherland. First towards the West lies the Duke|dome Bretaigne, which hath three Languages in it selfe, all differing from the French. The first is of the people called Bretons Bretonnant, comming from the English or Cor|nish Brittons the first Inhabitants, and the chiefe Cities are Saint Paul, and Tre|guiers. The second people are called Bretons Galot, being of Language neere the French, and the chiefe Cities are Rhenes, (where is the Parliament of the whole Dukedome), and Dol, and Saint Malo. The third is mixt of the two former, and the City thereof called Nantes, is the Dukes seate, and chiefe City of the Dukedome. From the Sea Coast thereof great quantity of salt made by the heate of the Sunne is transported, and there by mynes of Iron and Lead. Towards the East lies Normandy, so called

of Men of the North; namely the Cimbri there inhabiting, and the chiefe City is Roane. Within Land lies Turroyne, vpon the Loyer, and the chiefe City is Orleance Next lies the little Countrey of France, like an Iland betweene two Riuers, so called of the Franckes a people of Germany, conquering and giuing that name 132 to the whole Kingdome. The chiefe City and seate of the Kings is Paris . Picardy lies towards the North, and the chiefe City is Amiens. Vpon France within Land towards the East lies the Prouince Champaigne. Next to it lies the Dukedome of Lorrayne, the Dukes whereof beare their Armes, an Arme armed breaking out of Cloudes, and holding a naked Sword, to signifie that the Dukes haue supreme power from God a|lone. And the chiefe Cities of the Dukedome are Nancy (the seate of the Dukes), and Toul, and Neufchastell. The next Countrey of old esteemed part of Lorrayne, was inha|bited by the Lingones, and by the Mediomatrices, and the chiefe City by the Lattines called Mediomatricum and Metis, is now vulgarly called Metz, which City the King of France tooke in the yeere 1551 from the Empire, in the time of the Emperor Charles the fifth, who besieged the same long, but in vaine, the Kings of France still holding it. The Dukedome of Burgundy belonged of old to the Empire, but is now subiect to the Kings of France, the chiefe City whereof is Dijon, where the Parliament of the whole Dukedome is held. It hath other Cities, namely Beaulue, Challon, Chastillon, Noy|res, and a place called Bourgougne, which gaue the name to the Dukedome, yet others write that it had the name of Bourges, (that is Townes). The County of Burgundy be|longed of old to the Empire, but is now subiect to the King of Spaine, whose progeni|tor married the daughter and heire of the Duke of Burgundy, at which time the Kings of France tooke the foresaid Dukedome from the said daughter and heire. And this County is vulgarly called Franche Conte, as free from tributes. It hath two free Ci|ties, Dole (an Vniuersity) and Besancon.

2 The second part of Transalpina Gallia is Narbonensis; (which onely at this day, yet not all, may truly be called Gallia): It was of old called Braccata, of the Inhabitants apparell, and is called Narbonensis of the chiefe City Narbona, lying vpon the Riuer Athesis, neere the Mediterranean Sea, which Strabo witnesseth to haue beene of old a famous City for trafficke. The Riuer Rhodanus runnes through it, which falling from the Alpes, and increased by Araris, but still retaining the first name, fals into the Medi|terranean Sea. This part called Narbonensis, by the benefit of the Ayre and Sunne, yeelds Figges, Grapes, Cytrons, Peaches, Pomegranates, Chessenuts, rich Wine, and all delicate fruites, and all the fields are made odoriferous by wild Rosemary, Myr|tels, Palmetrees, and many sweete hearbes: and the Inhabitants haue lately planted Canes of sugar. To conclude, the Prouince is very pleasant and plentifull in all things. On the West side of Rhodanus, the Tectosages dwelt of old in the Prouince called Languadoc, hauing that name, because the Inhabitants vse Oc for the French Ouy. The chief Cities thereof are Narbona (aforesaid) Mompeliers (of old a famous Vniuer|sity) and Clermont. The Dukedome of Sauoy lies in a corner, from the alps to the mediter|ranean Sea, of old inhabited by the Focuntij and it lying on the same side of the Alpes with France, is reckoned a part thereof, but the Duke thereof is an absolute Prince, and the chiefe City is Chambery. The Prouince is very fertile, and where it is more barren, yet affoordes excellent fruites and all things for foode at a conuenient price. Dol|phiny lies betweene the Riuer Rhodanus and the Dukedome of

Sauoy, and giues the name of Dolphin to the French Kings eldest sonne. Prouence is a most sweete Territory, and hath the Cities, Marseile, (famous by trade with the Turkes), Arles, and Auignon (subiect to the Pope; for when many Popes were at one time, Iohn the two and twentieth did long sit in this City, giuen by Ioane Queene of Naples to the Popes in the time of Clement the sixth, alienated from the Kingdome of Naples by her, and annexed to the Patrimony of Saint Peter, in the yeere 1360.) The Principalitie of Orange is an absolute dominion, hauing the chiefe City of the same name, and seated betweene Languedoc, Dolphiny, and the Popes Territorie of Auig|non.

The ayre of the Northerne part of France is purer then that of England, and being not couered with cloudes drawne out of the Sea as England is, for that cause in winter be|comes [Note: The situati|on,] more cold, and in summer more hot, and farre lesse annoied with mists and rainy weather. But on the other side, more and lesse according to the clyme, the parts of France 133 lying towards the Mountaines Pirenei and neerer to the Equinoctiall line, are subiect to intemperate heate, yet often allaied by the winds blowing from the Sea, and by the shaddow of the Mountaines. This Southerly part yeeldes all the fruites of Italy, and in the Northerly parts as in Normandy, they haue abundance of Apple and Peare trees, of which they make great quantity of Sider and Perry, and this part as towards the Sea it yeelds also plenty of Corne, so within Land it affoords the like of Wines. And in the very Northerly Iland called France, they haue plenty of Grapes vpon pleasant hils watered with sweet Riuers, but the wine made of them is small and sharpe. All France is most pleasant, and not onely about Narbona, but in many other territories (according to the commodity of the clime), it yeelds great plenty of red and white wines exported in great quantity, which are held excellent to be drunke, the white in the moaning, and the red with meate, which red is otherwise reputed vnhol|some, as prouoking and causing rhumes. France aboundeth with all things necessary for food, as well Corne as Cattell, red Deare, Fowle, and also with all kinds of Fish, by reason it is partly compassed with the Sea, and vpon all sides is watered with sweete Riuers. For fier they vse wood and coales, yet haue they no pit coales or sea coales, but haue their sea coales out of England for their Smiths Forges, and where they haue lesse store of wood within land, there they burne straw, furres, and other kinds of stub|ble. They haue good races of horses, which the greater part vse in the Warre, who are not able to buy Neapolitan Coursers, Spanish lanets, or English Coursers, bred of the Neapolitan horses and English Mares: but for their iournies they haue no Guel|dings or ambling Nagges, as wee haue, but commonly vse trotting and stoned Nagges.

The Gentlemen doe not meddle with trafficke, either because it was of old forbid|den [Note: The fer|tility and trafficke.] to great Lords and Gentlemen, lest the Kings impositions should thereby suffer domage, they being by singular priuiledges exempted and freed from all such bur|thens, or because in deed they thinke such trafficke ignoble and base, and so vnfit fot them, which error the French no lesse deerely buy then the English, (as I haue shewed in the discourse of Italy, and shall againe proue in that of England). In generall, the French are lesse studious of Nauigation or industrious in that kind, because they a|bound almost with all things for plentifull foode and rich attire, and if they want any thing strangers gladly bring it to them, and exchange it for their wines, salt, and course linnen cloaths; neither haue I heard or read, that they euer

did any braue exploit by sea. They haue in time of warre some few men of warre for piracy, and some few ships to export their commodities, but they saile onely to neighbour Countries, as out of Normandy and Bretaigne, into England, Ireland, and the Low-Countries, and onely those of Marseile, to Tripoli in Syria. As for the Colonies which in our Age they haue led into the West Indies, their vnhappy succesſe therein, hath discouraged them from like new attempts. And whosoeuer sees their rich Cities within Land, witnessing that their wealth consists in natiue commodities, more then trading by Sea, may easily guesse, that they are not much addicted to Nauigation. The French haue many com|modities by which they draw forraigne Coynes to them, but foure especially, Wine; Salt, Linnen course cloth, and Corne, which in that respect some call the loadestones of France. Neither is it a matter of small moment, that they haue many Riners, gi|uing commodity to the mutuall trafficke of their Cities.

They haue plenty of Flaxe and Hempe, whereof they make canuas, sayles, ropes, and cables: Neither want they wooll, whereof they make cloth, little inferiour to the English cloth, but not in quantity to be exported. Bourdeaux is a famous City for exportation of Wines, as Rochell and the neighbour Ports are no lesse for Salt. France yeeldeth Saffron, and Oade for dying, which they call Du Pastell, and many small commodities to be exported, as Cards, Pinnes, Paper, and the like: yea they export into Spaine, linnen cloathes made thinne with wearing, and sell them there for a good price. The Spaniards bring into France some quantity of wooll, raysons, O|liues, Oyle, Cytrons, and other fruites, whereof France needes no great quantity, and Cochenillo for dying. The Fortingals bring into France holy Thistle, (an hearbe like a 134 white thorne, hauing leaues like cotten on them) and sugar, and diuers kinds of Indian wood, as [...], Schomache, Fustocke, and Logwood, and a smal quan|tity of Dates. And these carry out of France great quantity of Linnen cloth, which we call white Roanes, and greater quantity of vittree Canuas, and Paper, some wool|len cloth, much Corne, especially Wheate, good quantity of waxe and cardes, and the like commodities. The English bring into France great quantity of woollen-cloaths, called Kersies and Cottons, Leade, Tynne, English Vitriall, or Shooemakers blacke, sheepe skinnes, and by stealth other Hides, forbidden to be exported, great quantity of Hearrings, and new found land Fish dried, of wooll (though forbidden to be ex|ported), Oyle, Soape tunned, Soape ashes, old worne cloakes, and (I know not to what vse) very old shooes, with other natiue and forraigne commodities. And they bring from thence Linnen cloathes, called white Roanes, and Vitree Canuas, Paper, white and red wines in great quantity, Threed, Saffron, Waxe, and from Paris Gold and siluer. The Hollanders bring into France two or three kindes of their Linnen cloathes, Copper, Feathers, and Wier, and they carry thence the foresaid Linnen cloathes, Wines, Prunes, Paper, and the aboue named commodities. The French carry into Italy Tinne, Lead, dry fish, called Poore Iohn, (brought to them by the English), and their owne aboue named commodities. And they bring out of Italy silke cloaths, and other Italian commodities. Among the French, onely those of Marseile trafficke with the Turkes, and their greatest trade is onely at Tripoli in Syria, who carry into Turkey Spanish siluer, and French Linnen cloathes, and bring from thence raw silke, spices, gals, cotton, and Indico for dying.

Old Writers relate that the Gals vsed to lie on the ground, to feed on milke and

[Note: Their Diet.] Swines flesh, and to be giuen to gluttony. At this day none eate lesse Bacon or dried flesh for ordinary diet, then the French, yet I cannot commend their temperance, since all, as well Men as Weomen, besides dinner and supper, vse breakefasts and beuers, which they call collations and gouster, so eating foure times in the day. All France abounds with necessaries for food, as well all kinds of Cattle, as fruites not inferiour in some places to those of Italy, and wild Boares, and Red Deare, (for they haue no fal|low Deare); and Birds and Fowle, and all kinds of Fish, affoorded by the Sea, and their many pleasant riuers, but their Beef is neither very good, nor much vsed. Their Sheep are lesse then ours in England, but the flesh of them is sweete and sauoury. In the Innes they haue greater plenty of Partridges, and diuers kinds of Birds, because the Coun|trey people neither doe nor may eate them, and the Gentlemen are generally sparing in their ordinary diet, so as great plenty of these dainties is brought to the chiefe Innes. Howsoeuer England be happy in all aboundance, and hath some dainties for food pro|per to it selfe, as God wits, and some other kinds of Sea Fowle, and especially fallow Deare and Brawne: Though it passeth France generally in plenty of Sea Fowles, and as well the variety as plenty of Sea fishes, yet hath it not such aboundance as France hath of Land Fowle, or such as haunt the woods and fields, as Partridges, Feasants, Woodcocks, and the like, or at least by reason of the common sort not feeding there|on, and the said spare ordinary diet of the Gentlemen, France seemeth much more to abound with them, being common in all the chiefe Innes. I speake of England in ge|nerall, for in some places they so abound with vs, as they beare little or no price.

The French are commended and said to excell others in boyled meates, sawces, and made dishes, vulgarly called Quelques choses, but in my opinion the larding of their meates is not commendable, whereby they take away all variety of taste, making all meates sauor of Porke; and the French alone delight in mortified meates. They vse not much whitmeates, nor haue I tasted there any good Butter, which our Ambas|sadours cause to be brought vnto them out of England, and they haue onely one good kinde of Cheeses called Angelots, pleasing more for a kind of sharpenesse in taste, then for the goodnesse. As well the Gentlemen as Citizens liue more sparingly then the English in their ordinary priuate diet, and haue not their Tables so furnished with va|riety and number of dishes. They dine most with sodden and liquid meates, and sup with roasted meates, each hauing his seuerall sawce: but their Feasts are more sump|tuous 135 then ours, and consist for the most part of made fantasticall meates and sallets, and sumptuous compositions, rather then of flesh or birds. And the cookes are most esteemed, who haue best inuention in new made and compounded meats. And as in al things the French are chearefull and nimble, so the Italians obserue that they eate or swallow their meate swiftly, and adde, that they are also slouenly at meate, but I would rather say they are negligent or carelesse, and little curious in their feeding. And to this purpose I remember an accident that happened to a Frenchman, eating with vs at the Masters table in a Venetian ship gouerned by Greekes, and sailing from [324] Venice to Ilierusalem, who turning hir foule trencher to lay meat on the cleane side, did so of|fend the Master and all the Marriners, as well the best as common sort, as they hardly refrained from offering him violence. For Marriners in generall, but especially the Greekes are so superstitious,

[324] Venice

as they tooke this his negligence in turning his trencher, (being of like opinion for the turning of any thing in the ship vpside downe) as if it had been an ominous signe, that the ship should be cast away.

In a Village of Normandy halfe way betweene Roane and Diepe called Totes, and in like sort in all the Innes of those parts, before the ciuill warre, assoone as passengers lighted from their horses, the Hoast gaue them water to wash, and bread and wine; for the French haue not the patience to expect their supper without some refection. Then at supper the table was serued with Mutton, a Capon or Pul|let, Patridges and like meates, with a kind of banquet, as in Summer, Apples, Cherries, and Grapes, and in Winter, Chessenuts, Rice, Raysons, and stewed Prunes. Then they gaue their guests cleane sheetes, drying them at the fier in their presence, and in the morning gaue them for breakfast some buttered tostes, or motsell of meate, and for all this together with horsemeate, each man paid some twenty two or twenty fiue soulz; as likewise the bating at noone for horse and man, cost each some ten soulz. After the ciuill warre I passed through these parts, and commonly each meale paid twelue or fifteene soulz, with worse interertain|ment, and for breakefasts paid seuerally, but no great rate. Towards the confines of Flanders, the Hoasts onely couer the table, and a side table, vpon which euerie passenger hath his glasse, for the French are curious not to drinke in another mans cup, and the Hoasts are onely to bee paid for this seruice. Otherwise at times of eating, they call the Cookes dwelling neere the Innes, who bring the best meates they haue, and when the guests haue chosen their meate, and agreed for the price, they carry it backe to dresse it, and so send it warme with sawces. In generall, through the Cities of France, passengers seldome dine at their Innes, but with some companions goe to the Tauernes or Cookes shops: but at night they must eate with the Hoast that giues them beds, where they shall haue cleane sheetes, and see them dried before their faces, but they are of course cloth, and very few cham|bers are priuate, but most haue three or foure beds, wherein they lye not single, but for the most part with bedfellowes. Also the guests as well Merchants and Gen|tlemen, as those of common sort, eate at an ordinary table, and for supper commonly large with diuers roasted meates, each man payes some fifteene soulz. He that hiers a chamber in Cities, which he may haue well furnished at Paris for some two Crownes a moneth, he must buy his meate at Cookes shops, which are frequent and very clean|ly, neither is it any disgrace, as with vs, to buy a morsell of meate there, and to agree for the price before it bee eaten. And they that hier chambers can haue no better conueniency for diet, either at Paris , or in other Cities. But hee that stayes long in a Citie, may agree in a Citizens house, or an Inne for his diet and lodging by the yeere, which hee may haue at Paris in extraordinary sort for some one hundred fifty Crownes yeerely, and ordinarily for lesse; and at Rone for one hundred twenty, or one hundred Crownes, and in many Cities for eighty Crownes, and in many good Innes for sixty Crownes yeerely. Drunkennesse is reprochfull among the French, and the greater part drinke water mingled with wine, and alwaies French wines, not Sacke or Spanish wines (which are sold as Phisicke onely by Apothecaries) or 136 other forraigne Wines, whereof I remember not to haue seene any in the Northerne parts of France. Yet Marriners, Souldiers and many of the common sort vsed to drinke Perry and Syder to very drunkennes, yea, I haue seene many drink wine with like intemperance, and when these kinds of men sit at drinking, they vse much

mirth and singing (in which art they take great delight), as the French in generall are by na|ture chearefull and liuely. Women for the most part, and virgins alwaies (except by stealth they offend against the custome) vse to drinke water, except it be in the Pro|uinces yeelding Perry and Syder, which all sorts vse to drinke without exception. And at Paris I remember to haue seene a poore woman to beg a cup of water, which being giuen her, she drunke it off, and went away merily, as if she had receiued a good almes.

2

6.20 CHAP. III.

Of England, touching the particular subiects of the first Chapter.

THE Longitude of England extends nine degrees and a halfe from the meridian of thirteene degrees and a halfe [Note: England.] to that of twenty three degrees, and the latitude extends fixe degrees from the paralell of fifty degrees and a halfe to that of fifty sixe degrees and a halfe. Learned Camden (whom I gladly follow in this description of England) makes the circuite of all Britany to be one thousand eight hundred thirty six miles. This is the most famous Iland of all the World, and is diuided into two Kingdomes, that of England, and that of Scotland. England is subeuided into diuers Counties or Shyres and Ilands.

1 In the description whereof I will first begin with Cornmall, of old inhabited by the Danmonij. It is for the most part a Mountanous Country, but the soyle is not vn|firtile, besides that the people incredibly fatten the same with laying vpon it the owes of the Sea, called Orwood, and a certaine mud. The Sea coast (as Camden writeth, whom I follow) is beautified with very many Townes, which haue much shipping. The inward parts abound with a rich vaine of Mettals, where wonderfull quantitie of most pure Tinne is digged vp, and not onely Tinne, but Gold and Siluer with it, and Dyamonds formed into Angles by nature it selfe, which we call Cornish Dyamonds. Eringo grows plentifully all along the Sea side, and with great labour of the Husband|man, they haue such aboundance of Corne, as great quantity of wheate is yeerely ex|ported thence into Spaine. Also the inhabitants make great gaine by the fishing of Pilchards, which they salt and drie in the smoke, and export an huge multitude of them yeerely into Spaine and Italy. Here is the famous Mount Michael (of old cal|led Dinsol, and by the inhabitants the Rock Cana.) This Rocke is somewhat high and craggy, vpon the top whereof is a Chappell, dedicated to Michael the Arch-Angell. The Towne Falemouth hath a faire Hauen, capeable of very many shippes, and most safe from stormes, where the Rockes doe fortifie two Castles, built by Henry the eight, and this Hauen is by Ptolomy called Ostium Cenionis.

2 Deuonshire likewise inhabited by the Danmonij, hath fairer Hauens, being no lesse rich in the vaines of Tinne, and beautified with frequent Townes. In no part of England the ground requireth more expence, for in many places it is bar|ren, till it bee fatted with the Owes or sand of the Sea, which makes it won|derfully fruitfull, but in the remotest parts from the Sea, this sand is dearely bought? The Riuer Plimus giues the name to the Towne Plimmouth, of old called Sut|ton, which grew from a fishers Village to a faire Towne, by the commoditie 137 of the Hauen, being most safe euen for great ships, as well in the said Riuer, as in ano|ther called Tamera. Not farre from thence is the place, where they fable, that Coryneus wrastled with Gogmagog, and in this Towne was borne Sir Francis Drake Knight, the cheefe glory of our Age for Nauigation, who for two yeeres space did with continual victories as it were besiege the Gulfe of Mexico, and in the yeere 15–, entring the straight of Magellan, compassed the World in two yeeres and tenne moneths, with many changes and hazards of Fortune. The Towne Dortmouth is much frequented with Merchants and strong shippes, for the commodity of

the Hauen, fortified with two Castles. The City Excester called Isen by Ptolomy and of olde called Monke|ton of the Monkes, is the cheefe City of the County, and the seate of the Bi|shop.

3 Dorsetshire was of old inhabited by the Durotriges. The Towne Weymouth hath a Castle built by Henry the eighth, to fortifie the Hauen. Dorchester is the cheefe towne of the County, but neither great nor faire.

4 Sommersetshire was of old inhabited by the Netherlanders, and is a large and rich County, happy in the fruitfull soyle, rich Pastures, multitude of Inhabitants, and com|modity of Hauens. The chiefe Towne Bridgewater hath the name of the Bridge and the water. In the Iland Auallon, (so called in the Britans tongue of the Apples), which the Latins cals Glasconia, flourished the Monastery Glastenbury, of great antiquity, de|riued from Ioseph of Arimathta. Dunstan casting out the ancient Monkes, brought thither the Benedictines of a later institution, and himselfe was the first Abbot ouer a great multitude of Monkes, indowed with Kingly reuenewes. In the Church yard of this Monastery, they say that the great worthy of the Britans Prince Arthur hath his Sepulcher. The Episcopall little City called Wells of the Wells, or Fountaines, hath a stately Bishops Pallace. The City Bathe is famous for the medicinall Baths, where|of three Fountaines spring in the very City, which are wholsome for bodies num|med with ill humours, but are shut vp certaine howers of the day, that no man should enter them till by their sluces they be purged of all filth. The Bishop of Welles buy|ing this City of Henry the first, remoued his Episcopall seate thither, yet still keeping the old name of Bishop of Welles, and there built a new Cathedrall Church. The City Bristowe is compassed with a double wall, and hath so faire buildings, as well publike as priuate houses, as next to London and Yorke, it is preferred to all other Cities of Eng|land.

5 Wilshire was also inhabited by the Belgae or Netherlanders, and lies all within land, rich in all parts with pastures and corne. Malmesbury is a faire Towne famous for the woollen clothes. The Towne Wilton, of old the cheefe of this County, is now a little Village, beautified with the stately Pallace of the Earles of Penbroke. The City of Sa|lisbury is made pleasant with waters running through the streetes, and is beautified with a stately Cathedrall Church, and the Colledge of the Deane and Prebends, ha|uing rich Inhabitants in so pleasant a seate, yet no way more famous then by hauing Iohn Iewell a late worthy Bishop borne there. Some sixe miles from Salisbury, is a place in the fields where huge stones are erected, whereof some are eight and twenty foote high, and seuen broade, standing in three rowes after the forme of a crowne, vp|pon which other stones are so laied acrosse, as it seemes a worke hanging in the Ayre, whereupon it is called Stoneheng vulgarly, and is reputed among Miracles, as placed there by Merlin, there being scarce any stone for ordinary building in the Territory adioyning.

6 Hamshire of old was inhabited within Land by the Belgae or Netherlanders, and vp|pon the Sea coast by the Regni. William the Norman Conquerour, made here a For|rest for Deare, destroying Towns and holy buildings for some thirty miles compasse, which ground now well inhabited, yet seruing for the same vse, we call New-Forest. Southampton a faire little City, lies vpon the Sea. Wintchester of old called Venta of the Belgae, was a famous City in the time of the Romans, and in these daies it is well inhabited, watered with a pleasant Brooke and pleasantly seated, and hath an olde Castle; wherein there hanges against the wall a Table of

a round forme 138 vulgarly called Prince Arthurs round Table: but Gamden thinkes it to haue been made long after his time. It hath a Cathedrall Church, and large Bishops Pallace, and a fa|mous Colledge founded for training vp young Schollers in learning, whence many learned men haue been first sent to the Vniuersity, and so into the Church and Com|monwealth. In the Towne or Port of Portsmouth, lies a Garrison of souldiers, to de|fend those parts from the incursions of the French by Sea.

7 Barkshire was of old inhabited by the Atrebatij. Newbery a famous Towne in-rich|ed by wollen clothes, had his beginning of the ancient Towne Spina. Windsore is fa|mous by the Kings Castle, neither can a Kings seate bee in a more pleasant situation, which draweth the Kings often to retire thither, and Edward the third kept at one time Iohn King of France, and Dauid King of Scotland, captiues in this Castle. The same Ed|ward the third built here a stately Church, and dedicated it to the blessed Virgin Mary and to S. George the Capadocian, and first instituted the order of Knights, called of the Garter, as an happy omen of victory in warre (happily succeeding), who weare vnder the left knee a watchet Garter buckled, hauing this mot in the French tongue grauen in letters of gold, Hony soit qui mal'y pense, and the ceremonies of this order hee insti|tuted to be kept in this Church.

8 The County of Surry was of old inhabited by the Regni. Otelands is beautified with the Kings very faire and pleasant house, as Richmond is with the Kings stately Pallace.

9 The County of Sussex, of old inhabited by the Regni, hath the faire City Chiche|sler, and the Hauen Rhie, knowne by being the most frequented passage into France.

10 The County of Kent is rich in medows Pastures and pleasant Groues, and wonder+fully aboundeth with Apples and Cherries. It hath most frequent Townes, and safe Harbours for ships, and some vaines of Iron. William the Norman Conquerour, after the manner of the Romans, instituted a Warden of the fiue Ports, Hastings, Douer, Hith, Rumney, and Sandwiche, to which Winchelsey and Rie, the chiefe Hauens, and o|ther Townes are ioyned as members, which haue great priuiledges, because they are tied to serue in the warres, and the Warden of them is alwaies one of the great Lords, who within his iurisdiction, hath in most things the authority of Admirall, and other rights. Detford Towne is well knowne, where the Kings ships are built and repai|red, and there is a notable Armory or storehouse for the Kings Nauy. Not farre from thence vpon the shore, lie the broken ribs of the ship, in which Sir Francis Drake sailed round about the World, reserued for a monument of that great action. Greenewich is beautified with the Kings Pallace. Eltham another house of the Kings is not farre di|stant. The Towne Grauesend is a knowne Roade. The City Rochester is the seate of a Bishop, and hath a stately Cathedrall Church. Canterbery is a very ancient City, the seate of an Archbishop, who in the Hierarchy of the Roman Bishop, was stiled the Popes Legate, but the Popes authority being banished out of England, it was decreed in a Synod held the yeere 1534, that the Archbishops laying aside that title, should be called the Primates and Metrapolitanes of all England. Before the Rode of Margat lie the dangerous shelfes or flats of sand, whereof the greatest is called Goodwin [illeg.] sand . Douer is a Port of old very commodious, but now lesse safe, onely it is more famous for the short cut to Callis in France. The Towne Rumney one of the fiue Portes, in our Grand-fathers time lay close vpon the Sea,

but now is almost two miles distant from the same.

11 Glocestershire was of old inhabited by the Dobuni. William of Malmesbury writes, that this County is so fertile in Corne and fruites, as in some places it yeelds a hun|dreth measures of graine for one sowed: but Camden affirmes this to bee false. The same Writer affirmes that the very high waies are full of Appell trees, not planted, but growing by the nature of the soyle, and that the fruits so growing, are better then others planted, both in beauty, taste, and lasting, being to be kept a whole yeere from rotting. He adds, that it yeelded in his time plenty of Vines, abounding with Grapes of a pleasant taste, so as the wines made thereof were not sharpe, but almost as 139 pleasant as the Fench wines, which Camden thinkes probable, there being many places still called Vineyards, and attributes it rather to the Inhabitants slothfulnesse, then to the fault of the Ayre or soyle, that it yeeldes not wine at this day. Tewkesbury is a large and faire Towne, hauing three Bridges ouer three Riuers, and being famous for making of woollen cloth, for excellent mustard, and a faire Monastery, in which the Earles of Glocester haue their Sepulchers. The City of Glocester is the cheefe of the County, through which the Seuerne runnes, and here are the famous Hils of Cotswold, vpon which great flockes of sheepe doe feede, yeelding most white wooll, much esteemed of all Nations. Circester is an ancient City, the largenesse whereof in old time appeares by the ruines of the wals. The Riuer Onse springeth in this County, which after yeeldes the name to the famous Riuer Thames, falling in|to it.

12 Oxfordshire also was inhabited by the Dobuni, a fertile County, the plaines whereof are bewtified with meadowes and groues, the hils with woods, and not one|ly it abounds with corne, but with all manner of cattle, and game for hunting and hawking, and with many Riuers full of fish. Woodstocke Towne is famous for the Kings House and large Parke, compassed with a stone wall, which is said to haue been the first Parke in England, but our Progenitors were so delighted with hunting, as the Parkes are now growne infinite in number, and are thought to containe more fallow Deere, then all the Christian World besides. Histories affirme, that Henry the second, for his Mistris Rosamond of the Cliffords house did build in his house here a labyrinth vnpassable by any without a threed to guide them, but no ruines thereof now re|maine. The Towne itselfe hath nothing to boast, but that Ieffry Chancer the English Homer was borne there. Godstowe of old a Nunnery, is not farre distant, where Rosa|mond was buried. Oxford is a famous Vniuersity, giuing the name to the County, and was so called of the Foorde for Oxen, or of the Foorde, and the Riuer Onse.

13 Buckinghamshire was of old inhabited by the Cattienchiani (which Camden thinks to be the Cassei), and it hath a large and pleasant towne called Ailsbury, which giues the name to the Valley adioyning. The city Buckingham is the chiefe of the County, and the Towne of Stonystratford is well knowne for the faire Innes and stately Bridge of stone.

14 Bedfordshire had the same old inhabitants, and hath the name of Bedford the chiefe Towne.

15 Hertfordshire had the same old inhabitants, and the chiefe Towne is Hertford. In this County is the stately house Thibaulds, for building, Gardens and walks. Saint Albons is a pleasant Towne, full of faire Innes.

16 Midlesex County was of old inhabited by the Trinobants, called Mercij in the time of the Saxon Kings. In this County is

the Kings stately pallace Hampten|court, hauing many Courtyards compassed with sumptuous buildings. London, the seate of the Brittans Empire, and the Chamber of the Kings of England, is so famous, as it needes not bee praysed. It hath Colledges for the studie of the municiple Lawes, wherein liue many young Gentlemen Students of the same. The little citie Westminster of old more then a mile distant, is now by faire buildings ioyned to London, and is famous for the Church (wherein the Kings and Nobles haue stately Se|pulchers) and for the Courts of Iustice at Westminster Hall, where the Parliaments are extraordinarily held, and ordinarily the Chancerie and Kings Bench, with like Courts. Also it hath the Kings stately Pallace called Whitehall, to which is ioyned the Parke and house of Saint Iames. The Citie of London hath the sumptuous Church of Saint Paul, beautified with rich Sepulchers; and the Burse or Exchange a stately house built for the meeting of Merchants: a very sumptuous and wonderfull Bridge built ouer the Thames: rich shops of Gold-smiths in Cheapeside, and in|numerable statelie Pallaces, whereof great part lye scattered in vnfrequented lanes.

17 Essex County had of old the same inhabitants, and it is a large Teritorie, yeelding 140 much Corne and Saffron, enriched by the Ocean, and with pleasant Riuers for fish|ing, with Groues, and many other pleasures: It hath a large Forrest for hunting, called Waltham Forrest. Chensford is a large and faire Towne, neere which is New-Hall the stately Pallace of the Rateliffes Earles of Sussex. Colchester is a faire City, pleasantly seated, well inhabited, and beautified with fifteene Churches, which greatly flourished in the time of the Romans. Harewich is a safe Hauen for ships. Saffron. Walden is a faire Towne, the fields whereof yeeld plenty of Saffron, whereof it hath part of the name.

18 The County of Suffolke was of old inhabited by the Iceni, and it is large, the soile fertile, pleasant in groues, and rich in pastures to fat Cattle, where great quantity of Cheese is made and thence exported. Saint Edmondsberry vulgarly called Berry, is a faire Towne, and so is Ipswich, hauing stately built Churches and houses, and a com|modious Hauen.

19 The County of Norfolke had of old the same Inhabitants, and it is a large al|most all Champion Countrey, very rich, and abounding with sheepe, and especially with Conies, fruitfull and most populous. The City Norwich chiefe of the County, deserues to be numbered among the chiefe Cities of England, for the riches, populous|nesse, beauty of the Houses, and the faire building of the Churches. Yarmouth is a most faire Towne, fortified by nature and diligent Art, and hath a very faire Hauen. Vpon the bay which Ptolomy names, AEstuarium Metaris, vulgarly called, the Washes, lieth the large Towne of Linne, famous for the safety of the Hauen, most easie to be entred, for the concourse of Merchants and the faire buildings.

20 Cambridgeshire had of old the same Inhabitants, and consists all of open corne fields, (excepting some places yeelding Saffron), and it giues excellent Barly, of which steeped till it spring againe, they make great quantity of Mault to brew Beere, in such quantity as the Beere is much exported euen into forraigne parts, and there highly esteemed. Cambridge is a famous Vniuersity, seated vpon the Riuer Grant, by others called Came, of which and the Bridge ouer the same, it is called Cambridge. The Nor|therne part of this County consists of Ilands greene and pleasant in Summer, but all couered with water in the Winter, whereof the cheefe called

Ely, giues the name to all the rest, called (as if they were but one Iland,) the Ile of Ely, the cheefe Towne whereof called also Ely, is famous for being the seate of a Bishop.

21 Hunting donshire had of old the same Inhabitants, the cheefe Towne whereof is Huntingdon.

22 Northamptonshire was of old inhabited by the Coritani, and is a Countrey most painefully tilled and full of Inhabitants. Northampton is the cheefe City large and walled. Peterborow is the seate of a Bishop. Neere Stamford is the stately Pallace Bur|leigh, built by William the first, Lord Burleigh.

23 Leycestershire had of old the same Inhabitants, a Champion Country and fruit|full in bearing Corne. In Lutterworth a little Towne of Trade, Iohn Wickliffe was Pastor or Minister. Leicester the cheefe City, hath more antiquitie then beauty.

24 Rutlandshire had of old the same Inhabitants, and is the least County of England, and had the name of the red Earth. The Towne of Vppingham deserues no other men|tion, then that it is the cheefe Towne of the County.

25 Linconshire had of old the same inhabitants, and is a very large County, rich in Corne and Pastures, and abounding with Fowle and Fish, and all things necessary for foode. The great Washes of Holland when the Sea flowes are couered with water, but when it ebbes, the ground is discouered to be passed, but not without danger and with a good guide. Lincolne the chief City, was of old one of the most populous Cities of England, and one that had greatest trade, and hath a sumptuous Cathedral Church.

26 Nottinghamslire had of old the same inhabitants, the chiefe City whereof is Not|tingham pleasantly seated. In the Westerne part is the Wood called Shirewood, fee|ding infinit numbers of Fallow and Red Deare, whether the Kings of old were wont to retire for hunting.

27 Darbyshire had of old the same inhabitants, the chiefe towne whereof is Darby, 141 faire and well inhabited, the Ayle whereof is for goodnesse prouerbially preferred be|fore that kind of drinke in any other Towne. The Westerne part hath high Moun|taines, called Peake, yeelding Leade, which they make into Sowes, and stibium in his proper vaines is there found. Likewise there Mil-stones are out out, and there is the old Castle, called the Castle in the Peake, neare which is a great hole or caue in the Mountaine gaping wide, and hauing many inward caues, and this hole (with reue|uerence be it spoken) is vulgarly called, The Diuels ars at Peuke, of which many fables are told, and the place is accounted among the miracles of England. The like fables are told of [...] hole not farre distant, very steepe and deepe.

28 Warwickshire was of old inhabited by the Cornauij; wherein is Couentry a large, faire and walled Citie, so called of the Couent of Monkes, and at this day it is the fai|rest City within-land, wherof the chiefe trade of old was making round caps of wooll, but the same being now very little vsed, the trade is decaied. Warwick is the chiefe Ci|ty of the County, and neare the same vpon the hill Blacklow, Peter of Gaueston was be|headed by the Lords of the Kingdome. Not farre thence is a transparant and plea|sant, but little Wood, and there be cleare Fountaines, which place yeelds sweete soli|tude for the Muses, and there they report, that the famous worthy Guy of Warwick af|ter many aduentures atchieued, did first liue an Heremites life, and was after death bu|ried.

29 Worcestershire had of old the same inhabitants, which after in the time of Beda were called Wiccij, either of wic, signifying a corner or bay, or of wyches signi-

fying [...] in the Saxons tongue. And there are excellent salt-pits or Brookes, and new foun|taines of salt are daily found. The Country is happy in the healthfull ayre, tertility of soile, and sweete Riuers, but especially yeeldeth abundance of Peares, of which they make Perry a counterfeit wine, but cold and flatuous, as all those kinds of drinke are. Worcester the chiefe City of the County was built by the Romans, and is compassed with a wall, and hath the seate of a Bishop, and a faire Cathedrall Church, with the Monuments of Iohn King of England, and Arthur Prince of Wales. It is also beautified with many inhabitants, rich trade of wollen cloth, faire buildings, and the number of Churches.

30 Staffordshire had of old the same inhabitants, and towards the South it hath pit|coales, and some vaines of Iron (but the greatest quantitie and best kind of pitcoales is in Nottinghamshire.) Stone is a Towne of Traffike. Lichfeild is a large and faire City, so called, as the field of dead bodies, and it is beautified with the seate of a Bishop, his Pallace, and the house of the Prebends. My selfe passing that way, did reade these E|pitaphes in the Cathedrall Church. The first of a Deane;

Sis testis Christe, quod non iacet hic lapis iste Corpus vt ornetur, sed spirittus vt memoretur. O Christ me witnesse beare, that this stone lies not here, To grace the vile body, but the soules memorie. And another excellent Epitaph but superstitious and I know not whose. Quisquis eris, qui transieris, sta. perlege, plora, Sum quod eris, fuer amque quod es, pro me precor ora. Who ere thou be, that passest by, stand, reade, and houle, Such shalt thou be, I was like thee, pray for my soule.

Yet I remember not well, whether these were two Epitaphes, or onely one and for one man.

31 Shropshire had of old the same inhabitants, and was a fortified and manned fron|tyer against the Welsh then diuided from the English and their enemies, and thereup|on was named the Marches. Ludlow is a Towne of more beauty then antiquity, beau|tified with the Pallace of the King (or rather of the Prince of Wales), and there is a Counsell or Court of Iustice erected for Wales and the borders, not vnlike to the French Parliaments, and instituted by Henry the eight. It consists of the President of Wales there residing, of a Secretary, an Atturney, a Solicitor, and foure Iustices of the Coun|ties of Wales, and as many Counsellers as the King shall please to appoint. In Hack|stow 142 Forrest, at the hill Stiperstons, are great heapes of stones, which the vulgar sort dreame to haue been the diuels bridge. Wrockceter of old the chiefe Citie burt by the Romans, is now a pretty village, and from the decay therof grew the well knowne Citie Shrewesburie, now the chiefe Citie, fortified by art and nature, rich by making wollen cloth, and trading with the neighbouring Welchmen, where Henry Percy the younger with his forces, was ouerthrowne by Henrie the fourth.

32 Cheshire is a great County of Gentlemen, no other County hauing so many Knights houses. Westchester is a faire Citie, where the twentieth Legion called victrix lay in Garison, in the time of Vespasian the Roman Emperor. Most white Salt is made at Nantwich, and lesse white made at Middlewich and Norwich. It is rich in Pastures, and sends great quantitie of cheeses to London. I know that Worcester cheeses are most esteemed, but there is not such quantitie to transport them. I know that Suffolke and the Fennes of Essex yeeld huge cheeses in great number to bee exported, but they are not so pleasing to the taste as these. I know that in all the Counties, some quantity of very good cheeses is made for priuate mens vses, but not in proportion to bee ex-

por|ted. Whereas Cheshire yeelds great quantity of very good cheeses, comparable to those of Holland, seruing the greatest part of London therewith, and exporting the same into other parts. When the heyres males of this County faced, Henry the third ad|ded this large patrimony to the Crowne, so as the Kings eldest sonne should be Earle of Cheshire. And Richard the second, of a County made it a Principality, and himselfe was called Prince of Cheshire: but Henry the fourth reduced it againe to a Countie Palatine, and at this day it hath Palatine iurisdiction, administred by a Chamber|laine, a speciall Iudge, two Exchequer Barons, three Serieants at Law, a Sheriffe, an Atturney, an Escheator, etc.

33 Herefordshire was of old inhabited by the Silures, and it so much abeundeth with all things necessarie for the life of man, as it is not content in that respect to haue the second place among all the Counties of England. Hereford is the chiefe Citie thereof, Lemster iustly boasteth of the Sheepes wooll feeding in those grounds, with which no part of Europe can compare, excepting Apulia and Tarentum. It yeelds excellent Fiax, and so good Wheate, as the bread of Lemster, and drinke of Weabley (a neighbour Towne) are prouerbially praised before all others.

34 Radnoxshire had of old the same inhabitants, and is the first County of Wales, [Note: The shires of Wales.] whereof Radnox is the chiefe Towne.

35 Brechnocshire the second County of Wales, had of old the same inhabitants, and hath the name of the chiefe Towne, seated in the middest thereof, where Henry the eight instituted a Collegiate Church.

36 Monmouthshire had of old the same inhabitants, and is so called of the chiefe Towne, no way so glorious, as in that Henry the fifth Conquerer of France was borne there. It hath also another faire Towne called Chepstow.

37 Glamorganshire the fourth County of Wales, had of old the same inhabitants, and the chiefe Citie Caerdiffe hath a commodious Hauen.

38 Caermardenshire the fifth County of Wales, was of old inhabited by the Dimetae, and is fruitefull in Corne, abounds in Sheepe, and in some places yeelds Pit-coale. It hath the name of the chiefe Citie, where Merlin was borne, begot|ten by an Incubus Deuill, whom the common people tooke for a most famous Prophet.

39 Pembrookeshire the sixth County of Wales, had of old the same inhabitants. Here a long neck of land makes an Hauen, called Milford hauen, then which Europe hath not a more noble Hauen, or more safe, or more large, with many creekes and safe roades, made more famous by the landing of H. the seuenth. Pembrook is the chiefe Towne of the County. The Flemming hauing their Townes drowned by the Sea, had a Territo|rie of this County giuen them to inhabit by Henry the first, before Wales was subdued, and they euer remained most faithfull to the Kings of England.

40 Kardiganshire the seuenth County of Wales, and had of old the same inhabitants, and hath the name of the chiefe City.

143 41 Montgomeryshire the eight County of Wales, was of old inhabited by the Ordo|uices, and hath the name of the chiefe Towne.

42 Mertonethshire the ninth County of Wales; had of old the same Inhabitants, where vpon the mountaines great slockes of sheepefeede, without any danger of the wolfe: for the wolues were destroied through all England, when Edgar King of England imposed the yeerely tribute of three hundreth wolues vpon [...] Prince of Wales. The little and poore towne Bala, is the eheefe of this Mountenous people.

43 Caernaruonshire the tenth County of Wales, had of old the same Inhabitants, and was called Snodenforest, before Wales was reduced into Counties, so called of the mountaines, whose tops are alwaies white with snow, deseruing to be named the Alps of Britany; and it is certaine that there be lakes and standing waters vpon the tops of those Mountaines. The walled City Caernaruon checfe of the County, hath a most faire Castle, built by Edward the first, wherein his sonne Edward the second was borne, and named thereof. Bangor (that is, faire Chancell) is the seate of a Bishop. Abercon|way deserues the name of a strong and faire little City, rather then of a Towne, saue that it is not full of Inhabitants.

44 Denbighshire the eleuenth County of Wales, had of old the same Inhabitants, and hath the name of the cheefe Towne, well inhabited. The little Village Momglath had the name of the mines of lead, which that pleasant territory yeelds. Not far thence is the Towne Wrexham, bewtified with a most saire Tower, called the Holy Tower, and commended for the musicali Organes in the Church.

45 The little County Flintshire the twelfth of Wales, had of old the same Inhabi|tants, the fields whereof the first yeere after they haue line fallow, yeeld more then twenty measures for one, in some places of Barly, in other places of Wheate, and ge|nerally of Rie, and after for foure or fiue yeeres, yeeld Oates Holiwell (named of the sacred Fountaine) is a little Towne, where is the Fountaine of Winefrede a Christian Virgin, who being defloured by force, there was killed by the Tyrant, and this Foun|taine is farre and greatly famous for the Mosse there growing of a most pleasant smell. A faire Chappell of Free stone is built vpon the very Fountaine, and a little streame runnes out of it among stones, vpon which a certaine bloody humour growes. The Castle Flint gaue the name to the County.

46 I will omit Anglesey the thirteenth County of Wales, because it is to be descri|bed among the Ilands.

47 Yorkeshire is the farre largest County of all England, and was of old inhabited by [Note: Other shires of England.] the Brigantes. In the Forrest called Hatfield Chase, are great Heards of red Deare and Harts. The Townes of Sheffeld and Dancasler are well knowne, but of all other Hallifax is most famous, for the Priuiledges and the rare Law, by which any one found in open theft, is without delay beheaded, and boasteth that Iohn de sacrobosco (of the Holy Wood) who writ of the Sphere, was borne there. Wakefield is a famous Towne for making Woollen cloth. Pontfreit named of the broken bridge, is a towne fairely built and hath a Castle as stately built as any can be named. Neere the little Vil|lage Towton are the very Pharsalian fields of England, which did neuer see in any other place so great Forces, and so many Nobles in Armes, as here, in the yeere 1461, when in the ciuill warres, the faction of Yorke in one battell killed fiue and thirty thou|sand of the Lancastrian faction. Neere the Castle Knarshorow, is the Fountaine called Droppingwell, because the waters distill by drops from the rockes, into which any wood being cast, it hath been obserued, that in short space it is couered with a sto|ny rinde, and hardens to a stone. Rippen had a most flourishing Monastery, where was the most famous needle of the Archbishop Wilfred. It was a narrow hole, by which the chastity of women was tried, the chaste easily passing through in, but others being detained and held fast, I know not by what miracle or art. Neare the little towne Barrobridge, is a place, where stand foure Pyramides, the Trophces of the Romans, but of [...] workmanship. Yorke the chiefe Citie of

the Brigantes, is the second of all Eng|land, and the seate of an Archbishop. The Emperour Constantius Chlorus died there, and there begat his sonne Constantine the great of his first wife Helena, whereof may be 144 gathered, how much this scare of the Emperours flourished in those daies. By a Pall (or Archbishops cloake) sent from Pope Honorius, it was made a Metropolitan Citie ouer twelue Bishops in England, and al the Bishops of Scotland, but some fiue hundred yeeres past, all Scotland fell from this Metropolitan feare, and it selfe hath so deuoured the next Bishoprickes, as now it onely hath primacy ouer foure English Bishops, of Durham, of Chester, of Carlile, and the Bishop of the Ile of man. Henry the eight did here institute a Councell (as he did also in Wales) not vnlike the Parliaments of France, to giue arbitrary iustice to the Northerne inhabitants, consisting of a President, Counsellors, as many as the King shall please to appoint, a Secretary, etc. Hull a well knowne Citie of trade, lyes vpon the Riuer Humber, where they make great gaine of the Iseland fish, called Stockfish. Vpon the very tongue, called Spurnchead of the Promontory, which Ptolomy, calles Ocellum, vulgarly called Holdernesse, is a place fa|mous by the landing of Henry the fourth. Scarborrough is a famous Castle, where in the sea is great fishing of Herrings.

48 Richmondshire had of old the same inhabitants, and the Mountaines plentiful|ly yeeld leade, pit-coales, and some brasse, vpon the tops whereof stones are found, which haue the figures of shelfishes and other fishes of the neighboring sea. Neare the Brookes Helbechs (as infernal), are great heards of Goates, Fallow and Red-Deare, and Harts (notable for their greatnesse, and the spreading of their hornes.) Richmond is the chiefe Citie of the County.

49 The Bishoprick of Durham had of old the same inhabitants, and the land is very gratefull to the plower, striuing to passe his labour in fruitfulnesse. It is pleasant in Meadowes, Pastures and groues, and yeelds great plenty of digged Coales, called Sea-coales. The Bishops were of old Counts Palatine, and had their royall rightes, so as Traytors goods sell to them, not to the Kings. Edward the first tooke away these priuiledges, and Edward the sixth dissolued the Bishopricke, till Queene Mary resto|red all to the Church, which it inioies to this day, but the Bishop in Queene Elizabeths time, challenging the goods of the Earle of Westmerland rebelling, the Parliament in|terposed the authority therof, and for the time iudged those goods to be confiscated towards the Queenes charge in subduing those Rebels. Durham is the chiefe City of that County.

50 Lancashire had of old the same inhabitants, and hath the title of a Palatinate. Manchester an old towne, faire and wel inhabited, rich in the trade of making woollen cloth, is beautified by the Marketplace, the Church, and Colledge, and the clothes called Manchester Cottons are vulgarly knowne. Vpon the Sea-coast they power wa|ter vpon heapes of sand, till it get saltnesse, and then by seething it, make white Salt. There be some quicksands, wherein footemen are in danger to be wrecked, especially at the mouth of Cocarus. Lancaster the chiefe Towne hath the name of the Riuer Lone. The Dukes of this County, obtained the Crowne of England, and Henrie the seuenth Duke of Lancaster, vnited this Dutchy to the Crowne, instituting a Court of Officers to administer the same, namely, a Chauncelor of the Dutchy, an Attorny, a Receiuer, a Clarke of the Court, sixe Assistants, a Pursuiuant, two Auditors, twenty three Receiuers, and three ouerseers.

51 Westmerland had of old the same inhabitants, and Kendale the chiefe Towne

well inhabited, is famous for making of woollen cloth.

52 Cumberland had of old the same inhabitants, and hath mines of Brasse and vaines of siluer, in all parts yeelding blacke leade vsed to draw black lines. Carleile a ve|ry ancient City is the seate of a Bishop. In this County still appeare the ruines of a wall, which the Romans built to keepe out the Pictes from making incursions, being so poore as they cared not to subdue them. And the Emperike Surgeons (that is, of experience without learning), of Scotland come yeerely to those fields of the borders, to gather hearbs, good to heale wounds, and planted there by the bordering souldiers of the Romans, the vertue of which herbs they wonderfully extoll.

53 Northumberland was of old inhabited by the Ottadini, and the inhabitants of our time, now exercising themselues in warre against the Scots, now resisting their in|cursions 145 vpon these borders, are very warlike and excellent light horsemen. In very many places this County yeelds great quantity of Sea coales. Newcastle is a faire and rich City, well fortified against the incursions of the bordering Scots, whence aboun|dance of Sea coales is transported into many parts. Barwicke is the last and best for|tified Towne of all Britany, in which a Garrison of Souldiers was maintained against the incursions of the Scots, till the happy Raigne of Iames King of England and Scot|land.

To describe breefly the Ilands of England. In the narrow Sea into which the Se|uerne fals, are two little Ilands 1 Fatholme, and 2 Stepholme, and the 3 Iland Barry, which gaue the name to the Lord Barry in Ireland. There is also the 4 Iland Caldey, and that of 5 Londay much more large, hauing a little Towne of the same name, and belonging to Deuonshire.

On the side vpon Pembrookeshire, are the Ilands 6 Gresholme; 7 Stockholme and 8 Scal|mey, yeelding grasse and wild thime. Then Northward followes 9 Lymen, called Ram|sey by the English, and Saint Dauids Ilands, right ouer against the seate of the Bi|shop of Saint Dauy. Next is the 10 Iland called Enhly by the Welsh Britans, and Berdsey (as the Ile of Birds) by the English, wherein they report that twenty thou|sand Saints lie buried.

Next lies 11 Mona, (that is the shadowed or dusky Iland) which after many yeeres being conquered by the English, was by them called Anglesey, (as the Iland of the En|glish). It is a most noble Iland, the old seate of the Druides (Priests so called of old), and so fruitfull, as it is vulgarly called the Mother of Wales, the cheefe Towne whereof is Beaumarish. Neere that lies 12 Prestholme, (that is, the Priests Iland), whereof the Inhabitants and Neighbours make incredible reports for the multitude of Sea Fowle there breeding.

Next followes 13 Mona or Monoeda, (as the farther Mona), which we call the Ile of Man, the Inhabitants whereof are like the Irish in language and manners, but haue something of the Norway men. It yeeldes abundantly Flaxe and Hempe, hath plea|sant Pastures and Groues, and is fruitfull of Barly, Wheate, and especially of Oates, the people feeding on Oaten bread, in all parts are multitudes of Cattle, but it wants wood, and for fier vseth a kind of Turffe. Russia which of the Castle we call Castle-Towne, is the cheefe Towne, and hath a Garrison of Souldiers; but Duglas is the most frequented and best inhabited Towne, because it hath an excellent Hauen easie to be entered. In the Westerne part Bala-curi is the seate of the Bishop vnder the primacy of the Archbishop of Yorke, and there is the Fort called the Pyle, wherein a garrison of Souldiers is kept. Vpon the Southerne Promontory lies a little Iland, called the Calfe of Man, which aboundeth with Sea Birds, called

Puffins, and a kind of Duckes en|gendered of rotten wood, which the English call Barnacles. In generall the Inhabi|tants haue their proper Tongue and Lawes, and had their proper Coyne. They ab|horre from stealing, and from begging, and are wonderfully religious generally, and most readily conforming themselues at this day to the Church of England, and the people in the Northerne part speake like Scots, and in the Southerne part like Irish. Edwin King of Northumberland, subdued the Northerne people, and subiected them to the Crowne of England, yet with many changes of Fortune, this Iland long had their owne Kings, euen since the Normans conquered England, and since the time that Iohn King of England passing into Ireland, by the way subdued this Iland about the yeere 1210, till the Kingdome came to the Scots in the yeere 1266. After that time, Mary the daughter of Reginald the last, laid claime to the Iland before the King of Eng|land, as supreme Lord of Scotland, and when sheecould not preuaile, William Monta|gue her Kinseman tooke the Iland of Man by force, which his Heire sold for a great summe of money in the yeere 1393, to William Scroope, who being beheaded for Trea|son, the Iland fell by right to Henry the fourth King of England, who assigned the same to Henry Pearcy Earle of Northumberland, with prouiso that he and his Heires at the coronation of the Kings of England, should carry the Sword, (vulgarly called Lanca|ster Sword) before the King, but the same Persey being also killed in ciuill warre, the 146 King gaue that Iland to Stanlye, from whom discend the Earles of Darby, who kept the same, till Ferdinand Earle of Darby dying without heire male, and the Earledome fal|ling to his Brother, but this Iland to his Daughters, as Heires generall, Queene Eliza|beth thinking it vnfit that Women should bee set ouer her Souldiers there in garrison, gaue the keeping thereof to Sir Thomas Gerrard. But King Iames the foureteenth of August in the fifth yeere of his Raigne, granted by Letters Pattents this Iland with all things thereunto appertaining, to Henry Earle of Northampton, and Robert Earle of Sa|ltsbury, their Heires and Assignes for euer, they vpon doing homage for the same, pre|senting his Maiesty with two Falcons, and his Heires and Successours at their Coro|nation in like sort with two Falcons. And howsoeuer no vse or intent of this grant be mentioned in these Letters Pattents, yet no doubt the grant was made to the vse of those vpon whose humble petition to his Maiesty the Letters Pattents were granted, as therein is expressely declared, namely of William Lord Stanly, Earle of Darby, heire male to Iohn Lord Stanly, and of Elizabeth Countesse of Huntington, Anne wife to the Lord Chandois, and Francis wife to Sir Iohn Egerton Knight, being the Heires gene|rall of the said Iohn Lord Stanly.

The famous Riuer Thames fals into the German Ocean ouer against Zeland, and before it fals into the same, makes the (14) Iland Canuey vpon the Coast of Essex, so low as it is often ouerflowed, all but some higher hils, to which the sheepe retire, being some foure thousand in number, the flesh whereof is of delicate taste, and they are mil|ked by young men. Neere that is the (15) Iland Sheppey, so called of the sheepe, where|in is Quinborrough a most faire Castle kept by a Constable. Without the mouth of Thames, lie the shelfes or sands dangerous to Sea men, which of the greatest, are all cal|led Goodwin sands, where they say an Iland the patrimony of the same Earle Goodwinn was deuoured by the Sea in the yeere 1097.

In the Britan Sea lies the (16) Ile of Wight, hauing in the Sea most plentifull fishing, and the Land being so fruitfull, as they export Corne, besides that in all parts

it hath plenty of Conies, Hares, Partridges, and Feasanes, and hath also two Parkes of Fal|low Deare. Also the sheepe feeding there vpon the pleasant hils, yeeld wool in good|nesse next to the Fleeces of Lemster and Cotswold Flockes. It hath sixe and thirty Townes and Castles, and the Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction thereof belongs to the Bi|shop of Wintchester. Towards the West lie other Ilands pretented to be French, but subiect to England, namely, (17) Gerzey (whither condemned men were of old banish|ed) and (18) Garnsey, neither so great nor so fruitful, but hauing a more commodious Ha|uen, vpon which lies the Towne of Saint Peter: both Ilands burne a weede of the Sea, or Sea coales brought out of England, and both speake the French Language. I omit the seuen Iles called Siadae, and others adioyning, and will onely adde that the Ilands lie neere Cornewall, which the Greekes called Hesperides, the English call Silly, and the Netherlanders call Sorlings, being in number some 145 more or lesse, whereof some yeeld Wheate, all abound with Conies, Cranes, Swannes, Hirnshawes, and other Sea Birdes. The greatest of them is called Saint Mary, and hath a Castle wherein Soul|diers lie in Garrison, committed in our time to the keeping of Sir Francis Godolphin, and after to his sonne Sir William Godolphin, being of a noble Family in Cornewall. Al|so many of the said Ilands haue vaines of Tynne, and from hence was Leade first car|ried into Greece, and the Roman Emperours banished condemned men hither, to worke in the Mines of mettall.

The ayre of England is temperate, but thicke, cloudy and misty, and Caesar witnes|seth, [Note: The situati|on.] that the cold is not so piercing in England as in France. For the Sunne draweth vp the vapours of the Sea which compasseth the Iland, and distills them vpon the earth in frequent showers of raine, so that frosts are somewhat rare; and howsoeuer Snow may often fall in the Winter time, yet in the Southerne parts (especially) it sel|dome lies long on the ground. Also the coole blasts of Sea winds, mittigate the heat of Summer.

By reason of this temper, Lawrell and Rosemary flourish all Winter, especially in [Note: The fertili|ty and traf|ficke.] the Southerne parts, and in Summer time England yeelds Abricots plentifully, Muske 147 melons in good quantity, and Figges in some places, all which ripen well, and happi|ly imitate the taste and goodnesse of the same fruites in Italy. And by the same reason all beasts bring forth their young in the open fields, euen in the time of Winter; and England hath such aboundance of Apples, Peares, Cherries, and Plummes, such varie|ty of them, and so good in all respects, as no countrie yeelds more or better, for which the Italians would gladly exchange their Citrons and Oranges. But vpon the Sea coast, the winds many times blast the fraites in the very flower.

The English are so naturally inclined to pleasure, as there is no Countrie, wherein the Gentlemen and Lords haue so many and large Parkes onely reserued for the plea|sure of hunting, or where all sorts of men alot so much ground about their houses for pleasure of Gardens and Orchards. The very Grapes, especially towards the South and Westare of a pleasant taste, and I haue said, that in some Countries, as in Gloster|shire, they made Wine of old, which no doubt many parts would yeeld at this day, but that the inhabitants forbeare to plant Vines, aswell because they are serued plenti|fully, and at a good rate with French wines, as for that the hilles most fit to beare Grapes, yeeld more commoditie by feeding of Sheepe and Cattell. Caesar writes in his Commentaries, that Britany yeelds white Leade within

land, and Iron vpon the Sea-coasts. No doubt England hath vnexhaustible vaines of both, and also of Tinne, and yeelds great quantitie of Brasse, and of Allom and Iron, and abounds with quar|ries of Free-stone, and Fountaines of most pure Salt; and I formerly said that it yeelds some quantity of Siluer, and that the Tinne and Leade is mingled with Siluer, but so, as it doth not largely quit the cost of the labour in seperating or trying it. Two Cities yeeld medicinall Baths, namely, Buxstone and Bathe, and the waters of Bathe especially, haue great vertue in many diseases. England abounds with Sea-coales vpon the Sea-coast, and with Pit coales within land. But the Woods at this day are rather frequent and pleasant then vast, being exhausted for fier, and with Iron-milles, so as the quan|tity of wood and charcoale for fier, is much deminished, in respect of the old abun|dance; and in some places, as in the Fennes they burne Turffe, and the very dung of Cowes. Yet in the meane time England exports great quantity of Seacoale to for|raine parts. In like sort England hath infinite quantity, as of Mettalls, so of Wooll, and of VVoollen cloathes to be exported. The English Beere is famous in Netherland and lower Germany, which is made of Barley and Hops; for England yeelds plenty of Hops, howsoeuer they also vse Flemish Hops. The Cities of lower Germany vpon the sea, forbid the publike selling of English Beere, to satisfie their owne brewers, yet pri|uately swallow it like Nectar. But in Netherland, great and incredible quantity there|of is spent. England abounds with corne, which they may transport, when a quarter (in some places containing sixe, in others eight bushels) is sold for twenty shillings, or vnder; and this corne not onely serues England, but also serued the English Army in the ciuil warres of Ireland, at which time they also exported great quantity thereof in|to forraigne parts, and by Gods mercy England scarce once in ten yeeres needes sup|ply of forraigne Corne, which want commonly proceeds of the couetousnesse of pri|uate men, exporting or hiding it. Yet I must confesse, that daily this plenty of Corne decreaseth, by reason that priuate men finding greater commoditie in feeding of Sheepe and Cattell, then in the Plough, requiring the hands of many seruants, can by no Law be restrained from turning corne fields into inclosed Pastures, especially since great men are the first to breake these Lawes. England abounds with all kinds of foule, aswell of the Sea, as of the land, and hath more tame Swannes swimming in the Ri|uers, then I did see in any other part. It hath multitudes of hurtfull birds, as Crowes, Rauens, and Kytes, and they labor not to destroy the Crowes, consuming great quan|tity of Corne, because they feede on wormes and other things hurting the Corne. And in great Cities it is forbidden to kill Kytes or Rauens, because they deuoure the filth of the streetes. England hath very great plenty of Sea and Riuer fish, especiallie aboue all other parts abundance of Oysters, Makrell, and Herrings, and the Eng|lish are very industrous in fishing, though nothing comparable to the Flemmings therein.

148 The English export into Italy great quantity of red Herrings, with gaine of two or three for one, (not to speake in this place of other commodities which they export with great gaine), and in this fishing they are very industrious, as well in the Sea vpon the coasts, as in the Northerne Ilands. To conclude, they export in great quantity all kinds of salted fishes, and those dried in the smoke and pickled, as Pilchards Poore Iohn, Cauiale, Botargo, and the like, which they sell in Italy, and those parts at a deare rate. England abounds with pulse of all kinds, and yeelds great quantitie of Saffron and of Flax, wherof they haue also

great quantitie fro Dantzke, whence also they haue like plentie of Pitch, and of Firre trees for Masts of ships, which two things if England wanted not, I durst say that this Iland (or part of an Iland) abounds with all things necessary for honest clothing, large and dainty feeding, and for warre by land and sea. As for warre, it hath not onely the aforesaid mettalls, but also great quantity of Salt|peter. Besides the famous Broad cloth, it yeelds for clothing many Stuffes, whereof great quantitie is also exported. And I will not omit, that howsoeuer it hath silke from forraigne parts, yet the English silke stockings are much to bee preferred before those of Italy, Spaine, or any part in the World.

England abounds in Cattell of all kinds, and particularly hath very great Oxen, the flesh whereof is so tender, as no meate is more desired. The Cowes are also great with large vdders, yeelding plenty of Whitmeates, no part in the World yeelding greater variety, nor better of that kind. And the hides of Oxen are (contrary to the common good) exported in great quantity by vniustifiable licenses, though strictly forbidden by many Statutes. The flesh of Hogges and Swine is more sauoury, then in any other parts, excepting the bacon of Westphalia, and of the Southerne Ilands, where they commonly feede on Rootes and Chesnuts. The goodnesse of the Sheepe may be coniectured by the excellency of the wooll, and wollen clothes, which Sheepe are subiect to rotting, when they feede on low wet grounds, excepting the Marshes ouerflowed by the sea, which for the saltnesse are held very wholsome for them, and these rots often destroy whole stocks, for they seldome drinke, but are moistned by the dewes falling in the night. And the feeding of Sheepe, vpon like accident of dis|cases, often vndoes the ownet in his estate, but more commonly preferued from that ill, they inrich many, so as it is prouerbially said, He whose Sheepe stand, and wiues die (the husbands gaining their dowries) must needs be rich.

The Kings Forrests haue innumerable heards of Red Deare, and all parts haue such plenty of Fallow Deare, as euery Gentleman of fiue hundreth or a thousand pounds rent by the yeere hath a Parke for them inclosed with pales of wood for two or three miles compasse. Yet this prodigall age hath so forced Gentlemen to improue their reuenews, as many of these grounds are by them disparked, and conuerted to feede Cattell. Lastly (without offence be it spoken) I will boldly say, that England (yea per|haps one County thereof) hath more fallow Deare, then all Europe that I haue seene. No Kingdome in the World hath so many Doue-houses.

I formerly said, that the Wolues were altogether destroied in England and Wales, so as the Sheepe feede freely in the fields and Mountaines. England hath much more Dogges aswell for the seuerall kinds, as the number of each kind, then any other Ter|ritorie of like compasse in the World, not onely little Dogges for beauty, but hunting and water-Dogges, whereof the bloud-Hounds and some other haue admirable qua|lities. It hath infinite number of Conies, whereof the skinnes (especially black and siluer haired) are much prised, and in great quantity transported, especially into Tur|key. The Nagges and Gueldings are singular for the Gentle ambling pace, and for strength to performe great iournies. So are the hunting horses of exceeding swiftnes, much esteemed in forraigne parts, especially in France and Scotland, and of both kinds the number is infinite. The great horses for seruice, and to draw coaches and carts, are of like number and goodnes, and one kinde for seruice, called the Corser (as bred of the Neapolitan Corsers and English Mares) yeelds not for brauery of race to the Neapoli-

tan Corsers, or Spanish Gennets. I said that they are all strong, and the hor|ses for iornies in defatigable, for the English, especially Northerne men, ride from day 149 breake to the euening without drawing bit, neither sparing their hories nor [...], whence is the Prouerb, that England is the Hell of horses, the Purgatory of Seruants, and the Paradise of Women; because they ride horses without measure, and vse their Seruants imperiously, and their Women obsequiously.

The Gentlemen disdaine trafficke, thinking it to abase Gentry: but in Italy with grauer counsell the very Princes disdaine not to be Merchants by the great, and hard|ly leaue the retailing commodity to men of inseriour sort. And by this course they preserue the dignity and patrimony of their progenitors, suffering not the sinew of the Commonwealth, vpon any pretence to be wrested out of their hands. On the contra|ry, the English and French, perhaps thinking it vniust, to leaue the common sort no meanes to be inriched by their industry, and iudging it equall, that Gentlemen should liue of their reuenews, Citizens by trafficke, and the common sort by the Plough and manuall Artes, as diuers members of one body, doe in this course daily sell their patri|monies, and the buyers (excepting Lawyers) are for the most part Citizens and vul|gar men. And the daily feeling of this mischiefe, makes the error apparant, whether it be the prodigalitie of the Gentry (greater then in any other Nation or age), or their too charitable regard to the inferiour sort, or rashnesse or slothfulnesse, which cause them to neglect and despise traffick, which in some Commonwealths, and namely in England passeth all other commodities, and is the very sinew of the Kingdome. I haue at large related in this booke treating of Poland, the English trafficke in the Baltick Sea, and treating of Germany, their trafficke with the Hans Cities, and so treating of other se|uerall States, the English traffick with each of them, so as it were lost labour to repeare it againe. Onely for Spaine, whereof I had no cause to speake touching their trafficke with England, I will adde, that the English carry into Spaine Wollen clothes, Saffron, Wax and Corne, and bring from thence Oyle, Fruits, Sacks and sweet wines, Indian spices with God and Siluer.

And in generall I wil obserue, that England abounds with rich commodities of their owne, and exports them with their own ships, from very Iseland and Moscouye to both the Indies, and at this day buy not so much of the Turkes as they were wont, but by long Nauigation fetch Spices and like commodities from the farthest East Indies. So as the shipping of England must needs be very great in number and strength. But of Englands Nauall glory, I must speake at large in the discourse of that Common|wealth. In the meane time I freely professe, that in my opinion the English Marriners are more daring then any other Nation, in stormes of winds, raging of Seas, and thun|dring of Ordinance in Nauall fights. And if any stranger take me of too much boa|sting in this point, I desire him to consider of Martin Furbushers attempts in the fro|zen Sea, of Sir Francis Drakes, and Sir Thomas Candishes dangerous Nauigations round about the world; and if these things shal not moue him, the worst I wish him is, that in person he may experience their courage and art in a fight vpon equall termes.

Caesar in the fourth Chapter and fifth booke of his Commentaries, writes thus of [Note: Their dyet.] the Britans dyet. It is vnlawfull for them to taste Hares, Geese, or Hennes, yet they keepe them all for their pleasure, and the inward parts sow no Corne, but liue vpon milke and flesh. At this day the English inhabitants eate almost no flesh more com|monly then

Hennes, and for Geese they eate them in two seasons, when they are fat|ted vpon the stubble, after Haruest, and when they are greene about Whitsontide, at which time they are held for dainties; and howsoeuer Hares are thought to nourish melancoly, yet they are eaten as Venison, both rosted and boyled. They haue also great plenty of Connies, the flesh whereof is fat, tender, and much more delicate then any I haue eaten in other parts, so as they are in England preferred before Hares, at which the Germans wonder, who hauing no Venison (the Princes keeping it proper to themselues, and the hunting of Hares being proper to the Gentlemen in most parts), they esteeme Hares as Venison, and seldom eate Connies, being there somewhat rare, and more like rosted Cats then the English Connies.

The English Husbandmen eate Barley and Rye browne bread, and preserre it to white bread as abiding longer in the stomack, and not so soone disgested with their la|bour, 150 but Citizens and Gentlemen care most pure white bread, England yeelding (as I haue said) all kinds of Corne in plenty. I haue formerly said, that the English haue a|boundance of Whitmeates, of all kindes of Flesh, Fowle and Fish, and of all things good for foode, and in the ducourle of the French dyet, I haue shewed, that the Eng|lish haue some proper daintics, not knowne in other parts, which I will in a word re|peate. The Oysters of England were of old carried as farre as Rome , being more plenti|full and lauorie, then in any other part. England hath aboundance of Godwits, and many Seafowles, which be rare, or altogether vnknowne elsewhere. In the seasons of the yeere the English eate Fallow deare plentifully; as Bucks in Summer, and Does in Winter, which they bake in Pasties, and this Venison Pasty is a dainty, rarely found in any other Kingdome. Likewise Brawne is a proper meate to the English, and not knowne to others. They haue strange variety of Whitmeates, and likewise of preser|ued banquetting stuffe, in which Preserues France onely may compare with them. It is needelesse to repeate the rest, and I should bee tedions, if I should search particularly like dainties, which the English haue only, or in greater abundance the other Nations. In generall, the Art of Cookery is much esteemed in England, neither doe any sooner finde a Master, then men of that profession, and howsoeuer they are most esteemed, which for all kinds are most exquisite in that Art; yet the English Cookes, in com|Paris on with other Nations, are most commended for roasted meates.

As abundance of all things makes them cheape, so riches (preferring a gluttonous appetite before Gold), and the prodigalitie of Gentlemen (who haue this singular fol|ly, to offer more then things are worth, as if it were a point of dignity to pay more then others), and lastly the great moneys of siluer, and the not hauing small coynes or brasle monies to pay for small matters, these things (I say) in this great plenty make vs poore, and greatly increase the prices of all things. Also the said abundance, and the riches vulgarly increased, and the old custome of the English, make our tables plentifully furnished, whereupon other Nations esteeme vs gluttons and deuourers of flesh, yet the English tables are not furnished with many dishes, all for one mans di|er, but seuerally for many mens appetite, and not onely prepared for the family, but for strangers and reliefe of the poore. I confesse, that in such plenty and variety of meates, euerie man cannot vse moderation, nor vnderstandeth that these seuerall meates are not for one man, but for seuerall appetites, that each may take what hee likes. And I confesse, that the English custome, first

to serue grosse meates, on which hunger spares not to seede, and then to serue dainties, which inuite to eate without hunger, as likewise the longe sitting and discoursing at tables, which makes men vnawares eate more, then the Italians can doe at their solitary tables, these things (I say) giue vs iust cause to cry with Socrates, God deliuer mee from meates, that inuite to eate beyond hunger. But the Italian Sansouine is much de|ceiued, writing, that in generall the English care and couer the table at least foure times in the day; for howsoeuer those that iourney, and some sickly men stay|ing at home, may perhaps take a small breakfast, yet in generall the English eate but two meales (of dinner and supper) each day, and I could neuer see him that vseth to eate foure times in the day. And I will professe for my selfe and other Englishmen, passing through Italy so famous for temperance, that wee often ob|seraed, that howsoeuer wee might haue a Pullet and some flesh prepared for vs, eating it with a moderate proportion of bread, the Italians at the same time, with a Charger full of hearbs for a sallet, and with rootes, and like meates of small price, would each of them eate two or three penny-worth of bread. And since all fulnesse is ill, and that of bread worst, I thinke wee were more temperate in our dyet, though eating more flesh, then they eating so much more bread then wee did. It is true that the English prepare largely for ordinarie dyet for them|selues and their friendes comming by chance, and at feastes for inuited friendes are so excessiue in the number of dishes, as the table is not thought well fur|nished, except they stand one vpon another. Neither vse they to set drinke on the Table, for which no roome is left, but the Cuppes and Glasses are ser|ued 151 in vpon a side Table, drinke being offered to none, till they call for it. That the old English Hospitality was (I will boldly say) a meere vice, I haue formerly showed in the discourse of the Italian diet, which let him reade, who shall thinke this as disso|nant from truth, as it is from the vulgar opinion.

If any stranger desire to abide long in a City or Vniuersity, he may haue his Table with some Citizen of the better sort, at a conuenient rate, according to his quality, from ten pound to twenty pound yeerely.

I haue heard some Germans complaine of the English Innes, by the high way, as well for dearenesse, as for that they had onely roasted meates: But these Germans lan|ding at Granesend, perhaps were iniured by those knaues, that flocke thither onely to deceiue strangers, and vse Englishmen no better, and after went from thence to Lon|don, and were there entertained by some ordinary Hosts of strangers, returning home little acquainted with English customes. But if these strangers had knowne the Eng|lish tongue, or had had an honest guide in their iournies, and had knowne to liue at Rome after the Roman fashion, (which they seldome doe, vsing rather Dutch Innes and companions), surely they should haue found, that the World affoords not such Innes as England hath, either for good and cheape entertainement after the Guests owne pleasure, or for humble attendance on passengers, yea, euen in very poore Villa|ges, where if Curculio of Plautus, should see the thatched houses, he would fall into a fainting of his spirits, but if he should smell the variety of meates, his starueling looke would be much cheared: For assoone as a passenger comes to an Inne, the seruants run to him, and one takes his horse and walkes him till he be cold, then rubs him, and giues him meate, yet I must say that they are not much to be trusted in this last point, without the eye of the Master or his Seruant, to ouersee them. Another seruant giues the passenger his priuate chamber, and kindles his fier, the third puls of

his bootes, and makes them cleane. Then the Host or Hostesse visits him, and if he will cate with the Host, or at a common Table with others, his meale will cost him sixe pence, or in some places but foure pence, (yet this course is lesse honourable, and not vsed by Gentle|men): but if he will eate in his chamber, he commands what meate he will according to his appetite, and as much as he thinkes fit for him and his company, yea, the kit|chin is open to him, to command the meat to be dressed as he best likes; and when he sits at Table, the Host or Hostesse will accompany him, or if they haue many Guests, will at least visit him, taking it for curtesie to be bid sit downe: while he eates, if he haue company especially, he shall be offred musicke, which he may freely take or refuse, and if he be solitary, the Musitians will giue him the good day with musicke in the mor|ning. It is the custome and no way disgracefull to set vp part of supper for his breake|fast: In the euening or in the morning after breakefast, (for the common sort vse not to dine, but ride from breakefast to supper time, yet comming early to the Inne for bet|ter resting of their horses) he shall haue a reckoning in writing, and if it seeme vnrea|sonable, the Host will satisfie him, either for the due price, or by abating part, especi|ally if the seruant deceiue him any way, which one of experience will soone find. Ha|uing formerly spoken of ordinary expences by the high way, aswell in the particular iournall of the first Part, as in a Chapter of this Part purposely treating thereof, I will now onely adde, that a Gentleman and his Man shall spend as much, as if he were ac|companied with another Gentleman and his Man, and if Gentlemen will in such sort ioyne together, to eate at one Table, the expences will be much diminished. Lastly, a Man cannot more freely command at home in his owne House, then hee may doe in his Inne, and at parting if he giue some few pence to the Chamberlin and Ostler, they wish him a happy iourney.

England hath three publike Feasts of great expence and pompous solemnity, name|ly the coronation of the Kings, the Feast of S. George, as well vpon his day yeerely, as at all times when any Knight of the Order is installed, and the third when Seriants at the Law are called. The Lord Mayor of the City of London, vpon the day when he is sworne and enters his Office, keeps a solemne Feast with publike shewes of great mag|nificence, besides that hee and the Sheriffes of the Citie, daily keepe well fur|nished 152 Tables, to entertaine any Gentleman or stranger that will come to them, to the great honour of the City, in this particular passing all other Cities of the World knowne to vs.

For the point of drinking, the English at a Feast will drinke two or three healths in remembrance of speciall friends, or respected honourable persons, and in our time some Gentlemen and Commanders from the warres of Netherland brought in the custome of the Germans large garaussing, but this custome is in our time also in good measure left. Likewise in some priuate Gentlemens houses, and with some Captaines and Souldiers, and with the vulgar sort of Citizens and Artisans, large and intempe|rate drinking is vsed; but in generall the greater and better part of the English, hold all excesse blame worthy, and drunkennesse a reprochfull vice. Clownes and vulgar men onely vse large drinking of Beere or Ale, how much soeuer it is esteemed excellent drinke euen among strangers, but Gentlemen garrawse onely in Wine, with which many mixe sugar; which I neuer obserued in any other place or Kingdome, to be vsed for that purpose. And because the taste of the English is thus delighted with sweete|nesse, the Wines in Tauernes, (for I speake not of Merchants or

Gentlemens Cellars) are commonly mixed at the filling thereof, to make them pleasant. And the same delight in sweetnesse hath made the vse of Corands of Corinth so frequent in all pla|ces, and with all persons in England, as the very Greekes that sell them, wonder what we doe with such great quantities thereof, and know not how we should spend them, except we vse them for dying, or to feede Hogges.

2

6.21 CHAP. IV.

. Of Scotland touching the Subiects contained in the first Chapter.

THE Longitude of Scotland extends fiue degrees from the [Note: Scot|land.] Meridian of sixeteene degrees to that of one and twenty degrees, and the Latitude extends foure degrees from the Paralel of fifty sixe degrees and a halfe, to that of sixty de|grees and a halfe. In the Geographical description wher|of, I wil briefly follow the very words of Camden (as neere as I can), being an Authour without exception.

1 The Gadeni of Scotland were of old next neighbours to the Ottadini of Northumberland in England, and inhabi|ted the Countrey now called Teyfidale, wherein is nothing memorable but the Mona|stery of Mailors.

2 In Merch, (so called as a bordering Countrey) the Castle Hume is the old possession of the Lords of Hume, neere which is Kelso the ancient dwelling of the Earles of Bothwell, which were long by inheritance Admirals of Scotland, and the Merch is mentioned in Histories for nothrng more, then the valour of the said Earles.

3 Laudania of old called Pictland, shooteth out from Merch towards the Scottish nar|row Sea, called the Frith, and is full of mountaines, but hath few woods. In this Coun|try are these little Cities or Townes, Dunbarre, Haddington, and Musleborrow, places wherein hath beene seene the warlike vertue of the English and Scots. Somewhat lower and neere to the foresaid Frith, lies Edenborough, which Ptolomy cals Castrum Ala|tum, a rich City of old compassed with wals, and the seate of the Kings, whole Palace is at the East end in a vally, ouer which hangs a mountaine, called the Chaire of Ar|thur (our Britan Prince) and from this Pallace is an easie ascent to the West end, where the length of the City ends in a steepe rocke, vpon which is built a most strong Castle, called the Maidens Castle, the same which Ptolomy cals Alatum. This City was long vnder the English Saxons, and about the yeere 960, (England being inuaded by the Danes) it became subiect to the Scots. Leth is a mile distant, and is a most commodi|ous Hauen, vpon the narrow Scottish Gulfe, vulgarly called Edenborough Frith.

153 4 Towards the West lay the Selgouae vpon another Gulfe, running betweene Eng|land and Scotland, vulgarly called Solway Frith, of the said Selgouae, inhabiting the Countries called Eskedale, Annandale, and Nidtsdale (in which is the little Towne Dun|frise.)

5 Next lay the Nouantes in the Valleys, where Gallway and Whitterne (which Citie Ptolomy calles Leucopibia) are seated.

6 In the little Countrie Caricta hauing good pastures, is the little Towne Gergeny, which Ptolomy calles Rerigonium.

7 More inward lay the Damnij, where now Sterling, Merteth and Claidsdale are sea|ted. Here the Riuer Cluyde runnes by Hamelton (the seate of the Hameltons Family of English race, of which the third Earle of Arran liueth in our dayes) and after by Glas|cow (the seat of an Archbishop, and a little Vniuersitie.) Here is the Territory called Lennox, whereof the Stewards haue long time been Earles, of which Family the late Kings of Scotland are discended, and namely Iames the sixth, who raised this Earledom to a Dukedome, giuing that title to the Lord d'Aubigny, and these Daubignij seruing in the French and Neapolitane warres, were honoured by the

Kings of France, with ad|dition of Buckles Or in a field Gueules, to their ancient coate of Armes, with this in|scription Distantia Iungo (that is, Distant things I ioyne.) Sterling, or Striuelin lyes not farre off, a little Citie of the Kings, hauing a most strong Castle vpon the brow of a steepe rocke.

8 Next these towards the North lay the Caledonij, somewhat more barbarous then the rest (as commonly they are more rude towards the North), where not onely the aire is cold, but the Country wast and mountanous. And here was the Caledo|nian Wood, so knowne to the Roman Writers, as it was by them taken for all Britany, and the Woods thereof. At this day this Region is called by the Scots Allibawne, and by the Latines Albania, and containes the Bishoprick Dunkeledon, and the Terri|tory Argile (so called as neere the Irish), of which the Cambellan Family hath the title of Earles of Argile, who are the generall Iustices of Scotland by right of inheritance, and Great Masters of the Kings Houshold.

9 Towards the West lay the Epidij, inhabiting a wast and Fenny Country, now cal|led Cantire (that is, a corner of land), and next lies Assinshire.

10 Next lay the Creones, which Region is now called Strathuaern.

11 Next lay the Cornouacae, at the Promontory Hey.

12 On the East-side of the Caledonians lay the Vernicones, in the fruitfull little Regi|on called Fife, where is the Towne of Saint Andrew, Metropolitan of all Scotland.

13 The little Region Athol is fertile, of which the Stuards of the Family of Lorne haue the title of Earles. Here is Strathbolgy the seate of the Earles of Huntly, of the Fa|mily of the Seatons, who tooke the name of Gordan by the authority of a Parlia|ment.

14 Next lyes Goury, hauing fruitfull fields of Wheate, whereof Iohn Lord Rethuen was of late made Earle: but Arrell in this Region, hath long giuen the title of Earle to the Family of Hayes.

15 vnder Fife lyes Angush, where is Scone, famous for the Kings consecration. Mon|trose hath his Earles of the Family of the Grahames: but the Douglasses Earles of An|gush, of an honorable Eamily, were made Gouernours by Robert the third of this Regi|on; and these Earles are esteemed the chiefe and principall Earles of all Scotland, and it is said, that they haue right to carry the Kings Crowne at the solemne assemblies of the Kingdome.

16. 17 Next lye the two Regions of Marnia and Marria vpon the sea, where is Dunetyre, the chiefe seate of the Family of the Keythes, who by warlike vertue haue de|serued to be the Marshalls of the Kingdome, and Aberdene (that is the mouth of the Dene) is a famous Vniuersity. And Queene Mary created Iohn Ereskin Earle of Marre, who lately was the Regent of Scotland, and is by inheritance Sheriffe of the County of Sterling.

18 Next lay the Taizeli, where now Buquhan is seated.

154 19 Then towards Murrey Frith, the V ocomagi of old inhabited Rosse murray and Nesseland. 20 More innerly is the Gulfe Vararis, right ouer against the Towne Inuer|nesse.

21 The Cantae possessed the corner of land shooting towards the Sea, where is the most safe Hauen CRome r. 22. 23 Yet more inwardly where Bean, Rosse, and Sou|therland are seated, the Lugi and Mertae of old inhabited. Thus farre Edward the first King of England subdued all with his victorious Army, hauing beaten the Scots on all sides. In Southerland are Mountaines of white Marble, (a very miracle in this cold clyme), but of no vse, the excesse and magnificence in building hauing not yet reach|ed into these remote parts. 24

Further neare Catnesse the Catni of old inhabited, the Earles of which Country, are of the ancient and Noble Families of the Sint-cleres.

25 Vrdehead is thought the remotest Promontory of all Britany, where the Cornabij of old inhabited.

26 I will in one word mention the Ilands. In the Gulfe Glotta, or Dunbritten Frith, [Note: The Ilands.] lyes the Iland Glotta, called Arran by the Scots, giuing the title to an Earle. Next that lyes Rothesia, now called Buthe, whence are the Stewards Kings of Scots, as they say. Then Hellan the Iland of the Sayntes. Without the foresaid Gulfe, many Ilands lye thicke together, vulgarly called the Westerne Ilands, and numbred forty foure, be|ing of old called by some Hebrides, by others Inchades, and Leucades, and by many (as Ptolomy) Ebudae. Ina one of these Ilands haue a Monastery, famous for the buriall of the Kings of Scotland, and for the habitation of many holy men, among which was Columbus, the Apostle of the Picts, of whose Cell the Iland was also named Columbkill. The Scots bought all these Ilands of the Norwegians, as a great strength to the King|dome, though yeelding very little profit; the old inhabitants (whether Scots, or Irish) being of desperare daring, and impatient of being subiect to any lawes. Neare these lye the Orcades (vulgarly Orkney) about thirty in number, yeelding competent quantity of Barley, but no Wheate or trees. The chiese whereof is Pomonia, well knowne by the Episcopall seate, and yeelding both Tynne and Leade. These Orcades Ilands were subiect to the Danes, and the inhabitants speake the Gothes language, but Christiern King of the Danes sold his right to the King of Scotland. Fiue dayes and nights sayle from the Orcades, is the Iland Thule, so often mentioned by Poets to expresse the furthest corner of the World, whereupon Virgill saith; Tibi seruiet vlti|ma Thule: that is, The furthest Thule shall thee serue. Many haue thought, that Ise|land was this Thule, condemned to cold ayre and perpetuall Winter: but Camden thinkes rather, that Schotland is Thule, which the Marriners now call Thilensall, being subiect to the King of Scotland. In the German Sea, towards the coast of Britany, are few Ilands, saue onely in Edenburg Frith, where these are found, May, Basse, Keth, and Inche-colme (that is, the Iland of Columbus.)

Scotland reaching so farre into the North, must needs be subiect to excessiue cold, yet [Note: The situatio] the same is in some sort mitigated by the thicknesse of the cloudy aire and sea va|pours. And as in the Northerne parts of England, they haue small pleasantnes, good|nesse or abundance of Fruites and Flowers, so in Scotland they haue much lesse, or none at all. And I remember, that comming to Barwick in the moneth of May, wee had great stormes, and felt great cold, when for two moneths before, the plea|sant Spring had smiled on vs at London.

On the West side of Scotland are many Woodes, Mountaines and Lakes. On [Note: The fertility] the East side towards the Sea, I passed Fife, a pleasant little Territory of open fields, without inclosures, fruitfull in Corne (as bee all the partes neare Barwick, saue that they yeeld little wheate, and much Barley and Oates), and all a plaine Country, but it had no Woodes at all, onely the Gentlemens dwellings were shaddowed with some little Groues, pleasant to the view. Scotland abounds with Fish, and hath plenty of all Cattell, yet not so bigge as ours, and their horses are full of spirit, and patient of labour, but very little, so as the Scots then would giue any price for one of our English Gueldings, which notwithstanding in Queene Eliza-

bethe time might not vpon great penalty be sold vnto them.

155 The Nauy or shipping of Scotland, was of small strength in the memory of our Age, neither were their Marriners of greet experience, but to make them more dili|gent [Note: The trafficke] Merchants, their Kings had formerly laid small or no impositions or customes on them: And while the English had warre with the Spaniards, the Scots as neutrals by carrying of English commodities into Spaine, and by hauing their ships for more security laden by English Merchants, grew somewhat richer and more experienced in Nauigation, and had better and stronger shippes then in former time. And surely since the Scots are very daring, I cannot see why their Marriners should not bee bold and couragious, howsoeuer they haue not hitherto made any long voyages, rather for want of riches, then for slothfulnesse or want of courage. The Inhabitants of the Westerne parts of Scotland, carry into Ireland and Neighbouring places, red and pickeled Herrings, Sea coales, and Aquauitae, with like commodities, and bring out of Ireland Yarne and Cowes hides or Siluer. The Easterne Scots, carry into France course cloathes, both linnen and woollen, which be narrow and shrinke in the wet|ting. They also carry thether Wooll, Skinnes of Goates, Weathers, and of Conies, and diuers kindes of Fishes, taken in the Scottish Sea, and neere other Northerne Ilands, and after smoked, or otherwise dried and salted. And they bring from thence Salt and Wines: but the cheese trafficke of the Scots is in foure places, namely at Camphire in Zeland, whether they carry Salt, the skinnes of Wea|thers, Otters, Badgers, and Martens, and bring from thence Corne. And at Burdeaux in France, whether they carry cloathes, and the same skinnes, and bring from thence Wines, Prunes, Walnuts, and Chessenuts Thirdly, with|in the Balticke Sea, whether they carry the said Clothes and Skinnes, and bring thence Flaxe, Hempe, Iron, Pitch and Tarre. And lastly in England, whether they carry Linnen cloathes, Yarne, and Salt, and bring thence Wheate, Oates, Beanes, and like things.

The Scots haue no Staple in any forraigne City, but trade in France vpon the League of the Nations, and in Denmarke haue priuiledges by the affinity of the Kings, and stocke in great numbers into Poland, abounding in all things for foode, and yeelding many commodities. And in these Kingdomes they liued at this time in great multitudes, rather for the pouerty of their owne Kingdome, then for any great trafficke they exercised there, dealing rather for small fardels, then for great quantities of rich wares.

Touching their diet: They eate much red Colewort and Cabbage, but little fresh meate, vsing to salt theit Mutton and Geese, which made me more wonder, that they [Note: The diet] vsed to eate Beefe without salting. The Gentlemen reckon their reuenewes, not by rents of monie, but by chauldrons of victuals, and keepe many people in their Fa|milies, yet liuing most on Corne and Rootes, not spending any great quantity of flesh.

My self was at a Knights house, who had many seruants to attend him, that brought in his meate with their heads couered with blew caps, the Table being more then halfe furnished with great platters of porredge, each hauing a little peece of sodden meate; And when the Table was serued, the seruants did sit downe with vs, but the vpper messe in steede of porredge, had a Pullet with some prunes in the broth. And I obserued no Art of Cookery, or furniture of Houshold stuffe, but rather rude neglect of both, though my selfe and my companion, sent from the Gouernour of Barwicke about bordering

affaires, were entertained after their best manner. The Scots liuing then in factions, vsed to keepe many followers, and so consumed their reuenew of vi|ctuals, liuing in some want of money. They vulgarly eate harth Cakes of Oates, but in Cities haue also wheaten bread, which for the most part was bought by Cour|tiers, Gentlemen, and the best sort of Citizens. When I liued at Barwicke, the Scots weekely vpon the market day, obtained leaue in writing of the Gouernour, to buy Pease and Beanes, whereof, as also of Wheate, their Merchants at this day send great quantity from London into Scotland.

They drinke pure Wines, not with sugar as the English, yet at Feasts they put 156 Comfits in the Wine, after the French manner, but they had not our Vinteners fraud to mixe their Wines. I did neuer see nor heare that they haue any publike Innes with signes hanging out, but the better sort of Citizens brew Ale, their vsuall drinke (which will distemper a strangers bodie), and the same Citizens will entertaine passen|gers vpon acquaintance or entreaty. Their bedsteads were then like Cubbards in the wall, with doores to be opened and shut at pleasure, so as we climbed vp to our beds. They vsed but one sheete, open at the sides and top, but close at the feete, and so dou|bled. Passengers did seeke a stable for their horses in some other place, and did there buy hors-meat, and if perhaps the same house yeelded a stable, yet the payment for the horse did not make them haue beds free as in England. I omit to speake of the Innes and expences therein, hauing delated the same in the Itinerary of the first Part, and a Chapter in this Part, expressely treating thereof. When passengers goe to bed, their custome was to present them with a sleeping cuppe of wine at parting. The Country people and Merchants vsed to drinke largely, the Gentlemen some-what more sparingly, yet the very Courtiers, at Fcasts, by night meetings, and entertaining any stranger, vsed to drinke healths not without excesse, and (to speake truth without offence), the excesse of drinking was then farre greater in generall among the Scots then the English. My selfe being at the Court inuited by some Gentlemen to sup|per, and being forewarned to feare this excesse, would not promise to sup with them|but vpon condition that my Inuiter would be my protection from large drinking, which I was many times forced to inuoke, being curteously entertained, and much prouoked to garaussing, and so for that time auoided any great intemperance. Re|membring this, and hauing since obserued in my conuersation at the English Court with the Scots of the better sort, that they spend great part of the night in drinking, not onely wine, but euen beere, as my selfe will not accuse them of great intempe|rance, so I cannot altogether free them from the imputation of excesse, where|with the popular voice chargeth them.

CHAP. V. Of Ireland, touching the particular subiects of the first Chapter.

THE Longitude of Ireland extends foure degrees from the [Note: Ireland.] Meridian of eleuen degrees and a halfe, to that of fifteene and a halfe, and the Latitude extends also foure degrees from the Paralel of fifty foure degrees to that of fifty eight degrees. In the Geographicall description I will follow Camden as formerly.

This famous Iland in the Virginian Sea, is by olde Writers called Ierna Inuerna, and Iris, by the old Inhabi|tants Eryn, by the old Britans Yuerdhen, by the English at this day Ireland, and by the Irish Bardes at this day Banno, in which sence of the Irish word, Auicen cals it the holy Iland, besides Plutarch of old called it Ogigia, and after him Isidore named it Scotia. This Ireland according to the Inhabitants, is deuided into two parts, the wild Irish, and the En-

glish Irish, liuing in the English Pale: but of the old Kingdomes fiue in number, it is deuided into fiue parts.

1 The fast is by the Irish called Mowne, by the English Mounster, and is subdeuided into sixe Counties, of Kerry, of Limricke, of Corcke, of Tipperary, of the Holy Crosse, and of Waterford, to which the seuenth County of Desmond is now added. The Gangaui a Scithean people comming into Spaine, and from thence into Ireland, inhabited the County of Kerry, full of woody mountaines, in which the Earles of Desmond had the dignity of Palatines, hauing their House in Trailes, a little Towne now almost vninhabited: Not farre thence lies Saint Mary Wic, vulgarly called Smerwicke, where the Lord Arthur Gray, being Lord Deputy, happily ouerthrew the aiding 157 troopes sent to the Earle of Desmond from the Pope, and the King of Spaine. On the South side of Kerry lies the County of Desmond, of old inhabited by three kinds of people, the Lucens (being Spaniards), the Velabri (so called of their seate vpon the Sea waters or Marshes), and the Iberns, called the vpper Irish, inhabiting about Beerehauen and Baltimore, two Hauens well known by the plentiful fishing of Herrings, and the late inuasion of the Spaniards in the yeere 1601. Next to these is the County of Mec Carti More, of Irish race, whom as enemy to the Fitz-geralds Queene Elizabeth made Earle of Glencar in the yeere 1556. For of the Fitz-Geralds of the Family of the Earles of Kildare, the Earles: of Desmond descended, who being by birth English, and created Earles by King Edward the third, became hatefull Rebels in our time. The third County hath the name of the City Corke, consisting almost all of one long streete, but well knowne and frequented, which is so compassed with rebellious neighbours, as they of old not daring to marry their Daughters to them, the custome grew and con|tinues to this day, that by mutuall marriages one with another, all the Citizens are of kinne in some degree of Affinity. Not farre thence is Yoghall, hauing a safe Hauen, neere which the Vicounts of Barry of English race are seated. In the fourth County of Tipperary, nothing is memorable, but that it is a Palatinate. The little Towne Ho|ly-Cresse, in the County of the same name, hath many great priuiledges. The sixth County hath the name of the City Limerike, the seate of a Bishop, wherein is a strong Castle built by King Iohn. Not farre thence is Awue the seate of a Bishop, and the lower Ossery, giuing the title of an Earle to the Butlers, and the Towne Thurles, giuing them also the title of Vicount. And there is Cassiles, now a poore City, but the seate of an Archbishoppe. The seuenth County hath the name of the City Watersord, which the Irish call Porthlargi, of the commodious Hauen, a rich and well inhabited City, esteemed the second to Dublyn. And because the Inhabitants long faithfully helped the English in subduing Ireland, our Kings gaue them excessiue priuiledges, but they rashly failing in their obedience, at King Iames his comming to the Crowne, could not in long time obtaine the confirmation of their old Charter.

2 Lemster the second part of Ireland is fertile, and yeelds plenty of Corne, and hath a most temperate mild Aire, being deuided into ten Counties, of Catterlogh, Kilkenny, Wexford, Dublyn, Kildare. the Kings County, the Queenes County, the Counties of Longford of Fernes and of Wickle. The Cariondi of old inhabited Caterlogh (or Carloo) County, and they also inhabited great part of Kilkenny, of vpper Ossery and of Ormond, which haue nothing memorable, but the Earles of Ormond, of the great Family of the Butlers, inferiour to no Earle in Ireland, (not to speake of Fitz pairic Baron of vp-

per Ossery) It is redicnious, which some Irish (who will be beleeued as men of credit) re|port of Men in these parts yeerely turned into Wolues, except the aboundance of melancholy humour, transports them to imagine that they are so transformed. Kil|kenny giuing name to the second County, is a pleasant Towne, the chiefe of the Townes, within Land, memorable for the ciuility of the Inhabitants, for the Husbandmens labour, and the pleasant Orchards. I passe ouer the walled Towne Thomastowne, and the ancient City Rheban, now a poore Village with a Castle, yet of old giuing the title of Barronet. I passe ouer the Village and strong Castle of Leighlin, with the Countrey adioyning, vsurped by the Sept of the Cauanaghs, now surnamed Omores. Also I omit Kosse, of old a large City, at this day of no mo|ment. The third County of Wexford, (called by the Irish County Reogh) was of old inhabited by the Menappij, where at the Towne called Banna, the English made their first discent into Ireland, and vpon that Coast are very dangerous flats in the Sea, which they vulgarly call Grounds. The City Weshford, Weisford, or Wexford, is the cheefe of the County, not great, but deseruing praise for their faithfulnesse towards the English, and frequently inhabited by Men of English race. The Cauci, (a Seabor|dering Nation of Germany), and the Menappij aforesaid, of old inhabited the territo|ries now possessed by the Omores and Ohirns. Also they inhabited the fourth Coun|ty of Kildare a fruitfull soyle, hauing the cheese Towne of the same name, great|lie honoured in the infancie of the Church by Saint Briget. King Edward 158 the second, created the Giralds Earles of Kildare. The Eblani of old inhabited the ter|ritory of Dublin the fifth County, hauing a fertile soyle and rich pastures, but wanting wood, so as they burne Turffe, or Seacoale brought out of England. The City Dub|lyn called Diuelin by the English, and Balacleigh (as seated vpon hurdles) by the Irish, is the cheefe City of the Kingdome and seate of Iustice, fairely built, frequently inhabi|ted, and adorned with a strong Castle, fifteene Churches, an Episcopall seate, and a faire Colledge, (an happy foundation of an Vniuersity laid in our Age), and indowed with many priuiledges, but the Hauen is barred and made lesse commodious by those hils of sands. The adioyning Promontory Hothead, giues the title of a Barron to the Family of Saint Laurence: And towards the North lies Fengall, a little Territory, as it were the Garner of the Kingdome, which is enuironed by the Sea and great Ri|uers, and this situation hath defended it from the incursion of Rebels in former ciuill warres I omit the Kings and Queenes Counties, (namely Ophaly and Leax) inhabi|ted by the Oconnors and Omores, as likewise the Counties of Longford, Fernes, and Wick|lo, as lesse affoording memorable things.

3 The third part of Ireland is Midia or Media, called by the English Methe, in our Fathers memory deuided into Eastmeath and Westmeath. In Eastmeath is Droghe|da, vulgarly called Tredagh, a faire and well inhabited Towne. Trym is a little Towne vpon the confines of Vlster, hauing a stately Castle, but now much ruinated, and it is more notable for being the ancient (as it were) Barrony of the Lacies. Westmeath hath the Towne Deluin, giuing the title of Baron to the English Family of the Nugents, and Westmeath is also inhabited by many great Irish Septs, as the Omaddens, the Magoghi|gans, Omalaghlens, and MacCoghlans, which seeme barbarous names. Shamon is a great Riuer, in a long course making many and great lakes (as the large Lake or Lough Re|gith), and yeeldes plentifull fishing, as doe the frequent Riuers and all the Seas of Ire|land.

Vpon this Riuer lies the Towne Athlon, hauing a very faire Bridge of stone, (the worke of Sir Henry Sidney Lord Deputy) and a strong faire Castle.

4 Connaght is the fourth part of Ireland, a fruitfull Prouince, but hauing many Boggs and thicke Woods, and it is diuided into sixe Countyes, of Clare, of Letrim, of Galloway, of Rosecomen, of Maio, and of Sugo. The County of Clare or Thowmond hath his Enrles of Thowmond, of the Family of the Obrenes the old Kings of Connaght, and Toam is the seate of an Archbishop, onely part but the greatest of this County was called Clare of Phomas Clare Earle of Glocester. The adioyning Territory Clan Ri|chard (the land of Richards sonnes) hath his Earles called Clanricard of the land, but be|ing of the English Family de Burgo, vulgarly Burck, and both these Earles were first created by Henry the eight. In the same Territory is the Barony Atterith, belonging to the Barons of the English Family Bermingham, of old very warlike: but their posteritie haue degenerated to the Irish barbarisme. The city Galway giuing name to the Coun|ty, lying vpon the Sea, is frequently inhabited with ciuill people, and fairely built. The Northern part of Connaght is inhabited by these Irish Septs, O Conor, O Rorke, and Mac Diarmod. Vpon the Westerne coast lyes the Iland Arran, famous for the fabulous long life of the inhabitants.

5 Vlster the fifth part of Ireland is a large Prouince, woody, fenny, in some parts fer|tile, in other parts barren, but in al parts greene and pleasant to behold, and exceeding|ly stoared with Cattell. The next part to the Pale, and to England, is diuided into three Countyes, Lowth, Down, and Antrimme, the rest containes seuen Counties, Monaghan, Tyrone, Armach, Colrane, Donergall, Fermanagh, and Cauon. Lowth is inhabited by Eng|lish-Irish, (Down and Antrimme being contained vnder the same name), and the Bar|rons thereof be of the Berminghams family, and remaine louing to the English. Monag|han was inhabited by the English family Fitzursi, and these are become degenerate and barbarous, and in the sense of that name are in the Irish tongue called Mac Mahon, that is, the sonnes of Beares. I forbeare to speake of Tyrone, and the Earle thereof, infa|mous for his Rebellion, which I haue at large handled in the second part of this work. Armach is the seate of an Archbishop, and the Metropolitan City of the whole Iland, but in time of the Rebellion was altogether ruinated. The other Countyes haue not 159 many memorable things, therefore it shall suffice to speake of them briefely. The neck of land called Lecale, is a pleasant little territory, fertile, and abounding with fish, and all things for food, and therein is Downe, at this time a ruined Towne, but the seate of a Bishop, and famous for the buriall of S Patrick, S. Bridget, and S. Columb. The Towne of Carickfergus is well knowne by the safe Hauen. The Riuer Bann running through the Lake Euagh into the Sea, is famous for the fishing of Salmons, the water being most cleare, wherein the Salmons much delight. The great Families (or Septs) of Vlster, are thus named, O Neale, O Donnel, (wherof the chiefe was lately created Earle of Tirconnel) O Buil, Mac Guyre, O Cane, O Dogharty, Mac Mahown, Mac Gennis, Mac Sor|leigh, etc. The Lake Ern, compassed with thicke Woods, hath such plenty of fish, as the fishermen feare the breaking of their nets, rather then want of fish. Towards the North in the middest of vast woods (and as I thinke) in the County Donergall is a lake, and therein an Iland, in which is a Caue, famous for the apparition of spirits, which the inhabitants call Ellanui frugadory, that is, The Iland of Purgatory, and they call it Saint Patricks Purgatory, fabling that hee

obtained of God by prayer, that the Irish seeing the paines of the damned, might more carefully auoide sinne.

The land of Ireland is vneuen, mountanous, soft, watry, woody, and open to windes and flouds of raine, and so fenny, as it hath Bogges vpon the very tops of Mountaines. [Note: The funatio] not bearing man or beast, but dangerous to passe, and such Bogs are frequent ouer all Ireland. Our Matriners obserue the sayling into Ireland to be more dangerous, not onely because many tides meeting, makes the sea apt to swell vpon any storme, but es|pecially because they euer find the coast of Ireland couered with mists, whereas the coast of England is commonly cleare, and to be seene farre off. The ayre of Ireland is vnapt to ripen seedes, yet (as Mela witnesseth) the earth is luxurions in yeelding faire and sweete hearbs. Ireland is little troubled with thunders, lightnings, or earthquakes, yet (I know not vpon what presage) in the yeere 1601, and in the moneth of Nouem|ber almost ended, at the siege of Kinsale, and few daies before the famous Battell, in which the Rebels were happily ouerthrowne, we did nightly heare and see great thun|drings and lightnings, not without some astonishment what they should presage. The fields are not onely most apt to feede Cattell, but yeeld also great increase of Corne I wil freely say, that I obserued the winters cold to be far more mild, the it is in England, so as the Irish pastures are more greene, and so likewise the gardens al winter time, but that in Summer, by reason of the cloudy ayre, and watry soyle, the heate of the Sunne hath not such power to ripen corne and fruits, so as their haruest is much later then in England. Also I obserued, that the best sorts of flowers and fruits are much rarer in Ire|land, then in England, which notwithstanding is more to bee attributed to the inhabi|tants, then to the ayre. For Ireland being oft troubled with Rebellions, and the Rebels not only being idle themselues, but in naturall malice destroying the labours of other men, and cutting vp the very trees of fruits for the same cause, or else to burne them. For these reasons the inhabitants take lesse pleasure to till their grounds, or plant trees, content to liue for the day in continuall feare of like mischiefes. Yet is not Ireland al|together destitute of these flowers and fruites, wherewith the County of Kilkenny seemes to abound more then any other part. And the said humility of aire and land, making the fruits for food more raw and moyst: hereupon the inhabitants and stran|gers are troubled with loosenes of body, the Country disease. Yet for the rawnes they haue an excellentremedy by their aquauitae, vulgarly called Vsqucbagh, which binds the belly, and drieth vp moysture, more then our Aquauitae, yet in flameth not so much. Also inhabitants aswell as strangers are troubled there with an ague, which they call the Irish. Ague, and they who are sick thereof, vpon a receiued custome, doe not vse the helpe of the Phisitian, but giue themselues to the keeping of Irish women, who starue the ague, giuing the sick man no meate, who takes nothing but milke, and some vulgarly knowne remedies at their hand.

Ireland after much bloud spilt in the Ciuill warres, became lesse populous, [Note: The fertility and trafficke] and aswell great Lords of countries as other inferiour Gentlemen, laboured more to get new possessions for inheritance, then by husbandry and peopling of their old lands, to increase their reuenues, so as I then obserued much grasse (where|with 160 the Iland so much abounds) to haue perished without vse, and either to haue rotted, or in the next spring-time to bee burnt, lest it should hinder the comming of new grasse. This plenty of grasse, makes the Irish haue infinite mul|titudes of cat-

tle, and in the heate of the last Rebellion, the very vagabond Re|bels, had great multitudes of Cowes, which they stil (like the Nomades) droue with them, whither soeuer themselues were driuen, and fought for them as for their altars and families. By this abundance of cattle, the Irish haue a frequent, though some|what poore trafficke for their hides, the cattle being in generall very little, and onely the men and the Grey-hounds of great statute. Neither can the cattell possibly bee great, since they eat onely by day, and then are brought at euening within the Bawnes of Castles, where they stand or lye all night in a dirty yard, without so much as a lock of hay, whereof they make little for sluggishnesse, and that little they altogether keep for their horses. And they are thus brought in by nights for feare of theeues, the Irish vsing almost no other kind of theft, or else for feare of Wolues, the destruction where|of being neglected by the inhabitants, oppressed with greater mischiefes, they are so much growne in number, as sometimes in Winter nights they will come to prey in Villages, and the subburbes of Cities. The Earle of Ormond in Mounster, and the Earle of Kildare in Lemster, had each of them a small Parke inclosed for Fallow Deare, and I haue not seene any other Parke in Ireland, nor haue heard that they had any o|ther at that time, yet in many Woods they haue many red Deare, loosely scattered, which seeme more plentifull, because the inhabitants vsed not then to hunt them, but onely the Gouernours and Commanders had them sometimes killed with the piece. They haue also about Ophalia and Wexford, and in some parts of Mounster, some Fallow Deare scattered in the Woods. Yet in the time of the warre I did neuer see any Venison serued at the table, but onely in the houses of the said Earles, and of the English Commanders. Ireland hath great plenty of Birds and Fowles, but by reason of their naturall sloth, they had little delight or skill in Birding or Fowling. But Ire|land hath neither singing Nightingall, nor chattering Pye, nor vndermining Moule, nor blacke Crow, but onely Crowes of mingled colour, such as wee call Royston Crowes. They haue such plenty of Pheasants, as I haue knowne sixtie serued at one feast, and abound much more with Rayles: but Partridges are somewhat rare. There be very many Eagles, and great plenty of Hares, Conies, Hawkes called Gosse-Hawkes, much esteemed with vs, and also of Bees, as well in Hiues at home, as in hol|low trees abroad, and in caues of the earth. They abound in flocks of Sheepe, which they sheare twise in the yeere, but their wooll is course, and Merchants may not export it, forbidden by a Law made on behalfe of the poore, that they may be nourished by working it into cloth, namely, Rugs (whereof the best are made at Waterford) and mantles generally worne by men and women, and exported in great quantity. Ireland yeelds much flax, which the inhabitants work into yarne, and export the same in great qua tity. And of old they had such plenty of linnen cloth, as the wild Irish vsed to weare 30 or 40 elles in a shirt, al gathered and wrinckled, and washed in Saffron, because they neuer put them off til they were worne out. Their horses called hobbies, are much commen ded for their ambling pace and beuty: but Ireland yeelds few horses good for seruice in war, and the said hobbies are much inferior to our geldings in strength to endure long iournies, and being bred in the fenny soft ground of Ireland, are soone lamed when they are brought into England. The hawkes of Ireland called Goss-hawks, are (as I said) much esteemed in England, and they are sought out by mony and all meanes to be transported thither. Ireland yeelds excellent Marble neere Dublin, Killkenny, and Corke; and I am of their opinion,

who dare venture all they are worth, that the Mountaines would yeeld abundance of Mettals, if this publike good were not hindred by the inhabitants barbarousnes, making them apt to seditions, and so vnwilling to inrich their Prince and Country, and by their slothfulnesse, which is so singular, as they hold it basenesse to labour, and by their pouerty, not able to beare the charge of such workes, besides, that the wiser sort think their pouerty best for the publike good, making them peaceable, as nothing makes them sooner kick against authoritie then riches. Ireland hath in all parts pleasant Riuers, safe and lange Hauens, and no lesse frequent Lakes 161 of great circuit, yeelding great plenty of fish. And the sea on all sides yeelds like plen|tie of excellent fish, as Salmonds, Oysters (which are preferred before the English,) and shel-fishes, with all other kinds of Sea-fish. So as the Irish might in all parts haue abundance of excellent sea and fresh-water fish, if the fisher men were not so possessed with the naturall fault of slothfulnesse, as no hope of gaine, scarsely the feare of autho|ritie can in many places make them come out of their houses, and put to sea. Hence it is, that in many places they vse Scots for Fisher-men, and they together with the English, make profit of the inhabitants sluggishnesse. And no doubt if the Irish were industrious in fishing, they might export salted and dried fish with great gaine. In time of peace the Irish transport good quantity of Corne, yet they may not transport it without license, left vpon any sudden rebellion, the Kings forces and his good sub|iects should want Corne. Vlster and the Westerne parts of Mounster yeeld vast woods, in which the Rebels cutting vp trees, and casting them on heapes, vsed to stop the pas|sages, and therein, as also vpon fenny and Boggy places, to fight with the English. But I confesse my selfe to haue been deceiued in the common fame, that all Ireland is woo|dy, hauing found in my long iourney from Armah to Kinsale, few or no Woods by the way, excepting the great Woods of Ophalia, and some low shrubby places, which they call Glinnes. Also I did obserue many boggy and fenny places, whereof great part might be dried by good and painefull husbandry. I may not omit the opinion com|monly receiued, that the earth of Ireland will not suffer a Snake or venimous beast to liue, and that the Irish wood transported for building, is free of Spiders and their webs. My selfe haue seene some (but very few) Spiders, which the in habitants deny to haue any poyson: but I haue heard some English of good credit affirme by experi|ence the contrary. The Irish hauing in most parts great Woods or low shrubs and thickets, doe vse the same for fier, but in other parts they burne Turfe, and Sea coales brought out of England. They export great quantity of wood to make barrels, called Pipe-staues, and make great gaine thereby. They are not permitted to build great ships for warre, but they haue small ships in some sort armed to resist Pirats, for trans|porting of commodities into Spaine and France yet no great number of them. Ther|fore since the Irish haue small skill in Nauigation, as I cannot praise them for this Art, so I am confident, that the Nation being bold and warlike, would no doubt proue braue Sea-men, if they shall practise Nauigation, and could possibly bee industrious therein. I freely professe, that Ireland in generall would yeeld abundance of all things to ciuill and industrious inhabitants. And when it lay wasted by the late Rebellion, I did see it after the comming of the Lord Montioy daily more and more to flourish, and in short time after the Rebellion appeased, like the new Spring to put on the won|ted beauty.

Touching the Irish dyet, Some Lords and Knights, and Gentlemen of the

English-Irish, [Note: The Dyet,] and all the English there abiding, hauing competent meanes, vse the English dyet, but some more, some lesse cleanly, few or none curiously, and no doubt they haue as great and for [...] part greater plenty then the English, of flesh, fowle, fish, and all things for food, if they will vse like Art of Cookery. Alwases I except the Fruits, Venison, and some dainties proper to England, and rare in Ireland. And we must con|ceiue, that Venison and Fowle seeme to be more plentiful in Ireland, because they nei|ther so generally affect dainty foode nor so diligently search it as the English do Many of the English-Irish, haue by little and little been infected with the Irish filthinesse, and that in the very cities, excepting Dublyn, and some of the better sort in Waterford, where the English continually lodging in their houses, they more retaine the English diet. The English-Irish after our manner serue to the table ioynts of flesh cut after our fa|shion, with Geese, Pullets, Pigges and like rosted meats, but their ordinary food for the common sort is of Whitmeates, and they eate cakes of oates for bread, and drinke not English Beere made of Mault and Hops, but Ale. At Corck I haue seene with these eyes, young maides starke naked grinding of Corne with certaine stones to make cakes thereof, and striking of into the tub of meale, such reliques thereof as stuck on their belly, thighes and more vnseemely parts.

And for the cheese or butter commonly made by the English Irish, and English man 162 would not touch it with his lippes, though hee were halfe starued; yet many English inhabitants make very good of both kindes. In Cities they haue such bread as ours, but of a sharpe fauour, and some mingled with Annisseeds, and baked like cakes, and that onely in the houses of the better sort.

At Dublyn and in some other Cities, they haue tauerns, wherein Spanish and French Wines are sold, but more commonly the Merchants sell them by pintes and quartes in their owne Cellers. The Irish Aquauitae, vulgarly called Vsquebagh, is held the best in the World of that kind; which is made also in England, but nothing so good as that which is brought out of Ireland. And the Vsquebagh is preferred before our Aqua|vita, because the mingling of Raysons, Fennell seede, and other things, mitigating the heate, and making the taste pleasant, makes it lesse in name, and yet refresh the weake stomake with moderate heate, and a good relish. These Drinkes the English-Irish drink largely, and in many families (especially at feasts) both men and women vse ex|cesse therein. And since I haue inpart seene, and often heard from others experience, that some Gentlewomen were so free in this excesse, as they would kneeling vpon the knee, and otherwise garausse health after health with men; not to speake of the wiues of Irish Lords, or to referre it to the due place, who often drinke tell they be drunken, or at least till they voide vrine in full assemblies of men, I cannot (though vnwilling) but note the Irish women more specially with this fault, which I haue obserued in no o|ther part to be a womans vice, but onely in Bohemia: Yet so as accusing them, I meane not to excuse the men, and will also confesse that I haue seene Virgins, as well Gentle|women as Citizens, commanded by their mothers to retyre, after they had in curtesie pledged one or two healths. In Cities passengers may haue featherbeds, soft and good, but most commonly lowsie, especially in the high waies; whether that came by their being forced to lodge common souldiers, or from the nastie filthinesse of the nation in generall. For euen in the best Citie, as at Corck, I haue obserued that my owne and other English mens chambers hyred of the Citizens, were

scarce swept once in the week, and the dust then laid in a corner, was perhaps cast out once in a month or two. I did neuer see any publike Innes with signes hanged out, among the English or English-Irish; but the Officers of Cities and Villages appoint lodgings to the passengers, and per|haps in each Citie, they shall find one or two houses, where they will dresse meate, and these be commonly houses of Englishmen, seldome of the Irish: so as these houses ha|uing no signes hung out, a passenger cannot challenge right to be intertained in them, but must haue it of courtesie, and by intreaty.

The wild and (as I may say) meere Irish, inhabiting many and large Prouinces, are barbarous and most filthy in their diet. They skum the seething pot with an hand|full of straw, and straine their milke taken from the Cow through a like handfull of straw, none of the cleanest, and so clense, or rather more defile the pot and milke. They deu oure great morsels of beefe vnsalted, and they eat commonly Swines flesh, seldom mutton, and all these pieces of flesh, as also the intralles of beasts vnwashed, they seeth in a hollow tree, lapped in a raw Cowes hide, and so set ouer the fier, and therewith swallow whole lumpes of filthy butter. Yea (which is more contrary to nature) they will feede on horses dying of themselues, not only vpon small want of flesh, but euen for pleasure. For I remember an accident in the Army, when the Lord Mountiey, the Lord Deputy, riding to take the ayre out of the Campe, found the buttocks of dead horses cut off, and suspecting that some soldiers had eaten that flesh out of necessity, being defrauded of the victuals allowed, them commanded the men to bee searched out, among whom a common souldier, and that of the English-Irish, not of the meere Irish, being brought to the Lord Deputy, and asked why hee had eaten the flesh of dead horses, thus freely answered, Your Lordship may please to eate Pheasant and Patridge, and much good doe it you that best likes your taste; and I hope it is lawfull for me without offence, to eate this flesh that likes me better then Beefe. Whereupon the Lord Deputy perceiuing himself to be deceiued, and further vnderstanding that he had receiued his ordinary victuals (the detaining whereof he suspected, and purposed to punish for example), gaue the souldier a piece of gold to drinke in Vsquebagh for better disgestion, and so dismissed him.

163 The foresaid wilde Irish doe not thresh their Oates, but burne them from the straw, and so make cakes thereof, yet they seldome eate this bread, much lesse any better kind especially in the time of warre, whereof a Bohemian Baron complained, who ha|uing scene the Courts of England and Scotland, would needes out of his curiosity re|turne through Ireland in the heate of the Rebellion; and hauing letters from the King of Scots to the Irish Lords then in Rebellion, first landed among them, in the furthest North, where for eight dayes space hee had found no bread, not so much as a cake of Oates, till he came to eate with the Earle of Tyrone, and after obtaining the Lord De|puties Passe to come into our Army, related this then want of bread to vs for a mira|cle, who nothing wondred thereat. Yea, the wilde Irish in time of greatest peace im|pute couetousnesse and base birth to him, that hath any Corne after Christmas, as if it were a point of Nobility to consume all within those festiuall dayes. They willingly eate the hearb Schamrock, being of a sharpe taste, which as they runne and are chased to an fro, they snatch like beasts out of the ditches.

Neither haue they any Beere made of Malt and [...] nor yet any Ale, no, not the chiefe Lords, except it be very rarely:

but they drinke Milke like Nectar, warmed with a stone first cast into the fier, or else Beefe-broath mingled with milke: but when they come to any Market Towne, to sell a Cow or a horse, they neuer returne home, till they haue drunke the price in Spanish Wine (which they call the King of Spaines Daughter), or in Irish Vsque-boagh, and till they haue out-slept two or three daies drunkennesse. And not onely the common sort, but euen the Lords and their wiues, the more they want this drinke at home, the more they swallow it when they come to it, till they be as drunke as beggers.

Many of these wilde Irish eate no flesh, but that which dyes of disease or other|wise of it selfe, neither can it scape them for stinking. They desire no broath, nor haue any vse of a spoone. They can neither seeth Artichokes, nor eate them when they are sodden. It is strange and ridiculous, but most true, that some of our carriage horses falling into their hands, when they found Sope and Starch, carried for the vse of our Laundresses, they thinking them to bee some dainty meates, did eate them greedily, and when they stuck in their teeth, cursed bitterly the gluttony of vs English churles, for so they terme vs. They feede most on Whitmeates, and esteeme for a great dain|tie sower curds, vulgarly called by them Bonaclabbe. And for this cause they watch|fully keepe their Cowes, and fight for them as for religion and life, and when they are almost starued, yet they will not kill a Cow, except it bee old, and yeeld no Milke. Yet will they vpon hunger in time of warre open a vaine of the Cow, and drinke the bloud, but in no case kill or much weaken it. A man would thinke these men to bee Scythians, who let their horses bloud vnder the eares, and for nourishment drinke their bloud, and indeed (as I haue formerly said), some of the Irish are of the race of Scythians, comming into Spaine, and from thence into Ireland. The wild Irish (as I said) seldome kill a Cow to eate, and if perhaps they kill one for that purpose, they di|stribute it all to be deuoured at one time; for they approue not the orderly eating at meales, but so they may eate enough when they are hungry, they care not to fast long. And I haue knowne some of these Irish footemen seruing in England, (where they are nothing lesse then sparing in the foode of their Families), to lay meate aside for many meales, to deuoure it all at one time.

These wilde Irish assoone as their Cowes haue calued, take the Calues from them, and thereof feede some with Milke to reare for breede, some of the rest they [...], and seeth them in a filthy poke, and so eate them, being nothing but froth, and send them for a present one to another: but the greatest part of these Calues they cast out to bee eaten by Crowes and Woolues, that themselues may haue more abundance of Milke. And the Calues being taken away, the Cowes are so mad among them, as they will giue no Milke till the skinne of the Calfe bee stuf|fed and set before them, that they may smell the odor of their owne bellies. Yea when these Cowes thus madly denie their milke, the women wash their hands in Cowes dung, and so gently stroke their dugges, yea, put their hands into the 164 cowes taile, and with their mouthes blow into their tailes, that with this maner (as it were) of inchantment, they may draw milk from them. Yea, these Cowes seeme as re|bellious to their owners, as the people are to their Kings, for many times they will not be milked but of some one old woman only, and of no other. These wild Irish neuer set any candles vpon tables; What do I speak of Tables? since indeede they haue no tables, but set their meate vpon a bundle of grasse, and vse the same Grasse for nap|kins to wipe their hands. But I meane that they doe not set candles vpon any high

place to giue light to the house, but place a great candle made of recdes and butter vpon the floure in the middest of a great roome. And in like sort the chiefe men [...] in their houses make fiers in the middest of the roome, the smoake whereof go|eth out at a hole in the top thereof. An Italian Frier comming of old into Ireland, and seeing at Armach this their diet and nakednesse of the women (whereof I shall speake in the next booke of this Part, and the second Chapter thereof) is said to haue cried out,

Ciuitas Armachana, Ciuit as vana, Carnes crudae, mulieres nude. Vaine Armach City, I did thee pity, Thy meates-rawnes, and womens nakednesse.

I trust no man expects among these gallants any beds, much lesse fetherbeds and sheetes, who like the Nomades remouing their dwellings, according to the commo|dity of pastures for their Cowes, sleepe vnder the Canopy of heauen, or in a poore house of clay, or in a cabbin made of the boughes of trees, and couered with turffe, for such are the dwellings of the very Lords among them. And in such places, they make a fier in the middest of the roome, and round about it they sleepe vpon the ground, without straw or other thing vnder them, lying all in a circle about the fier, with their feete towards it. And their bodies being naked, they couer their heads and vpper parts with their mantels, which they first make very wet, steeping them in water of purpose, for they finde that when their bodies haue once warmed the wet mantels, the smoake of them keepes their bodies in temperate heate all the night following. And this manner of lodging, not onely the meere Irish Lords, and their followers vse, but euen some of the English Irish Lords and their followers, when after the old but tyra|nicall and prohibited manner vulgarly called Coshering, they goe (as it were) on pro|gresse, to liue vpon their tenants, til they haue consumed al the victuals that the poore men haue or can get. To conclude, not onely in lodging passengers, not at all or most rudely, but euen in their inhospitality towards them, these wild Irish are not much vnlike to wild beasts, in whose caues a beast passing that way, might perhaps finde meate, but not without danger to be ill intertained, perhaps deuoured of his insatiable Host.

165

7 The fourth Booke.

Early English Books Online

2

7.1 CHAP. 1.

Of the Germans, Bohemians, Sweitzers, Netherlanders, Danes, Polonians and Italians apparrell.

ONE thing in generall must bee remembred touching the diuers apparrell of diuers Nations: That it is daily subiect to change, as each Commonwealth by little and little de|clines from the best constitution to the worst, and old manners are daily more and more corrupted with new vices, or as each Common-wealth is by due remedies purged and reformed.

The most rich among the Germans (as old Writers doe [Note: Germany.] witnesse) vsed of old straight apparrell, expressing to life the lineaments of the whole body (which kind of apparel the Schwaben or Sueui vse at this day), and the women were apparrelled as men (of which wicked custome we find at this day no remainder, except the souldiers wiues following the Campe may perhaps somewhat offend that way.) They adde that the Sueui (vnder which name the Romanes comprehended all the Germanes) vsed of old to be clad in skinnes. No doubt the Germanes, as they [...], so are at this day, in their apparrell, constant, and modest (and I had almost said slouenly.) Surely if a man obserue the time they spend in brushing their apparrell, and taking out the least spots, aswell at home, as abroad when they come to their Innes, they will seeme clean|ly, but if we behold their apparrell, so worne to proofe, as the nap of the cloth, and that somewhat course) being worne off, the ground plainely appeares, and spotted with grease and wearing, especially the sleeues, which they weare large, and at table not without cause, lift vp with one hand, while they take meate with the other, lest they should fall into the dish, no doubt (without offence be it spoken), they are somewhat slouenly. And for this imputation of old laid on the Germans, I appeale to Tacitus, writing to this purpose in the Latin tongue. The slouenly and naked Germans liue in the same house among the same beasts. And he that at this day lookes vpon their Schwartz Reytern (that is, Blacke horsemen) must confesse, that to make their horses and bootes shine, they make themselues as black as Collyers. These horsemen weare blacke clothes, and poore though they be, yet spend no small time in brushing them. The most of them haue black horses, which while they painefully dresse, and (as I said) delight to haue their boots and shoos shine with blacking stuffe, their hands and faces become black, and thereof they haue their foresaid name. Yea, I haue heard Ger|mans say, that they do thus make themselues al black, to seeme more terrible to their e|nemies. I haue often heard their Preachers declame against the common inconstancie in apparrel: but they do herein according to the art of lefting, which is euer most plea|sing, when it taskes men with vices whereof they are not guilty, but neuer with those that may be truly imputed. For Drunkennesse, the famous, yet almost sole vice of the Germans, is in the meane time silently passed ouer by them in their Pulpits, or else out of a guilty conscience slightly reproued.

156 No doubt the Germans are of all other famous and great Nations least expence|full in apparrell, whether a man consider the small prices of the garments, or their long lasting. By an Imperiall Law, Husbandmen are forbidden to weare any stuffes, that cost more then halfe a Gulden the ell, and men that liue by their

Art and Hand, are forbidden to weare any thing that costs more then the third part of a Gulden the ell, and seruants to weare any ornament of Gold, Siluer, or Silke, and gentlemen to weare any Gold, or more then two ounces of siluer, and Doctors of the Ciuill Law, (who haue many priuiledges from the Heraulds, and are much respected in Germany), and likewise Knights, not to weare more then two ounces of gold vpon their Apparrell, and lastly Citizens are permitted to face their garments with silke or veluet, but are forbidden to weare any gold or siluer. By the same Imperall Statutes enacted in the yeere 1548, Noble women, (that is Gentlewomen), are permitted to weare a chaine of gold worth two hundred Guldens, and ornaments of the head worth forty Guldens, and the Doctours of the Ciuill Law are permitted to weare like chaines, and their wiues haue the same priuiledge with Noblewomen. In the Statutes of the yeere 1530 Citizens Wiues are permitted to weare gold chaines of fifty Guldens, and siluer gir|dles of thirty Guldens, and their Daughters to weare Ornaments of ten Guldens vp|pon their heads. And these Lawes are wisely made to restraine that Nation, though by nature and custome most modest in Apparrell, because the richest things they are to weare, be not made in the Empire, but to be bought with money. They haue not so much as woollen or linnen cloth of their owne, but such as is course, which makes them thát weare silke or veluet, as well as others, weare shirts of course cloth. I did see Rodolpus the Emperour when he mourned for his sister, apparrelled in English blacke cloth, who otherwise vsed to weare for the most part the same cloth of a watchet or some light colour, seldome wearing any richer Apparrell, and the scabbard of his sword was of leather, not of veluet, as we vse. The men in Germany weare shirt bands of course linnen short and thicke, onely in Prussia I obserued them to weare long ruffes, with rebatoes of wire to beare them vp, such as our women vse, which seemed to me lesse comely, because they were seldome made of fine cloth, as cambricke or lawne, but of their owne course linnen, such as I haue often seene the Spaniards to weare.

Their handkerchers are very large, and wrought with silke of diuers light colours, with great letters signifying words, as for example D. H. I. M. T. signifying Der her I st mein Trost, that is; The Lord is my comfort, so as they seeme more like wrought saddle clothes, then handkerchers. Many of the Saxons weare thrummed hats, which are called Brunswicke hats, as most vsed in those parts, being so stiffe as a sword will hardly peirce them, especially with the brasse hatbands they weare about them, and being so heauie as they lie vpon the eares, and make them hand downe with small comelinesse. Few weare feathers in their hats, yet the Doctors of the Ciuill Law haue the priuiledge to weare them, and my selfe haue seene many Students in the Vniuer|sities, and most coachmen of Germany, weare feathers costing each some twelue or sixteene batzen. The mention of the said shirt bands, vsed in Prussia, makes me re|member that the Citizens of Dantzke, seated in that Prouince, doe generally weare more rich Apparell, then any other Germans. And I remember that their said shirt bands or ruffes were little lesse then a quarter of an ell long, and hung vpon their shoulders, notwithstanding they had staies to beare them vp, which madde fashion, but not so long, the English vsed of old, and haue long since laid aside. The men in these parts commonly weare silkes and veluets, without any decent distinction of de|grees, and the women seemed much prouder in ap-

parrell then the men. I haue seene married women not of the richest sort, daily weare hats of veluet, though some weare also felt hats, and others to weare frontlets of veluet, and others wearing hats, had their hatbands all set with pearle, and many of their Daughters did weare chaines of pearle, worth three hundred guldens, yea some of these Virgins haue shewed me their chaines of fiue hundred guldens value, being the Daughters of Citizens and Merchants. As well married as vnmarried women in the chiefe Cities of that Prouince, did weare 167 short cloakes, and for the greater part of silke or satten, (the vse whereof is vulgar a|mong them), and that of changeable or light colours, with Petticoates and Aprons of like colours, but not so frequently of silke; and I haue seene Virgines of ordinary rancke in those Cities, daily weare silke stockings.

But I returne to the generall discourse of the Germans Apparrell: Citizens and men of inferiour rancke, weare course cloth of Germany, and onely the richer sort vse English cloth; and this cloth is commonly of a blacke or darke colour, and they thinke themselues very fine, if their cloakes haue a narrow facing of silke or veluet. The Gen|tlemen delight in light colours, and when I perswaded a familiar friend that blacke and darke colours were more comely, he answered me, that the variety of colours shewed the variety of Gods workes: And the Gentlemen weare Italian silkes and vel|uets of these colours, but most commonly English cloth, for the most part of yellow or greene colour. The Saxons in stead of Swords, carry Hatchets in their hands, be|ing very skilfull in the vse of them, so as they will hit any small marke therewith, and they weare hanging daggers with massy sheaths of siluer or iron. The Gentlemen, and others that haue the priuiledge to weare Swords, as the Doctors of Ciuill Law, haue plaine pommels to them, neuer guilded; and the scabbards (not excepting the Empe|rour) are alwaies of leather. Many of the Germans in steede of hats, weare caps lined with furre, and they vse large stomachers of furre or lambeskinnes, keeping their sto|mackes very warme, either for the coldnesse of the clime, or rather because their sto|mackes need more cherrishing, in regard they are often oppressed with excesse in drin|king. Most of them weare great large breeches, excepting the Sueui (vulgarly Schaw|bon) who weare such straight breeches as our old men vse, with stockings of the same cloth, fastened to them: And generally their doublets are made straight to the body, vpon which in Winter time they weare Ierkins lined with furre.

Few men or women weare gold rings, pearles, or Iewels: but Bohemia yeelds false stones like the orientall precious stones, yet of small or no value, and I haue seene some Gentlemen weare these false stones, and brasse rings guilded ouer, the wearing where|of is held disgracefull with vs. At Magdeburg I did see a young-Gentleman hauing all his fingers loaded with rings, which I thought to be of gold, till my selfe sawe him buy a ring of three hoopes for some fifteene pence in English money, and so found his foolish pride. The Statutes (as I formerly said) permit Noblewdmen (that is Gen|tlewomen) to weare chaines of gold, which notwithstanding they weare very seldome: And in like sort their Earles, (vulgarly called Graues) and their Knights, sometimes weare gold chaines, made of extraordinary great linkes, and not going more then once about the necke, nor hanging downe further then the middle button of the doublet. The Germans in great part measure a strangers dignity by the richnesse of his Appar|rell, and by his graue or (to speake plainely) proud looke. Citizens Wiues in some places weare vpon their heads little caps,

in the forme of an Oyster-shell, and they weare short cloakes, reaching no further then their elbowes. Citizens daughters and Virgines of inferiour sort, weare nothing vpon their heads, but their haire wouen with laces, and so gathered on the fore-part of the head, with the forehead stroked vp plaine; and vpon the fore-part of the head the Gentlewomen weare a border of pearle, and all other from the highest to the lowest, commonly weare garlands of roses, (which they call Crantzes.)

For they keepe Roses all Winter in little pots of earth, whereof they open one each saturday at night, and distribute the Roses among the women of the house, to the ve|ry kitchin maide; others keepethem all in one pot, and weekely take as many Roles as they neede, and couer the rest, keeping them fresh till the next Summer. And the common sort mingle guilded nutmegs with these Roses, and make garlands there of: Only women weare these Garlands in Winter, but in Summer time men of the better sort weare them within doores, and men of the common sort weare them going a|broade. They keepe Roses all Winter in this sort, they choose the closest and thickest buds of all kinds of Roses, but the Damaske Roses best keepe the smell, and other kindes the colour. Then they take a pot of earth, and sprinckle some bay salt in the 168 bottome, and lay these buds seuerally, not very close one to the other, in two rowes one aboue the other, which done they sprinckle the same, and wet all the buds with two little glasses of Rhenish Wine, and againe sprinckle them with bay salt in grea|ter quantity, yet such as it may not eate the leaues. In like sort they put vp each two rowes of buds, till the pot be full, which they couer with wood or leade, so as no aire can enter, and then lay it vp in a cold cellar, where no sunne comes. When they take out the buds, they dip them in luke warme water, or put them into the Ouen when the bread is taken out, which makes the leaues open with the turning of the buds be|tweene two fingers, then they dip a feather in rhenish wine, and wipe the leaues there with, to refresh the colour, and some doe the like with rose water, to renew the smell. Giue me leaue by the way to relate, (though out of due course), that I obserued wo|men at Leipzig, in like sort to keepe Cherries all Winter, after this manner. They in|close some Cherries in a glasse, so as no aire can enter, and then fasten the glasse to some low shrub or bough of a tree, so as the glasse may hang in a brooke, running gently.

Now I returne to my former discourse. Many of the said Virgines haue their neck|bands set with spangles, such as some children with vs weare. The married women weare their gownes close about the breast and neck, with a very short ruffe about their neckes, (such as men also weare) set with poking stickes as small as reedes, and they weare little hats vpon their heads. The Virgines in generall, weare linnen sleeues a|bout their armes, as close as they can be made, for they esteeme it the greatest grace to haue the smallest armes, and their petticoates are guarded with some ten or more frin|ges or laces of silke or veluet, each fringe being of a different colour one from the o|ther, making the skirts thereof as variable in colour as the Raine-bow. Citizens wiues put off their ruffes when they goe out of the house, couering their neckes and mouths with a linnen cloth for feare of cold. And they weare great heauy purses by their sides, with great bunches of keyes hanging by chaines of brasse or siluer: and all generally, aswell married women as Virgins, goe with bare legges: and I haue seene a Virgine in Saxony, refuse a paire of silke stockings offered her of guift: and the maide seruants and married women of the inferiour sort weare no shooes except they

goe out of the house, and great part goe also abroade bare footed. The married women hide their naked feete with long gownes, but the maide seruants wearing short gownes, and gir|ding them vp into a roule some handfull vnder the wast about their hippes, (especially in the lower parts of Germany), many times offend chast eyes with shewing their na|kednesse, especially when they stoope for any thing to the ground. And in those parts of Germany the Citizens wiues, like our little children, weare red and yellow shooes, and guilded at the toes. In generall, it is disgracefull to married women or Virgins (excepting at Augsburg, and some few other Cities), to goe out of doores without a cloake, which commonly is of some light stuffe, as Grogram, or the like, faced with some furres, and at Hidelberg they neuer goe abroade without a little basket in their hands, as if they went to buy something, except they will be reputed dishonest. The married Women alwaies haue their heads couered, in some Cities with a peece of vel|uet, other where with little caps of veluet, silke, or felt, or with some like fashion, accor|ding to the vse of the Countrey. And very many weare such crosse-clothes or fore|head clothes as our Women vse when they are sicke. In many places the ordinary Citizens Wiues haue their gownes made with long traines, which are pinned vp in the house, and borne vp by maide seruants when they goe abroade, which fashion of old onely great Noblemen vsed with vs: And in many Cities, aswel the married as vnmar|ried Women, weare long fardingales, hanging about their feete like hoopes, which our Women vsed of olde, but haue now changed to short fardingals about their hippes.

The Bohemians are apparrelled much like the Germans, and delight in greene, yel|low, and light colours, but more frequently weare silkes and veluets then the Ger|mans, [Note: Bohmerland] and also false Iewels of their owne. And many times they weare blacke cloth with many laces or fringes of light colours, each fringe differing in colour one from 169 the other. And in respect of forraigne Ambassadours comming from all parts to Prage, and of Italian Merchants frequenting there, the Bohemians are more infected with forraigne fashions, then the Germans. The married Gentlwomen attire their heads like our Virgins, and in like sort beare vp their haire on the forehead with a wi|er. They vse with the Germans to make their gownes with traines, or to beare them out with long fardingals, and to weare short cloakes. Citizens wiues weare vpon their heads large gray caps, rugged like gray Connie skinnes, and formed like the hiues of Bees, or little caps of veluet close to the head; of a dunne colour, with the hinder skirt (or hinder part) cut off and open: And vpon their legges they weare white buskins, wrought with veluet at the toes; but vpon their armes they weare large sleeues, and contrary to the Germans, thinke them to be most comely.

The Sweitzers, being Citizens (for their nobility is long sincerooted out by popu|lar seditions) weare large round caps, (such as are vsed by our Prentices and Students [Note: Sweitzer|land.] in the Innes of Court), and together with them they weare cloakes (whereas with vs they are onely vsed with gownes), yea, and Swords also (which seemed strange to be worne with caps). They weare great large puffed breeches, gathered close aboue the knees, and each puffe made of a diuers light colour; but their doublets are made close to the body. The married Women couer their heads with a linnen coyfe, and vpon it weare such caps as the men vse, (which are broader then we vsed in England), and commonly weare a linnen crossecloth vpon the forehead. To be briefe, the Virgins

goe bare headed with their baire wouen vp, and vse short cloakes, and aswell married as vnmarried Women, as also the Men, are apparrelled like the Germans, and affect nothing lesse then pride in their attire.

In the vnited Prouinces, the Inhabitants being for the most part Merchants and Ci|tizens, the Men vse modest attire of graue colours, and little beautified with lace or [Note: Netherland] other ornament. They weare short cloakes of English cloth, with one small lace to couer the seames, and a narrow facing of silke or veluet. Their doublets are made close to the body, their breeches large and fastened vnder the knees commonly of woollen cloth, or else of fome light stuffe, or of silke or veluet. They vse very little lace, no imbrodery, yet the Hollanders of old accounted the most rude of the other Pro|uinces, at this day increased in wealth, and reputation of the State, doe by little and little admit luxury, and their sonnes apply themselues both to the apparrell and man|ners of the English and French. Women aswell married as vnmarried, couer their heads with a coyfe of fine holland linnen cloth, and they weare gowns commonly of some flight stuffe, and for the most part of black colour, with little or no lace or guards, and their necke ruffes are little (or short) but of very fine linnen. For aswell men as women for their bodies and for all vses of the Family, vse very fine linnen; and I think that no clownes in the World weare such fine shirts as they in Holland doe. Some of the chiefe Women not able to abide the extreme cold, and loth to put fier vnder them for heate (as the common vse is) because it causeth wrinckles and spots on their bodies, doe vse to weare breeches of linnen or silke. All Women in generall, when they goe out of the house, put on a hoyke or vaile which couers their heads, and hangs downe vpon their backs to their legges; and this vaile in Holland is of a light stuffe or Kersie, and hath a kinde of horne rising ouer the forehead, not much vnlike the old pummels of our Womens saddles, and they gather the Vaile with their hands to couer all their faces, but onely the eyes: but the Women of Flanders and Brabant weare Vailes alto|gether of some light fine stuffe, and fasten them about the hinder part and sides of their cap, so as they hang loosely, not close to the body, and leaue their faces open to view, and these Caps are round, large, and flat to the head, and of Veluet, or atleast guarded therewith, and are in forme like our potlids vsed to couer pots in the Kitchin: And these Women, aswel for these Vailes, as their modest garments with gowns close at the brest and necke, and for their pure and fine linnen, seemed to me more faire then any other Netherlanders, as indeed they are generally more beautifull.

I did see the King of Denmarke entred a daies iourney in his progresse towards Hol|satia (vulgarly Holst), and he wore a loose gippoe of blacke veluet, sparingly adorned [Note: Denmarke.] 170 with gold lace, and in the Towne he wore a large broade brimmed felt hat, with the brimmes in part buttoned vp, but in his coach he wore a rough Brunswicke hat, vsed in the lower parts of Germany, and had a large chaine of gold hanging vnder one arme so low as it was folded about his girdle: And when he walked abroade, he carried his Sword vpon his shoulder with the point in his hand, and the hilts hanging downe be|hind him. His chiefe Courtiers and his younger brother were all attired in an Eng|lish cloth, which they called Kentish cloth, we call Motley, but much finer then that whereof we make cloakebags, and of purpose made for them, costing some two dol|lers the ell. They wore gold chaines, so short as they reached not further then the sixth or seuenth button of their doublets, but the linkes were great, and they had

a Tablet of gold annexed to them. They carried their swords as the King did, with the hilts hanging ouer the shoulder, and they wore daggers with heauy sheaths of siluer, like those vsed in Saxony. The Kings Guard wore huge breeches puffed, and of diuers colours like the Sweitzers hose. In generall, the Danes are apparrelled like the Germans, and especially like the Saxons, constantly and modestly, and they so abhorre from strange fashions, as the Kings Father lately deceased, was reported to haue giuen the strange apparrell of certaine Gentlemen newly returned from forraigne parts, to the infamous Hangman, that they might be despised of the Gentry. Gentlewomen Vir|gins goe with their heads bare, and their haire wouen and adorned with rowes of pearle. And the married Gentlewomen goe with their heads couered with a fine lin|nen coyfe, and weare vpon their foreheads a French shadow of veluet to defend them from the Sunne, which our Gentlewomen of old borrowed of the French, and called them Bonegraces, now altogether out of vse with vs; and they adorne their heads with borders of Gold. Women as well married as vnmarried, Noble and of inferiour condition, weare thinne bands about their neckes, yet not falling, but erected, with the vpper bodies of their outward garment of veluet, but with short skirts, and going out of the house, they haue the German custome to weare cloakes. They also weare a chaine of Gold like a breast-plate, and girdles of siluer, and guilded.

At Dermind the Hauen of Dantzke in Prussen, I did see the King of Poland ready to sayle into Sueuia or Suecia, his Fathers Kingdome of Inheritance, for whom lately [Note: The Poloni|ans.] dead, he then wore mourning Apparrell, namely a long blacke cloake of woollen cloth, and a cap or low hat of blacke silke with narrow brimmes, with a falling band about his necke, a blacke doublet close to his body, and large breeches fastened vnder the knee. The Queene being of the House of Austria, was attired like the Noblewo|men of Germany, and being then ready to take ship, her head was couerd with a coyfe of fine linnen, and vpon her forehead shee wore a crossecloth almost downe to the nose. The Kings Courtiers wore two long coates, the vpper coate (or cloake with sleeues was longer then the other, the skirts whereof on the right side, were so fastened on the shoulder with siluer buttons, and so cast vpon the left shoulder, as they had their right armes altogether free; and this vpper coate was of English cloth, faced be|fore with silke. The lower or inner coate was of silke or some light stuffe, hanging downe on one side to the knees, on the other side doubled and fastened to the girdle, and both coates were of light colours, but without any lace of Gold or Siluer, or other ornament whatsoeuer. They wore breeches and stockings of the same cloth, like those of our old men, or the truses of Ireland, and their shirts were of much finer lin|nen then the Germans vse. And they wore a fine and very large linnen handkercher, fastened to their Girdles behind: but they had no ruffes nor any bands of linnen a|bout their neckes, which are onely vsed by some few Gentlemen, who haue liued in forraigne parts, but the [...] of their coates weare raised with a peake behind to keepe the necke warme. They wore extraordinary little caps, hardly couering the crowne of the head, and in them wore some sixe feathers, not of mixed or light co|lours, nor broade, as we weare them, but white and narrow, such (or the same) as are pulled from Capons tailes. The Polonians shaue all their heads close, excepting the haire of the forehead, which they nourish very long and cast backe to the hinder part of the head. They carry for Armes a Turkish Cemeter, and weare shooes 171

of leather and also of wood, both painted and both shodde vnder the heele and toes with pieces of Iron, making great noise as they goe. The Gentlemen weare chaines of gold folded about their girdles, and carry in their hands a little ham|mer of siluer, and perhaps guilded, and these of inferiour sort one of Iron. The Hun|garians in their attire differ little from the Polonians, but no Hungarian may weare a feather, except he haue done some noble act, and according to the number of his braue actions, so many feathers he may weare, to witnesse his valour. At Crakaw I did see the Castellani (that is, Keepers of Castles) and many Gentlemen riding to the Court, and other places in the City, and the Gentlemen attending them, went on foot before their horses, with Feathers in their little caps, and the vulgar attendants followed their horses. The buttocks of their horses were couered with cloth of gold, or the skinne of some wilde beast, or some like ornament, and about many of their horses eares, hung chaines of gold or siluer, their bridles were guilded, and set with buttons of gold, and the horsemen not onely weare swords by their sides, but also euery horse|man (especially riding in the highway, or being in forraigne parts vpon any Ambas|sage or in like pompes, hath another, and some a third sword (or Cimeter) fastned to their saddles and girthes, besides that both on foote and on horsebacke they carry a hammer in their hands.

The Gentlewomen, after the Netherlanders fashion, couer the head with a coyfe of fine linnen, and weare a crosscloth vpon the forehead, and as the men, so they weare no ruffe or linnen band about the necke, but many haue about their neckes chaines of Pearle worth two hundred, yea, fiue hundred Dollers, and some line the collar of the vpper body of their Gownes with furre, and so couer the nakednesse of the necke be|hind. The vnmarried women weare aprons of fine linnen, and goe with bare heads, ha|uing their haire wouen, as our women vse, with a narrow piece of Veluet crossing the middest of their heads, and going out of the house, they cast a white Vayle vpon their heads and backes, but shew their faces open. The meaner sort of married women ei|ther wrap their heads and mouthes with a narrow long piece of linnen, or only couer their mouthes with linnen, and wearing a low hat cast a Vayle from it, to couer the hinder part of the head, and all the backe, and they weare loose Kirtles ouer their other apparrell, which are tied behind with strings. The common sort of Country women couer themselues all ouer with linnen cloth or skinnes of beaste.

The Prussians are tributary to the King of Poland, and vpon free conditions ac|knowledge themselues subiect to the Crowne of Poland, and their attire as also lan|guage little differs from the Germans, saue that their apparrell is more sumptuous, but of them I haue formerly spoken in the discourse of the Germans attire.

Of the Italians it is prouerbially said, that the Venetians are gowned, yet by night [Note: Italie] going to visit their Mistresses, weare short Spanish cloakes. That those of Terrara and Mantua are proud in their attire, with their caps set with gold buttons. That the Florentines are ridiculous, (yet I obserued none more modestly attired.) That those of Genoa are neate and comely in attire, but weare no gownes, nor lace, nor gardes. That those of Milan are decent, and the Neopolitans are glittering and sumptuous. Surely the Italians in generall, respect the conueniency more then ornament of their apparrell. When they take iourneyes, they weare large bootes, that they may fling off being vntied, but such as keepe them dry in all weathers; and to the same ende they weare thicke felt hats, and shortfelt clokes, which no

raine can pierce, respecting the health, not the ornaments of their bodies. And howsoeuer their apparrell is soft and delicate, yet they onely weare cloth and stuffes made at home, not any brought from forraigne parts. Their garments are commonly of silke, but seldome embrodred, and neuer laid with gold or siluer lace, and commonly of black colour. And howsoeuer all those mixed colours which we so highly esteeme, come from thence, yet are they not inuented by the Italians, but by the Factors of our Merchants, who lie there of purpose, to feede the fantasticall pride of our Youth, in new Stuffes, or at least new co|lours and names.

The Citizens of Genoa , weare gold Chaines, and might seeme proudly attiredin 172 garments of Veluet, saue that we must remember, that they are not onely Merchants but Gentlemen, and some of them Princes.

The Venetians, by reason of their strict Lawes from all antiquity restraining excesse in apparrell, howsoeuer many times they weare sumptuous garments, yet are they hidden vnder their gownes, not to be seene but by their Mistrisses at night. They make woollencloth of such lasting, as they bequeath their gownes by their last testaments. All the Gentlemen, not one excepted, weare blacke cloth gownes, buttoned close at the necke, with the sleeues put on ouer their doublets, aswell young as old men, but some vnder this ciuill gowne we are rich furres, and imbrodred garments. And the Se|nators, Doctors, and Knights, we are Scarlet gownes, with large sleeues, lined in win|ter with rich furres And their Senate is no lesse or more glorious in publike pompes, then the Roman Senate was of old. And the Gentlemen constantly weare these gownes, either in singular pride to be knowne from others, (for no Citizen, nor any Gentlemen of other Cities weare gownes), or for obedience to the Law, or out of an old custome, which the most wise Magistrates permit not to be broken. And for the same cause, all the Gentlemen, none excepted, weare little caps of Freese or Cloth, hardly couering the crowne, or the forepart of the head.

All other Italians in generall weare stuffe cloakes, and commonly of Silke in sum|mer, and cloth in winter, and light felt hats with narrow brimmes, and large breeches, sometimes wide, and open at the knee, after the Spanish fashion, but more common|ly tied vnder the knee, and a loose coate or gippo, but not wide, and a doublet close to the body, both of silke, and lined with silke, and silke stockings. Also many weare Iew|els, but as it were hidden, to bee seene onely by chance. Lastly, in great wisdome they care not to haue rich apparrell, but hold it honourable to liue of their owne. They make no fine linnen, and therfore vse course linnen, both for shirts, and other vses of the Family, and commonly weare little falling bands, and many times ruffes of Flanders linnen, sometimes wrought with Italian Cut-worke, much vsed with vs, but their ruffes are not so great as ours, and they haue little skill in washing, starching, or smoo|thing linnen. They weare very short haire, as all Nations doe that liue in hot climes, the contrary vice of wearing long haire being proper to the French, English, and Scots, but especially to the Irish. The Italians clothe very little children with dou|blets and breeches, but their breeches are open behind, with the shirt hanging out, that they may case themselues without helpe. Among other Princes of Italy, I did see Fer|dinand the third, Duke of Florence [325] , who did weare a cloke of English cloth, with one little lace, and breeches of Veluct without any ornament, and stockings of leather, and a leather scabbard to

[325] Florence

his sword, and his coach was lined with old greene Veluct, and the horses seemed taken out of the Plough.

The women in generall are delighted with mixed and light colours. The women of [326] Venice weare choppines or shoos three or foure hand-bredths high, so as the lowest of them seeme higher then the tallest men, and for this cause they cannot goe in the streetes without leaning vpon the shoulder of an old woman. They haue another old woman to beare vp the traine of their gowne, and they are not attended with any man, but onely with old women. In other parts of Italy, they weare lower shooes, yet some|what raised, and are attended by old women, but goe without any helpe of leading. The women of [327] Venice weare gownes, leauing all the necke and brest bare, and they are closed before with a lace, so open, as a man may see the linnen which they lap about their bodies, to make them seeme fat, the Italians most louing fat women. They shew their naked necks and breasts, and likewise their dugges, bound vp and swelling with linnen, and all made white by art. They weare large falling bands, and their haire is commonly yellow, made so by the Sunne and art, and they raise vp their haire on the forehead in two knotted hornes, and deck their heads and vncouered haire with flow|ers of silke, and with pearle, in great part counterfeit. And they cast a black vaile from the head to the shoulders, through which the nakednesse of their shoulders, and neckes, and breasts, may easily be seene. For this attire the women of [328] Venice are pro|uerbially said to be, Grande dilegni, Grosse di straci, rosse dibettito, bianche di calcina: that 173 is tall with wood, fat with ragges, red with painting, and white with chalke. The wo|men of Genoa are attired much after the French fashion, and by reason of neighbour|hood, borrow diuers manners from France, (which is also to be vnderstood of other Cities lying vnder the French Alpes), and they goe abroad either alone, or attended by men, not by women as in other parts; yea, by night, and early in the morning to the Church, (which suspected fashions other Italians cannot endure) They weare nets and blacke vailes, couering there with their faces, contrary to the French manner, without which the poorest woman goes not abroad.

In generall the Women of Italy, (for diuers Cities haue some fashions differing from other) most commonly (but especially the wiues of shopkeepers) weare gowns of silke and light stuffes, yea, wouen with gold, and those close at the brest and necke; with a standing collar, and little ruffes close vp to the very chinne, and shewing no part naked. And Gentlewomen in generall, weare gownes loose behind, with a close collar, hiding all nakednesse, and with traines borne vp by waiting-maides, and some|times with open hanging sleeues. The married women weare their heads bare, or couered with a fine linnen coyfe, and a hat, and a vaile hanging downe from the hin|der part of the head to the backe. The vnmarried haue their heads bare, with their haire knotted like snakes, and tied with gold and siluer laces, or else they are couered with a gold netted cawle, and they weare also gold chaines. The married women weare chaines of pearle about the head and necke, which in some places are forbid|den to Virgins; and these pearles are many times (especially at [329] Venice) counterfet, and made of glasse, but very beautifull to the eye. Widdowes and

[326] Venice
[327] Venice
[328] Venice
[329] Venice

Women that mourne, couer all their head and shoulders with a blacke vaile, and vpon the forehead they weare a shadow or bongrace, and about their neckes a white vaile, hanging downe before to their feete.) The Countrey wenches weare vpon their heads gold and sil|uer cawles, or at least seeming such, and straw hats, and guilded girdles, and for the rest as other women are delighted with light colours.

The City Virgins, and especially Gentlewomen, couer their heads, face, and backes with a Vaile, that they may not be seene passing the streetes, and in many places weare silke or linnen breeches vnder their gownes. Also I haue seene honourable Women, aswell married as Virgines, ride by the high way in Princes traines, apparrelled like Men, in a doublet close to the body, and large breeches open at the knees, after the Spanish fashion, both of carnation silke or satten, and likewise riding astride like men vpon horses or Muses, but their heads were attired like Women, with bare haires knotted, or else couered with gold netted cawles, and a hat with a feather. And many times in the Cities (as at Padua) I haue seene Curtizans (in plaine English, whores) in the time of shrouing, apparrelled like men, in carnation or light coloured doublets and breeches, and so playing with the racket at Tennis with yong men, at which time of shrouing, the Women no lesse then Men, (and that honourable women in honou|rable company,) goe masked and apparrelled like men all the afternoone about the streetes, euen from Christmasse holydaies to the first day in Lent. The Women wea|ring Mens breeches, haue them open all before, and most part behind, onely buttoned with gold or siluer buttons: And the Curtizans make all the forepart of their gownes in like manner open, to auoide wrinckling.

Lastly, the Italians vse to tie themselues vpon a vow for recouery of health, or like cause, to weare certaine apparrell for a time or for life; and if the vow be in repentance of sinne, the colour is ash colour, vulgarly Beretino, which I haue seene some weare for long time constantly, with purpose to weare them during life.

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2

7.2 CHAP. II.
Of the Turkes, French, English, Scottish, and Irish Apparrell.

THe Turks shaue their heads, but only in the very crowne, where they leaue a tuffr of haire; and they doe not now as [Note: Turkey.] of old, onely nourish the haire of the vpper lip, but al the beard growing round. They couer their head thus sha|ued with a close cap of Scarlet, and aboue it weare some twelue or twenty elles of fine white cotton cloth, wouen into a round globe, which in their tongue is called a Tul|bent, and by some Tsalma: neither do they euer vncouer their heads in honour to any man, but salute by bending the body, and laying their left hand on their right side. This cap (or this head, as they call it) is hollow, and so admits aire, being borne vp by little hoopes, and so cooles the head, yet being thicke, keepes out the Sunne from piercing it, and being of most fine linnen, is much lighter then our hats. All the Or|ders or degrees among the Turkes, are knowne by the ornament of the head (or by their heades, as they speake.) The Azimoglanes weare Pyramidall caps like sugar|loues, of a mingled colour and light stuffe. The Ianizares weare the said Tulbent, but haue also a cap peculiar to their Order, vulgarly called Zarcola, which they weare go|ing abroad into the City, being a standing cap, plaine at the top, with an hood han|ging down behind (like that part of our French hoods), with a guilded horne of brasse vpright aboue the forehead. The Ianizares that are Courtiers, weare a Feather han|ging downe from the hinder part of the head to the very heeles. The Chausses, and all degrees vpward to the very Emperour, weare the said Tulbent or Cap, with a lit|tle piece of red veluet appearing at the very crowne, vpon which they set Iewels and Feathers, whereby these higher orders and degrees in the warre are distinguished. Like white Tulbents, but altogether plaine, are worne by inferiour Turkes, that are not Souldiers, and they cannot bee more prouoked, then by casting any spot vpon their white heads, which they weare as an holy badge of their Religion, placing the purity of the foule for a great part in the outward purity of the body, Tulbent, and garments. All these Tulbents be of pure white; but the Greekes and other Christi|ans, aswell subiects as strangers, weare Shasses, that is, striped linnen (commonly white and blew), wound about the skirts of a little cap. Such a Shasse my selfe did weare, costing fifteene Mcidines.

The Persians weare such Tulbents for the forme, but the cloth is of greene colour. And the Turkes (as I thinke) called Seriffi, and by others called Hemir, namely, the Kindred or race of Mahomet, (who make great shew of hereditary holinesse, and are of singular reputation), doe not onely weare greene Tulbents, but all garments of the same colour, yet some of them weare garments of other colours, with a greene marke to be knowne from others. They say, that Mahomet vsed to weare greene garments, whereupon in superstition they onely permit this colour to his race; and if any chance to weare a shoostring or garters of that colour, by ignorance of this rite, they will flie vpon him, and beate him with cudgels, and if hee still weare them, will punish him more seuerely. My self ignorant of this rite, passed most part of Turkey, with my dub|let lined with greene taffety, but sleeping by nights in my dublet, and hiding the silke, lest they should thinke me rich; by great chance

this error of mine was neuer detected, till I came to Constantinople, where our Ambassadour obseruing it, and telling mee the great cruelty they vse towards such as weare any greene thing, did much astonish me, yet did I still weare the same, being safe in the priuiledge of the Ambassadours house, till I went into a Venetian ship, to sayle into Italy. Besides these hypocrites of Maho|mets 175 race, (for that cause so much respected, as the witnesse of one of them auailes more then of ten common Turkes), they haue other orders of religious men, where|of the chiefe, and (as it were) Metropolitan Bishop is called Mophty, whom the Em|perour highly respects, and takes counsell of him when he goes to warre. Also the Cady is a chiefe Iudge of Ecclesiasticall causes: And all these weare silke gownes of skie coloured blew, which colour is esteemed next greene, and proper to some such orders. And these religious men weare their gownes long to the ground, with close sleeues, and their tulbents are larger, but flatter, then other Turkes weare.

Neither men nor women of the Turkes, weare any necke bands or collars, but their gownes are cut close to the lowest part of the necke, and there made fast, so as all the necke is naked. And the gownes of men and women little differ, saue that the men haue them large, the women close at the brest. They hate the blacke colour, as infer|nall, and much vsed by Christians In general, the men weare a long coate to the knee; and vpon it a long gowne with gathered sleeues, hanging to the calfe of the legge, and buttoned at the brest, and a third longer gowne hanging behind to the ground, with sleeues close to the arme. They weare a girdle of silke or linnen twice or thrice about the waste, or of fine leather with plates of gold and siluer. Their breeches and stock|ings are of one peece of Kersey, like Irish Trouses, but larger, the stockings hanging loose without any garters. They weare their shirts hanging ouer their breeches, vn|der which they haue linnen breeches, which they weare also by night, in stead of sheetes: And they pull out their shirts by day, lest they should be spotted by their priuy parts, making it a point of religion, to keepe their garments cleane. Lastly; they weare red and yellow shooes, of most thinne leather, pointed sharpe at the toes; and two fingers high at the heele, with peeces of iron vnder the soles, or else leather bus|kins; and both these they put off within dores; sitting vpon the ground, spread with Carpets, crossing their naked feete like our Taylors. Their vpper gowne and breeches are commonly of English or Venetian cloth, and many times of satten or damaske, or some light stuffe: And their coates are loose, and commonly lined with blacke Co|nie skinnes, brought out of England, and much esteemed by them; as being soft, and coole, and keeping out the Sunne in a loose garment, and also warme in a close gar|ment. Thus they weare the finest cloth, silkes, and stuffes, but not one is found so pro|digall or ridiculous, as to weare any lace, and much lesse to cut any stuffe, all wearing them plaine, and laughing at our contrary fashions. They haue no glooues, and I re|member that my selfe in Syria being poorely attired, yet was taken for a great man, onely for wearing gloues. They weare very large hand-kerchers, and wrought all o|uer with silke of light colours, which they hang by their sides about the girdle. They vse linnen cloth or cotton cloth very thinne and fine, but of browne colour, for thin|nesse not vnlike our boulting cloths, but most pure and cleane, in which they are curi|ous for al things worne about the body. The chief pride of the Turks, is in hauing the pummels of their Cemeters (or short and broad Swords) set with Iewels, which are many times counter-

fet, and commonly of small value, and likewise in hauing good horses, with bridles and saddles rich and set with like Iewels. I neuer obserued any Turkes to weare gold Rings or Iewels on their fingers, excepting onely some Soul|diers in Syria, whom I haue seene weare great rings of white bone vpon their thumbs. But the great men highly esteeme Christian Iewellers, not to weare the Iewels, but ra|ther to haue their treasure portable, and easie to be hidden. The Turkes weare no Swords in the Cities, but onely in the Campe, or in Iournies: For Ianizaries and other Souldiers haue such authority without armes, as no man dares resist them so as car|rying onely a long and heauy cudgell in their hands, one of them will therewith beat multitudes of Turkes, like so many dogs: yet the Ianizaries in Syria weare at their gir|dles short and heauy Kniues, like daggers.

The Turkish women weare smocks (of which fashion also the mens shirts are) of fine linnen, wrought with silke at the wrests, vpon the sleeues, and at the skirts; and a long cote of silke, wrought with needle-worke, and edged, with sleeues close to the arme, and at the breast, with their necks naked. The womens gownes are much like 176 those of the men, for cloth and fashion, and in like sort without lace, and plaine without cutting, and open before, so as the smocke is seene; and they weare lin|nen breeches as men, by day and night, or else such breeches of cloth, as men weare, and both these open at the knee; and as the men, so likewise the women, haue no collar of any garment, but their neckes bee naked, and the women haue Pearles hanging in their eares. But they seldome weare shooes or flockings like men, but com|monly Buskins of light colours, adorned with gold and siluer, or with Iewells if they be of the richer sort, or wines of great men; and these they weare onely abroad, for at home their feet be naked, and as men, so they sit crosselegd vpo carpets. They weaue vp their haire in curious knots, and so let them hang at length, and deck the haire with Pearle and buttons of gold, and with Iewels and flowers of silk wrought with the needle. The women in Syria couer their heads with little peeces of coined moneys ioyned toge|ther with thread, instead of a linnen coife. No Turkish woman, that euer I obserued in that vast Empire, at any time goeth forth to buy any thing, or for any businesse of the family, but when vpon other occasions they go forth, then they couer their heads and foreheads with a white vaile, their eyes with a blacke Cipers, and muffle their mouthes and neckes with white linnen, and hide their very hands vnder their vailes, though their hands be all painted ouer with a red colour, made of an hearb, which in the Easterne parts is held a great ornament, so as the very men in some places paint their hands. Also the women, ouer their garments (be they costly or poore) weare a gowne of a darke coloured cloth, which both rich and meaner women all generally vse of the same kind of cloth and the same colour, whensoeuer they goe out of the dores, so as thus muffled and couered, they cannot be distinguished in condition or beauty. Neither goe they abroad in any pompe to be seene, nor without the leaue of their husbands, to whom, and to no other at any time, they shew their face open, and their hands vnpainted, except they will by immodesty procure their owne danger. Vnder the necke of this gowne couering all their apparrell, they thrust the end of their white vaile hanging downe from the hinder part of the head; yet the Greekish women weare this vaile loose ouer that gowne. And this singular modesty is attribu|ted to these women, that they blush to come into Market places, or publike meetings, or great companies, and are not displeased

to be strictly kept at home. Lastly, in respect of their frequent bathing, and their faces couered when they goe abroad, and so neuer open to the Sunne, wind, or any ill weather, the Turkish and Greekish women haue most delicate bodyes, and long preserue their beauties.

The French, if we respect the time of these late Ciuill wars, weare light stuffes and woollen cloth, with a doublet close to the body, and large easie breeches, and all things [Note: France.] rather commodious for vse, then braue for ornament; and scoffed at those who came richly attired to the Campe, or wore long haire. But if wee consider their apparrell before the misery of the said ciuill warres, we shall find them authors to vs English, of wearing long haire, doublets with long bellies to the nauell, ruffes hanging downe to the shoulders, and breeches puffed as big as a tunne, with all like wanton leuities. In time of peace, Gentlemen weare mixed and light colours, and silk garments, laid with silke lace, and sattens, commonly raced, and stockings of silke, or of some light stuffe, but neuer woollen or worsted (which only Merchants weare,) and imbrodered gar|ments, with great inconstancy in the fashion, and negligently or carelessely, which the Germans call slouenly, because they many times goe without hatbands and garters, with their points vntrust, and their doubtles vnbutned. The sumptuary lawes forbid Gentlemen to weare cloth or lace of gold and siluer, but when the King proclaimes an honourable warre against any fortaine Prince, he permits any brauery to his soldiers, yet so, as the warre ended, after a fit time to weare out that apparrel, they must returne to their former attire, except the king be so weake, as he cannot giue life to these lawes. Aswell men as women commonly weare course linnen, and Gentlemens Lacqueis or seruants ruffle in plaine ragges. In generall, men and women (excepting Courti|ers and some of the Gentry) weare light stuffes, and rather delicate then sumptuous garments. And howsoeuer the Law forbids to weare silke lace vpon silke stuffe 177 yet the execution of the Law being neglected, they euer offend more or lesse, accor|ding to the libertie of the time, against this old Law, neuer yet abolished, but rather in time worne out of respect. Merchants weare blacke garments of cloth, or light stuffes of silke, commonly after a modest fashion. The Senators weare cloakes and hats (not gownes and caps as ours vse), and onely the Presidents and Counsellers of Par|laments weare scarlet gownes, and that onely at solemne times, as the first day that the Court sits, and all the Procurators daily weare gownes. The Country people commonly vsed to weare blew cloth, in loose coates and close breeches, with stock|ings hanging ouer their shooes. But they haue left this fashion, and now for the most part, weare close doublets, and large breeches, with a large coate hanging downe to the knees, all of light stuffes made at home, and stockings of course wooll. And their wiues in like sort attyred, haue their heads all ouer-wrapped in linnen.

In generall the women, married, couer their heads with a coyfe or netted cawle. The Gentlewomen beare vp their haire on the fore-heades with a wier, and vpon the back part of the head weare a cap of other haire then their owne, ouer their cawle, and aboue that they weare a coyfe of silke, lined with Veluet, and hauing a peake downe the forehead. Or else the Gentlewomen and wiues of rich Merchants, with small difference of degree, weare vpon their heads a black vaile of Cipers, peaked at the fore|head, with a veluet hood hanging downe behind; onely the Gentlewomen weare this hood gathered, and the Merchants wiues plaine.

Women of inferiour sort weare like hoods of cloth, and sometimes of silke, or a light stuffe. And some Merchants wiues and women of ordinary condition, weare a white coife of linnen (fine or course according to their condition) with certaine high and not very comely hornes, wrea|thed vp on the forehead. Both men and women lately vsed falling bands, which the better sort starched, and raised vp with wier, shewing their necks and breasts naked. But now both more commonly and especially in winter, weare thicke ruffes. Gentle|women and Citizens wiues when they goe out of dores, weare vpon their faces little Maskes of silk, lined with fine leather, which they alwaies vnpin, and shew their face, to any that salutes them. And they vse a strange badge of pride, to weare little look|ing glasses at their girdles. Commonly they go in the streets leaning vpon a mans arme. They weare very light gownes, commonly blacke, and hanging loose at the backe, and vnder it an vpper-body close at the breast, with a kirtle of a mixed or light colour, and of some light stuffe, laid with many gardes, in which sort the women ge|nerally are attired They weare sleeues to their gownes borne out with whalebones, and of a differing colour from the gowne, which besides hath other loose hanging sleeues cast backward, and aswel the vpperbodies as the kirtles, differ from the gowne in colour and stuffe. And they say, that the sleeues borne vp with whalebones, were first inuented, to auoid mens familiar touching of their armes. For it was related vn|to me (I know not how credibly), that by Phisitians aduice the French make issues in their armes for better health, as the Italians vse to make them vnder the knees co|uered with a close garter of brasse. In France as well men as women, vse richly to bee adorned with Iewels. The men weare rings of Diamonds, and broad Iewels in their hats, placed vpon the roote of their feathers. The Ladies weare their Iewels common|ly at the brest, or vpon the left arme, and many other waies; for who can containe the mutable French in one and the same fashion? and they commonly weare chaines of Pearle, yea, the very wiues of Merchants weare rings of Diamonds, but most com|monly chaines of bugell and like toyes of black colour.

The Gentlemen haue no plate of siluer, but some spoones and a salt, much lesse haue they any plate of gold. But the great Lords or Princes eate in siluer dishes, and vse basons and ewers of siluer, and no other kind of plate, vsing alwaies to drinke in glasses, and each seuerall man to haue a glasse by himselfe.

Caesar reports that the old Britans were apparrelled in skinnes and wore long haire, [Note: England.] with the beard all shauen, but the vpper lippe. Now the English in their apparrell are become more light then the lightest French, and more sumptuous then the proudest Persians. More light I say then the French, because with singular inconstancy they 178 haue in this one age worne out all the fashions of France and all the Nations of Eu|rope, and tired their owne inuentions, which are no lesse buisie in finding out new and ridiculous fashions, then in scraping vp money for such idle expences: yea, the Tay|lors and Shopkeepers daily inuent fantasticall fashions for hats, and like new fashi|ons and names for stuffes. Some may thinke that I play the Poet, in relating won|derfull but incredible things, but men of experience know that I write with historicall truth. That the English by Gods goodnesse abounding at home with great variety of things to be worne, are not onely not content therewith, and not onely seeke new garments from the furthest East, but are besides so light and vaine, as they suffer them|selues to be abused by the English Merchants, who nourishing this gen-

erall folly of their Countrymen, to their own gaine, daily in forraigne parts cause such new colours and stuffe to be made, as their Masters send painted out of England to them, teaching strangers to serue our lightnesse with such inuentions as themselues neuer knew be|fore. For this cause the English of greater modesty in apparrell, are forced to cast off garments before they be worne, since it is the law of nature, that euery man may eate after his owne appetite, but must weare his apparrell after the vulgar fashion, except he will looke like an old picture in cloth of Arras. I haue heard a pleasant fable, that Iupiter sent a shower, wherein whosoeuer was wet, became a foole; and that all the people were wet in this shower, excepting one Philosopher, who kept his study: but in the euening comming forth into the market place, and finding that all the people mocked him as a foole, who was onely wise, was forced to pray for another like show|er, that he might become a foole, and so liue quietly among fooles, rather then beare the enuy of his wisedome. This happens to many wise men in our age, who wearing apparrell of old and good fashion, are by others so mocked for proud and obstinate fooles, till at last they are forced to be foolish with the fooles of their time. The Eng|lish I say are more sumptuous then the Persians, because despising the golden meane, they affect all extreamities. For either they will be attired in plaine cloth and light stuffes, (alwayes prouided that euery day without difference their hats be of Beuer, their shirts and bands of the finest linnen, their daggers and swords guilded, their gar|ters and shooe roses of silke, with gold or siluer lace, their stockings of silke wrought in the seames with silke or gold, and their cloakes in Summer of silke, in Winter at least all lined with veluet), or else they daily weare sumptuous doublets and breeches of silke or veluet, or cloth of gold or siluer, so laid ouer with lace of gold or silke, as the stuffes (though of themselues rich) can hardly be seene. The English and French haue one peculiar fashion, which I neuer obserued in any other part, namely to weare scabbards and sheaths of veluet vpon their rapiers and daggers: For in France very Notaries vse them in the Cities, and ride vpon their footecloaths, or in coaches (both hired), and in England men of meane sort vse them. In the time of Queene Elizabeth the Courtiers delighted much in darke colours, both simple and mixt, and did often weare plaine blacke stuffes; yet that being a braue time of warre, they, together with our Commanders, many times wore light colours, richly laced and embrodered, but the better sort of Gentlemen then esteemed simple light colours to be lesse comely, as red and yellow, onely white excepted, which was then much worne in Court. Now in this time of King Iames his Reigne, those simple light colours haue beene much vsed.

If I should begin to set downe the variety of fashions and forraign stuffes brought into England in these times, I might seeme to number the starres of Heauen and sands of the Sea. I will onely adde, that the English in great excesse affect the wearing of Iewels and Diamond Rings, scorning to weare plaine gold rings, or chaines of gold, the men seldome or neuer wearing any chaines, and the better sort of women com|monly wearing rich chaines of pearle, or else the light chaines of France, and all these Iewels must be oriental and precious, it being disgracefull to weare any that are coun|terfet. In like manner among the better sort of Gentlemen and Merchants, few are sound, who haue not cupbords of siluer and gold plate, to the value of two hundred pounds at the least. And if a feast last longer then one day, they seldome vse the same 179 plate of siluer or guilded: yea, not only the great Lords, but the better sort

of Knights and Gentlemen, vse to eate in siluer dishes. And whereas the French and Italians vse to drinke in glasses, and haue few vessels, no pots or boles of siluer, and the Germans drink in peuter or stone pots, hauing little or no plate; most of the housholders in Eng|land of any reasonable condition, drinke in siluer: yet howsoeuer the Gentlemen are serued with pots and boles of siluer, they rather delight to drinke in glasses of [330] Venice, onely the common sort vsing other kinds of glasses.

In the generall pride of England there is no fit difference made of degrees; for very Bankrouts, Players, and Cutpurses, goe apparrelled like Gentlemen. Many good Lawes haue been made against this Babylonian confusion, but either the Merchants buying out the penaltie, or the Magistrates not inflicting punishments, haue made the multitude of Lawes hitherto vnprofitable. Like [...] is the excesse of all ages and sexes, but (God be thanked) not of all particular orders; for onely the Merchants and Students of the Vniuersities, with great comlinesse, and no lesse neatenesse, are appar|relled in light stuffes, or silke or cloth of graue colours, and much keepe their old fa|shions, or at least are not curiously addicted to new. The wiues of Merchants, though little yeelding to others in pride or expence, yet haue long vsed, and still retaine a de|cent attire, with little or no inconstancy in the fashion. They weare a gowne of some light stuffe or silke gathered in the backe, and girded to the body with a girdle, and decked with many gardes at the skirt, with which they weare an apron before them, of some silke or stuffe, or fine linnen. They weare vpon their heads a coyfe of fine linnen, with their haire raised a little at the forehead, and a cap of silke, or a little hat of beauer, yet without fit difference of estate or condition, and some weare light French chaines and necklaces of pearle. The grauer sort of Citizens weare gownes and caps, others weare hats and cloakes, and their prentises cloakes and caps. No Ci|tizens weare any swords in the Citie. At publike meetings the Aldermen of Lon|don weare Scarlet gownes, and their wiues a close gowne of skarlet laid with gards of blacke veluet.

Husbandmen weare garments of course cloth, made at home, and their wiues weare gownes of the same cloth, kirtles of some light stuffe, with linnen aprons, and co|uer their heads with a linnen coyfe, and a high felt hat, and in generall their linnen is course, and made at home.

Gentlewomen virgins weare gownes close to the body, and aprons of fine linnen, and goe bareheaded, with their haire curiously knotted, and raised at the forehead, but many against the cold (as they say) weare caps of haire that is not their owne, decking their heads with buttons of gold, pearles, and flowers of silke, or knots of ribben. They weare fine linnen, and commonly falling bands, and often ruffes, both starched, and chaines of pearle about the necke, with their brests naked. The grauer sort of married women vsed to couer their head with a French-hood of Veluet, set with a border of gold buttons and pearles: but this fashion is now left, and they most commonly weare a coyfe of linnen, and a little hat of beauer or felt, with their haire somewhat rai|sed at the forehead. Young married Gentlewomen sometimes goe bare headed, as virgins, decking their haire with Iewels, and silke ribbens, but more commonly they vse the foresaid linnen coyfe and hats. All in generall, weare gownes hanging loose at the backe, with a Kittle and close vpper-body, of silke or light stuffe, but haue lately left the French sleeues borne out with hoopes of whalebone, and the young married Gen-

[330] Venice

tlewomen no lesse then the Virgins, shew their breasts naked.

The seruants of Gentlemen were wont to weare blew coates, with their Masters badge of siluer on the left sleeue: but now they most commonly weare clokes gar|ded with lace, all the seruants of one family wearing the same liuerie for colour and ornament; and for the rest, are apparrelled with no lesse pride and inconstancie of fa|shion then other degrees.

The Husbandmen in Scotland, the seruants, and almost al in the Country did weare course cloth made at home, of gray or skie colour, and flat blew caps very broad. The Merchants in Cities were attired in English or French cloth, of pale colour or ming|led 180 black and blew. The Gentlemen did weare English cloth, or silke, or light stuffes, little or nothing adorned with silke lace, much lesse with lace of siluer or gold, and all followed at this time the French fashion, especially in Court. Gentlewomen married did weare close vpper bodies, after the German manner, with large whalebone sleeues after the French manner, short cloakes like the Germans, French hoods, and large fal|ling bands about their neckes. The vnmarried of all sorts did goe bareheaded, and weare short cloakes, with most closelinnen sleeues on their armes, like the Virgins of Germany. The inferiour sort of Citizens wiues, and the women of the Countrey, did weare cloakes made of a course stuffe, of two or three colours in Checker worke, vul|garly called Plodan. To conclude, in generall they would not at this time be attired after the English fashion in any sort, but the men, especially at Court, follow the French fashion, and the women, both in Court and City, as well in cloakes, as naked heads, and close sleeues on the armes, and all other garments, follow the fashion of the women in Germany.

In Ireland the English and the English Irish are attired after the English manner, [Note: Ireland.] for the most part, yet not with such pride and inconstancy, perhaps for want of meanes: yet the English Irish forgetting their owne Countrey, are somewhat infected with the Irish rudenesse, and with them are delighted in simple light colours, as red and yellow. And in like sort the degenerated Citizens are somewhat infected with the Irish filthinesse, as well in lowsie beds, foule sheetes, and all linnen, as in many other particulars; but as well in diet as apparrell, the Citizens of Dublyn most of all other, and the Citizens of Waterford and Galloway in some good measure, retaine the Eng|lish cleanlinesse. Touching the meere or wild Irish, it may truely be said of them, which of old was spoken of the Germans, namely, that they wander slouenly and na|ked, and lodge in the same house (if it may be called a house,) with their beasts. A|mong them the Gentlemen or Lords of Countries, weare close breeches and stock|ings of the same peece of cloth, of red or such light colour, and a loose coate, and a cloake or three cornered mantle, commonly of course light stuffe made at home, and their linnen is course and slouenly. I say slouenly, because they seldome put off a shirt till it be worne: And these shirts in our memory before the last Rebellion, were made of some twenty or thirty elles, folded in wrinckles, and coloured with saffron to auoid lowsinesse, incident to the wearing of foule linnen. And let no man wonder, that they are lowsie, for neuer any barbarous people were found in all kinds more slouenly then they are, and nothing is more common among them, then for the men to lie vpon the womens laps on greene hils, till they kill their lice, with a strange nim|blenesse, proper to that Nation. Their said breeches are so close, as they expose to full view, not onely the noble, but also the shamefull parts, yea they stuffe their shirts about

their priuy parts, to expose them more to the view.

Their wiues liuing among the English, are attired in a sluttish gowne, to be fastned at the breast with a lace, and in a more sluttish mantell, and more sluttish linnen, and their heads be couered after the Turkish manner, with many elles of linnen, onely the Turkish heads or Tulbents are round in the top: but the attire of the Irish wo|mens heads, is more flat in the top and broader on the sides, not much vnlike a cheese mot, if it had a hole to put in the head. For the rest, in the remote parts where the Eng|lish Lawes and manners are vnknowne, the very cheefe of the Irish, as well men as women, goe naked in very Winter time, onely hauing their priuy parts couered with a ragge of linnen, and their bodies with a loose mantell, so as it would turne a mans stomacke to see an old woman in the morning before breakefast. This I speake of my owne experience, yet remember that the foresaid Bohemian Barron, comming out of Scotland to vs by the North parts of the wild Irish, told me in great earnestnes, (when I attended him at the Lord Deputies command,) that he comming to the house of Ocane a great Lord among them, was met at the doore with sixteene women, all na|ked excepting their loose mantles; whereof eight or ten were very faire, and two see|med very Nimphs: with which strange sight his eyes being dazelled, they led him in|to the house, and there sitting downe by the fier, with crossed legges like Taylors, and 181 so low as could not but offend chast eyes, desired him to set downe with them. Soone after Ocane the Lord of the Countrie came in all naked excepting a loose mantle, and shooes, which he put off assoone as he came in, and entertaining the Barron after his best manner in the Latin tongue, desired him to put off his apparrel, which he thought to be a burthen to him, and to sit naked by the fier with this naked company. But the Barron when he came to himselfe after some astonishment at this strange right, pro|fessed that he was so inflamed therewith, as for shame he durst not put off his appar|rell.

These Rogues in Summer thus naked beare their armes, girding their swords to them by a with in stead of a girdle. To conclude, men and women, at night going to sleepe, lie thus naked in a round circle about the fier, with their feete towards it, and as I formerly said, treating of their diet, they fold their heads and vpper partes in their woollen mantles, first steeped in water, to keepe them warme. For they say that wool|len cloth wetted, preserues heate, (as linnen wetted preserues cold) when the smoke of their bodies hath warmed the woollen cloth.

2

7.3 CHAP. III.

Of the Germans, and Bohemians Commonwealth, vnder which title I con|taine an Historicall introduction; the Princes pedegrees, and Courts, the present state of things, the tributes and reuenews, the military state for horse, Foote, and Nauy, the Courts of Iustice, rare Lawes, more special|ly the Lawes of inheritance, and of womens Dowries, the capitall Iudge|ments, and the diuersitie of degrees in Family and Common-wealth.

COnstantine the great made Emperour about the yeere 306, [Note: The historo|call intro|duction.] remoued his seate from Rome to Constantinople, and at his death deuided the Empire among his children. And how|soeuer the Empire was after sometimes vnited in the per|son of one Prince for his reigne, yet it could neuer bee a|gaine established in one body, but was most commonly deuided into the Easterne and Westerne Empires. In the time of Augustulus Emperour of the West, the remote Countries of the Empire recouered their liberty by the sword, and barbarous Nations in great armies, inuaded the Empire, till they possessed Italy, so as this Emperour was forced to depose his Im|periall dignity about the yeere 476. And thus the Westerne Empire ceased, till Charles the great, King of France, about the yeere 774 subdued the Lombards, and was at Rome saluted Emperour of the West by Pope Leo the third, and the Princes of Italy. From which time the Empires of the East and West, of old deuided by inheritance among brothers and Kinsmen, had no more any mutuall right of succession, but began to bee seuerally gouerned. Histories write, that Charles the great, King of France, was descen|ded of the Germans, and that all Gallia Transalpina (that is beyond the Alpes) and vp|per Germany, as farre as Hungary, were by a common name called France, onely deui|ded into Easterne and Westerne France. And the diuers Nations of Germany, formerly gouerned by their Kings and Dukes, were at this time first vnited vnder this Charles the great. About the yeere 911. Conrade the first, Ion to the Duke of Franconia (a large Prouince of Germany), was first out of the race of Charles the great saluted Emperour of the West, by the Princes of Germany, though Charles the Simple, and others of the race of Charles the great, still reigned France to the yeere 988, yet with lesse reputation then their progenitors had, and troubled with many confusions. Thus Germany de|uiding it selfe from France, drew to it selfe the Empire of the West, whereof in our 182 age it retaineth rather the shadow then the old glory. Foure Dukes of Saxony succee|ded Conrade in this Empire, and in the time of Otho the third Duke of Saxony and Em|perour, contrary to the former custome, whereby the Emperours succeeded by right of bloud, or the last testament of the deceased Emperour, or by the consent of the Princes of Germany, the election of the Emperour was in the yeere 984 established he|reditary to seuen Princes of Germany, called Electors, by a law made by the Emperour and the Pope. From that time the Empire hath remained in Germany, with free ele|ction, yet so as they most commonly therein respected the right of bloud, in which re|spect the house of Austria hath long continued in the possession of the Empire. And the Emperours of Germany for many ages, by this right gouerned Italy, and receiued their Crowne at Rome , till wearied and worne out by the treacheries of the Popes, and forced to beare the publike burthen vpon their priu-

ate reuenues, they were made vnable to support their former dignity. For these causes Rodulphus of Habsburg of the house of Austria chosen Emperour in the yeere 1273, first laid aside all care of for|raigne matters. Then the riches of the Emperours daily decreasing, and the riches of inferiour Princes no lesse increasing, the Emperours in processe of time, for great summes of money, sold libertie and absolute power to the Princes and Dukes of Italy and Germany, yea, their very right of inuesting, to the Princes of Italy.

Most of the Cities in Netherland, and all the Cantons of the Sweitzers, were of old subiect to the German Emperours, till by the dissentions betweene them and the Popes, they found meanes to gaine their liberties. Of old nintie sixe greater Cities thus made free, still acknowledged the Emperour in some sort: but after many of them, leagued with the Sweitzers and Netherlanders, quite forsooke the Emperour, many of the rest, and many lesse Cities, either pawned to Princes for money borrow|ed, or giuen to Princes for their good seruice to the Emperors in their warres, became subiect to diuers Princes by the Emperours consent: so as at this day there bee onely sixty Cities, all seated in Germany, which are called Free and Imperiall Cities, hauing absolute power within themselues; and howsoeuer these in a sort acknowledge the Emperour their chiefe Lord, yet they little or not at al feare or respect his weake pow|er.

Hitherto the Roman Bishops, not enduring a superiour Lord, first cast the Empe|rours of the East out of Italy, and after by al meanes weakened their power, till Mahu|met the second Emperour of the Turkes, about the yeere 1453, swallowed that Em|pire within his foule iawes. Hitherto the said Bishops, that they might reigne alone, sometimes bewitched the barbarous Kings, which had destroyed the Empire of the West, and then reigned in Italy, for Religions sake to promote the Church of Rome , and at other times oppressed them with open treacheries, till they had conferred the Kingdome of Lombardy and the Empire of the West vpon Charles the Great, King of France. Hitherto the same Bishops, for the same causes, had troubled the Empire of the West with Ciuill dissentions, till at last Italy (as I said) hauing bought liberty of the Emperours, and the said German Emperours containing themselues at home, (for no Emperour after the said Rodulphus of Habsburg, but onely Lodwick the Baua|rian, did euer leade any Army into Italy), they now thought good to rage no more a|gainst this deiected Empire, but rather to cherrish it, conuerting themselues wholly to bring all Christian Kings vnder their yoke. And now the Turkish Emperours began to threaten ruine to the German Empire, and in very Germany, the Popes stage, where they had plaied their bloudy parts, by continuall raising of ciuill warres, the refor|mation of Religion began freshly to spring, and to pull the borrowed plumes of the Popes. Therefore the Emperours from that time to this our age, haue been wholy bu|sied in resisting the Turkes, and composing the domesticall differences of Religion.

And from the same time forward, the Court of Rome was continually distracted with the factions of France and Spaine, till the Popes, skilfull to vse the ambitious dis|cussions of Princes to their owne profit and greatnesse, made them all subiect to the Romane yoke. And the Kings on the contrary laboured nothing more, then to haue the Pope on their party, at whose beck all Christendome was gouerned, to which end 183 they gaue large bribes to the Cardinals, who had now assumed to themselues the ele|ction of the Popes. To conclude, the Popes to make their owne

power transcendent, kept the power of the Princes in equal ballance, by sowing dissentions among them, and fauouring now one now the other party, till for scare of the reformed Religion now also springing in France, they could no longer keepe this equality, but were for|ced to forsake the Kings of France distracted with ciuill warres, and to aduance the Kings of Spaine, as protectors of the Church, whose Clients at last got the power to gouerne all things in Rome at their pleasure: And the Spaniard at this time distracted abroad with the French and English warres, and besieged at home with the power of the Iesuites and religious men, seemed lesse to bee feared by the Romans in that re|spect, as likewise the Kings of Spaine doubted not to maintaine the awfull authority of the Popes, which they knew must alwayes be fauourable to their designes, as well for the protection which they gaue to the Roman Church, against the reformed Re|ligion, as for that the massy gold of Spaine, bore so great sway in the Colleage of the Cardinals, that by strange successe, the Popes lesse inclined to the Spanish faction, were soone taken away by vntimely death. To omit many other, I will onely men|tion Pope Sixtus Quintus, who liued happily in that Chaire, so long as he fauoured Spaine, but assoone as he was thought to decline from that faction, and when he saw a white Mule presented him for the tribute of the Neapolitane Kingdome, was said to weepe, that so little a Mule should be giuen for so great a Kingdome: he liued not long after, but suddenly vanished away. At Rome are two Images called Pasquin and Marphorius, vpon which libels vse to be fixed: And of late when the Pope by the me|diation of the King of France, had made peace with the Venetians, contrary to the li|king of the King of Spaine, a white sheete of paper was fixed on Pasquin, and another demanding what that paper ment was fixed on Marphorius, and a third paper was fix|ed on Pasquin, answering, that the cleane paper was for the Pope to make his last Will and Testament, as if he could not liue long, hauing offended the Spanish faction. Yet in our age the Kings of France, after the ciuill warres appeased, beganne to recouer their former power in the Roman Court: but I leaue these things as somewhat stray|ing from my purpose, and returne to the affaires of Germany.

In the said Family of Austria, the Westerne Empire hath growne old and weake, [Note: The House of Austria.] by little and little from that time to this our age: For howsoeuer the Emperor Charles the fifth of the said Family, heire to eight and twenty Kingdomes, in respect hee was borne at Gant in Netherland, and so reputed a German, was chosen Emperour in the yeere 1519, by the Electors, reiecting the King of France Francis the first, as a stranger, and at that time the power of this Emperour seemed fearefull to the Italians, at the first blush: yet the Pope of Rome in the Triumuirall warre of England, France, and Spaine, did with such art support the weaker part, and by contrary motions in one and the same cause, so fauoured now one, now the other side, and so dispenced with the brea|king of oathes on the part they tooke, as while the power of these Kings was weak|ned by mutuall warres, Italy in the meane time receiued small or no damage. True it is, that Charles the fifth by subtile art and open force, had almost subdued Ger|many distracted by dissentions of religion, and had almost brought the free Empire in|to the forme of a subdued Prouince, till Mauritius Elector of Saxony, obtained helpe of the King of France Henry the second, who came with a great Army to the confines of the Empire, professing himselfe the Champion of the Germane liberty. At which time Mauritius besieging Magdeburg with the Emper-

ours army, receiued that Ci|ty into the protection of the Empire and of himselfe, and lest he might seeme to deale persidiously with the Emperour, if he should assaile him with forces vnder his owne pay, dismissed the whole Army, yet so, as himselfe presently entertained in his owne pay the greatest part thereof, willing to serue him: And with these forces he so speedi|ly came to Insprucke, where the Emperour then lay, as his sudden repaire made the Emperour hastily flie out of the Empire into Italy. Thus Mauritius caused the cap|tiue Princes of the reformed religion to be set at liberty, gaue peace to the reformed religion, and restored liberty to the oppressed Empire: And how soeuer he cunningly 184 had aduanced himselfe and his posterity, by the deiection of his owne kinsemen suf|fering for the reformed religion and for the liberty of the Empire, yet he repaired the publike losses of his Religion, and of his Countrey. But they who more iudicially obserued the affaires of this age, confesse that nothing hath more kept the house of Austria from subduing the West, then those of the same House. For the foresaid con|fident proceeding of Mauritius, was caused by the distrusts and iealousies betweene Charles the fifth and his brother Ferdinand, springing from the following cause, name|ly that Charles the elder brother, to the end that he might keepe the Empire in his own Family, had caused his brother Ferdinand, at Colen in the yeere 1531, to be chosen King of the Romans, (so they call him that is chosen in the Emperours life to succeed him) hoping that when his sonne Philip should come to age, his brother for some increase of his patrimony, would be induced to surrender his right in the Empire: But Ferdi|nand at this time hauing had large offers made him to resigne the same, could not be induced to doe that wrong to his children: And because he suspected that Charles the Emperor might force him thereunto, he is said to haue gladly borne the aduerse for|tune of his said brother, and all troubles rising against him, yea, (if men of experience may be beleeued) to haue himselfe encouraged Mauritius to the foresaid attempt. Therefore Charles failing of his hope, and for age and wearinesse of the World, reti|ring himselfe to a priuate life in a Monastery of Spaine, in the yeere 1558, his brother Ferdinand tooke possession of the Empire, which remaineth to this day in his posteri|ty, the Electors alwayes vsing to respect the right of blood, in choosing the new Em|perour. And vnder their poore estate and vnwarlike mindes, the Empire at this day languisheth like a sparke lapped in ashes: And the Popes held for Gods vpon earth, haue no more feared the Emperors authority, but rather supported it against the re|formed religion, and the inuasions of the Turks, the Emperors alwayes acknowledg|ing this vnprofitable seruant of their Progenitors for their Benefactor and spirituall Father. The Emperour Rodolphus at this time liuing, is of the House of Austria, whose pedegree I will set downe. The first Family of the House of Austria gaue many Em|perours [Note: The Empe rours pede|gree.] to Germany, but that was extinguished in Conradine the sonne of Fredericke, few yeeres before Rodolphus of Habspurg, came to the Empire, who is the roote of this second Family of Austria.

Rodulphus of Habsburg, of the House of Austria, was chosen Emperour in the yeere 1273.

Albert the first, Heire of the Dukedomes of Austria, Stiria, and Carniola, (after his Father had subdued the Kingdome of Bohemia, and ioyned it to the Empire), was cho|sen Emperour, and dyed in the yeare 1308. Rodulphus Duke of Austria died in the yeare 1308. Fredericke made Duke of Suenia and Morania by the Em|perours gift, dyed in the yeare

1330. Leopold Duke of Austria. Albert the second, Count of Tyroll by the Marriage of his Sonne to the Niece of the King of Bohe|mia, died in the yeare 1359. Albert the third, Duke of Austria, died in the yeare 1395. Albert the fifth, Emperour, and by marriage of the Daughter of the Emperour Sigismond, made King of Hungaria and of Bohemia, died in the yeare 1439. 185 Fredericke the third, Emperour died in the yeare 1493. Maximilian the first, Emperour, after the death of Mathias King of Hungary, reco|uered that Kingdome, which he had vsurped, then retaining to himselfe the right of succession yeelded it to Ladrslaus, and marrying the daughter of Charles Duke of Bur|gundy made that Dukedome, and all the Prouinces of Netherland hereditary to the House of Austria. He died in the yeare 1519. Philip marrying the Daughter of Ferdinand King of Spaine, became Heire to those Kingdomes, and died young before his Father, in the yeare 1506. Charles the fifth, Empe|ror, died in the yeere 1558. By his Wife Isa|bella, daughter to the King of Por|tugall. Philip, King of Spaine.

This is the first Family of the Archdukes of Austria, to this day reigning in Spaine.

Philip King of Spaine, borne of Anne of Au|stria in the yeare 1578. Two sisters, Catherin-borne of Isabella of Va|loss, wife to the Duke of Sanoy; and Isabella Cla|ra Eugenia wife to arch-Duke Albert, and borne of Anne of Austria. By Anne of Austria. Iames died of nine yeares of age. Ferdinand died a child. Charles Dentatus, by Marie of Portugall, by his Fathers permission, put to death by the In|quisition anno, 1568. Ferdinand di|ed an Infant. Two Sisters, Mary, wife to the Emperour Maximilian the second; and Ione, wife to the King of Fortugall. By Ione his concubine Don Iuan, Vi|ctor of the Turks in na|ual fight, dy|ing an. 1578. Ione, wife to the Duke of Florence [331] ; Ma|rie, wife to the Duke of Parma. Foure Daughters, Eli|nora married to Francis the first, King of France, died ann. 1558. Isabel, wife to the King of Den|marke, died ann. 1525. Mary, wife to the King of Hungary, and after go|uerning Netherland, di|ed ann. 1558. Catherine, wife to the King of Por|tingall. Ferdinand Emperour after the vnhappy death of Lodo|nicus King of Hungary, in a battell against the Turks, in the yeare 1526, by the right of his wife, sister and heire to [...], and the said contract made by Maximilian I, Em|peror, was crowned King of Hungary, and also by his said wiues right K. of Bohemia, and died anno 1564. 186 Maximilian the second, Emperor, maried to Mary, sister to Philip King of Spaine, died anno 1576.

This is the second Family of the Arch-Dukes of Austria, to this day succeeding in the Empire of Germany.

Ferdinand died a childe in the yeare 1552. Rodulp. 2 of that name, and the eighth Emperour of this Family, chosen King of the Romans, 1575, Emperour 1576. succeeding King of Hungarie, 1572, King of Bo|hemia 1575. Hee was at this time Emperor, and liued vn|married. 3. Sonne Ernestus gouer|ned Netherland, and died vn|married. 4. Matthew, vnmarried. 5. Maximilian, vnmarried. 6. Albert surrendered his Cardinals Hat, maried Isabel daughter to the K. of Spaine, and gouernes Netherland, but hath no children. 7. Wencestaus. 8. Fredericke. 9. Carolus, al three died yong. Foure sisters, Anna, marri|ed to the King of Spaine, anno 1563, died anno 1580. Eliza|beth married to Charles the 9, King of France, anno 1570. Mary and Margaret died yong. Fiue sisters, Elizabeth married to the King of Poland, died an. 1545. Anne wife to the Duke of Bauaria; Marie wife to the Duke of Cleue.

[331] Florence

Mag|dalen vnmarried, and Catherine wife to the Duke of Mantua , and after to the King of Poland. Ferdinand of Ispruck, so called of that Citie, wherein he holds his Court. Hee married the daughter of the Duke of Mantua , by whom he had some daughters, but no heire male. But by a Citizens daughter of Augsburg his wife, hee had two sonnes.

This is the third Family of the Arch-Dukes, called of Is|pruch, the Citie wherein they liue.

Charles Mar|ques of Burgh. Andrew a Cardinall. Iohn died a childe. Sixe sisters, Leonora, wife to the Duke of Mantua . Barbara, wife the Duke of Feraria. Margareta, Vrsula, Helena, and Ioanna. Charles of Gratz, so called of that City where he held his Court. Hee is the fourth sonne of the Emperour Ferdinand by Marie, the daugh|ter of the Duke of Bauaria. Hee begat twelue children, and dying in the yeere 1519, left two sonnes, besides diuers daughters.

This is the fourth Fami|ly of the Arch-Dukes of Austria, called Zu Gratz, of that City wherein they hold their Court.

Ferdinand zu Gratz. Carolus Post|humus. Margeret gouerned Nether|land and died in the yeare 1530. Leopold the second, Duke of Austria, died in the yeare 1386. Fredericke proscri|bed in the Counsell at Constantia, died in the yeere 1440. 185 Sigismond dyed in the yeere 1497. Ernestus of Iron, di|ed in the yere 1435. 185 Ladislaus Posthumus, King of Bohemia (vnder George Pochibraccius his Tutor), and King of Hungary, (vnder Iohn Huniades Tutorage) died in the yeere 1457. Thus I haue shewed, that besides the branch of the House of Austria now raigning [Note: The house of Austria.] in Spaine, there remaine three branches thereof in Germany, the first of the Emperour Rodolphus and his brethren Ernestus (dying in his life time) Mathias and Maximilianus and Albertus, Whereof foure liued vnmarried, the fifth named Albertus hath long been married, but hath no child. The second branch is that of Ferdinand of Ispruch, waa married Philippina the daughter of a Citizen in Augsburg, whereupon his kinsmen dif|daining that her ignoble Issue should enherit with them, forced him to agree, that the County of Tyroll should not descend vpon his sonne, whereupon his eldest sonne by her named Charles, possesseth onely the City and territory of Burgh, (which was in his Fathers power to giue) with title of the Marquesse of Burgh, and the said County at the Fathers death fell backe to the Emperour. His second sonne Andrew Cardinal of Brixia, besides the spirituall possessions of that County, hath also the Bishopricke 187 of Costnetz in Sueuia: But Ferdinand, of his second wife daughter to the Duke of Man|tua, had some daughters, but no heire male. The third branch is of Charles of Gratz, who besides his heires males, left eight daughters, whereof one is now married to Si|gismund King of Poland by election, and of Suecia by inheritance, the second to the Prince of Transiluania, the third to Philip King of Spaine.

The Emperour by right of his owne inheritance, (not of the Empire) is Lord of many and large Prouinces, namely, King of Hungary, King of Bohemia, with the an|nexed [Note: The Empe|rours Do|minions.] most fertile Prouinces, of Morauia, Silesia, and Lusatia. Also towards the Alpes he hath by Inheritance many large Prouinces, gotten by his Progenitors, (as appeares by his Pedegree), namely, the Arch-Dukedome of Austria, the Prouinces of Styria, Carinthia, Carmola, Tyroll, and other large territories in Sueuia and Alsatia, besides great iurisdictions among the Sweitzers called the Grysons.

Ferdinand the Emperour, brother to

the Emperour Charles the fifth, married the si|ster [Note: Bohemia.] and heire of Lodouicus King of Hungary and Bohemia, and after the vnhappy death of Lodouicus, killed in the field by the Turkes, in the yeere 1526, was chosen King of Bohemia, which Kingdome with the Empire, descended to his heires. And this King|dome is exempted from the Parliaments and Contributions of Germany, by a priui|ledge granted by Charles the fourth Emperour, and King of Bohemia, of whom the Germans complaine, as more respecting Bohemia then the Empire. In which point he is lesse to be taxed, because howsoeuer that Kingdome freely elects their Kings, yet the heire is therein alwaies respected before any other, and being an Infant, yet is com|monly chosen King, with a Tutor for his Nonage. The three States of Barrons, Knights, and Citizens, chuse the King; but Ferdinand the Emperour in his life time, caused his sonne Maximilian to be chosen King. In like manner this Emperour Ro|dolphus was chosen King of Bohemia, and also King of Hungaria, while his Father li|ued: And howsoeuer he being vnmarried, hath lesse care of his Successour, yet cu|stome and the publike good haue such force, as Bohemia seemes hereditary to the House of Austria, either for feare of so great a Family bordering vpon the Kingdome, or because they iustly triumph to haue the Emperours sente at Prage, the cuecfe City of Bohemia, especially since no Prince out of that Family is able to beare the burthen of the Empire, if they obserue the Law, binding the Electors to chuse an Emperour among the Princes borne in Germany. As the said three States choose the King, so they chuse a Viceroy for life, to gouerne the Kingdome at the Kings death, and to be one of the Electors as King of Bohemia, at the choyce of the Emperour, dead in the same person. Yet commonly before this time, wherein the vnmarried Emperour neglects the succession, the Germans were wont while the Emperour liued, to chuse his successor, intitled King of the Romans: At this time the Baron of Rosenburg was Viceroy of Bohemia for life, who held his Court neere Lintz vpon the confines of Austria, and was said to haue the keeping of the Kings Crowne, in a Castle called Carlstein.

Touching Hungary, it had the name of the people called the Hunns, who vnder [Note: Hungary.] their King Geysa, receiued the Christian Religion: his sonne Stephen was chosen King in the yeere 1002, from whom in order many Kings haue beene chosen, so as due re|spect was alwayes had of the eldest sonnes to the deceased, who sometimes refused, did stirre vp ciuill warres. King Andrew about the yeere 1230, first gaue great priui|ledges to the Nobility, which their Kings to this day haue vsed to confirme, as soone as they were elected. King Vladislaus in the yeere 1490, first ioyned the Kingdomes of Bohemia and Hungary together, whose sonne Lodouicus perished in the vnhappy battell against the Turkes in the yeere 1526: At which time Ferdinand of the House of Austria, brother to the Emperor Charles the fifth, and successor to him in the Empire, was chosen King of Hungary, as well by the couenant which the Emperour Maxi|milian the first made with Mathias Huniades, as by the right of his wife, being sister and heire to the said Lodouicus, and he caused his sonne Maximilian the second, to bee chosen King in his life time, as his sonne Rodolphus at this time Emperour, was cho|sen King' while his Father liued: and vnder them, through ciuill dissentions, and the 188 fearefull neighbourhood of the great Turke, great part of this Kingdome hath beene subdued by that Tyrant, and for the rest, the Emperor Rodolphus, to the great reproch of the Em-

pire, was forced to send yeerely tribute to Constantinople, till the free Cities of Germany slacking to pay this tribute, the Great Turke tooke that wished occasion to make warre against the Christians, and finding none weaker to resist him then the Emperour, hath in our age horribly wasted Hungary, and subdued the greatest part of that Kingdome. The said tribute was said to be seuen tunnes of gold each three yeeres, as I haue heard by graue and learned men, but I know not how conuersant in matters of State.

Rodolphus the Emperour was of a middle stature, somewhat corpulent, with a rud|dy [Note: The Empe|rour and his Court.] but sower countenance, a short thicke beard, and browne coloured haire: At that time mourning for his dead sister, he wore blacke garments of small price: Hee was said to loue solitarinesse, and to exercise the Arts of Alchumy and Painting. Hee was most easie of accesse, and very affable, so as euery man spake to him with small reue|rence, and in the Chamber of Presence the Courtiers and strangers gaue no reue|rence to the Chaire of Estate, the Sword, and the Scepter, but stood by with their heads couered, yea, laid their hands or leaned vpon the cushion, without any ceremo|ny of reuerence. He was esteemed sparing of speech, and liberall in his nature, so as he rewarded his Courtiers honourably, though slowly, for want of money, which made him not able to shew any magnificence. Nothing was more common in eue|ry mans mouth, as well German as Bohemian, then that hee was much addicted to the warfare of Venus, bearing in his body strange scarres and priuy maimes thereof, but abhorred from the warre of Mars.

At Vienna I did see Ernestus and Mathias, brothers to the Emperour, eating at one Table together, for they admit all subiects and strangers to come into the roome where they eate, at the times of dinner and supper. Before the Arch-Dukes came in, all stood with their heads couered: Then the Caruer making himselfe ready to serue at the Table, laid his hat vpon the Chaire of Estate, contrary to our English manner, who giue reuerence to that Chaire, though our Princes be absent. When the Arch-Dukes sate downe at Table, all the standers by bended their knees: They both sat on one side, with their backes to the wall, and each had a Foole to stand by him, one at the Tables end, another on the opposite side, to whom with their owne hands they gaue largely to eate, which they greedily deuoured. The two Arch-Dukes did both together feede on spoonemeates: For other dishes liking either of them, each called for them by a becke or dumbe signe, and so refused other: but if any one dish liked them both, it was first set before Ernestus, and after before Mathias. Both had one ta|ster, but each had his Cupbearer. They spake not a word one to the other, or to any attending, and Ernestus did swallow his drinke, Mathias did sip it. Ernestus was some|what like the Emperour his brother, saue that his haire was blacker, and his counte|nance more warlike. Mathias was very slender with a more effeminate face, and a thinne or no beard, and whitish haire: Their apparrell was nothing lesse then sump|tuous. These brothers of the Emperour, had no possessions of inheritance allotted vnto them, but were content to haue their expences borne by the Emperour.

Many Pensioners liued in the Emperours Court, but few had diet and lodging therein. The Emperour had one hundred Hascheres, to whom hee gaue for diet to each twelue Rhenish Guldens by the moneth, and for apparrel to each foure and twen|ty Guldens by the yeere. Hee had one hundred for his Guard, (called Trabantoes), of which each one had eight Guldens by the moneth for his diet, and if any one

of them had serued ten yeeres, to him the Emperor vsed to giue a pension aboue his wa|ges, granted for life, and to dispose them in Monasteries when they grew olde and vnfit for seruice. Ten Hascheres and twelue Trabantoes attended each day, and watched the night in the Court, who for that time had at the Emperours charge plenty of bread and wine. Many Gentlemen had pensions to keepe horses, to the number of some 1500, and for each horse they were allowed ten guldens by the mo|neth: but these stipends being paid but once in two yeeres, and then not fully, they 189 kept not these horses at all times in full number, but only when they heard that the payment was like to be made, and because they were so paid, the officers neuer mustred them but at that time. Some few had diet and lodging in the Court, as 6 Gentlemen of the Chamber, whereof each had a pension of forty Guldens by the moneth, and sixe vnder them, who had twenty Guldens by the moneth. Likewise sixty Truxes, who had each a Pension of thirty Guldens, and sixty horsemen called Hofdiener (that is, Seruants at Court), who were allowed for each horse (as I formetly said) ten Rhenish Guldens by the moneth, and no man had allowance for more then three horses. Like|wise a Master of the Wardrobe had twenty Guldens, and a Controler had the like pension. Sixteene Boies, the sonnes of Gentlemen were Pages to the Emperour, to whom he gaue apparrell and diet in the Court. The very chiefe Counsellers had yeere|ly pensions from the Emperour. He had three Fauorites, a Bohemian Barron of the Popells, the Lord of Firstemburg a German, and Rumpf a Gentleman of Ausirta, who was in chiefe grace with him, and was said to haue a pension of fiue hundred Dollors by the moneth, and to haue receiued by gift in the space of one yeere eighty thousand gold Guldens. The wages and pensions were very vncertainly paid, so as the Cour|tiers vsed diligently to obserue, when the reuenew of any Prouince was brought in, that by such opportunitie they might get part of the money due to them. But when the Emperours cofers were full, these paiments were easily obtained, so as I haue knowne forty thousand Dollers distributed for wages, and Pensions at one time. The Emperour had fiue stables, and in one sixtie heauie horses of Germany, in the second twenty Spanish Genets, and in the other three 60 forraigne horses of the best races.

From Charles the Great the Westerne Emperors were either appointed by the dy|ing [Note: The [...] rors Ele|ction.] Emperours Testament, or chosen by the generall consent of the Princes, in both which courses the next heyres were commonly preferred, till the reigne of Otho 3. in his time his Kinsman Brenno a Saxon was chosen Pope, taking the name of Gregorie, and he first instituted the seuen Electors of the Emperour, which institution some at|tribute to Pope Silnester. But whether Gregorie made this Law or confirmed it, no doubt about the yeere 1002 the Electors were established, about which time many tu|mults were at Rome betweene the Emperours and the Roman Prince Crescentius, for the choise of the Pope, and the common opinion is, that Pope Gregorie in the yeere 997 made this Law of seuen Electors to chuse the Emperour, and that Pope Siluester restrained it to certaine Families. And this Institution seemed to giue great strength to the Empire, since the former seditions were thereby taken away, and it was likely these Princes would chuse a man of the greatest vertues and power. But Charles the fourth chosen Emperor, with condition not to meddle with Italy, first obtained of the Electors to chuse his son to be Caesar in his life time, and so made this Institution

of no effect, all Emp. after him chiefely laboring as much as they could, to make the Empire hereditary by like meanes. And the successor thus chosen in the life of the Emp. was called King of the Romans, and after his death receiuing the Crowne, was stiled Emp.

Of the Electors, 3 are Churchmon and Arch-bishops, 3 are Lay-Princes of Germany, and least by faction of sixe Churchmen and Laymen the voices should be equall, the [Note: The institu|tion of the Electors, and diuers constituti|ons of the Empire, concerning the Electors and other Officers, and the Emperor himselfe.] King of Bohemia was added for the seuenth Elector. The Archbishop of Trier, Chauncellor for France, sits before the Emperour. The Archbishop of Mentz Chan|sellor sor Germany, sits at the Emperors right hand, in all places but in the Diocesse of Colon, where he giues place to the Archbishop therof. The Archbishop of Colon Chan|celor for Italy, sits on the Emperors right hand in his own dioces, but on his left hand in all other places. The K. of Bohemia Arch-butler of the Empire, sits next the Archbi|shop of Mentz, on the right ha d of the Emperor. The D. of Saxony, the Marshal of the Empire, carrying the sword before the Emperor, sits on his left hand next the Archbi|shop of Colon. The Count Palatine of the Rheine carries the first dish at the feast of the Emp. coronation, and sits on his right hand next the K. of Bohemia. And the Marquisse of Brandeburg Great Chamberlaine, sits on the left hand of the Emp. next to the D. of Saxony. It is to be remembred, that for long time, the Emperor hauing been also King of Bohemia, to the end that vpon the death of the old Emperour, there should not 190 be wanting one to supply the place of the King of Bohemia at the Election of the new Emperour, the Bohemians haue alwaies a Viceroy chosen for life, who not onely sup|plies that place, but also gouernes Bohemia, till the new Emperour be chosen, and after receiued for King at Prage.

The Emperour Charles the fourth, made many Lawes concerning the Emperour, and the Electors, which Lawes are all collected together, and by the Germans called the Golden Bulla, and it will not be impertinent to remember some of them. It is de|creed, that no Elector shall lie in ambushment for another Elector, comming to chuse the Emperour, neither shall denie him safe conduct through his Country, vnder the paine of periurie, and losse of his Voyce for that Election. Vnder the same penalty, that no man whosoeuer, lye in waite to intercept the person or goods of any Elector: That the Arch-Bishop of Meuts shall apdoint the day of the Election by letters Pat|tents, so as the Electors, or their Deputies hauing full power, may meete for that pur|pose at Franckfort vpon the Meyne, within three moneths, and if the Archbishop faile to appoint the day, yet that the Electors vncalled, shall meete there within that time. That no Elector nor Depute shall enter the City attended with more then two hun|dred horsemen, nor aboue fiftie of them armed. That the Elector or Deputy called, and not comming, or departing before the Emperour be chosen, shall loose his Voyce for that time. That the Citizens of Franckfort, if they protect not those that come to the Election, shall be proscribed and depriued of their priuiledges and goods. That no man be admitted into the Citie, besides the Electors and their Deputies, and the horsemen attending them. That the next morning early after their entry, Masse bee sung in the Church of Saint Bartholmew, and that done, the Archbishop of Mentz at the Altar giue an oath to the Electors in these words: I N. N. sweare by the faith that I owe to God and the sacred Empire,

that I will chuse a temporall Head of Christian Princes, and giue my Voyce without any couenant, stipend, reward, or any such thing howsoeuer it may be called, as God helpe me, etc. That if they shall not agree of the Election within thirty daies, they shall eate bread and water, and shall not goe out of the City, till the Election be finished. That the greater part bee held for a generall [...] consent. That the Elector slacking his comming, shal notwithstanding be admitted, he come before the Election be finished. That the person elected shal presently sweare in the royall name of King of the Romans, to the Electors, Princes Secular and Spiri|tuall, and to all the Members of the Empire, that hee will confirme all priuiledges, cu|stomes, etc.; and that after his Coronation hee shall sweare the same in the name of Emperour. That an Elector shall haue his Voyce in the choice of himselfe to be Em|peror. That the Arch-bishop of Mentz shall aske the Voyces, first, of the Arch-bishop of Trier, then of the Arch-bishop of Colon, then of the King of Bohemia, then of the Pa|latine, then of the Duke of Saxony, then of the Marquis of Brandeburg, and lastly that these Princes shall aske the Voyce of the Arch-bishop of Mentz. That the Empire be|ing vacant, the Count Palatine shall bee Prouisor of the Empire in Sueuia and Franco|nia, as well in Iudgements, as in conferring Church-liuings, gathering of Rents, inuesting of Vassals (which inuesting notwithstanding is to bee renewed by the Emperour when he is chosen), and Alienations, etc. That the Duke of Saxony shall haue the same right in his Prouinces. That when the Emperour must an|swere any cause he shall answer before the Palatine, so that be in the Imperiall Court. That no man in the Court shal sit aboue the Electors. That to a Secular Prince Elector his eldest Lay son shall succeed, or for want of sons, the first of the fathers Line; and if he be vnder age, that the eldest brother to the deceased father shall be his tutor, till hee be eighteene yeares old, and that this Tutor for that time shall haue all his right, which he shall then restore to him, and for want of heires males, that the Emperour shall giue the Electorship to whom hee will, excepting the King of Bohemia, who is to bee chosen by the Bohemians. That mines of mettals found in the Territories of any Elector, shall bee proper to himselfe. That the subiects of the Electors shall not bee bound to answere the Law out of their owne Prouince, nor may appeale to any Court but their Lords, except Iustice bee denied, in which case they shall 191 onely appeale to the Chamber of the Empire. That the Electors shall meete in some Citie once in the yeare, where they shall haue no feasting, to the end that the causes may be heard with more expedition. That the priuiledges of Cities and Vniuersities in any thing derogating from the right of the Electors, shall be reuoked, and made voide, notwithstanding the Letters Pattents may except all eminency of persons. That the resignation of fees, except they be personally made, shall make the vassals infamous in denouncing enmity to their Lords. That conuenticles of Ci|ties, made to the preiudice of their Lords, shall be punished with losse of fame, goods, and priuiledges. That no Citizens subiects to Princes, and incorporating themselues in free Cities, shall enioy the priuiledges thereof, except they dwell there, vnder a great penalty to bee imposed on the City receiuing them with any other condition. That the Fees of the Electors or Officers of the Empire, shall not be deuided by their heires. That they who conspire the death of any Elector, shall be guilty of treason, and their sonnes depriued of their Inheritance euen from the mothers side, shall liue infamous, and they shall be noted who make intercession to restore them to grace; but that the Daughters lesse

daring for the weakenesse of the sexe, shall haue part of the inheritance, and that no enfranchisement of sonnes, or alienation of goods, shall frustrate this Law. That all accessaries shall be so punished, onely he that bewrayes the conspiracy may bee held worthy of pardon. Also this penalty shall be of force against those that are dead, if the crime be not knowne till after their death.

In solemne Court, that the Emperour shall sit in his throne, and the Duke of Sax|ony [Note: At Corona|tion and like Feasts.] laying an heape of Oates as high as his horses saddle, before the Court gate, shall with a siluer measure of twelue markes price, deliuer Oates to the cheefe Quirry of the stable, and then sticking his staffe in the Oates, shall depart, and the Vice-Mar|shall shall distribute the rest of the Oates. That the three Archbishops shall say grace at the Emperours Table, and he of them who is Chancelor of the place, shall lay reuerently the Seales before the Emperor, which the Emperor shal restore to him, and that the staffe of the Chancelorship shal be worth 12 marks of siluer. That the Mar|quis of Brandeburg, sitting vpon his horse with a siluer basen of 12 marks weight, and a towel, shall light from his horse, and giue water to the Emperor. That the Count Pa|latine sitting vpon his horse, with foure dishes of Siluer with meate, each dish worth 3 markes, shall light, and set the dishes on the table. That the King of Bohemia sitting vpon his horse, with a siluer Cup worth twelue markes, filled with water and wine, shall light, and giue it the Emperour to drinke. The Gentleman of Falkenstein, vnder-Chamberlaine, the Gentleman of Norsemberg, Master of the Kitchen, and the Gentle|man of Limburch Vice-Buttler, or in their absence, the ordinary Officers of the Court, shall haue the said horses, Bason, dishes, Cup, Staffe, and measure, and shall after wait at the Emperours table. That the Emperours table bee sixe foote higher then any o|ther table, where he shall sit alone, and the table of the Empresse shall be by his side, three foote lower. The Electors tables shall be three foote lower then that of the Em|presse, and all of equall heighth, and three of them shall bee on the Emperours right hand, three on his left hand, and one before his face, and each shal sit alone at his table. When one Elector hath done his Office, he shall goe and stand at his owne table, and so in order the rest, till all haue performed their Offices, and then all seuen shall sit downe at one time. The Emperour shall be chosen at Franckfort, crowned at Aquis|granum (vulgarly called Ach), and shall hold his first Court at Nurnberg, except there be some lawfull impediment. The Deputy of an Elector absent, howsoeuer he hath his voyce in chusing the Emperour, yet at the said feast shall not sit at the Electors ta|ble. Princes receiuing their fees, shall pay sixtie markes to the Officers of the Court, excepting the Electors, who are not bound to giue any thing, but of free will, since the Officers are their Substitutes, and the horse vpon which the Prince sits when hee is inuested in his fees, shall bee giuen to the Marshall, or to the Vice-Marshall. The Electors are presumed to bee Germans, and their sonnes at the age of seuen yeares shall bee taught the Grammer, and the Italian and Selauonian tongues, so as at 14 yeares age they may be skilfull therein, and be worthy Assessors to the Emperor. 192 These things for this purpose, taken out of the Golden Bulla, shall suffice.

Touching the present generall estate of the Empire. The Emperor and his brethren [Note: The gene|rall date of the Em|pire.] were not much esteemed among their owne subiects, and had little or no authority in the rest of the Empire. The Germans confesse, that the House of Austria is most fit to beare the bur-

then of the Empire, especially since no stranger may be Emperour, the Law binding to choose a Prince borne in Germany; and because the Empire hath no principality belonging to it, nor any certaine reuenues, but onely some accustomed Subsidies, which vpon some occasions were of old granted by Parliament, and these occasions being taken away, the subsidies for them haue also in latter times beene discontinued, so that the common affaires are to be administred with the charge of the Emperours priuate inheritance. And lastly, because they iustly feare, if any other Prince of Germany should be chosen Emperour, that the House of Austria, hauing in a long line succeeded in the Empire, and possessing large Dominions by inheritance, would either altogether separate it selfe from the Empire, or at least their inheritance in Hungary, Germany, and Bohemia, through mutuall dissentions betweene them and the Emperour, would be a prey to the Turkish Tyrant, onely kept backe by the House of Austria, according to the weake meanes it hath, from inuading Germany at this day: But when the Germans doe particularly obserue the persons of the Prin|ces of the House of Austria, they iudge againe none more vnfit to beare vp the Em|pire, and to defend it from the Turkes inuasions; and this common diffidence is in|finitely encreased, by the mutuall iealousies of Germany. There want not iealousies in the House of Austria betweene themselues, were they not forced to compound them by feare of the Turkes. In generall, the Gentlemen feare the conspiracy of the common people, lest after the example of the Sweitzers, they should roote out the Gentry, or at least yeeld either none or voluntary obedience, at their owne plea|sure. The Princes feare the free Cities, so as they dare not exact absolute obedience of the Cities subiect to them, least they should thereby be prouoked, to make leagues with the free Cities, and so make themselues free: And this cause alone makes the Princes lesse able to giue strong helpes to the Emperour, if they were wil|ling to doe it. Againe, the free Cities feare the ambition of the neighbouring Prin|ces: For as most of the Cities of old subiect to the Emperour, or to particular Prin|ces, got their freedome in ciuill warres, by assisting one of the parties, or else by pri|uiledges, granted by fauour, or bought for money, or else by open force of armes, so they thinke it likely, that the Princes, vpon the change of the state of things, will omit no fit occasion to bring them againe into subiection. And the said Princes doe not onely feare the said free Cities, for combyning with their Subiects, but haue al|so mutuall iealousies among themselues, as well for inheritance, as for the diffe|rence of Religion. Lastly all, and each of these states, feare the power of the Em|perour, least hee should breake the absolute power they haue in their owne ter|ritories, or least hee should by force of armes make them more obedient to him|selfe, or least hee should oppresse them in the cause of Religion, either of his owne motion, or by the instigation of the Pope. Hence it is, that hee who dares not make warre vpon the Emperour, yet dares denie to helpe him, and he that dares not deny helpe, yet dares either fayle in performance, or by delayes make it vn|profitable. Besides that by nature, the decrees and counsels of many heads, are carried with lesse secrecy, and are seldome executed with conuenient speed, and that for which many care, each one neglects, as Piato faith, disputing against com|munity. Also the Emperours power is many other wayes weakened: First that the Germans in the very warre against the Turkes, slowly grant, or plainely refuse any contributions or subsidies, and would little reioyce that the Emperour should haue a great victory against

the Turkes, partly least hee should turne his Forces vpon the absolute Princes or Cities of Germany, partly least the Emperour then being (as they openly professed) should spend the money contributed in his priuate lusts, not in the publike affayres, and lastly, because the charge of the Warre should be common, but the profit of the Conquest should onely be to 193 the aduancement of the House of Austria: For which causes the Princes and Cities vsed to denie contributions of money towards the Turkish warres, and rather chose to send and maintaine bands of Souldiers in Hungary, vnder their owne pay for a set time: And these bands were so commonly sent without order or mutuall consent, and so slowly, as when some of the bands came to the Army, other bands hauing ser|ued out the appointed time, desired leaue to returne home. Thus they seldome met together to attempt any braue enterprise, and while part of the forces was expected, the occasions of good aduentures were lost: Secondly, the Emperour is more weake; be|cause the meetings of Parliaments (which they call Dytetaes) require the expectance of some moneths, besides the delayes of Counsels after the meeting, and the contra|riecy of opinions, which must needes be great in mindes so ill vnited. Thirdly; be|cause the Germans vnwisely thinke, that the tyranny of the Turkes hanging ouer them, yet is a lesse and more remoued euill, then the iealousie of their priuate estates, and feare to be oppressed in the cause of Religion. Lastly, because the Germans thinke it not equall, to be at publike charge, to recouer the priuate Cities of the House of Austria from the Turkes. These things make the great power of Ger|many so weake, that as the whole body pined away, while the hands denied meate to the belly, so not onely the Empire, to the generall shame of Christians, drawes the last breath vnder the Turkish tyranny, while the disagreeing and sluggish Christian Princes denie helpe in this case to the House of Austria, and oppose the weaker branch of that House to the most powerfull force of the Turkes; but also it may iustly be feared lest other Kingdomes and the very name of Christians, should be vtterly consumed in this fier daily creeping and increasing vpon vs, which God in his mercy forbid.

Next to the said vassals to the Emperour, a King, a Palatine, a Duke, a Marquesse, [Note: The state of certaine Princes.] and three Archbishops, the seuen Electors, of old were instituted foure Dukes of the Empire, namely, the Dukes of Bauaria, of Brunswicke, of Sueuia and of Lorayne, and foure Langraues, and of each degree foure, whereof some are at this day extingui|shed, and many other haue since beene created by diuers Emperours. In like sort of old were instituted foure Metropolitan Cities of the Empire, namely, Augsburg, (called of the Vandals for difference), Aquisgranum (vulgarly Ach), Mentz, and Lu|becke. [Note: Of Cities.] Bishops spirituall Princes were of old twenty seuen in number, whereof some [Note: Of Bishops.] haue secular Dominions, onely by habite distinguished from secular Princes: but the Churchmen knowing no meane, not content with tithes, but scarce leauing that portion to the Laymen, haue caused Princes first to make Lawes against inordinate guists to the Church, and then by other vanities prouoked them to reforme this a|boundance of their riches, the impurity of their liues, and the falshoods of their Do|ctrines; so as at this day many Bishoprickes are in the hands of secular Princes, with|in their owne Dominions, vnder the title of Administrators. In this sort (to passe ouer the rest) the eldest sonne of the Marquesse of Brandeburg, was in his Fathers life time called the Administrator

of Halla. Not onely the Emperour, but also ma|ny [Note: Of secular Princes.] Princes of Germany, as well secular as spirituall, haue Kingly power in their owne Dominions, and these absolute Princes are so many in number, as a passenger in each dayes iourney, shall obserue one or two changes of Prince, Money, and Religion. Furthermore in free Cities, here the Patritian Order, there the common people, and [Note: Of free Ci|ties.] other where both with mixed power, gouerne the City, in such absolute freedome, as most of the Cities haue regall rights, of making peace or warre, of coyning Monies, and of like priuiledges: But the Plebeans among them, proue they neuer so rich, can|not haue any higher degree, and their gouernements are with such equity, equality, and moderation, as no degree is subiect one to the other, but all equally to the Law. Of these Princes secular and spirituall, and of the Deputies for free Cities, meeting in [Note: Of the Die|taes.] Parliaments (which they cal Ditetaes) is the true Image of the Empire, where they de|liberate of great affaires, and impose contributions, from which onely the King of Bohemia is free, by priuiledge granted from Charles the fourth Emperour and King of Bohemia, as I haue formerly said.

194 The forme of the Commonwealth in the Empire is Aristocraticall, ouer which the [Note: Of the Em|pires Com|mon-wealth in generall.] Emperour should bee as head, appointing the meetings with the consent of the Prin|ces, and causing the Decrees to be put in execution. But at this day the name of the Emperour is become a meere title, and his authoritie hath no sinews, so as he can nei|ther call them if they thinke not good to come, nor decree any thing if they be vnwil|ling, nor compell those that are refractory. And the very Princes are not constant to their owne iudgement, if you respect the iminent dangers from the Turks, nor actiue in their owne motions concerning the publike cause, but are diuersly distracted be|tweene feare to increase the suspected power of the Emperour by helping him, or to stirre vp Ciuill warres, to the ruine of the dis-vnited State, by making open opposition to his authority. In the meane time nothing is more frequent with them, then bold|ly to refuse either appearance in the Emperours Court, or obedience to any other of his commandements, that are vnpleasing to them. And giue me leaue to say, that my selfe there obserued, that a great Prince of Germany (for good respect namelesse), to whom the Emperour had ingaged certaine Cities for money borrowed of him, when the Emperour lending the money by Ambassadors, desired restitution of the townes, not onely refused to restore the same, but could not bee induced to appeare at Prage by his Substitute, to compound this difference; and it seemed more strange to mee, that diuers other Ambassadours comming to the City the same time, had all audience before those from the Emperour, who staid long before they were admitted to speak with the said Prince.

The declining generositie of the Princes of Austria, and the fearefull danger han|ging ouer them from the Turkes, nourish this confidence in the Princes of Germany; and indeede the Turkish warre doth so imploy, or rather bind the hands of the Prin|ces of Austria, as were they neuer so valiant, yet they should be forced, rather to suffer any thing from these Christian Princes, then by opposing them, to be deuoured by Infidels. Neither can the priuate calamity of Germany, and the publike misery of all Christians in this point, be sufficiently bewailed. I say the priuate calamitic of Ger|many, because the members being most strong, if they were vnited, yet are without si|news thus disioyned, and haue no common force, though in

each part they be strong. I say the publike calamity of Christians, because howsoeuer the priuate Princes of Germany be of great power, yet the whole body of the Empire being weake, the daily victories of the Turkes, threaten destruction not onely to Germany, but to the name of Christians. The Dukes of Florence [332] , of Sauoy, and of Mantua , and all the Princes of Ita|ly, whom the Pope hath not drawne to be his vassals, the Dukes of Lorayne, of Burgun|dy, with diuers Dukes and Earles of Netherland, after a sort acknowledge the safe and farre remoued patronage of the Emperour; but they neither come to the Parlaments about the affaires of the Empire (as not pertaining to them) nor contribute any mo|ney to vphold the dignitie thereof, except perhaps sometimes in the common cause of the Turkish warre, they lend the Emperour some mony, which no doubt all other Christian Princes would no lesse doe, who haue no bond of subiection. The King of Denmark, by a double bond of his Kingdome and of the Dukedome of Holst, the King of Swetia, the Cantons of the Sweitzers, and the Grisons inhabiting the Snowy Alpes, were of old members of the Empire: but in time these Feathers pluckt from the Eagle, haue growne into new bodies, and at this day do not at all acknowledge the Emperour.

In Germany the Tolles and Taxes are frequent, as the number of absolute Princes is [Note: The Taxes, Impositions and Rene|news.] great, who impose them in their seuerall Territories vpon all passengers, and kinds of Merchandize or very small packs, Schollers of Vniuersities onely excepted, who passe free for their persons and goods. But aboue all other Princes, the Elector of Saxony (as shall bee shewed in his due place) seemes best to haue learned the art of shearing his subiects, so as he not onely imitates, but is equall in this point to the Prin|ces of Italy. Boterus relates, that the Emperour of his owne hereditary dominions, hath the yeerely rent of two thousand fiue hundred thousand Crownes, and besides exacts fiue hundred thousand Crownes ordinarily, and as much more by extraordi|nary 195 means. Men of good credit haue affirmed to me, that the Prouince of Silesia alone subiect to the Emperor as King of Bohemia, yeelds him each quarter of the yeare 60000 gold Guldens or Crownes; by which may bee coniectured what hee receiues of his other large Dominions. Yet Silesia yeelds more then any one of the rest, in respect that of the twelue Dukedoms therein contained, eight are fallen to the Emperour, for want of heires-maies. The Bishop of Silesia is called the Golden Bishop, and the same Prouince hath thirty Abbies, being most rich in that and all other respects. At Prage, subiect to the Emperour, as King of Bohemia, I obserued, that euery house paid him yeerely three Dollers; but this burthen equally imposed on thatched houses and stately Pallaces, seeming vnequally shared, the Citizens agreed among themselues of a more equall diuision thereof; so as I remember, that my Hosts house, purchased for three hundred Dollers, paid yeerely to the Emperor nine Dollers, besides other char|ges of maintaining poore Scholers; of Watches, and the like, imposed vpon each Ma|ster of a Family, in each seuerall Paris h, for which he also paid two Dollers yeerely. In the Dominions of the Emperour, the Brewers of Beere for each brewing, paid six dol|lers to the Emperour, which tribute in one City of Prage, was said to passe fiue hun|dred Dollers weekely. Also the Emperour exacted of his subiects, for each Tun of Wine drawne, a Doller, and tenne Grosh; for each bushell of Corne, bought in the Market (not the priuate Corne of their owne, spent in their

[332] Florence

houses) one siluer Grosh. These and like tributes were at first granted for certaine yeares, by consent of the three Estates: but Princes know well to impose exactions, and know not how to depose them. The Emperour giues a City to the Iewes for their dwelling at Prage. (who are admitted in no City of Germany, excepting onely at Franckfort, where they haue assig|ned to them a Streete for their dwelling), of which Iewes vpon all occasions hee bor|rowes money, and many waies sheares those bloud-suckers of Christians. The Ger|mans impose great taxes vpon all forraigne commodities brought into their Hauens, and not onely vpon mens persons, and vpon commodities laded on beasts to bee distracted from City to City, but euen vpon small burthens to be carried on a mans shoulder, as they passe through their Forts or Cities, which they vse to build vpon their confines to that purpose, and onely Scholers of Vniuersities are free from these frequent exactions, for their bodies and goods.

Touching the reuenews of the Empire it selfe, Boterus relates, that it receiues yeere|ly seuen thousand thousand Crownes, or gold Guldens; and this reuenew is of small moment for such great affaires, if hee containe all the Princes of Germany vnder this taxation, since otherwise a communication of treasure cannot bee expected from so disunited mindes as they haue. He addes, that the free Cities of the Empire yeeld a small yeerely tribute to the Emperour of fifteene thousand Guldens. It is well nowne that those Cities of old custome maintained twenty thousand foote, and foure thou|sand horses for the Emperours Army, when he went to be crowned at Rome : but this custome by long discontinuance is vanished, since the Emperours for many ages haue forborne this expedition. The matter of greatest moment is the contribution, which for the doubtfull affaires of the Empire hath been accustomed to be granted by the three Estates in Parliament. And these, such as they are, yet are more easily or hardly obtained of that free Nation, as the Emperour hath more or lesse reputation with them. But that it may appeare, that the Empire wants not treasure, the sinew of war, let vs gather by one particular example, what may generally be iudged of this subsi|die. In the time of the Emperour Maximilian the first, the following subsidie was granted in a Dyet or Parlament at Worms by consent of the Estates, for the vse of the Commonwealth, and especially for the warre against the Turkes, which at that time much lesse pressed Germany, then it doth in these our daies. First, it was decreed, that for foure yeeres next following, each person of any sex or quality howsoeuer posses|sing (through long and broad Germany), or being worth by all meanes 500 gold Gul|dens, should yerely pay half a gold Gulden to this purpose, and each one of lesse value should pay a quarter of a gold Gulden, and all Iewes, as well men as women and children, should pay yearely by the Pole one gold gulden. That Princes and Barons for 196 decency, yet of their free will should contribute much more. And that this collecti|on should be made not onely in the priuate Dominions of the Emperour, but in the priuat Teritories of al Princes, and the mony first deliuered to the Superintendents or chiefe Ministers of Gods word, and by them be conueied to seuen Treasurers residing at Franckfort (the first appointed by the Emperour, the second by the Electors, the third by other Princes, the fourth by the Prelates, the fifth by the Earles and Barons, the sixth by the Knights, the seuenth by the free Cities), all which were to take their oathes for the faithfull execution of this office. After it was againe decreed in the Diet held at Nurnberg, that for the Turkish warre, each

40 inhabitants (reckoning the hus|band, wife and children for one person) should maintaine one Footeman. That men and maid seruants should giue the sixth part of their yeerely wages, and each one ha|uing no wages, should pay a shilling of Germany. That spirituall persons, men and women (that is, Nunnes as well as others) should for each forty Guldens value, pay one gold Gulden, and in like sort the spirituall Orders of Knights, and namely those of Saint Iohn, and all Monasteries and Almes-houses, and whatsoeuer spirituall commu|nities, should giue the like contribution, excepting the foure Orders of Mendicant Friers, of which each fiue Monasteries were to maintaine one Footeman. That men and maid-seruants of Spirituall persons, should pay as much as those of the Layety. That no Elector or Prince should maintaine lesse then fiue hundred horses, and each Earle should maintaine one horseman. That Knights should contribute according to their estates. That the Iewes should pay by the Pole one gold Gulden yearely, the rich paying for the poore. That all Preachers should in the Pulpit exhort men wil|lingly to giue these contributions, giuing hope that they shall be diminished accor|ding to the booties gotten by victories. And that Bishops should make collection of this money, and deliuer it ouer to the Counsellers of the States. Twenty Noble men were at that time chosen to haue care of the Commonwealth for matters of peace and warre, who in difficult accidents were to call vnto them the sixe Electors (the King of Bohemia in the Emperours person not reckoned), and certaine other Princes. And this must alwaies be vnderstood, that these collections are made in Germany with great se|uerity or strictnesse, where he that dissembles his full wealth, shall be forced to repaire all the domage the Commonwealth hath sustained thereby, and shall bee also deepely fined, when the fraude is made knowne, which at least will appeare at the death of each priuate man, by his last will and testament. So as these subsidies must needs be of great moment. But the Germans in our daies, though ready to be deuoured by the Iawes of the Turkish Tyrant, yet for the aboue-named causes, very vnwillingly grant these contributions, yea, for the very Turkish warre.

The Germans for the said mutuall iealosies, at this day in the greatest Peace at [Note: Their war|like prouisi|on in time of peace.] home, yet liue as in the time of a Ciuill warre, at least in common feare of surprising, so as almost in all Cities, they haue victuals laid vp in Storehouses to beare a yeeres siege; and besides this publike prouision, all housholders are commanded to make their pri|uate prouisions before hand, of dried fishes, corne, and like things to eate, of fewell to burne, and of all necessaries to exercise their manuall trades. The Cities haue Watch|men continually dwelling with their families on the top of high Steeples and Towers, who by sound of Trumpet, and by hanging out flags of diuers colours, one for horse|men, another for footemen, continually giue warning what people approach to the Towne, and in what number, and besides these Watchmen are inioyned to sound their Trumpets at certaine howers of the day and night. The very recreations of the Citizens are no other, then shooting in Pieces and Crosebowes at markes in publike houses, and thus they exercise themselues on Holidaies and at all idle times, shooting for wagers, both priuate and publike, and for like rewards and prises. So as they must needes bee thereby much better trained vp for warre. Yet their footemen in warre doe not so much vse the Piece as the Pike, and their horsemen contrarie to the custome of other Nations, are generally armed with two short Pistols, not at

all with Lances. To conclude, if any man in this time of peace, shoote ofa piece within the wals of a Citie, he shall no lesse then in a Towne of Garrison, bee 197 drawne by the Serieants before the Magistrate, and be sure to pay a mulct for his error.

Caesar reports, that the Schwaben (or people of Sueuta, a great Prouince in Germany, [Note: Their Ward fare of old.] most part of vpper Germany hauing been so called of old) were most warlike, yet at the first hearing, so feared the Romans, as some thought to leaue their dwellings, some made their last wils, and all mourned and were sad. He reports also, that the halfe part of this people was imployed and nourished in Armes, and the other halfe gaue themselues to Husbandry, and that so by yeerely course they were one yeere Hus|bandmen, another yeere Souldiers. That none of them had any priuate fields, nor dwelt in one place more then a yeere. Lastly, that freedome in youth, and hunting after they came to ripe yeeres, made them of huge stature. Many witnesse, that the Germans of old, in feasting tooke counsell of Peace and Warre, thinking the vigor of the mind then to be most inlarged, when they were warmed with Wine. They were wont to promise their neighbours that they would ouercome in fighting, or else die valiantly, and so were led forth to the war with the peoples acclamations, exhorting them to valour, and at their returne were not praised, except they shewed scarres got|ten in fighting. It was infamous for any of them to lose his shield, so as many for that cause hanged themselues; for it was not lawfull for them to be present at their Sacri|fices or Counsels. Being ready to fight, they called vpon Hercules, and their horse|men vsed Target and Lance, their Footemen Darts. Their Army lay compassed with Chariots and Carts, in stead of trenches. Lastly in Counsels, they signified consent by shaking of their Speares, and dissent by murmuring.

At this day the horsemen of Germany are vulgarly called schwartz Reytern, that is, [Note: Their horse|men at this day.] blacke horsemen; not onely because they weare blacke apparrell, but also for that most of them haue blacke horses, and make their hands and faces blacke by dressing them, and by blacking their bootes, wherein they are curious; or else because custome hath made blacknesse an ornament to them; or else because they thinke this colour to make them most terrible to their enemies. For the Germans vsing more to brawle then fight, and rather to chide, then fight themselues friends, desire rather with fierce lookes to strike feare into their enemies, then by concealing their strength, to draw them to fight. The best horses and horsemen are of the Territories of Brunswick, Cleaue, and Franconia: but howsoeuer their horses are strong, yet they haue lesse cou|rage, because they are taken from the Plough, and are of an heauy race. Neither the horses nor the horsemen are armed, so as both may easily bee hurt by Footemen. Thus being Light-horsemen, yet are they lesse fit for that seruice, by reason of their heauy horses, vnapt to follow the enemy flying, or to saue themselues by speedy re|trait. And this hath often beene obserued in their warre against the Turkes, hauing swift horses, whom they could neither ouertake in flight, nor escape from them, when they pursued. Such and so heauy horses are throughout all Germany, excepting West|phalia and those parts, where their Waggons are drawne with very little horses, though perhaps they haue greater for seruice in warre. These horsemen carry each of them two short pistols at their saddles, with a sword, and like short weapons, but without any Launces, and their saddles are little, such as are commonly vsed by pas|sengers, not such

as our horsemen vse in warre, so as they may easily bee cast from their horses, and haue the disaduantage, being assayled with horsemen bearing Lan|ces.

Their Footemen are vulgarly called Lantzknechten, that is, Seruants with Lances, [Note: Their foote|men at this day.] and the best of them are those of Tyroll, Sueuia, and Westphalia. Commonly they are corpulent, and of a dull or lesse fiery spirit, yet are of great strength in fighting a battell, by reason of their strong members, and the constant order they vse in fighting. And they are armed with Lances most fit for their strength, rather then with Caliuers, requiring nimblenesse in charging and discharging.

In generall, the Germans willingly heare themselues compared to Bulles: for as [Note: Their war|fare in ge|nerall at this day.] Bulles bearing their hornes on the ground, with firme foote attend the assault of the Dogges; so the Germans, neither rush fiercely on their enemies, nor can easily be bro|ken by any charge. The Prouinces of Germany being populous, and the souldiers 198 being Mercenary, forraigne Princes commonly supply their Armies with them. And for the faithfulnesse of the Nation, and the strength of their bodies, the Princes of France and Italy willingly entertaine them for the guard of their persons. The Prin|ces of Germany leuie souldiers by absolute command, in their owne warres, but onely voluntary men are sent to forraigne warres, which they willingly vndertake, out of all mens generall affection to the dissolute liberty of the warres, and because the Ger|mans haue euer been mercenary, besides that the pleasant wines of France and Italy draw them to those warres. In our age, the French hauing had ciuill warres betweene the Papists and Protestants, both parts haue often hired the Germans. And they be|ing for the most part Lutherans, and so hating both parts, as well the Papists, as the Caluinists, (so I call them for distinction, being so termed by their common ene|mies, though they follow neither Caluin nor Luther further, then they agree with the Word of God); I say that they hating the Papists, and most of all the Caluinists, nea|rest to them in Religion (as the Potter hates the Potter, and the begger hates the beg|ger, and each one his next neighbour, more then any other), and being blamed for ser|uing them, they would freely professe, that it was all one to them, to serue the one de|uill as the other, (so they called them both.) Thus seruing more for booty then for loue, they demeaned themselues so frowardly in those warres, as they much impaired the old reputation of their Nation in warfare. The French, I say, hauing iustly no confidence in their owne footemen, for the most part vsed the Germans (as also the Sweitzers) in that seruice, and found by experience, that the firme and constant bodie of their foote, was most fit to receiue the loose wings of the French, chearefully as|saulting, but soone driuen backe; and that after the first fury of the French, the body of the Dutch Foote, like the Triarij among the Romans, stood firme. And the great Victory of the French at Rauenna, against the Spaniards and Italians, was in great part attributed to the German Footemen, who receiued the French Foote, and namely the Guascons (the best Foote of France) into their body, when they were put to flight. But they are most vnfit to besiege strong Forts, and haue been found no lesse vnfit to defend them being besieged; whether it be, for that they are lesse seruiceable in things requiring witty resolution, and fury in sudden assaults, then in a firme and constant strength; or for that, contrary to their old reputation, they are not found able in this our age to beare hunger, thirst, cold and watching, the necessary euils of a siege.

And it is certaine, that the Netherlanders, vsing them in this kind, as the course of their war consists, especially in defending and assailing Forts, haue taxed them with bitter ieasts on this behalfe, which I willingly passe in silence, desiring more to expresse vertues then to impute vices. Yet the Germans haue many very strong and well fortified Ci|ties, of which some are iudged impregnable, in which they place greatest hope of safe|tie from the incursions of the Polonians, or of the Turks. For the Polonians trusting to their famous strength of horse, brag that they despise the force of the Germans in open field, and the Turkish horse, praised for swiftnesse, seemes not to feare the heauy horses of Germany.

Surely, though I doe not thinke the Germans to degenerate from the valour of their old Progenitors, yet I haue read the Histories, and haue heard the Gentlemen of France in our time, much inueighing against them: First, that being in neutrall or friends Countries, farre distant from the enemy, they consumed wine and victuals, as if they had been borne to no other end, and spoyled all mens goods: but when the e|nemy drew neare, that not content with their former spoyles, they would then murinie for pay, and refuse otherwise to fight, when the Princes had no present meanes to satisfie them; yea, and for want of it, would threaten to leaue their par|ty, and goe to the enemy, bearing no more affection to the one then the other, Secondly, that in all Armies, wherein their strength was predominant, and espe|cially vpon the approch of the enemy, they were prone to threatnings and sedi|tious demeanour. Thirdly, that the horse hauing giuen one assault without suc|cesse, could by no intreaty, no reward, no hope of victory, be induced to giue a second charge. Fourthly, that once put out of order and routed, they could neuer be gathe|red 199 againe together. Fiftly, that in the battell of Mountcontour, by confused feare, they had almost exposed themselues and the whole Armie to the sword; and that in the next battell, hauing the victory, they spared neither man, woman, nor child, but like Beares raged against their yeelding suppliants, stil crying Mountcontour, Mount contour, for the word of reuenge. Lastly, that the leuies of the are an excessiue charge, that they consume abundance of victuals, and especially wine, and cannot beare with any want of the least of them, and are a great burthen to an Army with their baggage. Touching victuals, I haue heard the Citizens of Vienna, being themselues Germans, yet freely professing, that when the Turkes made a shew to besiege them, and incam|ped on one side of the towne, they suffered farre greater losse by the souldiers receiued into the Towne to helpe them, then by the enemies spoiling all abroad. Touching their baggage, euery footeman hath his wench, that carries on her backe a great packe, and a brasse pan, while the souldier himselfe goes empty, carrying nothing but his Armes. And at Strasburg I did see certaine troopes of horse enter the Towne, sent from the Marquis of Brandeburg, to aide the Citizens against the Duke of Loraine, which horse|men had an vnspeakeable number of carts, to carry their Armes and other necessa|ries, and vpon each cart sat a Cocke, which creature, as most watchfull, the Germans haue of most old custome vsed to carry with them to the warres.

I cannot passe in silence the iudgement of an Italian well knowne, though by mee vnnamed, who because the Germans in our age haue had some ill successes in the warre, doth attribute the same to the impurity of the reformed Religion prosessed by them, wherein he sophistically obtrudes the false cause for the true; not much vnlike the old man recorded in

our Histories, who being asked (for his age and experience) what he thought to be the cause of Goodwyn sands, neare the mouth of the Thames, an|swered, that hee thought the building of Tenterton Steeple was the cause thereof, be|cause no such sands were seene, till the time when it was built. Nothing is more ma|nifest, then that the Germans of the reformed Religion, nothing yeeld. or rather much excell, the Germans continuing Papists; in all manuall Arts, Liberall Sciences, and all indowments of Nature; which may clearely be proued by one instance of the Norenbergers and Sweitzers, professing the reformed Religion, who in all Arts, and the military profession, passe all other Germans whatsoeuer. Neither am I of the same Italians opinion, who to make the Germans actiue in warre, thinkes they must haue an Italian, or some forraigne Prince for their Generall, which none in the World can lesse indure, since they not onely most willingly heare, reade, and obey the Preachers, Authors, and Superiours of their owne Country, but aboue all other Nations singu|lar in selfeloue, doe also despise all strangers compared with themselues, (though o|therwise they be not vnhospitall towards them.)

They haue one commendable custome, proper to them with the Sweitzers onely, namely, that after a yeeres or longer warfare, they returne home vncorrupted with the dissolute liberty of the warres, and settle themselues to their manuall trades, and til|lage of the ground. The Emperour Charles the fifth did leade against the Turkes an Army of ninety thousand foot, and thirty thousand horse. And the Emperour Ma|ximilian the second, did leade against the Turkes an Army of one hundred thousand foote, and thirty fiue thousand horse. And in the Ciuill warre betweene the Empe|rour Charles the fifth, and the Protestants, besides the Emperours Army consisting partly of Germans; partly of Italians and Spaniards, the Protestant Princes had of their owne Country men an Army of eighty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. And in all these Armies there was no complaint of any the least want of victuals. So as by these examples it appeares, that the Empire can leauie and nourish a most pow|erfull Army.

And for better vnderstanding of their warfar, I wil ad the decree of the Emperor and the Electors in the Expedition against the Turks in the yeere 1500. Albert Palatine of the Rheine was confirmed Generall of the Empire, and sixe Counsellors were chosen to assist him. And it was further decreed, that the Generall should not make warre vpon any without direction from the Councell of the Empire, then chosen and consting of 200 sixe spirituall, and sixe temporall Princes, three Abbots, sixe chosen by the people, and eight chosen by the free Cities. That the souldiers should sweare obedience to the General, and he giue like oath to the Emperor and the Empire. That the Generall should haue the command of three hundreth horse, with eight Guldens by the moneth allowed for each horse. That the Generall should further haue one thou|sand three hundreth Guldens by the moneth, or more by consent of the Councell. That each horseman should haue eight Guldens by the moneth, and each Poorman foure Guldens. That the Generall should haue twenty foure for his guard, with fiue Guldens by the moneth for each of them. That the Generall should haue pay for thirty two carts, each cart drawne with foure horses, and allowed two horsemens pay. That the Generall happening to bee taken by the fortune of the warre, the Em|pire should readily pay his ransome and redeeme him. That no peace should be made without the consent of the Generall. Lastly, that the Generall should depose this dig|nitie when hee should be directed so to doe by the Councell, within

three moneths if he were within the Empire, or within sixe moneths, if he should then be out of the confines of the Empire. To conclude, he that shall particularly visit and behold the Armories and storehouses for military prouisions, as wel of the Princes as free Cities, shall bee forced to wonder at the quantity, varietie and goodnesse thereof, which if they were all vnder the command of one Prince, no two of the mightiest Kings of Christendome might therein compare with him.

It remaines briefely to adde something of the Nauall power of the Germans. Al|most [Note: Their Na|uall power at this day.] all Germany being within land, onely the Cities vpon the Northerne Ocean, and vpon the Baltike sea, haue any exercise of Nauigation. And I did neuer reade or heare that any of them did euer vndertake any long and dangerous voyage by sea, nor can their Marriners be praised for their experience or boldnesse, compared with the Eng|lish and Netherlanders. The City of Dantzk (which for agreement of tongue and manners, I reckon among the Cities of Germany, though it be in some sort annexed to Poland), howsoeuer it is famous for concourse of Merchants, and rich commodities, yet not vsing to export them in their owne ships, but rather to sell them to strangers, or to lade their ships, and especially those of the Hollanders, I could not vnderstand, that forty ships belonged to that Citie. Among the other Cities, Lubeck and Hamburg are farre more powerfull in this kind, then all the rest ioyned together. The Hauen of Hamburg hath commonly great number of shipping, and they said, that more then six hundred ships did then belong to the City. But they being vast, and built onely for burthen are held vnfit for warre. The City of Hamburg and the other Cities vpon the Northerne Ocean, hauing long inioyed peace, as neutrals, while all their neigh|bours haue made warre one with the other, and none of the Cities, excepting Ham|burg, sending out ships further then vpon the coast, it cannot be that the ships should be strongly armed. At Hamburg I did see a ship then building for a man of warre, of one thousand two hundred tunnes, and among the other ships belonging to that Ci|tie, the greatest was called the golden Lion, strongly built, and bearing eighteene brasse pieces on each side, which they named their Admirall. But our best Sea men thought them both more fit to defend the Hauen, as Forts, then to make any fights at Sea. In our age thirty seuen ships of Hamburg were laded by the Flemmings with Dantzk Rie for Spaine (where they had free trafficke in the heate of the warre betweene England France, Netherland and Spaine), and of these ships sixe perished in the very going out of the Elue, by tempest while English and other ships safely put to sea; and the rest des|paiting of the Voyage into Spaine were vnladed. Not long before my being there, they had sent some eight or ten ships into Spaine, whereof onely one returned in safe|tie to Hamburg. The City Lubeck hath a greater number of ships then Hamburg: but they commonly trading within the Baltick sea, (seldome troubled with warre or Py|rates), and their ships being onely built for burthen, are slow of saile, and vnfit to fight at sea. Besides that for the foresaid reason, they carry few or no pieces, or other armes. To conclude, while I was at Lubeck, a great ship of that Citie of one thousand foure hundred tuns, called the Eagle, and laded with salt, perished in the returne from Spaine. 201 Whereupon I then heard our best Sea-men impute great ignorance to the German Marriners of those Cities. This shall suffice for their skill in Nauigation, whereof I haue formerly spoken in the third Booke of this Volume or Part,

treating of the traf|ficke of Merchants in Germany.

Touching their Lawes and iudiciall courses in generall: Of old the Magistrates of Germany were as Captaines of Cities, who determined of Ciuill causes at home, and had publike meetings yeerely for that purpose, most commonly in the moneth of May, or at the times of the full and new Moones. They came armed to these meetings not all together, but euery man at his pleasure, and as it pleased the multitude, so they sate in iudgement. Silence was commanded by the Priests, who had power to pu|nish them. Then the Prince or King, or any eminent person in eloquence or in fauour, was heard to speake, yet as perswading, not commanding; and if the speech pleased, the people shewed consent by murmuring, or otherwise dissent by striking their speares together. Here they determined all controuersies, and chose new Captaines or Gouernours. They had a custome, that if any man complained of another, hee should make a supper for a hundred men, who duely examined the cause; and if the plaintife had the right, the defendant paid the charge, otherwise he scaped free. They gaue of free will to their Prince of their Cattell and Corne, as much as they thought fit for his honour and necessity. Tacitus writes that the old Magistrates of Germany did nothing vnarmed, publikely or priuately: And the Germans themselues confesse, that their old Progenitors seldome tried iniuries by Law, but commonly reuenged them with fire and sword, and that they shamed not to take preyes by stealth or sorce. Quintilianus Varus appointed Gouernour of Germany by the Emperour Augustus; did first appoint the iudgement of Scabines, (which in the Hebrew tongue signifies a Iudge: for he had formerly beene Gouernour of Iury). These Scabines determined all controuersies, and to this day the Germans in most places so call their Iudges. The lower and vpper Saxony hath a prouinciall Law, yet determines also many causes by the ciuill Law. The Statutes of the Diots or Parliaments bind all, but the Statutes of priuate Princes onely bind their owne subiects.

The greatest part of Germany is gouerned by the Ciuill Law: And therefore the Doctors of the Ciuill Law are much esteemed among them, and are Counsellors of Estate aswell to the Emperour as to other Princes, which place they thinke vnfit to be conferred on any Doctors of Diuinity. Yea, the Princes of Germany haue this pecu|liar fashion, that no sonne vseth his Fathers old counsellors, but rather new chosen by himselfe. The said Doctors of the Ciuil Law haue priuiledge by their degree, to weare chaines of gold about their neckes, and feathers in their hats.

There be in Germany foure kinds of Law giuing, or rather foure cheefe Courts of Iustice. The first is that of the Diets or Parliaments, vulgarly called [...], that is, Daies of the Kingdome, which meetings by the Law should be made once in the yeere, and last no lesse then a moneth at least, no man hauing liberty to depart from them without leaue of the Councell: Neither may the Emperour or his sonne, or the elect King of the Romans, make any warre or league, without consent of the same. The second Court is called Landgericht, that is, the Iustice of the Land, wherein the cheefe men of each Prouince are to be called together thrice in the yeere, and are to sit three weekes, to determine the cheefe affaires of the Prouince, as the Parliaments handle the cheefe affaies of the Empire. The third Court is vulgarly called Camerge|richl, that is, the Iustice of the Imperiall Chamber, which is held at Spirt foure times each yeere, each time lasting forty dayes, to determine the generall causes of the Em|pire. The fourth

Court is the Burgraues right, by which debts by specialty are reco|uered.

The Kingdome of Bohemia hath a prouinciall Law, deriued from the Law of Sax|ony, and for that cause there be few Students of the Ciuill Law: but because the Em|perour hath instituted three Chaunecries, one for the Law of Saxony, (which Pro|uince lies vpon the North side of the Kingdome:) the second for the Law of Bohe|mia: the third for the Ciuill Law, (in respect of the Emperours subiects of Austria, ly|ing 202 on the South side o. Bohemia,) for this cause there be many Doctors of Ciuill Law, and they also much esteemed in the Emperours Court. If a Bohemian haue a cause in any Court of the Germans, he is tried by the Ciuill Law, or by the Law of Saxony; and if a German answer in the Court of the Bohemians; he is tried by the pro|uinciall Law of Bohemia; and the Defendant drawes the cause to his owne Court. Morauia, a Prouince incorporated to Bohemia, vseth the Language and Law of that Kingdome. In the old City of Prage, howsoeuer almost all speake Dutch, yet the Law is giuen in the Bohemian tongue, by a statute lately made. Silesia, a Prouince in|corporated to Bohemia, hath the manners and language of Germany, and Iustice is there administred by the Law of Bohemia, deriued from the Law of Saxony; but for the greater part by the Ciuill Law. Generally in Germany, if a cause be receiued into any Court, and the defendant escape to another City, the Magistrate of the place must send him backe, to answer the Plaintife his accuser.

The causes of the Empire (as I formerly said) are handled in the Imperiall Cham|ber [Note: The Im|periall Cham|ber.] at Spire. And therefore it will not be amisse to relate some Statutes made in the Imperial meetings, which are collected into a Booke, vulgarly called Reichs abscheidt, that is, the Epitome or abstract of the Kingdome; but I will onely set downe breefly some of the cheefe statutes. It was decreed in the yeere 1556, that no subiects of the Electors, nor any Inhabitants, or Earles of their Prouinces, should appeale from them to this Court of the Imperiall Chamber. The Emperour Fredericke the third, in the yeere 1442, made these statutes: That no Prince should by armes right himselfe against another, before Iustice haue beene denied to him in this Imperiall Court. That the Iudge of the Chamber should be a Prince or Barron, and of sixteene Asses|sors, halfe should be Ciuill Lawyers, and halfe of the Knightly Order. That the grea|ter part should carry the cause, and the voices being equall, the Iudges voyce should cast it. That the Iudge should not be absent without leaue of the Assessors, nor they without his leaue, and that without some great cause, more then foure of them should not be absent at one time: That in absence they should haue no voyce: That the cheef Iudge being sicke, shall substitute a Prince in his place, who shall first take his oath. The Procters and Aduocates shall take no more of their Clients, then the Iudges shal appoint, and shall sweare to auoide slander and malice. The Notaries shall execute the iudgements in the name of the Emperour. Appeales shall be of no force, except they be made in order to the next superiour Court, and so ascending. All that belong to this Chamber, shall be free from all payments, but not one of them shall either keepe an Inne, or trade as a Merchant. The Iudge shall deliuer ouer to the Senate of the City, those that are guilty of death. By the same decree, all fees for writing and processes are set downe, so as the Clyent swearing pouerty, shall goe free, so as hee sweare to pay the fees when he shall be able. Further it was decreed, that the seate of this Chamber or Court, should not be changed but by the consent of the

Imperial di|ot or Parliament. That the Defendants hiding themselues, the Princes or Citizens to whom they are subiect, shall sweare vpon a set day, that they are not priuy to any of their actions, or else shall satisfie all damages. That the Procters shall speake no|thing but to the purpose, and for ieasts or impertinent things in word or writing, shal be punished by a mulct in money, and by being put to silence in that cause. By the Emperour Charles the fifth, in the Diot at Augsburg, the yeere 1518, two new Asses|sors were added, and it was decreed, that Charles as Emperour, should appoint the cheefe Iudge, two Assessors of the Law, and two Gentlemen Assessors, and as heire to his patrimony, should appoint two learned Assessors. That three Gentlemen Asses|sors should be named by the three secular electors, three learned by the three spiritual Electors, and three Gentlemen with three learned, by the common consent of the six Communities. (For the Empire was deuided into sixe Communities, vulgarly called Kreysen, for the collection of tributes aad like duties, as other Kingdomes are deuided into Counties; and since that time in the yeere 1522, for the same purposes, the Em|pire was deuided into ten Communities). Further it was decreed, that twenty two persons should with like equality be named yeerely to visit this Chamber or Court. 203 That no appeale should be admitted into this Court vnder the value of fiftie Gul|dens; and that the executions of iudgements should be done by the next Magistrates, and they not willing or not daring to doe it, should be referred to the Emperour. At a Parliament in the yeere 1522, it was decreed, That no stranger should be appointed cheefe Iudge: That for absence the pensions should be abated, after the rate of the time, and be distributed among the present: That the Iudges should sweare to take no guifts; not to prolong causes, and to doe right without respect of persons; and that the Procters should take no fees, but such as are set downe by statutes. At the Parlia|ment in the yeere 1555, it was decreed, that no Assessors should be of any other Reli|gion, then of the Roman, or the Confession of the Protestants, made at Augsburg. That one Assessor should not interrupt the speech of another, nor should rise to con|ferre one with the other, and that all speeches of anger should be punished, and all be sworne to keep secret the Acts of the Councell: That Aduocates should not be more then foure and twenty in number: That any man should be admitted to speake for himselfe, first swearing to auoide slander: That this Chamber or Court should be yeerely visited, vpon the first of May, by the Archbishop of Mentz, as substitute to the Emperour; by three other, each chosen by one of the Electors, by two Princes, one temporall, the other spirituall, and by one Counsellor, chosen by each order, (namely one by the Earles, and one by each free City) to whom the complaints should be presented vpon the first of March. That no man should forbid his sub|iects to appeale to this Court, except they should willingly renounce the appeale; but that all froward appeales for vniust causes should be punished, by paying charges, and being fined; and that no appeale should bee admitted vnder the value of fifty Guldens, excepting those who haue priuiledge to appeale for lesse summes, and that no appeale be made for corporal punishments: That the Chamber should be held at Spire, till it be otherwise decreed by Parliament, but that in time of famine or plague, they may for the time choose another place: That two brothers should not be the one an Assessor, the other a Procter: That the Iudges shall meete three dayes in the weeke, and eight of them at the least shall be present: That execution of iudgement shall first be required by letters of the Court, to which if

the Defendant shal not yeeld obedience, he shal be cited to appeare, and shall be condemned in costs, and the Plain|tife shall be put in possession of his goods, and the Defendant by the Popes priui|ledge granted to this Court, shall be excommunicated, and then execution shall be desired from the Magistrate of the Community, or in case the defendant be powerful, it shall be desired from the Emperour himselfe. Lastly, that no appeale nor petition against the iudgement of the Chamber shall be admitted.

And thus much breefly written of the Imperiall Chamber or Court, shall suffice. Onely I will adde, that appeales were of old granted to the Electors subiects, and at this day in some cases and aboue a certaine value, are granted to the subiects of Prin|ces and Cities; and that in difficult causes, the Germans often referre them, to beiud|ged by the Colledges of ciuill Lawyers in the Vniuersity: but since Princes and Ci|ties weekely hold Courts of iudgement, so as execution is done before appeale can be made, and since many Cities and Princes haue priuiledges against appeales, gran|ted to them from the Emperor, these appeales are many times and by diuers meanes made voide. In this Chamber the Emperour himselfe may be accused, and many times a Gentleman, or any man of inferior condition, hauing difference with a Princes gaines the cause against him, and the great differences of Princes, wont to breake into warre, vse quietly to be composed in this Court. The cheefe Iudge, if he be Earle or Barron, hath two thousand Guldens yeerely, by the statute made in the yeere 1548, and hath more if he be a Prince. An Assessor, if he be an Earle or Barron, hath yeerely by the same statute seuen hundred Guldens; if he be a Doctour of the Ciuill Law, or a Gentleman, he hath fiue hundred Guldens, and each Aduocate in Exchequer cau|ses, hath yeerely three hundred Guldens; and by a statute in the yeere 1557, they re|ceiue for each Gulden 77 Creitzers, for bettering of their pensions, whereas formerly each Gulden was valued at sixteene Batzen, or sixty foure Creitzers.

204 Touching capitall iudgements. By the Ciuill Law, in most heinous offences, [Note: Capitall iudgements.] the affection is punished, though it take no effect: yet in common custome, and after the forme of the Statutes of Italy, he that hath a mind to kill, is not punished, except he doe kill. The old Law of Saxony respects the fact, not the will: but of late the Ele|ctors of Saxony haue made a Statute (which is yet in vigour), that he that prouokes a man to fight, or threatens death to him, shall dye, though hee neuer assaile him. The Germans hold it reprochfull to apprehend any malefactor, which is onely done by the Serieants of the Hangmans disgracefull Family. My selfe obserued, that a young man, Kinsman to the Consul or Maior of a Citie, hauing killed a Gentleman, remai|ned two howers in the Citie, and then fled, without any stop by the Serieants, who notwithstanding did afterwards for fashion sake pursue him, some few howers. Yet I must needs confesse, that the Germans are generally most seuere in Iustice, sparing not the Inhabitants more then strangers, yea, in some cases fauouring strangers more then the Inhabitants, (as in debts, which a stranger cannot stay to recouer by long processe.) My selfe hauing a sute for money at Lindaw, my aduocate would by no meanes take any fee of me, and the Iudge gaue mee right with great expedition. In criminall offences they neuer haue any pardons from Court; (which are common in forraigne Kingdomes), but the punishment is knowne by the fact, so the malefactor be apprehended. For all hope of safety is in flight, yet I deny not that fauour

is often done in the pursute. For since onely the Serieants can apprehend, there is no place, where more malefactors escape by flight. In the Citie of Lubeck, most honoured for Iustice, the common report was, that the very Iudges and Senators, had lately winck|ed at a Gentlemans breaking of prison and flight with his keeper, whom being impri|soned for a murther, they could neither execute; without greatly offending the King of Denmark, nor otherwise set free, without scandall of Iustice. A man suspected of any crime, or accused by one witnesse, is drawne to torture, yet is neuer condemned vpon any probability, till himselfe confesse the fact, which confession is easily extor|ted, because most men had rather dye, then indure torment. So as many times inno|cent men haue been after knowne to haue perished by their owne confessions, as with vs sometimes innocent men haue been knowne to dye, being found guilty by a Iurie of twelue sworne men. And because it cannot be that the iudgements of men should not often erre; hence it is that the Ciuill Lawyers haue a strange, yet good saying, that a mischiefe is better then an inconueniency, namely, that it is better one innocent man should dye by triall, then many nocent persons should escape for want of triall. In Germany not onely men but women also being accused, are put to torture. And for di|uers great crimes, the Law iudgeth them to death with exquisite torments. And be|cause they can hardly bee indured with Christian patience, lest the condemned should fall into despaire, the very Preachers, when they haue heard their confessions, and set|led their mindes in true faith, by rare example of too great charitie, permit and ad|uise, that they be made drunken, to stupifie their sences, so as thus armed, they come forth with more bold then holy mindes and lookes, and seeme not to feele vnsuffera|ble torments of death.

Neare Lindaw I did see a malefactor hanging in Iron chaines on the gallowes, with a Mastiue Dogge hanging on each side by the heeles, so as being starued, they might eate the flesh of the malefactor before himselfe died by famine. And at Franckford I did see the like spectacle of a Iew hanged aliue in chaines, after the same man|ner.

The condemned in Germany lose not their goods, but onely in case of Treason a|gainst their absolute Lords. But in Bohemia the goods of the condemned, fall to the Emperour, as he is King of Bohemia, in the Territories belonging to the King; and to the Princes and Gentlemen, in the Territories whereof they are absolute Lords (as they are all, in their owne lands.)

In Germany Courtiers and Students of Vniuersities, haue their proper Iudges and Prisons, so as by singular priuiledge they may not be tried in any other Court. And of old the Students of many Vniuersities had such priuiledges (at this day not fully 205 allowed), as for murther they could not be punished further, then with expulsion. In Germany they haue a custome to giue a condemned man to a Virgin that desires him for her husband, but according to the circumstances of the crime, they grant or denie the same.

The office of the hangman is hereditary, so as the sonne cannot refuse to succeede his father: And of late the hangmans sonne of Hamburg being a Student, and learned if not a graduate, in the Vniuersity of Basil, after his Fathers death, was called home by the Senate of Hamburg, and forced to doe his Fathers Office, which is most ignomi|nious, but of great profit: For the Germans hold it reprochfull to take off the skinne of any beast, dying of it selfe, so as the hangman doing that Office, hath the skinnes for his labour. The Germans are so supersticious, as they thinke it a great reproch to touch the head or body of any

put to death, and thinke it most ridiculous for any man to salute the hangman, or speake curteously to him, and esteeme it a foule fault to eate or drinke with them, or any of his Family. Therefore the Hangman and those of their Family, who helpe them in their Office (and succeed them hauing no children) doe all weare a greene cap, or some apparent marke, by which they may be knowne, or at least are tied to professe their quality, when they come into any company, left any man should offend in the former kindes. And in publike Tauernes they haue Tables proper to them, at which the basest body will not sit for any reward. If they performe not their Office with dexterity, they feare to be stoned by the people, whose rage many times in that case they haue hardly escaped; but being expert in doing their Office, and hauing most sharpe Swords, they commonly shew great dexterity in beheading many at one time, and (as it were) in a moment. They are commonly thirsty of blood, so as the common report was, that the hangman of Torge beheaded some of his companions with the Sword of Iustice, because they would not pledge him, when they were so fully drunken, as they could no more; whereupon the Sword was taken from him, and is to this day kept in the Senate-house, and onely deliuered to him at times of execution: And that this rascall could not liue a weeke without drinking the blood of some Beast. Besides at Breme not long before this time, forty freebooting souldiers being beheaded at one time, and the hangman hauing failed in giuing a foule wound to the first man executed, and hauing with much difficulty appeased the peoples anger for the same, hee presently drunke some of the mans blood that was dead, and after hee had fetched a friske or two, beheaded all the rest with strange dexterity (as it were) in a moment.

Of old among the Germans manslaughter was punished by a mulct of cattle, but no man escaped death for adultery. At this day (as after will appeare) they punish man-killers more seuerely, and adultery in most places is death, and in no part of Ger|many free from seuere punishment. Not onely the free Cities of the Empire haue the priuiledge of the Sword, or capitall Iustice granted to them by Emperours; but also many Cities subiect to inferiour Princes haue that priuiledge granted by some of their Lords: and those Cities that haue it not, yet vpon accidents of capitall offences, obtaine it for the time by petitionary letters at Court, so as the Prince permits Iustice, the City giues sentence, and sees execution done in the place where the crime was committed, and presently after the fact, neuer vsing (as we doe) to send Iudges from County to County at set times of the yeere: For casuall man-slaughter, or by chance medly (as we terme it), the Ciuill Law giues arbitrary punishment; but the Law of Saxony punisheth it with a certaine and expresse mulct, namely of one Wehrgeld, and by the Ciuill Law not onely the principall, but euery one that is accessary, payes the whole mulct, whereas by the Saxon Law, if it be not knowne which of them killed him, all iointly pay but one mulct. Killing in sudden anger (which we call manslaugh|ter) is punished with beheading through all Germany and Bohemia, and that without delay: for if the offender be apprehended, he shall within few howers, or next day be beheaded, and put in the same Coffin with him that he killed, and so both are buried with one funerall pompe, and in the same graue: and if vpon escape, the man-slayer liue within the confines of the Empire, whensoeuer his fact is knowne, he shall be sent 206 backe to the place where he committed it, contrary to the custome of Italy, where the Princes cherrish, or at least giue safe aboade to the banished men of the

next Coun|tries: Onely I must except the Lords and Gentlemen of Bohemia, who vpon capitall offences are not presently iudged, but are referred to the next Parliament. In free Ci|ties I haue obserued this forme of iudgement and execution. The Iudge sits before the tribunall, couered with blacke cloth, and the Senators and Consuls sit vpon a bench aboue him; and this place of Iudgement is commonly in a Porch or Terras vnder the Senate-house, hauing one side all open towards the market place. Then the Crier, who carries the Sword before the Iudge, cals out the accuser; and the hang|man comming forth, accuseth the Malefactor, which done, the Cryer leades the Ma|lefactor before the Tribunall, where he is againe accused, and confesseth the fact, ac|cording to his confessions formerly made either in torture or before the Senators ap|pointed to examine him: Then the Iudge giues sentence, and breakes his white rod. This done, the Hangman repeates the sentence in the market place, and presently the Malefactor is brought forth to be beheaded. This manslaughter in sudden sury, is very frequent among the Germans, by reason of their excessiue drinking. In the Ci|ty of Hamburg I obserued thirty seuen to be thus killed in the space of six weekes, and onely three of the manslayers to be beheaded, the rest escaping by flight. And at Prage in Bohemia, I obserued fifteene seruants of the Polonian Ambassadour (whereof ma|ny were Gentlemen), and thirteene Bohemians and Germans, to be wounded to death in their cups, within the space of three weekes, all the manslayers escaping, ex|cepting one poore clowne, who was executed. It is true that Post-horses are kept for the Sergeants to pursue Malefactors, yet they slowly follow Gentlemen, or those that haue good friends, howsoeuer they would soon apprehend a stranger, or a poore offender, neither vse they earnestly to pursue any, except they be hired by the friends of him that is killed, or be otherwise terrified by the Magistrate.

For combates in Germany, reade the precept of patience in the Chapter of Precepts, being the second chapter of this 3 Part. Here I wil onely say, that in combat very few, or no Germans are killed, few hurt, and that lightly; which I rather attribute to their peaceable nature, not apt to take things in reproch, then to their seuere Lawes. I haue said that manslayers die without hope of pardon, if they be apprehended, but other|wise the Germans haue no seuere Lawes to punish iniuries, (in which Iustice the Sweitzers of all Nations excell), without which Lawes, no capitall punishment can keepe men from reuenge, especially in a warlike Nation, and vnpatient of reproch: Onely at Augsburg I remember seuere Lawes, made to keepe the Garrison Souldiers from combates, where they haue a plat of ground, to which they call one another to fight vpon iniuries; but it serues more to make shew, then proofe of their valour: For a Souldier wounding another, payes foure Guldens: Hee that drawes his Sword, though he draw no blood, payes two Guldens: He that vpon challenge and the grea|test prouocation, kils another, is banished: And the Magistrate giues such reall satis|faction to the wronged by deed or word, as they may with reputation forbeare re|uenge: yea, he that doth a wrong, is bound vnder great penalty, that he himselfe shall presently make it knowne to the Magistrate, craving pardon, and submitting himselfe to punishment, howsoeuer the wronged neuer complaines.

At Prage in Bohemia, manslaughters committed by Gentlemen against strangers, and those of meaner condition, are much more frequent, because Gentlemen can on|ly be iudged in Parliaments, which are not often called, and are then tried by Gentle|men, who are partiall in

the common cause, and commonly acquite them, or delude Iustice by delaies: Otherwise the Bohemians punish manslaughter, murther, robbe|ry, and like crimes, as the Germans punish them.

By the Ciuill Law the punishment of a boy for manslaughter, is arbitrary, but he is not subiect to the Cornelian Law, or capitall punishment, except he be capable of malice. By the Law of Saxony, a boy for manslaughter is punished by the foresaid mulct, if he be capable of malice, otherwise he is subiect to no punishment, and in like sort if he depriue one of the vse of any member: but in custome if he be seuenteene 207 yeeres old, he may be, and is commonly put to death. By the Ciuill law, the punish|ment of reall and verball iniuries is arbitrary, and as many wounds as are giuen, so many are the punishments. But by the law of Saxony, he that strikes another, so as he leeseth the vse of a member, is punished by a mulct of money vncertaine, which is gi|uen alwaies to him that is maimed, and if he die not, a thousand wounds or maimes are punished onely with one mulct, except they bee done at diuers times and places, in which case seuerall mulcts are inflicted. Alwaies vnderstand, that these iudgements are giuen, where the offender is ciuilly accused, for if these wounds be giuen of set ma|lice, and if he be capitally accused, he shall dye, according to the circumstances, which the Germans much regard. Thus at Lubeck a man was beheaded, for striking a Citi|zen in his owne house. And in the way from Stoade to Breme, I did see a sad monu|ment, of a wicked sonne, whose hand first, and then his head was cut off, for striking his father. He that killes a man of set malice, and like hainous murtherers, haue all their bones broken vpon a wheele, and in some cases their flesh is pinched off, with hot burning pinsers, and they that kill by the high-way, are in like sort punished. And many times for great crimes, the malefactors some few dayes before the execution of iudgement, are nailed by the eares to a post in a publike place, that the people may see them. After the execution, the bones and members of the malefactor are gathered together, and laid vpon the wheele, which is set vp in the place of execution (com|monly where the crimes were committed), for eternall memory of his wickednesse, with so many bones hanging on the sides of the wheele, as he committed murthers or like crimes; and my selfe haue numbred sometimes eighteene, often fourteene bones thus hanging for memory of so many murthers, or like crimes committed by one man. These markes long remaining, and crosses set vp in places where murthers were committed, though the murtherer escaped by flight, make passengers thinke these crimes to be frequent in Germany; yet the high-way is most safe, and the nature of the people abhorring from such acts, which are neuer committed by Gentleme , but only by rascals against footmen in the highway, and those that dwel in solitary houses. Yet the seuerity of punishments, and the more fierce nature of the Germans (retaining some kind of fiercenes from their old progenitors) make such as are thus giuen ouer to wick|dnes, to be more barbarous and vnmerciful, and when they haue once done ill, to affect extremity therin. To conclude, I haue said, that the law of Saxony condemnes a man to death, who threatens to kil another, though he neuer do the act. By the Ciuill law, dif|ference is made between a day and a night thiefe, because we may not kil him that steales by day, but may kil him that robs by night, if we cannot spare him without danger to our selues. By the law of Saxony, he that by night steales so much as a little wood, shall be hanged: but stealing that or like goods by day, shal only be beaten with rods. In the ciuil law, it is doubtful whether theft is to

be punished with death or no, and most com|monly it concludes, that only theft deserues not death, if it be not accompanied with other crimes. But the law of Saxony expressely condemnes a thiefe to be hanged, if he steale aboue the value of fiue Hungarian Ducates of gold, or vnder that value to bee beaten with rods, and to be marked with a burning iron, in the eares or cheekes and forehead, and so to be banished. And howsoeuer generally a thiefe may not be han|ged by the Ciuill Law, yet in some cases it condemnes him to be hanged. By the law of Saxony the thing stolen must be restored to the owner, and may not be detained by the Magistrate, and they who wittingly receiue stolen goods, or giue any helpe to theeues, are subiect no lesse then the theeues to the punishment of hanging. In Ger|many there be very few robberies done by the high-way, and those onely vpon foote|men; for they that passe by coach or horse, carry long Pistols or Carbiners, and are well accompanied. But if any robbers affaile, in respect of the seuere punishment, they commonly kill. In Germany they who are hanged for simple theft hang in iron chaines vpon the gallowes till they rot and consume to nothing, but in Bohemia after three dayes they are cut downe and buried. I did see one that had stolen lesse then fiue gold guldens, whipped about the towne, one that consented being led by his side for ignominy, but not whipped. I did see another small offender led to the gallowes 208 with a condemned man, that he might beware by that example. And I haue seene others for stealing vnder the said value, put in a basket, and thrise ducked in the ri|uer, for a warning vpon the first fault. And I haue often heard them tax our English Iustice, for hanging those that steale aboue the value of thirten pence halfe-peny, which will hardly buy a rope. By the Ciuill Law he that findes any thing, and for gaine keeps it, is guilty of theft; for he ought to make it publikely knowne, and to re|store it being owned, or other wise if he be poor to keep it, if he be rich, to distribute it among the pore.

By the Law of Saxony, it is a theeuish thing not to make publikely knowne any thing that is found; but hee that so doth, shall not suffer death or any corporall pu|nishment, because he did not of purpose take it away: but if he that lost it, doe cry it in the Church or market-place, then if it be more then the value of fiue shillings, hee is thought worthy to be beaten with rods, or to indure such arbitrary punishment, ac|cording to the value of the thing found.

By the Ciuill Law, hee that cuts downe trees secretly, shall pay the double value: but by the Law of Saxony, the mulct is according to the value. By the Ciuil Law, they that steale the necessaries belonging to husbandry, shall restore foure fold, and also in|curre infamy. But one Law of Saxony condemnes them to haue their bones broken with wheeles; and another Law makes the punishment arbitrary. The Ciuill Law confiscates goods for which custome is not payd, but the Law of Saxony imposeth Fyne aswell vpon those which pay not customes and duties, as vpon those that passe not the beaten way, where they are paied, but go some by way, to defraud the Prince. By the Ciuill Law, sacrilegious persons are beheaded: but by the Law of Saxony their bones are broken vpon the wheele, and markes are set vp according to the number of their offences in that kynd. By the Ciuill Law, no offender may be burnt in the forehead, because the face may not be dissigured, as created to the similitude of God: but in Saxony, those whch are beaten with rods, or banished, are also many times marked, by being burnt in the hand, or by cutting off their eares, or by pulling out their eyes, or by being burnt

in the cheekes, so as the haire may not couer the marke but it may be manifest to strangers in forraine parts. Yet the interpreters of that Law, thinke at this day, that offenders can not be so punished by that Law, and that a theefe ought not so to be marked. By the ciuil Law, witches doing any act wherupon a man dies, are to be beheaded, but by the Law of Saxony, they are to be burnt. Yet by a late Statute of the Elector, they are sometimes beheaded, (for you must vnder|stand that in all places, the Prouinciall Law is daily increased by new Statutes of Princes) And by the Law of Saxony, a witch hauing done no hurt by that art, is puni|shed arbitrarily. And the Germans credibly report, that there be many witches in the Countries lying vpon the Baltick sea, and especialy vpon the Northen side therof, as in Lapland, being part of the kingdome of Suetia; and that in those places they haue generall meetings, and Colledges of witches, who wil tell any man what his frends do at anytime, in the remorest parts, one of them falling downe as in extasie, and when he comes to himselfe, relating the particulars thereof, and that they ordinarily sell windes to the Marriners, to carry them out of the hauen to the maine sea.

In Germany those that set houses on fier, either hired thereunto, or of there ownemalice, and also witches vse to bee burnt, or if their crime be hainous, vse to be put to death with a [...] iron on spit, thrust into their hinder partes. Coines of counterfeit mony, are by the Law to dye in boiling lead. By the Ciuil Law the goods of a banished man may be seased to repaire any losse, but it is not lawfull for any man to kill him, neither is he infamous. But by the Law of Saxony, he that is banished by the Empire, may be killed; because he broke the peace, and after a yeers banishment, he is infamous; alwaies vnderstanding, that he is lawfully banished, By the Ciuill Law, a traitor to his country, is to be burned to death; but by the Law of Saxony, his bones are brokn vpon the wheele, and by custome many torments are in some crimes added to this punishment. By the Ciuill Law, he that steales a virgin, widow, or Nunne, and all that helpe him in that rape, are beheaded: but by the Law of Saxony, besides the 210 beheading of the offenders, the places are to be laid waste where the force was offred, and the beasts to be killed that helped to doe the force, as the horses which carried them away; yet this is not obserued, but in practise only he is put to death that offe|red the force.

Of old the women of Germany, were wont to purge themselues from suspition of adultery, by the combat of champions, or by treading on shares of hot burning iron with their naked feet, with out taking any harme, and this purgation should still be obserued; neither is it abrogated in Saxony, but only is vanished by difusing. And the Germans haue not only of old been seuere punishers of breaches in wedlocke, so as it was lawfull for the husband to expell his adulterous wife out of his house be|fore all his neighbours, with her body naked and her haire shorne, and so to beat her with rods through the streets; but also euen to this day, the chastity of wiues, through the seuerity of the Law against the incontinent, is no where so preserued, as in Ger|many. If a married person lie with one that is vnmarried, aswell on the man as the womans side, the maried party is put to death, and the vnmarried is punished by the purse, and with ignominy; and if both parties be married, boh die. And our age hath seene two notable examples of this Iustice in Germany, one of a Duchesse, who by au|thority of her husband and of her owne brother, was for this crime forced to drinke poison secretly, for preseruing of all their honours. The other of another Duchesse who was bricked vp in a most

narrow roome, hauing an hole in the wall by which she receiued her meat, to prolong her miserable life, while her husband had another wife and liued with her in the same Castle, in which she thus languished. In most places of Germany this sinne is punished no lesse then with death; yet in some places, and vpon some circumstances, (as of a man hauing an old and barren wife) the delin|quent sometimes escapes with a mulct of mony: and otherwhere the iudgment is drawne out with delaies of the suit, to spare the parties without manifest breaches of the Law. In Bohemia adultery is also punished with death. In Germany I did see a poore knaue hanging and rotting on the gallowes, being condemned to that death for hauing two wiues at one time in two seuerall Cities, and I did see another behea|ded for lying withhis wiues sister.

In Ciuill causes, I obserued these laudable customes in Germany, namely that in many Courts, they that goe to Law lay downe a caution or pledge, which he loseth, [Note: Ciuil Iudge|ments.] who in the end of the triall, is found rashly and vniustly to haue sued the other. That the Fees of Lawyers are limited, and that icasts or impertinent speeches are punished, and they are tied to speake nothing that is not to the purpose.

Of old, no beauty, age, nor riches, helped a defloured virgin, to get any husband at any time. And no doubt virgins to this day are no where so carefull of their good name as in Germany; no where virgins more modestly behaue themselues, no where virgins liue to so ripe yeers before they be married, as in Germany. At Wittenberg I did see harlots punished by standing at the Altar with a torch lighted in their hands, and by being whipped with rods, while many drums were beaten, and basons tinckled about them. At Heidelberg I did see an harlot put in a basket, and so ducked into the riuer Neccar; and because she whooped and hollowed as in triumph, when she rose out of the water, she was for that impudency ducked the second time. At Prage in Bohemia, howsoeuer harlots be there as common as in Italy, and dwell in streets to|gether, (where they stand at the doores, and by wanton signes allure passengers to them) yet I did see some men and women of the common sort, who for simple forni|cation, were yoked in carts, and therewith drew out, of the City the filth of the streets. But while the Bohemians thus chasten the pooter sort, I feare the greater Flies escape their webs.

In Germany at the time of publike Faires, after the sound of a bell, it is free for debtors, harlots, and banished people to enter the Citie; but they must haue care to be out of the territories before the same bell sound againe at the end of the Faire, they being otherwise subiect then to the Law. At Leipzig I did see an harlot taken after this second sound of the bell, who had been formerly banished, with two of her fore|fingers 210 cut off; and shee, not for incontinencie, but by the law of banishment, was next day beheaded. Whiles I liued in the same Citie, it happened that a virgin of the better sort being with child, and cunningly concealing it, was surprised with the time of birth in the Church vpon a Sunday, and silently brought forth the child in her pew or seat, couering it with rushes being dead, which was vnknowne to all in the body of the Church, only some yong men sitting in a roode or loft with the Musiti|ans, perceiued the fact, and accused her for murthering the child: In the meane time, shee went home from the Church, in the company of the other virgins, without any shew of such weaknes, and after, vpon the said accusation being imprisoned, the report was that shee should bee iudged to death, after the old Law mentioned by the Poet Propertius, namely, being sewed in a steke with a liuing cat (in steed of an Ape),

and a liuing Cocke, Snake, and Dog, and so drowned in the riuer with them. But delay be|ing vsed in the iudgement, and her honourable friends making intercession for her, and the murther of her child being not prooued, when I left the Citie after six mo|neths shee remained in prison, and it was not knowne what would become of her.

Aswell in Germany as Bohemia, bastards are excluded from publike profession of liberall or mechanical arts, only they may exercise them in the houses of priuate Gen|tlemen, (in which course of life as seruants they commonly liue) but neuer in open shops. All graduates in Vniuersities take an oath, that they were begotten in lawfull matrimony. And if any man ignorantly should marry a woman great with child, how|soeuer the child bee borne in mariage, yet it shall inherit nothing from the husband. Bastards cannot bee sureties for any imprisoned or delinquent man, nor inioy the ex|traordinary benefits of the law, and are commonely named of the Citie or Towne where they were borne, for a marke of ignominy, not after any mans sirname. But the publike Notaries by priuiledges granted to them from Emperors and Popes, haue power to make their posterity legitimate.

In the lower part of Germany, which was all named Saxony of old, a debtor shall not be receiued into prison, except the Creditor allow the Iaylor two pence by the day to giue him bread and water, and after a yeeres imprisonment, if the debtor take his oath that he is not able to pay, he shal be set free, yet the creditor hath stil his right re|serued vpon his yeerly wages for his labour, and vpon his gaines by any art or trade, and vpon any goods whatsoeuer he shall after possesse. And before any debtor bee imprisoned, the Magistrate giues him eighteen weeks time to pay his debt, and com|mits him not till that time be past. And in some places the debtor lines at his owne ex|pence, and shall be tied to pay his creditors charges, if he be able to doe it.

In some places, especially at Lubecke, I haue obserued that strangers being Credi|tors, haue more fauour then the Creditors of the same City against a Citizen debtor, because strangers by reason of their trafficke, and hast homeward, cannot well expect the delay of sutes, in which respect their debtors shall presently be imprisoned, where|as mutually among the Citizens, they giue the foresaid or like time of payment, be|fore they will imprison them: Debts without specialty are tried by Oath. In Bohe|mia the debtors are imprisoned presently, and maintaine themselues, not being relea|sed till the creditors be satisfied.

In Germany, if any man draw other mens monies into his hands, and being able, yet payes not his debts, he is guilty of capital punishment; but that ingenious and ho|nest Nation hath few or no such bankerouts. By the Law of Saxony, he that deceiues by false weights and measures, is to be whipped with rods.

The Emperours of old granted the priuiledge of coyning Money, to many Prin|ces and free Cities; and the Emperour in the Dyet or Parliament of the yeere 1500, commanded all Princes, Persons, and Bodies so priuiledged, to send their Counsel|lors to him at Nurnberg, and that in the meane time all Coyning should cease, vnder the penalty to leese the priuiledge of Coyning. In the same place, the yeere 1559, ma|ny Lawes were made for coyning Monies, whereof I will relate some few. First the weight and purity of the mettall was prescribed, together with the Inscriptions to be set vpon the Coynes. Then it was decreed, that after sixe moneths no strange Mo|nies 211 should bee currant, whereof many are particularly named. That all forraigne Gold should after the

same time be forbidden, excepting the Spanish single and don|ble Duckets, the Portugall Crownes with the short crosse, the Crownes of Burgundy, Netherland, France, Spaine, and Italy, to each of which peeces a certaine value was set. Moreouer it was decreed, that counterset coyning or melting, should be punished according to the quality of the offence. That vncoyned gold and siluer should be de|liuered by each man into the Mints of his owne Prince. That it should be lawfull to Goldsmiths for exercise of their trade, (and no more) to melt gold and siluer, and to deuide it into parts, so as they export none of it. That no man should sell or pawne the priuiledge of Coyning, heretofore granted him from the Emperours, and that like priuiledges hereafter to be granted, should be of no force, without certaine con|ditions there prescribed. Other Lawes of Coyning I haue formerly set downe in the Chapter of Coynes.

Germany hath few or no beggars, the Nation being generally industrious, excep|ting leprous men, who liue in Almeshouses, and standing farre off, beg of passen|gers with the sound of a bell, or of a woodden clapper, but no man denies almes to him that begs, they hauing small brasse monies of little value. The Law forbids any to beg, but those that are lame, and chargeth Magistrates to bring vp their children in manuall Arts. The Lawes wisely prouide against all frauds in manuall Arts and in Trades, and since no Trade can doe more hurt then the Potecaries, for the preserua|tion of health, or the lesse hurt of the sicke, the Law prouides that their shops be yeer|ly visited, and purged of all corrupted drugges, which the visiters see burned. The Germans freely permit vsury to the Iewes, who at Franckfort, at Prage, in the Prouince of Morauia, and in many places vnder Princes of the Papacy, haue Cities, or at least streets to dwell in, where they liue separated from Christians, and grinde the fa|ces of the poore with vnsatiable auarice. For they take fifty in the hundred by the yeere, with a pawne of gold or siluer, and one hundreth in the hundreth by the yeere, with a pawne of apparell or houshold stuffe, neuer lending any thing without a good pawne. But the Germans among themselues cannot by the Law take more then fiue or fix in the hundreth for a yeeres vse. Yet among Christians, there want not some, who vse both the name and helpe of the Iewes, to put out their mony with greater gaine.

Of old among the Germans, with out respect to last Wils and Testaments, the [Note: The Lawes of Inheri|tance.] sonnes lawfully begotten succeeded alone in the Inheritance, and for want of them, first brothers; then vncles. Caesar in his Commentaries writes, that the fields were yeerely diuided by the Magistrate, no man hauing fees or inheritance proper to him, lest husbandry should take away their warlike dispotion, or they should become co|uetous; and addes, that they loued vast solitudes vpon their consines, as if no people durst dwell neere them; or at least to the end they might liue more safe from sudden incursions of enemies. At this day all barbarousnesse being abolished, they succeed according to the lawes in the Fees and inheritances of their parents and Kinsmen, and affect peace as much as any other Nation. But they trust not so much to solitudes or the naked breast for defence from their enemies, as in strong forts and well fortified Cities.

By the Ciuill Law, as the sonne, so the nephew, or sonnes sonne, (representing his father) succeeds in land granted by fee. By the Law of Saxony, only the sonne succeeds, excluding the nephew: and if there be no sonne, the Fee retournes to the Lord. But howsoeuer the old Interpreters haue so determined, yet the later Inter-

preters, iudgeing it most vnequall so to exclude the nephew, so interpret the Statute of the Saxonicall Law, as they make the Fee granted to the Father and his children, to ex|tend to the nephews (or the sonnes of any his sonne,) so as the sonnes cannot exclude them. By the Feudatory Ciuill Law, brothers and collateral cosens, succeed in the Fee of the Father, sometimes to the seuenth degree, sometimes infinitely: for the In|terpreters extend the successio of the right line without end, but the succession of the collaterall line onely to the seuenth degree. But in the Law of Saxony, collateral kins|men 212 haue no right of succession in the Fee, except they haue it by right of ioynt in|uestiture. These Lawes differ in numbring the degrees. For the Saxons make the first degree in cosen-germans by the fathers side, namely the sonnes of two brethren; and the second degree in the sonnes of two cosen-germans: whereas in the Ciuill Law, co|sengermans are in the fourth degree of consanguinity. By the Ciuill Law, brothers diuiding a fee, preiudice not themselues in mutuall succession; so as two brothers di|uiding, and after one of them dying without a sonne, the part of him that is dead, shall returne to him that liues. But by the Law of Saxony, the succession depends vppon vsing it in common, from which if they depart, they are iudged to haue renounced the mutuall right of succession; so as one brother dying after the diuision, the other hath no right to his part: therefore by custome one brother vseth to retaine the fee, and to satisfie his brethren in mony and goods, commonly with condition that this money and goods shall be bestowed in getting another fee. By the Ciuill Law, if the vassall haue built houses, or bestowed mony in bettering the old houses, the Lord of the Fee shall either satisfie the heire according to the estimation of the expence, or shall suffer him to carry away the houses. But by the Law of Saxony, the fee lies open to the Lord, with all the houses built, one case excepted. By the Ciuill Law, if the vassall die with|out heire male before the moneth of March, the fruits of that yeere pertaine to the Lord: but if hee die after the Calends of March, before the Moneth of August, the fruits pertaine to the heires. But by the Law of Saxony, if the vassall liue past the day when the rent is due, the heires shall inioy the fruits of his labour. By the Ciuill Law, if the Fee vpon the death of the Lord, fall to all his sonnes, either equally or other|wise, the inuestiture must be desired of all: but by the Law of Saxony, it sufficeth to aske it of one sonne of the dead Lord. By the Ciuill Law, a seruant or a clowne may be inuested in a Fee; which done, the clowne becomes a Gentleman, if the nature of the fee require it: But by the Law of Saxony, onely hee that is borne of the knightly order by father and mother is capeable of a fee, though custome preuaile to the con|trary. By the Ciuill Law, if the vassall leaue an heire, he cannot refuse the inheritance, and retaine the fee, but must hold or refuse both: but by the Law of Saxony, he may retaine the fee, leauing the inheritance, and in that case is not bound to satisfie credi|tors. By the Ciuill Law, a man may giue or sell his land to a Prince or Prelate, and take it againe of him in fee. But by the Law of Saxony, except the Prince or any buyer whatsoeuer, retaine the land a yeere and a day, before he grants it backe in fee, hee that gaue or sold it, or his heire, hath right to recouer the land. By the Ciuill Law, if the vassall haue lost his horse or armes in warre, hee hath no remedy against the Lord, be|cause he is tied by duty to helpe him: but by the Law of Saxony, the Vassall is not ti|ed to serue the Lord any longer, except he repaire his losse, and the Lord is tied to pay a certaine ransome for his captiue Vassall. By the Ciuill Law, the Lord, or the Father of the Vassall

being dead, the Vassall is bound to aske inuestiture within a yeere and a moneth: but by the Law of Saxony, either of them being dead, he must aske it without delay. By the Ciuill Law, the Vassall must serue the Lord at his owne charge: but by the Law of Saxony, he is onely tied to serue him sixe weekes, and by custome the Lord must feede him and his horse, or giue him a competent allowance.

By the Ciuil law, the pupil is excused from the Lords seruice: but by the law of Saxo|ny, the Tutor must serue in his place. By the Ciuill law, a Fee falling to a Monk, belongs to the Monastery during his life: but by the law of Saxony, it returnes to the Lord. And touching the succession of Monks in any inheritance whatsoeuer, though by the Ciuil law they are accounted dead, yet the same law admits the to succeed with the children of the intestate father: but by the law of Saxony, they are not capable of any inherita ce; yet this Law seeming vniust to the Popes, it was corrected, so as their succession was giuen to the Monastery. But in our age, the Iudges haue pronounced a Monke himself to be capeable of inheritance, notwithstanding the Papall Law giues his inheritance to the Monastery, and that because the Monkish Vowes being against the word of God, the persons of Monkes are free to take inheritance. By the Ciuill Law, the Vassall is bound to accompany his Lord when he goes with the King of the Romans, to take 213 the Crowne of the Empire at Rome but by the Law of Saxony, he may redeeme this seruice with paying the tenth part of his yeerely rent; and since, the golden Bulla hath restrained this seruice, to twenty thousand foote, and foure thousand horse, and the paiment of them hath since been equally diuided through Germany, allowing a horse|man twelue Guldens, and a footeman foure Guldens. By the Ciuill Law, he forfeites his Fee, who cuts downe fruitfull trees, or puls vp vines, but by the Law of Saxony, it is free to the possessor, to make the lands or houses of the Fee better or worse, at his pleasure. By the Ciuill Law, if the Lord deny inuestiture, it must be asked often and humbly: but by the Law of Saxony, if the Vassall aske it thrice, and hath witnesses that the Lord denied his seruice, afterwards, so he haue good witnesses thereof, hee and his heires shall possesse the Fee, without any bond of seruice, and his heire is not bound to aske inuestiture. By the Ciuill Law, if two Lords of one Vassall shall both at one time require his seruice, he is bound to serue the most ancient Lord: but by the Law of Sax|ony, the person of the Vassall must serue the Lord that first calles him, and he is to pay a summe of money (as the tenth pound) to the other.

By the aforesaid Lawes and daily practise, it appeares, that the Territories of Prin|ces (according to the old Feudatory Lawes) either fall to the eldest son (who giues his brothers yeerely Pensions, or according to his inheritance, recompenceth them with money, or other lands), or else are equally diuided among the brothers. Yet some Fees are also feminine, and fall to the daughters and their husbands, and some may be giuen by testament: but others, (as those of the Electors) for want of heires males are in the Emperours power, who with the consent of the Princes of the Empire, com|monly giues them to the husbands of the daughters, or to the next heires by affinity, if there be none of consanguinity. I haue heard of credible men, that the Dukedome of Austria first fals to the sons, then to the cousens, and for want of them to the daugh|ters. The Duke of Wineberg and the Duke of Coburg (sonnes to Fredericke Duke of Saxony and Elector, but depriued of his Electorship by the Emperor Charles the fifth, for his Religion), did equally diuide their

fathers inheritance, (the Electorship being giuen away, the inheritance wherof could not be diuided): but I did obserue, that the brother to that Duke of Coburgs son being vnmarried, had no inheritance sub-diuided to him, which was said should be done, when he tooke a wife. The Count Palatine of the Rheine, not long before this time deceased, did diuide all the inheritance with his brother Duke Casimere, excepting the Palatinate; which with the stile and dignitie of Elector, belongs to the eldest sonne. But they say that many times the Knights and chiefe men of the Prouince, wil not for the publike good, lest the Princes power should be weakened, permit this diuision among their Princes, but force the younger brother to take money or yeerely pension for the part of his inheritance; and that this diuision is also many times forbidden by the dying fathers last Testament. And they seeme to do this not without iust cause, since the great number of children often oppresseth di|uers principalities. Thus 17 brothers, al Princes of Anhalt (for the title is common to al the yonger brothers with the eldest, euen where the patrimony is not diuided) diuiding their fathers estate betweene them, were said to haue each of them ten thousand gold Guldens by the yeere; and if all these brethren should haue children, it was probable that the Principalitie could not beare so many heires. I remember that I did see one of them at Dresden, in the Court of Christian Elector and Duke of Saxony, who recei|ued of him a pension to maintaine certaine horses, and was one of his Courtiers. The like happened in our time to the Counts of Mansfeild, whereof twenty seuen liued at one time, and some of them followed the warres of Netherland, the reuenues of so nar|row a County sufficing not to beare vp the dignitie of their birth, howsoeuer it yeel|deth Mines of Siluer, which were at that time pawned for money to the Fuggari of Augsburg.

I obserued that the younger sonnes of Protestant Princes, whose Fees could not be diuided, yea, and the eldest sonne during his fathers life, inioyed the reuenewes of Bishopricks as Administrators (being so called), besides money and pensions, and some lands of inheritance, and otherwise for better maintenance followed the warres. 214 In this sort when the Elector Christian Duke of Saxony died, his three sonnes being yet vnder age, inioyed three Bishopricks, namely, those of Misen, Nauberg, and Mers|berg, though the Emperor and the Gentlemen of those parts in a Prouinciall meeting, were instant to haue three Bishops chosen, and the Emperour desired that dignity for one of his brothers. The same three Princes yet being vnder age, I did see coynes of Gold and Siluer bearing the images of all three: but when they came to age, the Ele|ctorship and the Inheritance belonging to it, fell to the eldest sonne, the younger re|taining the said Bishopricks for life, and their part of other lands that might bee diui|ded, for inheritance to them and their children.

The Fees of Princes are giuen by the Emperour, and the Fees of many Gentlemen and of some Earles are giuen by Princes: but I returne to the Lawes of Succes|sion.

By the Ciuil law, they that disscend of the right line, haue the first place in successi|on, al which without respect of sex or fatherly power, do succeede equally, the sons by the Pole, the nephewes to their part, namely, to the part which their father should haue had, if he had been then liuing; so as it seemes, that fower or more nephewes, the sons of a third brother dead, diuiding with two brothers liuing, all the nephewes shall only haue a third part, belonging to their father being dead, and each of the two liuing bro|thers shall

haue another third part. The Law of Saxony changeth nothing touching the persons, but differs in the succession of goods: For the daughters shall by priui|ledge haue their mothers apparrell, and other ornaments, with all vtensiles (or house|hold stuffe), so as they shall be valued to them in their due parts. And the niece, borne of one of the sisters being dead, hath the same right with the other sisters for her mo|thers part: but none can haue these vtensiles, saue the women on the mothers side, (vulgarly called Spieimagen), for the brothers daughter hath no right to them. And I haue heard of learned men, that these vtensiles cannot bee alienated by the last testa|ment, namely, vessels of brasse (but not of pewter), linnen, beds (excepting the heires of Inne-keepers, whose chiefe wealth commonly consists in such furniture) also sheep, geese, iewels of gold, and like ornaments of the mother, excepting the seale ring of gold, and pearles, and other iewels, which men vse to weare as well as women. By a Law made in the Dukedome of Meckelburg, because the women in the yeere 1388 re|deemed theeir captiue Prince wirh their Iewels, many priuiledges of succession are granted to women. By the Law of Saxony, as the vtensiles belong to the daughters, so besides the decree of the Ciuill Law, in the Knightly Order all goods of expedition (as Armes, and the like) belong to the sonnes, and the sword is alwaies giuen to the eldest sonne. But these things are not obserued among those of common or plebean ranck, except custome haue made them as Law, so as the Daughters by custome haue the vtensiles, and the eldest sonne haue the chiefe horse for the plough. I haue formerly said, that by the Law of Saxony, the nephew is excluded from succeeding in a Fee with his vncle on the fathers side (that is, his fathers brother), but that in our daies the ne|phew is admitted according to the Ciuill law. I haue said, that in the succession of moueable goods, the sonnes succeede the father by the Pole: but the nephewes (or sonnes of another sonne deceased) succeede their Grand-father onely in the part be|longing to their father. I haue said, that the Law of Saxony changeth nothing touch|ing the persons, but only differs in the succession to some goods, as the vtensiles. Now I adde further, that the nephewes succession and equall diuision with his fathers bro|thers, is decreed by an Imperiall Law, abrogating all contrary customes.

By the Ciuill Law, brothers on both sides, and together with them, the children of their dead brothers and sisters, are then first called to inheritance, when the deceased hath no heires in the right line discending or ascending: but without any respect to the Imperiallisaid Law, (as speaking of custome, not written Law), or to the last Ciuill Law, the Law of Saxony decrees, and of old custome it is obserued among the Saxons, that in the succession of Collaterals, the liuing brother excludes the children of his dead brother, (I say in freehold, not in fee) and the brother on both sides excludes the brother on the one side onely in the third degree, and the brother on both sides 215 excludes the children of his dead brother in the third degree. But I haue obserued that this law is thus practised among the Saxons, as imagining there be three brothers, Thomas, Iohn, and Andrew, and it happening, that Thomas first dies leauing a sonne, and then Iohn dies vnmarried, or without issue, the goods of Iohn at his death shall not fall to the sonne of Thomas his eldest brother, but to his brother Andrew yet liuing; and Andrew dying last, as well his owne as his brother Iohns goods fall to his owne sonne: but if he haue no sonne, then they fall to the sonne of Thomas. And againe putting the case, that Thomas and Iohn are both dead and each of them hath left a sonne

or sonnes, if Andrew die without a sonne, the sonne of Thomas succeedes him, without any re|spect to the sonne of Iohn. By the Ciuill law, the vncle of the deceased by the fathers side, is not onely excluded by the brother of the deceased, but also by the brothers children: but by the Law of Saxony, since the right of representation simply hath no place, and these persons are in the same degree, namely, in the third degree, they are cal|led together to the inheritance, yet the Scabines (or Iudges) of Leipzig, haue pronoun|ced the contrary to this iudgement of the Iudges in the highest Court of the Duke of Saxony rather following the Ciuill Law, which preferres the brothers sonne, before the vncle on the fathers side. By the Ciuill Law in the successions of Collaterals, the bro|thers of both sides are for a double bond preferred to the brothers by one parent on|ly, so as the priuiledge be not extended to things in Fee, but to things in free-hold; be|cause in Fees the bond on the mothers side is not regarded. By the Law of Saxo|ny a brother on both sides excludes a brother by one parent, as nearer by one de|gree.

By the Ciuill law Bastards are admitted to the inheritance of the mother, and the brother lawfully begotten is called to the inheritance of a dead bastard brother by the said mother, but by the Law of Saxony, as a bastard cannot bee admitted to inherit with one lawfully begotten, so he that is lawfully begotten, cannot succeede a bastard, that is not legitimated, and by the law of Saxony a mother hauing a bastard daughter, and dying without any other child, cannot leaue her vten|sile goods to that daughter. Yet in all cases concerning bastards, the Iudges leaue the law of Saxony as vnequall, and iudge after the Ciuill law, so as in Saxony bastards both succeed, and are succeeded vnto, and alwaies part of the goods is giuen, if not by law, yet by equitie, to maintaine the bastards, and the Interpreters will haue the law of Saxony vnderstood of those, that are borne in incest, who haue not the benefit of legiti|mation. By the Ciuill law he that is borne in the seuenth moneth after marriage, is reputed lawfully begotten: but by the law of Saxony, hee is reputed a bastard that is borne before the due time; yet because Phisitians agree, that the seuenth moneth may be called due time, in custome and practise the law of Saxony agrees with the Ciuill law.

By the Ciuill Law the Testament is broken by the birth of a Posthumus, (that is, a sonne borne after his fathers death), if it giue no part to this child; so the birth be pro|ued by two witnesses: but by the Law of Saxony foure men by hearesay, and two wo|men by sight, must testifie the birth. In the Ciuill Law it is controuerted how sonnes of brothers shall succeed the vnkle by the fathers side; and the greater part saith, that they succeed to the parts of the brothers: so as one child of a brother shall haue as much as two or more children of another brother: but by the Law of Saxony when the inheritance fals to any that are not brothers and sisters, they succeed by pole, so as one brother hauing many children, each of them shall haue equall part with the onely child of another brother; and if they be further off in degrees, those that are equall in degree, haue equall portions. But both these Lawes are made to agree by a Statute of the Emperour Charles the fifth in the yeere 1539, whereby it is determined that the sonnes of brothers shall not succeed to parts, but by pole, to the Vnkle by the Fathers side; not withstanding any Statute or custome to the contrary.

By the Ciuill Law the diuision of Inheritance must be made by Lots, and if the parts be not so made equall, the Iudge must determine it; but by the Law of Saxony, if there be onely two persons, the elder deuideth, and the yonger chuseth, and

if there 216 be more persons, then according to the Ciuill Law, the inheritance is deuided equally, and they cast lots for their parts.

In this deuision I haue obserued such equity among the Saxons, as if one sonne of a Citizen, haue beene brought vp in the Vniuersity, or instructed in any Art or Sci|ence at the Fathers charge, something shall be taken from his part, and giuen to the other brothers wanting like education, or being tender in yeeres: And the Germans being lesse apt to disagreement, seldome goe to Law about inheritance, and if any dif|ference happen, an Arbiter is appointed, and the Magistrate determines it with expe|dition. By the Ciuill Law the Sonne of a banished man is depriued of his Fathers inheritance, but by the Law of Saxony he shall enioy it.

By the Ciuill Law the degrees of Consanguinity, end in the tenth degree, excep|ting Barrons and noble persons, who dying without heires, the kinsmen succeede, though it be in the hundreth degree; and if all the Family of a King should die, and leaue no man neerer then one of the old blood remoued a thousand degrees, yet hee should succeed in the Kingdome. The degree of Consanguinity by the Law of Sax|ony, ends in the seuenth degree, for that is the tenth by the Ciuill Law, the sonnes of two brothers being by the Law of Saxony in the first degree, who by the Ciuill Law, are in the fourth degree. By the Ciuill Law Cities howsoeuer priuiledged, cannot pos|sesse the vacant goods of men dying without heires, but they fall to the Emperour; but by the Law of Saxony Cities that haue absolute power, confiscate these goods by custome, so as the goods of a stranger, or any dying without heires, are brought to the Iudges of the place, who keepe them for one whole yeere: yea, they challenge vn|moueable goods, but with prescription of yeeres: And these goods vse to be conuer|ted to godly vses, and I haue obserued some to be deepely fined, for fraudulent detai|ning these goods.

By the Ciuill Law he that is of age, so he be in his wits, and no prodigall person, may freely sell, giue, or by any course alienate his goods: but by the Law of Saxony this power is restrained, for no man without the consent of the next heires can alie|nate vnmoueable goods gotten by his Progenitors, (vulgarly called Stamgûtter), but onely for godly vses, or dowries giuen vpon marriage, (for contracts of dowry are of force for vse and property without consent of the heires, though made after the mar|riage, if the guift be confirmed by the giuers death): but if any man will sell his Pro|genitors goods, first by the Ciuill Law he must offer them to be bought to the next heires, and they refusing to buy them, he may then freely sell them to any man, and if they were neuer offered to the heires, notwithstanding the possession is transferred, but the heires haue an action for their interest.

By the Ciuill Law, weakenesse (as of old age) doth not make the guift of lesse force: but by the Law of Saxony, a man or woman sicke to death, cannot without the con|sent of the heires, giue any goods aboue the value of fiue shillings, so as a certaine so|lemnity is required among the sicke, and also those that are healthfull, in the gift of any moueable or vnmoueable goods: For among the sicke or healthfull, he that will giue any goods, if he be of Knightly Order, hee must be of that strength, as armed with his Sword and Target, he can vpon a stone or block an ell high mount his horse, and his seruant is admitted also to hold his stirrop. If he be a Citizen, he must beable to walke in the way, to draw his Sword, and to stand vp right before the Iudge, while the gift is made: And a Clowne must be able to

follow the Plow one morning. Last|ly, a woman must be of that strength, as shee can goe to the Church of a certaine di|stance, and there stand so long till the guift be made: but these things are vnderstood of guifts among the liuing, not of guifts vpon death. By the Ciuill Law guifts are of force, though made out of the place where the goods are seated: but by the Law of Saxony for vnmoueable goods the guift must bee made in the place, and before the Iudge of the place, where the goods are seated, onely some cases excepted.

By the Ciuill Law, the heire that makes no Inuentory, is tied to the Creditors, a|boue the goods of Inheritance; but by the Law of Saxony he is neither tied to make an Inuentory, nor to pay further then the goods of the deceased extend. By the Ciuill 217 Law, within ten dayes, and by the Law of Saxony, within thirty dayes after the death of him that dies, the heire may not be troubled by the creditors. An Imperiall Statute decrees, that he who makes a Testament, must be in his right mind, so as he speakes to the purpose, and must haue witnesses, who haue no profit by his Testament, and such as themselues haue power to make a Testament. Hee that disinherites the next heire, is bound to giue him a lawfull legacy according to his goods. By the Ciuill Law leprous persons and borne vnperfect, are not excluded from inheriting: but by the Law of Saxony, the lame, dumbe, blind, leprous, and the like, are not capable of in|heritance, or see, yet if any man after his succession shall become leprous, he shall en|ioy the inheritance.

By the Law of Saxony, Tutorage belongs onely to the Kinsmen, by the Fathers side, and not (as by the Ciuill Law) to all in the same degree, but euer to the next, and if many be in the same next degree, then to the eldest of them only, yet so as the danger of Tutorage belongs to all together. Thus Christian Duke of Saxony dying, the Duke of Winberg only, (not the Duke of Coburg in the same degree with him); was Tutor to his children, though the Electorship was taken from their Grandfather, and giuen to this Family with great and iust enuy by the Emperour Charles the fifth. In com|mon iudgement, especialy respecting such cases, the kinsmen on the mothers side seeme more fit to be Tutors, who haue no profit, but rather losse by the death of the Pupill, whereas the kinsmen on the Fathers side are heires to him. Yet the common practise to the contrary, (as in this particular example) produceth no tragicall euents among the Germans, being of a good and peaceable nature. By the Ciuill Law, a Pu|pill is said to be in minority till he be fiue and twenty yeeres old, and the tutorage cea|seth, and the Pupil is capable of inuestiture at ripe age, namely the Male at foureteene, the female at twelue yeeres age: but by the law of Saxony the Pupill is said to be in mi|nority till he be 21 yeers old, and the Male is capable to be inuested in his fee when he is 13 yeers and six weeks old: for the Saxons make difference between these two things, Binnen Iahren vnnd binnen Tagen, that is, vnder yeeres, and vnder daies: for the Pupill is held vnder yeers for inheritance til he be foureteen yeers old, and for Fees till he be thirteene yeeres and six weekes old: but he is held vnder daies or in minority, till he be twenty one yeeres old. The Imperial law of the golden Bulla not withstanding, makes the Electors sonnes to be of ripe age, and free from Tutors at eighteene yeeres age. I haue obserued that Tutors in Saxony allow the Pupils fiue in the hundreth for all their money which they haue in their hands. Females are vnder Tutors till they mar|rie, and they cannot marrie without their consent, but refusing to giue consent, they are bound to yeeld a reason thereof before the Iudges, lest they should fraudulently denie consent. By the Ciuill Law the Tutor is not bound to giue

account, till the Tutorage be ended, but the Administrator may yeerely be called to account, and the eldest brother must giue account to the younger, of the inheritance which hee admi|nistreth vndeuided: but by the Law of Saxony, if the Tutor be not heire to the Pupill, (as the Kinsman by the Fathers side, while the Mother liues, who excludes him from succession), he is tied yeerely to giue account, but if he be heire to the Pupill, he is not bound to giue account, which notwithstanding is restrained to Parents and Brothers, who for reuerence of the blood, and naturall affection, are freed from suspition of fraud or fault, especially where the administration is of goods, which either they pos|sesse with the Pupils vndiuided, or in which they haue right of succession. Also by the Law of Saxony, the elder brother (when his brother hath no mother liuing) as heire to his brother, is not tied to giue account to his brother, or to his ioynt heire for the administration of a common and vndeuided Inheritance. In like sort by the Ciuill Law, the Tutor is bound to giue sureties or sufficient caution, for preseruing the Pu|pils goods; but by the Law of Saxony, (as formerly), if the Tutor bee heire to the Pupill, or ioint heire with him in vndeuided Inheritance, hee is not tied thereunto. By the Ciuil Law whatsoeuer fals to the sonne in the power of the Fa|ther, of his mothers goods, either by Testament of the Mother, or from her dying in|testate, the Father shall haue the vse and full administration thereof for his life, and for the confidence and reuerence of a Father, hee is not tied to giue sureties or 218 caution for vsing or restoring those goods to his sonne, as others hauing like vse thereof are bound to doe, yet so as in regard of this vse for life, the Father is bound ac|cording to his power to giue a gift in marriage to his sonne leauing him: but the mo|ther hath no, right to the vse of her sonnes goods. By the Law of Saxony, the vse is so long granted to the Father, till his children depart from him: but the Lawyers so in|terpret this, if the Father because of the separation; for if the Sonne will depart of his owne motion, except he be out of minority, and will take vpon him the care of a Fa|mily, the Father shall retaine the vse, and is bound after to restore these goods, except they perish by mistortune without his fault. And the same Law, is for the Mother also, touching the goods of her Sonne, when the Father is dead: but the Law concer|ning the Father, must be vnderstood of the vnmoueable goods falling vnto the Son from the Mother.

By the Ciuill Law the Father and Mother, or others in the ascending line, succeed the Sonne or Daughter dying, in equall portions with the Brothers and Sisters: but by the Law of Saxony, the Parents of the Sonne dead, or if they be dead, the Grand|father and Grandmother, or any ascendants whatsoeuer, exclude brothers and sisters by both Parents, and collaterals whatsoeuer; and indeed by the Law the Father alone succeeds the dying Sonne or Daughter, excluding the Mother, excepting the vtensile goods, in which the Mother is preferred: but by the late Statute of the Electors, this Law is changed, so as the Father and Mother succeed together: yet these things must be vnderstood of the goods in freehold; for in Fees they of the ascendant line succeed not the descendants, but as euery stranger may succeed, by contract expressed in the inuestiture. By the Ciuill Law the Father cannot make a gift to the Sonne being vn|der his power: but by the Law of Saxony he may, yet the sonne receiuing the gift, is bound to acknowledge it when his Father dies, and to abate so much of his portion in the diuision with his brothers, if it be of any value, and not giuen to supply his wants at that time: And by both Lawes the gift is good from the Father to the Sonne going to warfare:

By the Ciuill Law the Wife in time of marriage, may haue goods, in which the Husband hath no right, either to alienate or to administer them, as those goods which shee brings to her Husband aboue her dowry, and neuer giues them to him: but by the Law of Saxony the Man and Wife haue all goods in common, so as all are said to be the Husbands, and the Wife can call nothing her owne, and the Husband hath the vse of all without exception, euen while they liue together, for the burthens he beares, yet he hath not the property of these goods, onely they both possesse them vndeuided so long as they liue together. The Husband at marriage takes his wife and all her goods into his tuition, but this tuition is onely vnderstood for the vse, which ends when the wife dies, but the wife hath not like vse in her husbands goods: And the hus|band in administring the goods of his wife, must deale honestly, and neither sell nor ingage them, because he is onely her Tutor. By the Ciuill Law the wife hath power, without the presence or consent of her husband, to giue or alinate her moueable or vnmoueable goods, onely during the marriage shee cannot giue away her dowry to the preiudice of her husband, without his consent; but by the Law of Saxony, the wife cannot giue her vnmoueable goods, nor sell or alienate any goods without her hus|bands consent, because shee is vnder his power as her Tutor. Yea, the wife cannot giue her goods to her husband, because hee being her Tutor, cannot bee actor to his owne profit: but if before the Magistrate shee chuse another Tutor, by whose autho|rity the gift is made, then it is of force. For in all cases in which a gift betweene man and wife is of force by the Ciuill Law, in the same cases at this day by custome it is of force among the Saxons, so as the former manner be obserued: But all these things of the Wiues gift to her Husband, and of alienating her goods by contract, (which shee cannot make without the consent of the Husband her Tuter), are not vnder|stood of the alienation by her last Will and Testament. For by the Law of Saxony it is controuerted, whether the wife may giue a gift to her husband at her death, with|out the authority of the foresaid Tutor chosen by her, and if it be giuen without the 219 same, whether after the death of the wife, (according to the Ciuill Law) this gift be confirmed. And some interpreters say, that the same authority of a chosen Tutor, and the same solemnity is required, as in a gift betweene the liuing, others determine that the gift at death without a Tutor is of force, so it be made before the Iudge, because it is not a simple giuing, but participates some thing of the last Will and Testament, and for that cause fiue witnesses are required to it, or that it be registred, which done, the gift is of force, because fauour is to be giuen to the last Testament, which must not be captious, but free. Also because he that is of ripe age, but in minority, though hee cannot giue or contract without the authority of his Tutor, yet hee may giue for death. And so it is concluded, that in doubtfull cases the gift must be fauoured, that it may subsist, rather then be made voyd. Lastly, the Law of Saxony in this, consents with the Ciuill Law; that a wife may make a Will, and for death giue her vnmouable goods to any other but her husband, without the consent of the husband her Tutor. But by the Statute of the Elector, the gift of vtensile goods made to the husband in preiudice of her next kinswoman, is of so little force, as with death it is not confirmed, except it be remuneratory. Yet among the liuing, this gift of stuffe (as some restraine it, so it be not to the husband) is of force, if it be made before a Notary, and with wit|nesses. By the Ciuill Law, the husband may not haue the care of his wiues goods, lest she vpon affection shuld remit

his ill administration, and so shuld be in danger to loose the goods of her dowry: but by the Law of Saxony, presently vpon mariage, the hus|band is lawful Tutor to his wife. By the ciuil law the dowry of the wife giuen by her father, vpon the death of the wife, returnes to the father, except it be couenanted to the co trary in the contract of the dowry: but by the law of Saxony, the husband vpon his wiues death, gaines all moueable goods, and so much of the dowry as was in ready mony, except it be expressely couenanted to the contrary in the contract of the dow|ry, and all the goods of the wife aboue that shee brought in dowry, fall to the hus|band, nothing excepted, but onely the vtensile goods, yet this Law is not extended to the perpetuall and yeerely rents of the wife, which are reputed vnmoueable goods. By the Ciuill Law, if either the man or the wife marry the second time, the party may in no case giue more to the second husband or wife, then to the children of the first marriage: but among the Saxons this Law is abolished by contrary custome, so as not onely the Step mothers vse to haue much more of the husbands goods, then the children of the first marriage, but on the other side also, the second husbands vp|on the death of the second wife, being to haue all her moueable goods, excepting the vtensiles, commonly gaine more then her children of her first marriage.

By the Ciuill Law, a Widdow retaines the dwelling house, honour, and dignity of her Husband deceased, till shee marry to another, and by the Law of Saxony the dead Husband leaues his widdow the right of his Family and blood, and custome so interprets this Law, as all priuiledges and dignities are thereby granted, as by the Ci|uil law. Widows and Virgins by the Law of Saxony, if they be of such age as they haue no Tutors, may giue or alienate their goods, which a wife cannot do, being vnder the Tutorage of her husband yet the interpreters restraine this to mouable goods, being otherwise in vnmouable goods, but by last wil and testament they may dispose of both.

By the Ciuill Law, if there bee no Letters of Dowry or Iointure, the Husband dy|ing, the Wife must haue the fourth part of his goods: but in some parts of Saxony the custome is, that the Wife being a Widdow, shal haue the third part of her Husbands goods, as it is in all Misen: but in other parts, as in Thuring, the Ciuill Law is obser|ued, and shee hath the fourth part, if the Husband leaue but 3 or foure children, but if he haue more, then the widdow hath onely an equall part with each of them: But in Misen the wife hath not the vtensile goods, which vse nor to bee giuen to women ha|uing a third part. And moreouer the widdow is tied not onely to leaue her owne goods, but her part of goods gotten in marriage by her husband, and whatsoe|uer her friends gaue to her in the life of her husband, or shee any way gained, to their children at her death, whether shee gaue them to her husband in time of his life, or no, for it is alwayes presumed that shee got these things out of her husbands goods: And if in any place there be no custome to determine this, 220 then the widow besides her fourth, or equall part, hath also the vtensile goods. And in case the husband leaue no children, then the widow hath her choise, whether shee will receiue the third part, or renouncing the same, will retain vtensile goods, and all other her owne goods mouable or vnmouable, together with her dowry. But if the husband leaue children, the widow hath not this choise, but must renounce all the rest, and sticke to her third part. And by custome of the Country, her dowry and gift for mariage is doubled; so as shee that brought one thousand guldens for her dowry, shall haue two thousand guldens in

the diuision of her husbands inheritance. And the right which married parties by statute haue in one anothers goods, cannot be taken from them by last Will and Testament. Discoursing with men of experi|ence, I heard that the widowes of Princes, whiles they remaine widowes, possesse all their husbands estate (excepting the Electorships, which the next kinsman by the Fathers side administers by his right, during the minority of the sonne) and inioy also the tutorage of their children: but if they marry againe, the country frees it selfe from them, with giuing them a tun of gold for Dowry. And that the Daughters of Princes haue Dowries fro the subiects by subsidies collected, and vse to sweare before the Chan|cellor, that their husbands being dead, or vpon any accident whatsoeuer, they will not retourne to burthen the Country. That the Daughters of Gentlemen neuer marry to any of inferior degree then Gentlmen, (which is constantly kept by both sexes) and are commonly bestowed with a small Dowry: and since by the Law they cannot succeed in fees, haue at the parents death only a part of their mouable goods with the vtensils proper to them: and one sister dying, her portion goes not to the brothers or their children: as also the married Sister dying, and leauing no Daughter, her portion goes not to her own sons, (except liuing and in health she bequeathed it to them in her Testament) but to the Neece on the Mothers side. Lastly, that in case the goods of a dead woman are neither giuen by her last Testament, nor any Kinswomen to her on the Mothers side can bee found, her goods goe not to her owne Sonnes or male-Kinsmen, but are confilcated to the Prince, or in free Cities to the Common|wealth.

It is said that the Roman Emperor Caracalla was wont to say, that only that Na|tion knew how to rule their wiues, which added the feminine article to the Sunne, [Note: The degrees in Family.] and the masculine to the Moone; as the Germans doe, saying; Die Sonn [...] der Mont. And no doubt the Germans are very churlish to their wiues, and keep them seruily at home: so as my selfe in Saxony haue seene many wiues of honest condition and good [Note: First the Wiues.] estate, to dresse meat in the kitchen, and scarce once in the weeke to eate with their hus|bands, but apart with the maides; and after the meale, to come and take away their husbands table; and if they came to sit with him at table, yet to sit downe at the lower end, at least vnder all the men. My selfe haue seene husbands of like quality to chide their wiues bitterly, till they wept abundantly, and the same wiues (of good ranke) very soone after to bring a chaire to the husband, and serue him with a trencher and other necessaries. The men being inuited to friends houses, or any solemne feasts, neuer goe in company with their wiues, who goe alone with their faces couered. It is no nouelty for a husband to giue a box on the eare to his wife. And they scoffe at the Law in Nurnberg, wich fines the husband three or foure Dollers for striking his wife, as a most vniust Law. It is ridiculous to see the wiues of German foote-soldiers going to the warre, laded with burthens like she-Asses, while the men carry not so much as their own clokes, but cast them also vpon the womens shoulders. And I should hard|ly beleeue that the Germans can loue their wiues, since loue is gained by louelinesse, as the Poet saith:

vt ameris amabilis esto. He that for loue doth thirst, Let him be louing first.

But they while they commaund all things imperiously, in the meane time neither for dulnes court them with any pleasant speech, nor in curtesie grace them in pub|like, so much as with a kisse. It is a common saying,

221 Dotem accepi, Imperium vendidi. I

tooke a Dowry with my Wife, And lost the freedome of my life.

But howsoeuer the Germans haue great Dowries in marriage, and their Wiues haue power to make a Testament, for disposing their goods, with many like priuiled|ges; and howsoeuer they be also prouoked with these iniuries, yet the men keep them within termes of duty. May not we then iustly maruell, that Englishmen hauing great power ouer their Wiues, so as they can neither giue any thing in life, nor haue power to make a will at death, nor can call any thing their owne, no not so much is their garters, yea, the Law (I must confesse too seuerely) permitting the Husband in some cases to beate his Wife, and yet the Husbands notwithstanding all their priui|ledges, vsing their Wiues with all respect, and giuing them the cheefe seates with all honours and preheminences, so as for the most part, they would carry burthens, goe on foote, fast, and suffer any thing, so their Wiues might haue ease, ride, feast, and suf|fer nothing, notwithstanding, no people in the World, (that euer I did see) beare more scornes, indignities, and iniuries, from the pampered sort of Women, then they doe. Surely either these our Women want the modesty of the Wiues, or else our Men haue not. I will not say the seuerity, (which I lesse approue), but rather the gra|uity and constancy of the Husbands in Germany.

But while the Germans thus vse their Wiues like Seruants, they behaue them|selues [Note: Of seruants.] as Companions towards their Seruants, who bring in meate to the Table with their heads couered, and continually talke with their Masters without any reuerence of the cap or like duty:

The Germans are neither too indulgent, nor too sterne to their sonnes and daugh|ters, [Note: Of Sons and Daughters.] yet they giue them no tender education, but as they bring their children naked into the hot stoaues, so they expose them naked to frost and snow. Neither doe they exact any humility or respect from their children, who in all places are familiar with their Parents, and neuer stir their hats when they speak to them, and when they goe to bed they aske not blessing on their knees, as our children doe, but shake hands with them, which is a signe of familiarity among friends in Germany, as in most other places.

A Gentleman neuer so poore, will not marry the richest Merchants Daughter, nor [Note: The degrees in Common|wealth.] a Gentlewoman vpon any condition any other then a Gentleman: Neither is there any iuster cause of disinheriting, then base marriage, which pollution of blood the Kinsmen will not suffer, as in our age hath beene seene by notable examples: One in the House of Austria, whereof the Arch Duke of Inspruch married the Daughter of [Note: Gentleman.] a Citizen in Augsburg, which his Kinsmen would not suffer, till he conditioned, that her children should not succeed him in his Fees, as they did not, though at this time they were liuing. The other of an Earle, who marrying the Daughter of a Citizen in Nurnberg, was cast in prison by his Kinsmen till he left her. Hee is not accounted a Gentleman, who is not so by foure descents at the least, both by the Fathers and the Mothers side; and I remember that the Monkes of Luneburg by Statute may not admit any man into their number, who hath not eight degrees on both sides: yea, the Germans are so superstitious in this kind, as a Gentleman may haue an action against him, who saith hee is no Gentleman. For the better coniecture of Gentle|mens estemation in Germany, I remember one of the cheefe called Von (of) Shulen|burg, whom I did see, and hee was said to haue foureteene thou-

sand gold Guldens yeerely rent, and neuer to ride without forty or fifty horse to attend him: But I cannot sufficiently maruell, that the Gentlemen, howsoeuer sometimes learned, yet proudly despise Graduates of the Vniuersity, no lesse or more then Merchants, which I found, not onely by common practice, but also by my priuate experience: For con|uerting with a Gentleman, hee perceiuing that I spake Latin better then hee thought became a Gentleman, asked mee how long I did study in the Vniuersity; and when I said that I was Master of Arts, (which degree our best Gentlemen dis|daine not), I found that hee did after esteeme mee as a Pedant, whereupon fin|ding by discourse with others, that Gentlemen dispise these degrees, I sorbore after 222 to make this my degree knowne to any: And it seemed more strange to me, that Gen|tlemen first rising by learning, warfare, and trafficke, they onely iudge warfare wor|thy to raise and continue Gentlemen: but indeed the trafficke of Germany is poore, being cheefly of things wrought by manuall Artists, which they haue some pretence to disdaine, whereas in Italy trafficke is the sinew of the Commonwealth, which the most noble disdaine not: And it were to be wished, that in England (where trafficke is no lesse noble) the practice thereof were no staine to Gentry. When I told an Eng|lish Gentleman the pride of the Gentlemen in Germany, despising degrees of Lear|ning, and he heard that the Gentlemen were vulgarly called Edelmen, he pleasantly said, that they were so called of the English words, Idle Men. The Gentlemen of Germany beare the Armes of their Mother, though shee be no Heire, as well as of their Father, and commonly they ioine to them, in steede of a mot or sentence, certaine great letters, that signifie words, as D. H. I. M. T. signifying Der herr Ist Mein Trost, that is; The Lord is my comfort, and likewise F. S. V. signifying Fide sed vide, that is, Trust, but beware. Also Citizens and Artists, beare Armes of their owne inuention, and tricked out fully as the Armes of Gentlemen, onely the helmet is close, which Gentlemen beare open.

Among the generall Orders of Knights, into which Gentlemen of all nations are [Note: The gene|rall Orders of Knights.] admitted, the Templaries in the yeere 1124, were confirmed by Pope Honorius, being so called of the Temple at Ierusalem, in part whereof they dwelt. Histories report that Pope Gregory the ninth incited them to doe great domage by their treachery to the Emperour Fredericke, making the holy warre in Asia. At last the inducing of hea|thenish Religion, all kinds of lust and intemperance, and the suspition of their con|spiring with the Turkes, or the feare of their too great power, made Pope Clement the fifth, a Frenchman, and residing at Auignon, first to extinguish the Order in France, then in all Christendome, in the yeere 1312; The second Order of the Iohanites (or Saint Iohn), was instituted by Balduine the second King of Ierusalem. Then in the yeere 1308, they tooke the Ile of Rhodes, and were called the Knights of Rhodes, till they were expelled thence by the Turkes, in the yeere 1522, and then possessing the Iland of Malta, they are to this day called the Knights of Malta: And great part of the Templaries rents, was giuen to this Order, into which of old none but Gentle|men were admitted. The third Order of the Teutonikes, that is, Germans, was instituted in the yeere 1190, in the time of the Emperour Henry the sixth. They were [Note: The Order of the Ger|ma Knights] called Hospitals of the Hospitall which they kept neere the Sepulcher of Christ, to entertaine Pilgrimes: At last all Christians being driuen

[333]Venice

out of Palestine, they re|moued their seate to [333] Venice, whence being called by the Duke of Moscouy against the Prussians, they seated themselues in Prussia, Liuonia, and Curlandia. They were all borne of noble Parents, and did weare a white cloake, with a black crosse. The Poloni|ans in the yeere 1410, killed the Master of the Order, and many thousands of the Knighs. When many Cities vnder the protection of the King of Poland, sought their liberty in the yeere 1450, and this Order had wonne a battell against the King, at last because the Citizens refused to pay the Souldiers, the Knights themselues be|traied their Cities to the Polonians, and after much blood shed on both parts, at last in the yeere 1466, peace was made, with couenants, that the King of Poland should haue Pomerella with other Castles and Townes, and that the Order should retaine Kingspurg.

And finally in the yeere 1547, this Order was totally extinguished, the Master [Note: Vpon the dis|solution of this Order, the Duke of Prussia was created.] thereof being (as they said) forced to these conditions, namely that Albert Marquesse of Brandeburg, (being of the E'ectors Family) then Master of the Order, should be|come vassall to the King of Poland, and should possesse Konigspurg with title of a Duke, to him and his brethren of the same venter, and their Heires Males for euer: (In which Dukedome were fifty foure Castles and eighty sixe Townes). Moreouer that the said Duke should take new Armes, and a Dukall habit, and when hee came to doe his homage at Crakaw in Poland, should haue his seate by the Kings side, but that vpon Male Heires failing, the Dukedome should fall to the King|dome 223 of Poland, which was to prouide for the Daughter and Heire according to her degree, and to appoint no other Gouernour of the Prouince, then a German hauing inheritance in Prussia. In the time of my being at Dantzke, it was said, that Duke Al|bert was growne into a Frensie, by a poysoned cup giuen him, at his marriage with the Daughter of the Duke of Cleue: and the common speech was, that the eldest sonne to the Elector of Brandeburg was daily expected in the Dukes Court, to marry the Daughter and Heire to the sickely Duke, to whom himselfe was next of kinne by the Fathers side, and Heire. And it was a common speech, that the said sickely Duke had lately lent forty thousand Guldens to the King of Poland, and that the Elector of Brandeburg had offered seuen Tunnes of gold to the King of Poland, that his Grand|child might succeed in the Dukedome of Prussia, but that it was flatly refused by the Senate of Poland: so as it was diuersly thought, according to mens diuers iudgements, what would become of the Dukedome after the said sickly Dukes death, some iudg|ing that the King of Poland would keepe the Dukedome falling to him, others that the powerfull Family of Brandeburg, would extort the possession thereof, by force of money, or of armes.

I omit the military Orders of Knights in England, France, and Netherland, to be mentioned in their due place.

Among the Germans I could not obserue any ordinary degree of Knights, con|ferred [Note: The ordinae|ry degree of Knighthood in Germany.] in honour vpon such as deserue well in ciuill and warlike affaires, such as the Kings of England giue to their Subiects, with the title of Sir to distinguish them from inferiour Gentlemen: But in our age we haue seene Master Arundell an English Gen|tlemen, created Earle of the Empire for his acceptable seruices to the Emperour. Christian Elector of Saxony deceased, did institute a military Order of Knights, like to the Teutonike Order, saue that it is no Religious Order; and he called it, Die gulden geselschaft, that is, the Golden Fellow-

ship, by which bond hee tied his neerest friends to him: And the badge of the Order, was a Iewell, hanging in a chaine of gold, ha|uing on each side of the Iewell engrauen a Heart peirced with a Sword and a Shaft, and vpon one side neere the Heart, was the Image of Faith holding a Crucifix, with these words grauen about the Heart; Virtutis amore, that is, for loue of Vertue, vpon the other side neere the Heart was the Image of Constancie holding an Anker, with these words grauen about the Heart, Qui perseuer at adfinem, saluus erit, that is: He that perseueres to the end shall be saued. Lastly, about the circle of the Iewell, these great letters were engrauen: F. S. V: that is, Fide, sed vide, namely in English, Trust, but be|ware.

The Prouinces of the reformed Religion, haue no Bishops, but the reuenues of [Note: Bishops.] the Bishoprickes are either conucrted to godly vses, or possessed by the Princes, vn|der the title of Administrators: And in like manner the reuenues of Monasteries for the most part are emploied to maintaine Preachers, and to other godly vses; but in some places they still permit Monkes and Nunnes, (I meane persons liuing single, but not tied with Papisticall vowes), for the education of their children, and the nou|rishing of the poore. In each City, and each Church of the City, many Ministers or Preachers serue, who haue no tythes, but onely liue vpon Pensions, commonly small, and not much vnequall: For Ministers commonly haue one or two hundreth Gul|dens, and the Superintendants one or two thousand Guldens by the yeere, besides wood for fier, and Corne, and some like necessaries for food. These Superinten|dants are instead of Bishops, to ouersee the Cleargy, but are not distinguished in ha|bite or title of dignity from the other Ministers: yet to them as cheefe in vertue and learning as well the Ministers as all other degrees yeeld due reuerence, and in all Ec|clesiasticall couses they haue great authority: But otherwise Germany hath many rich and potent Bishops, of whom generall mention is made in the Chapter of Prouerbs, and particularly in this Chapter, much hath beene said of the three spirituall Ele|ctors.

The Husbandmen in Germany are not so base as the French and Italians, or the [Note: Husband|men.] slaues of other Kingdomes, but much more miserable and poore then the English 224 Husbandmen: yet those of Prussia, a fat and fertile Country, come necrest to the English in riches and good fare. The other being hired by Gentlemen to plough their grounds, giue their seruices at low rates, and pay so great rent to their Lords, as they haue scarcely meanes to couer nakednes with poore clothes, and to feed themselues with ill smelling coleworts and like meate, In Morauia incorporated to Bohemia, and lying betweene it and Polonia, the husbandmen are meere slaues. And at my being there I heard that the Barron of Promnetz hauing been lately in Italy, did make free a slaue of his, who was there a Potecary, and gaue him a present. Also I vn|derstood by discourse, that the Marquesse of Anspach in Germany, hath many meere slaues for his husbandmen. But all other in Germany are free, howsoeuer without doubt they be greatly oppressed not only by the Gentry, but also by the Church|men, so as wee find in late histories, that the Bawren (or clownes) in the yeare 1502 made a rebellion, perhaps with the mind after the example of the Sweitzers to get liberty by the sword, but yet pretending only reuenge vpon Bishops and Church|men, prouerbially saying that they would not suffer them to draw breath. And it is probable that the neighborhood of the Sweitzers, who rooted out their Noblemen, and got liberty by the sword, makes the Gentlemen of Germany lesse cruell towards the poore clownes. For

either vpon that cause, or for the fertility of the Country, no doubt the clownes in Sueuia and places neare Sweitzerland, liue much better then in any other parts; as likewise in places neere Denmarke and Poland, admitting slaues ge|nerally, the poore people are more oppressed then any where else through Germany.

In Bohemia the highest degree is that of Barons, and the Gentlemen haue the same [Note: The degrees in Bohemia.] priuiledges with them; all other in townes and fields are meere slaues, excepting Cities immediately subiect to the Emperor as King of Bohemia, where many are either emancipated for mony, or find more clemency vnder the yoke of a German Prince. For in lands belonging to the Barons and Gentlemen, the King hath no tribute, but all is subiect to the Lord, with absolute power of life and death; as likewise the King hath his lands, and some thirty Cities in like sort subiect to him. And howsoeuer the Gentlemen doe not commonly exercise this power against the people, left the Ger|mans should repute them tyrants, yet with wonder I did heare at Prage; that a Baron had lately hanged one of his slaues, for stealing of a fish. It is free for a Gentleman to hang any of his slaues for going into strange Countries without being made free, if he can apprehend him. Many times they giue them leaue to goe into forraigne parts, to learne manuary arts, but they call them home at pleasure, and when they come back, make them worke for the Lords behoofe. They take their Daughters for mayd seruants, and Sonnes for houshold seruants at pleasure. And these poore slaues can leaue their children nothing by last Will and Testarnent, but all their goods, in life and at death, belong to the Lords; and they will find them, be they neuer so secretly hidden. In the Prouince of Morauia, incorporated to Bohemia. I haue formerly said that the Gentlemen haue like priuiledges, and absolute power ouer their subiects, be|ing all born slaues. And in Germany that the Marquis of Anspach hath like born slaues. And I shall in due place shew, that in Denmark and Poland, the people are meere slaues, so as the Gentlemen and Lords recken not their estates by yearly rents, but by the number of their Bawren (or clownes) who are all slaues. In Bohemia the goods of con|demned persons fall to the Lord of the fee. Among the Barons, the Baron of Rosen|burg was cheefe, who for life was chosen Viceroy, and dwelt vpon the confines of Au|stria, being said to haue the yearly rents of eighty thousand Dollers; but in respect he had no Sonne to succeede him, he was lesse esteemed, especially himselfe being de|crepite, and his brother also old and without probable hope of issue. The second family of the Barons, was that of the Popels, hauing many branches, and plenty of heires. One of them was at that time in great grace with the Emperor Rodulphus; And the whole family for the issue was much estemed of the people and States of the Kingdome. In Bohemia (as in Poland) Gentlemen cannot be iudged, but at fower meetings in the yeare, and then are tried by Gentlemen; so as the accusers being wea|ried with delaies, the offenders are commonly freed, but men of inferior condition, 225 are daily iudged and suddenly tried. The Bohemians giue greater titles to Gentle|men by writing and in saluting, then the Germans, where notwithstanding (as ap|peares in the due place) there is great and vndecent flattery by words among all de|grees. I did not obserue or reade that the Bohemians, haue any military or ciuill or|der or degree of Knightes, as the English haue. The Hussites hauing changed nothing in religion, saue onely the communicating of the Lords Supper in both kinds, with some other small matters, yet I did not heare that they haue any Bishops, and

I am sure that the Bishopricke of Prage had then been long void. They and all of the re|formed Religion in Bohemia, send their Ministers to Wittenberg an Vniuersity in Sax|ony for receiuing of Orders with imposition of hands, from the Lutheran Superin|tendant and the Ministers of that place.

2

7.4 CHAP. IV.

Of the particular Common-wealths, as well of the Princes of Germany, as of the Free Cities, such of both, as haue absolute power of life and death.

IT remaineth to adde something of priuat Princes Courts, [Note: The Prin|ces of the Empire and free Cities.] and the Gouernement of the free Cities. And since I haue formerly said, that these Princes and Cities, hauing abso|lute power of life and death, are many in number, and that according to the number of the Princes, the places al|so where taxes and impositions are exacted, are no lesse frequent, as well for subiects as strangers passing by, both for persons and for wares. And that they who de|ceiue the Prince in any such kind, neuer escape vnpunish|ed. Now to auoid tediousnesse, I will onely mention the chiefe Princes and Cities, by which, coniecture may be made of the rest; and this I will doe briefely, without any repetition of things formerly set downe. Touching the Electors, I haue formerly related the principall lawes of the golden Bulla. The Duke of Saxony is one of these Electors, many waies powerfull, and he deriues his pe|degree [Note: The Duke of Saxony Elector.] from Witikind, a famous Duke of the Germans, in the time of the Emperour Charles the Great, who forced him to lay aside the name of King, permitting him the title of a Duke, and to become Christian in the yeere 805.

Witikynd the second.

Deitgrenius Frederike. Fredericke inuested Marquis of Misen by the Em|perour Henrie the first, he died in the yeere 925. Bruno Dittimare. Christian inuested Mar|quis of Lusatia by the Emperor Otho the first. Theodorike died in the yeere 1034. 226 Henrie Marquis of Misen and Lusatia, died in the yeere 1106. Timo. Conrade the Great died in the yeere 1150. Otho the Rich built Friburg, where hee had found Mines of Siluer, and died in the yeere 1189. Theodorike was poisoned by the Citizens of Leipzig, in the yeere 1220. Henrie by right of inheritance became Langraue of Thuring, and died 6287. In right line from Henrie, discends Fredericke, who chosen Emperour, yeelded the Empire to his Competitor the Emperour Charles the fourth, taking mony for giuing vp his right, and he died in the yeere 1349. In right line is Fredericke the Warlike, who ouercame the Bo|hemians rebelling against the Emperour, receiued the Scholers of Prage to study at Leipzig, restrained the title of Dukes of Sax|ony to Families, which after the Emperours of Saxonie had been confusedly vsurped, and lastly appropriated the title of Elector to his Family. He died in the yeere 1423. Fredericke the Gentle died in the yeere 1464. Ernestus the Elector died in the yeere 1486. The Elector Frederike the Wise, who put the Empire from himself, and chose Charles the fifth. Hee did found the Vniuersitie at Wittenberg, and died 1525. Iohn Elector exhibited the eformed Confession at Augs|burg, and died 1533. Iohn Frederike for the Refor|med Religion deposed from the Electorship by the Emperour Charles the fifth. He married Si|bill, daughter to the Duke of Iuli|ar, and died 1554 227 Iohn Frederike proscribed by the Empire, and prosecuted by Augustus Elector of Saxonie in the Emperours name, was taken prisoner by him at the taking and razing of Gotha. Iohn Casimire borne of his fathers second wife Elizabeth, daugh-

ter to Frederike Elector Palatine. He was borne 1564, and married An|na, daughter to Augustus Elector of Saxonie. Iohn Ernest, then vnmarried, borne in the yeere 1566. These Dukes of Saxony then liuing, were cal|led the Dukes of Co|burg. Iohn William serued the King of France in those Ciuill warres, and di|ed 1573. Will. Frederik borne of another daughter to Frederike Elector Palatine 1562, he buried the daughter to the Duke of Wirtenberg, and mar|ried the daughter of Philip Lodowick Prince Palatine 1591. He was Tutor to the sonnes of Christian Elector, preferred to the Duke of Co|burg, because his father was proscribed, and neuer restored. Iohn borne 1570 then vnmarried. This Duke of Saxonie was called the D. of Wyneberg. The last Elector of this branch. Albert the Stout, Duke of Saxonie, died in the yeere 1500. George of Leipzig, called the Popish, was Duke of Saxonie, and died in the yeare 1539. Henrie Duke of Saxonie, made Gouernour of Friesland by his father, was there in dan|ger to be put to death, had not his father come to deliuer him he died in the yeere 1541. The first Elector of this branch. Mauritius made Elector by the Emperor Charles the 5, was borne 1521, died 1553. Augustus Ele|ctor maried Anne daughter to the K. of Denmarke, and died 1586 Eight Boyes, and three Girles di|ed. Christian the Elector married the daughter to the Elector of Brandeburg and died 1591. Three young daughters. Christian the second Elector, but then a Pu|pill borne 1583, the fiue and twentieth of Sep|tember, at three of the clocke in the morning. Iohn George, borne 1585, the fifth of March, at ten of the clock in the night. Augustus borne the seuenth of September, 1589. These three were Pupils vn|der William Frederike D. of Wyneberg, whereof the elder was to be Elector, the other two Dukes of Saxony. Elizabeth married to Casimire Ad|ministrator of the Electorship of the Palatinate. Dorothy, married to the Duke of Brunswick; and Anne to Iohn Casimire Duke of Coburg. This is the seuenteenth Duke of Sa|xonie, and the first Elector of Saxonie in his Family. Witikynd the third, of whom are the Capeti Kings of France. The Princes borne of these three Families, are Dukes of vpper Saxony (for there bee also poore Dukes of lower Saxonie, as one residing at Angria). While I liued at Leip|zig, Christian the Elector of Saxonie died 1591, whose Vncle by the Fathers side Mau|ritius, was the first Elector of that Family. For the Emperour Charles the fifth ma|king warre against Iohn Frederike then Duke and Elector of Saxonie, and against the Langraue of Hessen, as Rebels to the Empire; but indeede with purpose to suppresse these chiefe defenders of the Reformed Religion, and to bring the free Empire of Ger|many vnder the Spanish yoke, he cunningly warned Mauritius, as next heire, to sease the lands of Iohn Frederike, or otherwise they should fall to him that tooke possession of them. Whereupon Mauritius, though he professed the Reformed Religion, which now had great need of his helpe, yet inuaded his kinsmans lands, vnder a faire pretext, that he tooke them, least the Emperour should alienate them to strangers, professing that he would restore them to his kinseman, when he should be reconciled to the Em|perour. 228 But such is the power of ambition, as in the end he did nothing lesse, but fur|ther receiued the title of Elector, taken from Iohn Frederike and his children, and con|ferred vpon him and his heires males, by the Emperour. The report was, that Luther seeing Mauritius brought vp in the Court of the Elector Iohn Frederike, foretold the Elector that he should one day confesse, hee had nourished a Serpent in his bosome. True it is, that Mauritius shortly after restored the cause of Religion, in like sort deceiuing

the Emperours hope, by making a league with the King of France. But e|uer since, the posteritie of Mauritius hath been iealous of the heires to Iohn Frederike, and hath gladly taken all occasions to suppresse them. Whereupon Augustus succee|ding his brother Mauritius, was easily induced, by vertue of his Office, as Arch-Mar|shall of the Empire, to prosecute with fire and sword Iohn Frederike, the eldest sonne of the said Iohn Frederike, whom the Empire had proscribed. At which time he besie|ged him in Gotha, a strong Fort, which he tooke and razed to the ground, coining Dol|lers in memory of that Victory, with this inscription; Gotha taken, and the proscribed e|nemies of the Empire therein besieged, either taken or put to flight, in the yeere 1567, Augustus Elector of Saxony coined these.

And it is not vnlikely, that Christian, sonne to Augustus, especially for feare of this Family, fortified Dresden with so great cost and art, howsoeuer the common people thought it rather done, because he affected to be chosen Emperour at the next vacati|on. Of this Family thus prosecuted and deposed from the Electorship, are the two Dukes of Saxony, the one of Coburg, the other of Wineberg, so called of the Cities wher|in they dwell. And the Duke of Coburg hauing been proscribed by the Empire, and neuer restored, the Duke of Wineberg, though more remoued Kinsman, yet was made Administrator of the Electorship, with title of Elector, as Tutor to the sonne of Chri|stian and his two brethren, who were brought vp by him in the Court at Dresden, vnder their mother the Widow to Christian, being of the house of Brandeburg. So as, were not the Germans nature honest and peaceable, had not the power of the Elector of Brandeburg stood for the Pupils, it was then thought, that the wronged Family had great meanes of reuenge. This example makes me thinke, that it is farre more safe to make the next Kinsman on the mothers side Tutor, who can haue no profit, but ra|ther losse by the death of the Pupill, then the next Kinsman by the Fathers side, being his heire.

The Dukes of Coburg and of Wineberg, are Dukes of Saxony by right of blood, and of possessions therein: but the Family of the Elector hath nothing either in vpper or lower Saxony, but onely Wittenberg, belonging to the Electorship, which was confer|red vpon them by the Emperour Charles the fifth. The Elector holds his Court at Dresden, in the Prouince of Misen. Touching Christian the Elector, hee was reputed to be much giuen to hunting, to be prone to anger, not to be sollicited by petition, but at some fit times; to affect solitarinesse, and little to be seene of the people, hardly to admit strangers to his presence at any time, much lesse when he sat at the table to eate, (contrary to the vse of the Princes of the house of Austria), to haue skill in the Art of Gold-Smithes, and to spare no charge in keeping braue horses. And no doubt hee was so carried away with this last delight, as he would take in gift from his very ene|mies, any beautifull thing belonging to the Stable. And while I was at Wittenberg, a Scholer hauing spoken some words, that he loued horses better then Scholers, was sent to Dresden, and there whipped about the streetes. Beyond measure he was giuen to large drinking, (in plaine termes to drunkennesse), and that of the most strong Wines, so as this intemperance was thought the cause of his vntimely death. And for these drinking games, he had certaine faire chambers ouer his Stable, something distant from his lodgings of his Court, which were appropriated to festiuall solaces. As soone as he was made Elector, he presently ordained the new Iudges for the Sax|on Law, vulgarly called Schoppenstuel, and the Consisto-

ries. In the yeere 1586 hee had a meeting at Lubeck, with the King of Denmarke, and the Elector of Brandeburg. In the yeere 1589, at Naumberg he renewed the hereditarie league, betweene his Familie, and the neighbour Princes, namely, the Elector of Brandeburg, his eldest sonne [...] 229 Frederike, then called Administrator of Hall, the three brothers a William, Lodwike, and George, Langraues of Hessen, Frederike William Duke of Saxony, (for one man hath often times two names in Baptisme), Iohn Duke of Saxony, (for the title is common to younger brothers and houses of one Family with the elder), Iohn Casimire (Tutor to his Nephew the Elector Palatine); Iohn Ernest Duke of Saxony, Christian Prince of Anhalt, Wolfang and Phillip Dukes of Grubenhagen. And to knit his friends loue more firmely to him, I haue said that he did institute an Order of Knighthood, called the Golden Fellowship. He had for his Counsell, his Officers of Court, and some Doctors of the Ciuill Law, and among them, Crellius Docter of the Ciuill Law, and the Master of his Game or hunting (whose name I haue forgotten), were in speciall grace with him; for the Princes of Germany admit no Phisitions nor Diuines to their Counsell, as hauing care of the body and soule, not of the worldly estate. Neither doth any young Princes keep their Fathers Counsellors, but such as serued them in their fathers life time. Mysen, Voitland, and part of Thuring, Prouinces subiect to the Elector, haue firtill fieldes, frequent Cities, many Castles proper to the Elector, innumerable Villages, and neare Friburg rich Mines of Siluer, (as I haue shewed in the first volume or part, where I treate of my iourney through these parts). But howsoeuer these Prouinces excell in these things; yet because they are of no great circuit, the Elector is not so powerfull in the number of vassals, as in yeerely reuenewes. So as at a publike meeting, he had no more then some two thousand vassalls, when the Elector of Brandeburg had eight thousand, who notwithstanding is farre inferiour to him in treasure and warlike power. He then fortified the City of Dresden, as a Fort, and so strongly, as it was thought inpregnable by force, and all the Citizens were bound to haue Corne and all necessaries for the food of their families, for sixe moneths alwaies laid vp in store. And in time of that secure peace, yet the walles were furnished with Artillery, as if an Army had line before the Citie. And in times of Diuine seruice, the streetes were chained, and guards of souldiers were set in the Market place, and other parts of the City, so as nothing could bee added in time of the greatest warre. The Elector had in the Citie three hundreth Garrison souldiers, whereof those that were Citizens had three Guldens, and the old souldiers sixe Guldens by the moneth. The Captaine had the pay for eight and the Lieutenant for two horses, each horse at twelue Guldens by the moneth. The Ensigne had sixteene Guldens by the moneth, foure Corporals or Campe-Masters had each ten Guldens, the Scout-Master ten Guldens, and the quarter-Master eight Guldens. He gaue honourable stipends to foure great Captaines, who liued at home, but were bound to serue him when he should cal them. His Court was no lesse magnificall, wherein he had three Dukes for his Pensioners, namely Christian Prince of Anhalt, Iohn D. of Winbrooke (both yonger brothers), and the Duke of Desh, whose Dukedome lies vpon the confines of Hungary. And to each of these he gaue the pay of twenty horse, each horse at twelue Guldens the moneth. He had also in his Court three Earles, Bastian Stick a Bohemian, Phillip Count of Hollock, and one of the Counts of Mansfeild, and to each of them hee gaue the like pay for

twelue horses. He had also in his Court fiue Barrons, namely, two Cousens Barrons of Zantzke in Bohemia, the Barron of Ausse, the Barron of Shinck, and the Bar|ron of Done, and to the fower first he gaue like pay for ten, and to the last for twelue horses. He had in his Court twenty young Gentlemen, who carried his Launce and Helmet, vulgarly called Spissyongen (Youths of the Speare), to whom he gaue yeere|ly coates of Veluet, and all necessaries, and to each of them he gaue a chaine of gold to weare. Hee had twelue Gentlemen of his chamber, and to each of them he gaue a chaine of gold, his diet in Court, and like pay for ten horses. He had sixteene youths of his Chamber, and to sixe of the eldest (yet not bearing Armes) he gaue each like pay for two horses, and the other ten he maintained with all necessaries. He had fif|tie Pensioners to waite at his table, vulgarly called Drnckses, and these did ride be|fore him, and to each of them he gaue his diet in the Court, and like pay for three hor|ses. He had twelue Sexhsruss, and to each of them he gaue like pay for sixe horses He had fifty Audlepursen, so called of a short piece they carried (in English we call them 230 Calbiners), and to each of them he gaue the pay of one horse, apparrell twice in the yeere, and two hundred Goldens yeerely stipend. These (as all other degrees) had their Captaines and Liefetenants, and each third night by turnes, they did watch at the doore of the Electors Chamber, hauing no diet in Court, but onely the night of their watch, both liuing otherwise, and lying in the City. He had fifty Einspauners with a Captaine and Liefetenant, who did ride as Scouts farre before the Elector, and looked to the safety of the wayes, each of which had pay for one horse. He had sixteene Trumpeters, whereof three did ride alwaies with the Elector, and two Drummes beating a Drumme of brasse, vulgarly called, Kettell Drummern, and each riding, had sixteene Guldens by the moneth, out of which they kept each Man his horse, and each staying at home, had ten Guldens monethly stipend, and all of them at solemne Feasts were apparrelled by the Elector. Hee had of his Guard one hun|dred, (vulgarly called Trabantoes), whereof the Gentlemen had eight, the rest sixe gul|dens monethly; and rhe Gentlemen kept watch at the doore of the Electors Cham|ber, carrying Holbeards, and the rest kept watch at the gates of the Court, armed with Muskets, and yeerely they were apparrelled. He had three Chaplaines, whereof one was alwaies to be at the side of the Elector. He had sixteene Singingmen, whereof ten being Men, had each of them 400 Dollers stipend, and six being boyes, had some 100 dollers for maintenance. He had 18 Musicians of diuers Nations, whereof each had some 140 dollers yeerely stipend. He had two Tumblers or Vaulters, one an English man, the other an Italian, with the like, or somewhat greater stipend. He had eight French and two Dutch Lacqueis, to runne by his stirrop, or the side of his coach, whereof each had some 100 Dollers stipend, and apparrell, besides extraordinary gifts.

The Dukes Stable may not be omitted, being more magnificall, then any I did euer see in the World, (whereof I haue at large spoken in the first Part, writing of my iourney through Dresden): for therein I did see one hundred thirty sixe forraigne horses of the brauest races, (besides two hundred horses kept in other Stables for drawing of coaches and like vses); and in this cheefe Stable a boy and a man were kept to attend each horse, the men hauing for diet thirty grosh weekely, the boyes twenty foure grosh, (that is, a Doller), and the men for yeerely wages had also sixteen dollers, besides apparrell twice in the yeere, and boots both to Men and Boyes. It can-

not bee expressed, at least this is not the fit place to write, how sumptuously and curiously all things were prepared for the horses and their Keepets. A Gentleman of speciall account was ouerseet of this Stable, and had a great stipend for his care thereof. He had eight Leibknechten, (that is, Seruants for the body), who did leade the horses for the Electors saddle, whereof each had the monethly pay for two Hor|ses, and three hundred Guldens yeerely stipend. He had foure Riders, whereof each had two hundred Dollers yeerely stipend, and apparrell. One chiefe and two inferi|our horse-leeches and Smiths, foure Armourers (to pollish the Armes for Tilting), three Sadlers, two Cutlers (to pollish the Swords), two Feathermakers, and two Por|ters of the Stable, had each of them one hundred Guldens yeerely stipend, and appa|rell twice in the yeere.

Besides, the Elector Christian had a Kingly Armoury, or Arsonall for Artillery and Munitions of warre, which they said had furniture for an Army of eighty thousand Men, ouerseene by a Captaine or Master of the Ordinance, his Liefetenant, and three Captaines of the watch, who had no small stipends; besides fifty Gunners, who had each of them sixe guldens by the moneth, with yeerely apparrell: But when I was at Dresden, this Armory was much vnfurnished by aides newly sent into France to King Henry the fourth, at the instance of his Ambassadour the Earle of Tarine. These aides, though sent with the consent of the foresaid Princes confederate, yet were leuied as at the charge of the King of France, and as voluntary men, because the Princes are bound vpon paine to leese their fees, and by the couenants of the peace giuen to the confession of Augsburg, not to vndertake any waire without the Emperours know|ledge, which bonds are often broken, the Princes of Germany administring all as abso|lute Princes, onely with consent of their confederates: But I passe ouer this, and re|turne to the matter in hand.

231 The foresaid so many and so great stipends, were most readily paid without delay out of the Exchequer, called the Siluer Chamber, monethly or yeerely, as they did grow due. And all the Pensioners aforesaid, did keepe the horses in the city, for which they had pay; to which if you adde the 136 horses of the chiefe stable, and the 200 kept by the D. in other stables, you shal find, that Dresden was neuer without a 1000 horses of seruice, for any sudden euent. And the number was not lesse of the horses which the Elector kept in his Castles not farre from the Citie; so as he had euer (as it were in a moment) ready 2000 horses for all occasions. This Christian Elector of Saxony, was said to impose most heauy exactions vpon his subiects (no lesse then the Italian Prin|ces, who place all their confidence in their treasure, none at al in the loue of their sub|iects, or then the Netherlanders, who for feare to become slaues to the Spaniard, beare vntollerable exactions) The Country people about Dresden cried, that they were no lesse oppressed then the Iewes in Egypt, being daily forced to labour at their owne charge in fortifying the City. And many complained, that the Red Deare, wilde Boares, and like beasts destroied their fields (for I said that the Duke was much de|lighted in hunting, which is also forbidden to all, euen the best Gentlemen) no man daring so much as to driue the beasts out of their pasture and corne he that sets a Dog on them, being subiect to great penalty, and he that killes one of them, being guilty of death. But nothing did more cause the Duke to be maligned, then that he had left the positions of Luther in religion, and carefully endeuoured to establish those of Caluin, as shal be shewed in due place. His subiects were wont to pay for seuer-

all goods, as a sheepe, a cow, and the like, a yeerely tribute; but of late it had been decreed by the 3 States, that after the value of goods, each man for 60 grosh should pay two fennings yeerely, I meane as well moueable goods (namely, wares and ready money), as houses lands, and all vnmoueable goods, and that not according to the yeerely value, but yeerely according to the value at which they were (or might be) bought or sold. Nei|ther could any man dissemble his wealth, since that deceit will appeare at least vpon the last Will and Testament, and once found vseth to be punished with repairing the losse, and a great fine. This tribut was at first granted only for 6 yeres, but those ended, the terme was renewed, and so it continueth for euer. And this tribute alone was said to yeeld yeerely 600000 guldens: but the chiefe reuenue of the Elector was by the im|position vpon Beere, which (as I haue formerly said) that people drinkes in great ex|cesse. And they said, that this tribute also at first was imposed only for certaine yeeres. But the Elector meaning nothing lesse then to ease them of this burthen, of late there had bin a paper set by some merry lad vpon the Court gates, containing these words in the Dutch tongue: Ich woundschihm lang leben; vnd kein gutten tag darneben: vnd darnoch den hellisch fewr: der hatt auffgehebt dab bearstewer: Vndergeschreiben. Das wort Gottes vnd das berestewer, wheren in ewigkeit. That is:

I wish long life may him befall, And not one good day therewithall: And Hellfier after his life here, Who first did raise this Taxe of Beare.

Post-script. The Word of God, and the Tax of Beare last for euer and euer.

The Brewers pay tribute according to the value of the brewing, not according to the gaine they make, namely, some eighth part for one kind of Beare, some fifth part for another kind in most places. At Wittenberg I obserued, that for one brewing of some 48 bushels of Mault, worth some 48 guldens, the Dukes Treasurer receiued 8 guldens. This Treasurer doth foure times yeerely view the brewing vessels, and num|ber the Students of Wittenberg, to preuent any defrauding of Tribute. For how|soeuer in all these parts they drinke largely, yet at Wittenberg, in respect of the great number of Students, and at Leipzig, for the same cause, and in respect of a great Faire, this tribute growes to an higher rate, then in other cities; yet the Citie Torge, though lesse in circuit then these, only exceeds these and all other, in yeelding this tribute, be|cause the beare therof is so famously good, as it is in great quantitie transported to 232 other Cities of these Prouinces, where the better sort most commonly drink it and no other; so as that Citie alone yeelds one yeere with another seuenteene thousand gold Guldens for tribute of Beare. The same Citie makes yeerely seuen thousand wollen clothes, each cloth thirty two elles long, and worth some fourteene Dollers; yet for each cloth they pay onely one siluer Grosh, whereby it appeares, that the tribute of cloth and like commodities, is lightly esteemed, as of lesse importance, then the tran|scendent traffique of Beare. Torge likewise yeerely paies to the Elector 500 Dollers for the fishing of a Lake neare the City, which once in 3 yeeres was said to yeeld 5000 Dollars to the City: One sole Prouince, yet much inhabited, and very fertill, namely Misen, was said one yeere with another to yeeld 1800000 Dollers for all tributes, and halfe part thereof onely for Beare. The Mines of Siluer are of great importance, which by the Law belong to the Electors in their Prouinces, not to the Emperour. And this Elector hath many of these Mines-namely, those of Friburg, those of Scheneberg, those of Anneberg,

and those of the valey of Ioachim, of al which I haue written at large in the Geographicall description. And no doubt this Elector is potent in treasure, so as how soeuer he be inferiour in dignity to the Elector Palatine, yet he is most powerfull of all the Electors.

Among the walled Cities subiect to him (not to speake of the Townes, Castles, and pleasant Villages), Leipzig is next to Dresden, to which it onely yeelds for the fortifi|cations, and the Electors Court. Leipzig giues the Law to the vpper Territorie, as Wit|tenburg doth to the lower, and both are adorned by being Vniuersities: but at Leipzig the Scabines sit, Iudges of great Authoritie for the Law of Saxony, being in number seuen, namely, three Senators of the City, and foure Doctors of the Ciuill Law. But Wittenberg hath not the right of the Sword to execute malefactors, which the Elector Augustus (they say) translated to Leipzig, because the Iudges obstinately denied him power to pardon malefactors, or to moderate the Law. So as when any man is capitally accused at Wittenberg, the cause is first referred to the Scabines at Leipzig, who finding him guilty, giue power to the Senators of Wittenberg, to pro|nounce sentence, and doe execution. Wittenberg is no faire City, but a famous Vni|uersitie, and at this time had a great many of Students, and it is not subiect to the Duke as inheritance from his progenitors, but as he is Elector, for to the Electorship it properly belongeth. Besides the great tributes it pales for Beare, it also yeelds yeere|ly to the Duke 1500 gold Guldens, for the Bridge built ouer the Elue. Here, as in all other places, Lime and Brick are sold in the Dukes name, and to his vse. As well Leip|zig as Wittenberg, in difficult cases, aske counsell for the Ciuill Law, of their owne and (if need be) of forraigne Vniuersities, where the Doctors of the Ciuill Law, in the name of the Faculty, write downe their iudgement in the case propounded. These Doctors are also Aduocates, whereof there were twenty two at this time at Leipzig, and because this profession is much esteemed, the Germans willingly apply them|selues to the study thereof.

The Count Palatine of the Rheine, by old institution is cheefe among the temporall [Note: The Count Palatine of the Rheine, Elector, and the Duke of Bauaria.] Electors, and is of the same Family, of which the Dukes of Bauaria descend. The Pe|degree of them both, is deriued from the Emperour Charles the Great. Otho the elder brother Palatine of Wirtelbach, vpon the proscription of the Duke of Bauaria, had that Dukedome conferred on him in fee by the Emperour in the yeere 1180. From his younger brother descend the Counts of Salmes now liuing. But from the said Otho the elder brother, are descended, both the Palatines Electors, and the Dukes of Bauaria now liuing.

Lodwicke Duke of Bauaria, who died in the yeere 1231, receiued the Palatinate of the Rheine in fee from the Emperour Fredericke the second. Otho the fourth, succeeded him in the Dukedome of Bauaria, and the Palatinate of the Rheine, and was the first E|lector of this Family, who died in the yeere 1253. His sonne Lodwicke the seuere, Ele|ctor Pallatine and Duke of Bauaria, made Rodolphus of Habsburg Emperour, who was the first Emperour of the House of Austria. He married this Emperours Daughter, and died in the yeere 1294, leauing two sonnes, who diuided the inheritance, as followeth.

233 From this Ro|dulphus, discend the Counts Pa|latines and E|lectors. Rodulphus the elder Bro|ther was Count Palatine of the Rheine, and Elector, who died 1319. Rupert Palatine of the Rheine Elector, founded the Vniuersitie in Heidelberg, in the yeere 1346. Rupert Elector and

Emperour, died in the yeere 1410. Lodwick Count Palatine and Elector. The Elector Frederike the second, discen|ding from him, freed Vienna from the siege of the Turkes, and died 1556. Otho Henrich his Nephew died 1559 without heires males, and so the Ele|ctorship fell to the Duke of Zweybruck. Stephen Duke of Zweybruck. Frederike Pa|latine. Iohn the first. Iohn the second. Frederike the third suc|ceeded Otho Henrich in the Electorship, and died 1576. Lodwick the fourth Elector Palatine marri|ed the daughter of the Langraue of Hessen, and died 1583. 234 Frederike the fourth Elector then Pupill to Iohn Casimire his Vncle. The first house of the Palatines and Electors, in two branches. Christian his sole Sister. Iohn Casunire was Tutor to his Nephew, and Elector in his nonage, and married Eliza|beth sister to Christian Duke of Saxony, and di|ed 1592. Dorethea his sole Daughter. Elizabeth married to Iohn Frederike Duke of Saxony, called of Coburg. Susan Dorothy married to Iohn William, Duke of Saxonie, called of Wineberg. Anna Maria ma|ried to Phillip the 2, Langraue of Hessen. Kuni|gunde Iacobe married to the Count of Nassawe. Richard D. of Hunneseruck liuing when I wrote this. The 2 brach of the first house. Lodwick the blacke. Alexander. Lodwick. Wolfgang D. of Swey|bruck maried the Daugh|ter to the Langraue of Hessen, and died in the French warres 1569. Phillip Lodwick married the daughter to the Duke of Iulice. Of three Daughters, one mar|ried to Frederike William Duke of Saxony. Wolfgang borne 1578. Augustus borne 1582. Iohn Frederike borne 1587. Iohn married to another Daughter of the Duke of Iulce. Two Sonnes and two Daughters. The second House of the Countes Pala|tines in foure branches then liuing, the last branches being multiplied from Phillip Lod|wick being then children. Frederike married the Daughter of the Duke of Lignic. Two Twins borne 1591. Otho Henrich married the Daughter to the Duke of Wirterberg. He had both sons and daughters. Eight Sisters, partly dead, partly liuing then. Rupert. Of Rupert is George, borne of the Daughter to Gustanus King of Swe|tia, who then was liuing. He had 3 sonnes and diuers daugh|ters. A fifth branch of the second house of the Coun|tes Pala|tines. Thus of Rodulphus the eldest sonne to Lodwick the Seuere, descend two houses in many branches of the Countes Palatines, whereof the chiefe and first hath the Electorship. And of Lodwick the Emperour the second sonne to Lodwick the Se|uere descend the Dukes of Bauaria, as followeth. Lodwick the yon|ger Brother was D. of Bauaria, and was made Emperor, who died 1347.

The Dukes of Bauaria.

Lodwick the Emperour had two sonnes. Stephen Duke of Bauaria, who died 1392. Frederike Duke of Bauaria died 1404. George the rich founded the Vniuersitie of Ingolstat, and built the Colledge of Saint George, and died 1503. Elizabeth his Daughter was maried to Rupert Count Pala|tine, and to Rupert George by his last Will gaue the Duke|dome of Bauaria, but the Em|perour Maximiuan would not confirme this gift, as iniurious to the next heire in this pede|gree, whence rose the warre of Bauaria. Iohn of Monach Duke of Bauaria died 1397. Albert the third refused to be cho|sen King of Bohemia, and died 1460. Albert the fourth brought the Channons of 2 Monasteries to Monach, and that of his owne au|thoritie, for which he hardly escaped the proscrip|tion of the Empire; and to him the Emperour ad|iudged the inheritance of George against the Pala|tine, who had married the daughter of George, and was by his last Will made his heire. He died 1508. Albert the 5, built 3 Colledges for the Iesuites. He married Anna, daugh-

ter to the Emperor Ferdi|nand, and died in the yeere 1579. William borne 1548, married Ri|nata, Daughter to Francis Duke of Lorayne in the yeere 1568. 235 Maximilian D. of Bauaria. Phillip Bishop of Ratisbona. Ferdinand a Praepositus of Co|len, and Chan|non of Trier. One Sister, Maximiliana. Ferdinand borne in the yeere 1550. Ernestus Bishop of Liege, after Archbishop and Elector of Colon, borne in the yere 1554. Maria Maximili|an borne 1552. Maria borne 1553, and maried to Charles Arch-Duke of Austria, 1572. William made warre against the Duke of Wirteberg, and died in the yeere 1577. Sibill married to Lodwick the fourth, Elector Palatine, died in the yeere 1511. Sabina married to Vlrich Duke of Wir|teberg, died in the yeere 1564. Sidonia married to Philibert Marquis of Baden. William Count of Holland by right of his wife. Of him descended the Counts of Holland. From this Lod|wick discend the Dukes of Bauaria It was couenanted, and stands agreed betweene the House of the Electors Palla|tines, and the house of the Dukes of Bauaria, that vpon want of heires males, one of them should succeede the other; and when the Daughter to the Duke of Bauaria, in the time of the Emperour Maximilian, opposed her selfe to this contract, she was for|ced to yeeld to it by the Emperour.

I returne to the Electors Palatines. The foresaid Frederick the fourth, Pallatine and Elector, being vnder age, had Duke Iohn Casimire his fathers brother for his Tu|tor, [Note: The Elector Palatine of the Rheine.] who at his brothers death besieged the Citie of Colen, in the name of the Bishop, whom they had driuen out for being married. This Casimire, in his brothers lifetime had a noble inheritance beyond the Rheine, to him and his heires, and then hearing of his brothers death, hasted to Heidleberg, where he brought the people to obedience, who would not haue him Administrator, because he professed the Reformed Reli|gion after Caluins doctrine, not after that of Luther. And he presently sent backe the Emperours Ambassadours, who were come thither about that controuersie, refusing to yeeld his right in the Tutorage of his Nephew, which he defended in the Imperiall Chamber at Spire. After he brought vp his Nephew wisely and religiously, appoin|ting him his diet apart with his Teachers and the Steward of his Court, to whose ta|ble one Professour of the Vniuersity was daily inuited, who had charge to propound a question to the Prince, out of the Histories, and controuersies of Religion. And the Prince did not presently make answere, except it were in a common subiect, but ask|ed time to consider of it, and consulting apart with his Teachers, after some halfe hou|er returned to giue his answere. Thus by daily practise the chiefe accidents of Histo|ries, and controuersies of Religion were made familiar to him. The Citie Heidelberg, somtimes held in Fee fro the Bishop of Wormz, was in time beutified with buildings and an Vniuersity, and became the seate of the Electors. The said Elector Frederike the fourth, being a pupill, was after the foresaid manner brought vp in the Reformed religion, according to the doctrine of Caluine: but in the meane time Richard the Duke of Hunnesruck his next heire, if hee should die without issue male, did obstinately fol|low the reformed doctrine of Luther, and so did the rest of his kinsmen, the Dukes of Zweybruck (their towne being so called of the two Bridges) excepting the second bro|ther of them who consented in Religion with the Elector. This Elector Frederick the fourth, married the daughter to the Prince of Orange, by his wife of the French fa|mily de Chastillion. His Court was not great, nor any way comparable to that of the Elector of

Sexony. For he had scarce thirtie Gentlemen to attend him, and to them he gaue no more then some twenty fiue Guldens for stipend, which they spent vpon their seruants that attended them and kept their horses. And he had no more then eight Yeomen for the Guard of his body. Wine was sparingly drawne, and all expences made with great frugalitie. But the fame of this Electors wisedome and af|fabilitie, made him much esteemed of strangers, and while he conuersed with his Citi|zens often comming to the publike place for exercise of the Peece and Crosse-bow, and being easie of accesse, yet carried himselfe like a graue and noble Prince, hee be|came deare to his subiects. Of whom hee exacted moderate tribute for their lands, houses, money, and goods, and some two small fennings for each Mosse or measure of wine. In fiue places vpon the Rheine he exacted impositions or taxes, which one yeere with another yeelded some twelue or sixteene thousand French Crownes, and they said, that hee receiued yeerely some fifty or sixty thousand Crownes by the siluer Mines of Anneberg, besides extraordinarie subsidies, which his subiects vse to grant 236 him vpon occasion of war, or like necessities of the Commonwealth. And I remem|ber, when the Citizens of Strasburg his neighbours made warre with the brother of the Duke of Loraine, about their Bishopricke, so as the Palatine was forced to leuy souldiers for defence of his people from the rapine of both Armies, that he imposed an extraordinary subsidie vpon his subiects, of a quarter of a Doller for each hundred Dollers any man possessed, in moueable or vnmoueable goods.

The Margraue (or Marquis) of Brandeburg is by the first institution the last of the [Note: The Mar|graue of Brande|burg Ele|ctor.] Electors, but more powerfull then any of them in the number of Vassals; and his ter|ritories are much larger then those of the Elector of Saxony, but his reuenewes are no|thing so great. He held his Court at Berlin, some twelue German miles distant from Wittenberg in Saxony. His pedigree is deriued from Peter Columna (a Roman Patriti|an, of the ancient blood of the Camills), who banished by Pope Gregorie the seuenth, had lands giuen him in Sueuia by the Emperour Henrie the fourth, and built the castle of Zagaroll, and about the yeere 1120 had a sonne called Burchard.

Burchard Count of Zoller (his Castle so called.)

Frederick, the first race of the Burgraues of Nurnberg being extinct, was inuested 1273 of that dignity by the Emperour Rodulphus, whose sister was mother to Frederick. Frederick the second Burgraue of Nurnberg, died in the yeere 1330. Frederick, Burgraue of Nurnberg, had the Marquisate of Bran|deburg conferred on him by the Emperor Sigismund, and also the Electorship in the yeere 1427, and hee sold the Castle and Bur|graueship of Nurnberg to the City of Nurnberg. Hee died in the yeere 1440. Iohn, Marquis of Brandeburg, at his fathers commandement, yeelded the Electorship to his second brother, and died in the yeere 1464. Frederick Marquisse and Elector going into Palestine, did yeeld the E|lectorship to his brother Albert, and died in the yeere 1470. Albert, Marquisse and Elector, cal|led the Achilles of Germany, ouercame the Citizens of Nurnberg in eight bat|tels, and in the ninth being ouercome, promised them peace. He first made league with the Elector of Saxony and the Langraue of Hessen, and died sud|denly in a Bath in the yeere 1486. By his first Wife, Daughter to the Marquisse of Baden, he had Iohn Marquisse and Ele|ctor, commonly called the Ci|cero of Germany, he died 1499. And had two sisters by his mother. 237 Ioachim the first, Elector, foun|ded the

Vniuersity at Franckfort vpon Viadrus, in the yere 1506, he maried Elizabeth, daughter to the King of Denmark, and died 1535. Ioachim the second, Elector, for killing a Turk, had a Military Girdle of Charles the fift, to whose part he was firme, and obtained life for the captiue Elector of Saxony, he died 1571. By Magdalen, daugh. to Geo. the Bearded, D. of Saxony. Iohannes Georgius the Elector then liuing, borne in the yeere 1525. By his first wife Sophia (as some say) daughter to the Count of Barba, hee had Ioachim Frederick borne 1546, heire to the Electorship, at this time Admi|nistrator of the Archbishopk. of Hal|la. Hee married one of the House of Brandeburg in the yeere 1570, and (if I be not deceiued) had at this time a second wife, the daughter of the Duke of Wir|teberg. 238 Iohn Sigismond borne 1572. Anna Catherina borne 1575. George borne 1577. Augustus borne 1580, Chanon of Strasburg. Albert Frederike borne 1581. Ioachim a Twin borne 1582. Ernest a Twin borne 1582. Christian Wil|helm borne 1588. By Sabina daughter to George Mar|quis of Brandeburg married 1547, and dying 1574. Hee had three daughters, Ermund married to Iohn Frederick D. of Pomern. Anna Maria married to the eldest brother D. of Pomern, and Sophia married to Christian Elector of Saxony 1582. By Elionora daughter to the Prince of Anhalt married 1577, at the fifty three yeere of his age, and fourteenth of her age, he had three sonnes, Christi|an, and Ioachim Ernest, and a third whose name I know not; and in the yeere 1592 when he was 67 yeeres old, he had a daughter, besides two other daughters formerly begotten. Barbara maried to the D. of Bre|gan in Stlesia. Elizabetha Mag|dalena married to Otho D. of Lune|burg. Heduigis maried to Iulius, Duke of Brunswick. Sophia married to the Barron of Rosenburg Vice|roy in Bohemia, 1564. Iohn leagued with the Protestants, yet serued the Emperour at his brothers perswasion, but after ioined with Mauritius Elector of Saxony against the Empe|rour, he died 1570. Fiue sisters, Anne married to the Duke of Meckel|burg. Elizabeth to the Duke of Brunswick. Margaret to the Duke of Pomern, Elizabeth to George Marquis of Brandeburg. And Catherine to bee. Anna, married to the King of Denmark Frederick the first, died 1521. Vrsula married to the Duke of Pomerania; another Vrsula to the Duke of Meckelburg. Albert Archbishop and Ele|ctor of Mentz and Cardinall, made the war of Religion, which Lod|wick Elector Palatine appeased. He died 1545. By his second wife Anne, Daughter to Frede|rick the second Elector of Saxony, he had Frede|rick the fifth Marquisse of Brandeburg in Franco|nia and Voytland. Hee married the daughter of Casimire King of Poland, and died in the yeere 1536. Hee had fiue sisters by his mother, three married, two Nunnes. 237 Ca|simire married the daughter to the D. of Banaria, he died 1577. Albert, called the Alcibiades of Germany, most war|like, was proscribed by the Empire, and died in ba|nishment, in the yeere 1557. Marie married to Frederick Elector Palatine; died 1567. George gaue the Confession of Religion at Augsburg, Geo. Fred. recouered Prustia from the K. of Poland, and took it in Fee 1578. He married Elizabeth of Bran|deburg 1558, and Sophia, daughter to the D. of Bruns|wick 1579. He had fiue sisters. William Bishop of Regenspurg, died 1563. Albert Mr. of the Teutonike Or|der, being ouercome by the King of Poland, was made D. of Prus|sia, the Order being extinguished, and founded the Vniuersitie at Konigsberg, he died 1568. By the daughter of the Duke of Brunswick, he had Albert Frederick borne 1553, said to be frantick, so as George Frederick his vncles son gouerned the Duke|dome of Prus-

sia, he was at this time liuing. By the daughter of the D. of Iulec hee had some daughters. How the Tentonike Order was extin|guished, and of the suc|cession in Prussia is for|merly spoken in this Chapter, and in the Geo|graphicall description of Germany. By Dorothy Queene of Denmark hee had Anna So|phia, married to the Duke of Meckelburg, and she died 1591. Besides males and females dying young. Fiue sisters all married. The first Mar|quisse and first Elector of this Family. Conrade diuiding the Principalitie with his brother, go|uerned at Nurnberg, and foure of his posterity were great Commanders of the Order of the Teutonike Knights. Eitel Fre|derick Count of Zoller. Hitherto I haue spoken of the Temporall Electors. The fecond among the Spiri|tuall Electors is the Arch-bishop of Mentz, which Seate, when I passed through Ger|many, [Note: The Spiri|tuall Ele|ctors.] was possessed by Wolfgang of the noble Family of Dalberg, and all his Kinsmen, dwelling heare Heidelberg, were of the Reformed Religion after the doctrine of Lu|ther, and therefore lesse esteemed him, who notwithstanding was thought no enemie to the Reformed Religion, but rather willing to permit it, did he not feare the opposi|tion of the Chapter. For Gebhard Truchsesse Arch-bishop of Colen and Elector, had lately bin deposed, and another placed in that Seate, because he maried Agnes Coun|tesse of Mansfield, with whom at that time he liued, being made a Cannon at Stras|burg, (for that citie hauing abolished the Roman Religion, yet kept the places of Can|nons without any bond of superstition, and vsed to bestow them onely vpon Princes and Gentlemen of the Reformed Religion), and in this citie he then liued a quiet life, after he had in vaine tried by force of Armes to regaine that Arch-Bishoprick. The third Spirituall Elector, but first by institution, is the Arch-Bishop of Trier, a Citie seated beyond the Rheine, vpon the confines of France, which Seate, when I passed through Germany, was possessed by Iohn (if I mistake not his name) of the Noble Fa|mily of Schonburg. And whereas the other Electors dwell in the cities whereof they are named for the most part, his continuall abode was at the castle Erbrotsteine, seated neare the Rheine, some halfe daies iourney from Trier. All these Arch-Bishops haue not onely Spirituall but also Temporall power in all their Territories.

The Families of the Langraues of Hessen is deriued from Lambert Count of Han|now, [Note: The Lan|graues of Hessen.] who died in the yeere 1015. Of his first branch come the Margraues of Berg, and also the Barrons of Grimberg. Of the second branch come the Langraues of Hessen, whose Progenitor Lodwick, called the Gentle, being chosen Emperour, refused that burthen, and died in the yeere 1458. Phillip vnited to the Protestant Princes in the league of Smalcald, and ioyning his forces with the Elector of Saxony, against the Em|perour Charles the fifth, was perswaded by his friends, when the Electors Army was broken, to yeeld himselfe to the Emperour, by whom he was kept prisoner for a time, contrary to promise. He founded the Vniuersitie at Marpurg, and died in the yeere 1567.

The said Phillip married the Daughter to the Duke of Meckelburg, and by her had the fol|lowing issue. William borne 1532, held his court at Cassiles, hauing half the inheritance. He deliuered his father out of prison, and married Sabina, daughter to the D. of Wirteberg, and died not long be|fore I passed through Germany. 239 Mauritius a most Noble young Prince, Langraue of Cassiles vpon his Fathers late death. Anna Maria married to Lodwick Count of Nassawe, 1589. Heduigis then a Virgin. Sophia then a Virgin. Lodwick

borne 1537 held his court at Marpurg, and had a fourth part of his fathers inheritance. He first married Heduige daughter to the D. of Wirte|berg, and after Mary of Mansfield, both barren. And at this time he liued, but without any child. Agnes married to Mauritius Elector of Saxony 1541, and after to Iohn Fre|derick D. of Saxonie. George borne 1547, held his court at Dormstat, and had a fourth part of his fathers inheritance, and maried Mag|delen, daughter to Bernard Count of Lipp, and she was dead, but he the liued. 239 Lodwick oldest, his Father yet li|uing. Phillip. Iohn George. Two Sisters, Christian and Eliza|beth. Anna maried to the Duke of Zwey|bruck, died 1581. Barbara married to George Earle of Mompelgard. Elizabeth married to Lodwick the fourth, Elector Palatine. Christina maried to Adolphus, of the roial bloud of Denmarke. His Sister Elizabeth was married to Iohn Duke of Saxonie. The foresaid William Langraue of Hessen, of his chiefe City called the Langraue of Cassiles, had in diuision with his brethren halfe his Fathers inheritance, the other halfe being diuided betweene his two brothers. And since that time I heard, that his bro|ther Lodwick of Marpurg was dead without issue, and that his fourth part of this inhe|ritance was returned to Mauritius, eldest sonne to William. Yet because Mauritius was addicted to the reformed Religion, after the doctrine of Caluin, which hee and his Courtiers with many subiects professed, how soeuer hee had not yet made any generall alteration, whereas his Vncle Lodwick persisted in the doctrine of Lu|ther, I remember the common speech in the land of Hessen, that Lodwick had threatned his Nephew Mauritius to disinherit him, and giue his lands to the chil|dren of his brother George of Dormstatt, if he made any generall alteration in Reli|gion.

I haue formerly said, that the dignity of the Empire decaying, many Principalities were giuen in Fee, and the Lords thereof became absolute Princes. At that time ma|ny great Cities were immediately subiect to the Empire, whereof many were at sun|drie times after ingaged for money to the said Princes. At last the power of the Em|pire being more fallen by many Ciuill warres raised by the Popes, to confirme their vsurped power ouer the Emperours, these Cities with money bought their liberty, partly of the Emperours, partly of the said Princes, from which time these Cities be|ing called Imperiall, and hauing freedome with absolute power, became daily more and more beautified with buildings, and strong by fortifications; yet some Cities still subiect to diuers Princes, yeeld not to them in beauty and strength, as Dresden and Leipzig subiect to the Elector of Saxony, Monach and Ingolstat subiect to the Duke of Bauaria; and Breslaw the chiefe Citie of Silesia, a Prouince ioyned to the Kingdome of Bohemia.

The Emperour at his election sweares, that hee will maintaine these Cities in their freedome, and not suffer them to be drawne backe to the subiection of the Empire, or the said Princes. Also I haue formerly spoken of the many and iust suspi|tions betweene the Emperour, the Princes, and these Free Cities, which it were need|lesse to repeate. Of old the great Cities of the Empire were ninety sixe in number, but many of them haue since been alienated to the Princes of Netherland, or vnited by League to the Cantons of Sweitzerland, so at this day there remaine only sixty Free Cities of the Empire.

Of the Common-wealths of these Cities, it shall suffice in generall to haue said, that the Gouernement is very moderate and equall. The Patritians liue vpon their reuenues, as Gentlemen. The Plebeans intend Traffique and Shop-keeping; and bee they neuer so rich, neuer so wise,

can neuer become Patritians, but still keepe their owne rancke, as all other Orders doe. And the Artisans so they keepe 240 the Lawes, (which bind the highest as well as them) are secure from the iniuries of any greater man. In ciuill causes they iudge not after strict Law, but according to e|quity, and without delay: but more easily to coniecture of all in generall, It will not be amisse particularly to obserue the gouernement of some few.

And because Nurnberg is one of the chiefe, I will beginne with it. The Margraues [Note: The City of Nurnberg.] of Brandeburg were of old Burgraues of Nurnberg till Fredericke the fourth about the yeere 1414, sold that his right, and the Castle of Nurnberg to the Citizens thereof. Albert his sonne, called the Achilles of Germany, for some duety denied to him, made warre vpon the City, drawing seuenteene Princes to take his part, as the other free Cities assisted Nurnberg. At this day the Margraue of Anspath, being of that Fami|ly, cals himselfe Burgraue of Nurnberg, but hath onely the bare title, without any command in the City: yet because his lands lie on some sides vnder the very wals thereof, the Citizens repute him a dangerous neighbour. The common report was, that this Margraue had lately sold to the City a great wood, growing very neere the walles thereof, and that shortly after hee was at variance with them, as if hee had sold onely the wood, and not the soyle, so as (if vulgar speech may be beleeued) they were forced againe to buy the ground: And yet he hath not renounced his right of hunting therein, which he challengeth proper to himselfe. Giue me leaue to digresse so much from my purpose, as to say, that the neighbourhood of this Margraue, is no lesse sus|pected by the free City Wasenburg, not farre distant, where vpon a mountaine in his owne ground, hanging ouer the City, he hath built a strong Castle. And because all the streetes of that little City lie open to it, the Citizens when first he beganne to build, complained to the Emperour of that wrong, and obtained letters to command the Margraue to build no further, but he not onely disobeyed those letters, but built the same with more speed and strength. Now I returne to Nurnberg, the Common|wealth whereof is Aristocraticall. The great Counsell hath no set number, but com|monly consists of some three hundred persons, whereof many are Patricians, liuing honourably vpon their rents, as Gentlemen, others are Merchants, and some few Ar|tisans, of the best and richest workemen. The Senate referres to this Counsell, the im|positions of tributes, and the decrees of peace and warre, which Subiects of Counsel being rare, this Counsell is seldome called together, but the authority of them is so great, as the seales of any two of them, set to any last Testament, serues in steed of sea|uen witnesses required by the Ciuill Law. Out of this great Counsell, the new Se|nate is yeerely chosen, and when the time of Election is at hand, this great Counsel names a Consull and a Scabine, of the Gentlemen called ancient, or out of the cheefe of the next Order; and in like sort the old Senate of the yeere past, names three of the ancient Gentlemen. These fiue are called the Electors of the new Senate, and as soone as they are chosen, all Magistracy ceaseth. Then these Electors being sworne, are shut vp into a Chamber, whence they come not forth, till they haue chosen twen|ty six Consuls and Scabines, of each thirteen. Then they chuse the rest of the new Se|nate, and assoone as they are chosen, they name among themselues those that are cal|led ancient, which are commonly the same men, except some bee put in the place of them that are dead, for it is a disgrace to be put from that dignity. This Election is made in one day,

and the Senate consists of forty persons, whereof thirty foure are Patricians or Gentlemen, and so the gouernement is especially in the hands of the Gentlemen, as a thing whereof they hold the common people to be vncapable. Of these Gentlemen are [...] the seuen Men, and the Senate of the ancient, as also the [Note: chosen] Captaines and Treasurers.

To be a Doctor of the Ciuill Law, makes a Gentleman, or any other, to be vncap|able of a Senators place. But when in dificult cases they neede the aduise of Doctors, they send two Senators to consult with them, who relate their iudgment to the Se|nate. For this cause, and because all iudgments are according to equity, not after the strict Law, there be fowe Doctors in that Citty, neither haue they many Aduocates; the Senate giuing stipend onlyto foure, who plead all causes. Yet the Citty inter|taines some Doctors, to aduise them, at I formerly said, and to assist them in iudgment, 241 exhibiting the cause in writing, as also to be Ambassadors. To the said 34 Gentlemen, 8 Plebeans are added, which make the said Senate, and these Plebeans haue free voy|ces, but are remoued from secret Counsels, and hauing liberty to be absent, seldome meete with the Senate, except they be called. So as the common people haue little or no authoritie, and are kept vnder, in so much as meetings (excepting funerals and like ceremonies) and walkings by night are forbidden, yet they haue their priuiledges inuiolably kept, and liue in great libertie, vnder a most equall gouernement. Of these Gentlemen gouerning the Citie, they haue (as I haue heard) twenty eight honourable Families, or there about. And of the said thirty foure Gentlemen of the Senate, eight are called the Ancient, who like old soldiers are freed from seruice, the other twentie sixe diligently attending the publike affaires, with capitall and Ciuill iudgements, and one of them is chosen, to intertaine passengers worthy of Honor, by presenting wine to them in name of the Senate, and also to call the Senate together, to propound the causes vpon which they deliberate; to aske their Voyces, and to doe many like du|ties. These twenty sixe Gentlemen are diuided into thirteene Consuls, and thirteene Scabines, and these Scabines iudge capitall causes (first examined by the whole Se|nate) as the Consuls iudge Ciuill causes. And they so diuide the yeere betweene them, as each of them for a moneth is Consull or Scabine. Out of them are chosen seuen men, who haue the greatest authority, and determine all secrets of State, and to them the Treasurers make account. And howsoeuer two of one Family may be Se|nators, yet two of one Family cannot be of these seuen men. Three of these seuen are chosen Captaines, who haue the keeping of the Armory, and the keyes of the Gates, and vpon any tumult all flie to them, and yeeld them obedience. Two of these Cap|taines are Treasurers, where of the chiefe hath the first place in all Assemblies. To these Treasurers one of the Plebeans is added, to ouersee the expence of the treasure, and two of the best sort of the Plebeans are Clerkes of the Exchequer, but onely the two chiefe Treasurers disburse and lay vp all moneys. They haue in all publike Coun|sels two Chauncellors, whereof one alwaies attends the Counsell of seuen men, and these Chauncellors write the Decrees of Counsell, receiue and reade, write and send, all letters, being as Secretaries, and they haue sixe Clerkes to write vnder them. All the Senators haue their seuerall stipends out of the common Treasure. Each of the seuen men hath yeerely fiue hundred Guldens, besides gainefull Offices, as the keeping of the Seales, and each Treasurer hath eight hundred Guldens, and each Chauncellor two hundred Guldens yeerely. In Iudge-

ments they doe not much vse the pleadings of Proctors or Aduocates, but vse to iudge summarily vpon oath, or to appoint Ar|biters to compound controuersies.

But among the Courts of Iudgements, one is of fiue men, from whom there is no appeale, yet they referre the greatest causes to the Senate. The second Court is of eight men, and hath two Tribunals, where the causes of citizens are determined, which exceede not the value of thirtie two Crownes, and these two Tribunals in greater causes are vnited, and haue three or foure Doctors appointed by the Senate to aduise them, for onely the Scabines iudge, and from these Tribunals appeale is granted to the Senate, if the cause exceede the value of fiue hundred Crownes. These chuse a Iudge to see their Decrees put in execution, and to see capitall offenders executed. They appoint a Iudge for the Villages and territories subiect to the City, for whose assistance the Senate chuseth some out of the great Counsell. These weekely giue the Law to the Villages and Country people, and by the exercise of this Office, the Iudg|es are inabled for the Office of Scabines. Also they chuse a Iudge to haue care of the Faires and Markets, who sets the price of Bread, Flesh, and all things there sold, and he hath foure Senators to assist him in weekely inquiring after the workes of Artificers, that they sell no vnperfect workes, nor vse any fraude. Of the Senators, three are chosen supreme Tutors for pupils and widowes, who diuide inheritances, see that all Testaments be performed, and appoint new Tutors, in case the old bee dead, suspect|ed, or absent. These supreme Tutors prouide, that the moneis of pupils be put forth to vse, and that the profit returnes to the pupills. They receiue the accompts of the 242 Tutors, and prouide that the Pupils be religiously and honestly brought vp. One Se|nator is set ouer each Church, Monastery, and Almes house, to see the reuenues well administred, and to promote the causes thereunto belonging. Fiue Gouernors are set ouer the Territory without the walls, among which, the Chancelor hath yearly one hundreth Crownes, each of the rest twenty fiue Crownes for stipend. In time of warre, they chuse seuen Senators, who take vpon them the care to prouide all necessa|ries for the same. I vnderstoode there, that not long before, they had numbred in the City twenty two thousand Artificers, seruants, and people of inferior rank, and that the last subsidy imposed in time of warre, was one Gold Gulden in the hundreth, of euery mans mouable and vnmouable goods, and one gold Gulden by the Pole, for all such as had neither inheritance nor Art to liue vpon.

Augsburg is one of the Imperiall Cities (vulgarly Ein Reichs statt) and in the yeare [Note: Angsburg.] 1364. the Senate consisted of two Patritian Consuls, and of ten Merchants, and sea|uen Artisans, with power of Tribunes, all yearly chosen. The Emperor Charles the 4 gaue the City new priuillges, and confirmed the old, because the Citizens swore obedi|ence to his Sonne. And the Emperor Sigismund confirmed and increased the same. When the Emperour Charles the fifth held a Parliament in this Citty, (as many Parliaments haue beene held there) the old honour was restored to the Patritians, and the Plebean Tribunes were taken away, two Aduocates being set in their roomes. Two Gentlemen Consuls, at this day gouerne the City, with six Iudges for criminall causes, whereof three are Gentlemen, two Citizens, one Plebean. These are chosen by the great Senate, consisting of those three Orders: but in causes of Religion, the City is subiect to the iurisdictio of the Bishop of Tilling. This City hath many noble and rich Merchants, whereof many haue priuiledges of Barrons, and some of Ear-

les; and among them, the chiefe Family is of the Fuggari, famously knowne, being at this time both boyes and men some thirty in number, and the chiefe of them was Marke of the Fug gari, who had married the Daughter to the Earle of Schwartzenburg, and was much delighted in the gathering of antiquities, with much curtesie vsing to shew the same to such passengers as tooke pleasure therein. Three Cozens of this Family had great and large, but dispersedly scattered possessions, besides that they were rich in treasure, for supply whereof, the Emperour Charles the fifth, and his sonne Phillip King of Spaine, often made vse of them, ingaging to them the impositions and custome of Hauens for ready money, and giuing them great priuiledges of trafficke. In which kind the said King of Spaine so obliged them to him, as the heart being alwaies where the treasure is, hee made them no lesse obsequious to him then subiects, so difficult a thing is it, for couetous Merchants to preserue their liberty. Great iealousies were betweene this City and the Duke of Bauaria, whose territory extends to the very walles of the City. And I remember at my last passage through Augsburg, this Duke attempted to stop the course of water from the City, whereupon the Citizens sent out Souldiers to beate backe the Dukes workemen, but the controuersie was soone after appeased, and came not to blowes. They perpetually, euen in time of peace, keepe some fiue hundred Souldiers in the City, who dwell in a streete by themselues, and the City being seated vpon the mouth of the Alpes, leading into Italy, and the Citizens being diligent in trafficke, it cannot be that it should not abound in riches. Augsburg in the foresaid Parliament held there, after Charles the fifth had ouercome the Protestant Princes, was said to haue bought their peace of the Emperour with 3000 gold guldens. I know not for what cause they are seuere towards strangers, but I obserued, that they haue a Law forbidding strangers to dwell in the City, allowing them onely a short time of abode, and during the same, curiously obseruing what bu|sinesse they haue.

Strasburg is also a free City of the Empire, and (as the rest) gouerned by a Senate [Note: Strasburg.] yeerely chosen: for howsoeuer it is one of the Cities leagued with the Cantons of Sweitzerland, yet it is still numbered among the free Imperiall Cities: And it is state|ly built, and rich in treasure, for so it must needes be, since the ordinary tributes and taxes are so great, as I haue heard the Citizens professe, that they yeerely pay one dol|ler 243 in a thousand, for the value of their mouable and also vnmoueable goods, (where|in the full value of Land, not the yeerely rent, is reckoned), and that if any fraud be detected, in the last Testament, or otherwise, the heire or the party offending (if hee liue) is deepely fined for the same. While I passed through the City, they had begun a warre with the Duke of Loraine, about the choice of their Bishop which warre they had vnprouidently denounced, before they had leuied Souldiers, or made prouisions to make it, so as their territories were exposed to many oppressions, before they could gather troopes to defend them, and offend the enemy: And it was vulgarly reported, that they could deliberate of nothing in counsell so secretly, as it was not presently made knowne to the enemy.

The Imperiall City Franckfort, is famous for the two yeerely Marts, one at Midlent, [Note: Franck|fort] the other at the middest of September, at which times all neighbour Princes keepe horsemen to guard the Merchants passing that way, to which horsemen I remem|ber that each passenger gaue 6 creitzers, either of duty or in curtesie, for his person. Also this City is famous for another priuiledge contained

in the Lawes of the gol|den Bulla, namely, that all Emperours must be chosen there, and in case two Empe|rours be chosen, the same Law defines, that if one of them shall besiege the City, and there expect his enemy halfe a moneth, and if in that time he come not to breake the siege, then it shall be free for the City to receiue the first, as hauing the victory: For of old custome the new chosen Emperours keepe their coronation Feast in this City, with great magnificence, which was lastly kept (as they said) by Maximilian the se|cond, at which time among other solemnities, they roasted an Oxe in the middest of the field for the people, and when the Marshal of the Court had cut a peece as for the Emperor, the rest of the Oxe was in a moment rent in peeces by the common people.

I must make at least some mention of the Cities lying vpon the Sea of Germany to|wards the North, whereof most are not onely called free, because they are Imperiall Cities, but by the same name, though in diuers signification, are called Hans steten, that is, Free Cities, in respect of the priuiledges of trafficke granted to them of old in the neighbour Countries.

Among these Lubecke is the chiefe of the neighbor Cities ioined in league for com|mon defence, whither the Senators of all the other Cities come once in the yeere, to [Note: Lubecke] consult of publike affaires. The territory of the City reacheth not aboue a German mile, but after some few miles distance, there is a certaine Towne which belongs to Lubecke and Hamburg, by common right, being ingaged to them for money by the Duke of Lower Saxony, of whom they after bought the rest of his Inheritance. This Towne for sixe yeeres space was wont to be kept by those of Lubecke, appointing the Gouernour, and receiuing the rents; which time ended, those of Hamburg were wont to haue it in like sort for sixe yeeres, and so by turnes they were wont to enioy it. Lu|becke of old had a Duke, till it was subiected to the Empire by the Emperour Frede|ricke the first, after whose death it became subiect to their Duke againe, and after fiue yeeres became subiect to the Danes, but by the helpe of Fredericke the second it freed it selfe from the Danes in the yeere 1226, and after by fauour of the Emperours ob|tained freedome and absolute power: Both Lubecke and Hamburg are said of old to haue acknowledged the Kings of Denmarke, but at last expelling the Kings Proctors, they became free, and submitted themselues to the defence of the Empire: For which cause to this day they warily obserue the actions of the Kings of Denmarke, and liue in feare and suspition of their attempts, and howsoeuer they haue freedome and absolute power, yet they are carefull to haue the fauour of the Kings of Den|marke, because they haue power to hinder their trafficke in the Baltike Sea: yet some|times leagued with the neighbour cities (which in the common cause of freedome are easily drawne to giue mutuall aide), they haue made warres against the Kings of Den|marke with good successe. Lubecke is commended for iust gouernment, (not to speake of their hospitality, very faire and vniforme buildings, and the very pleasant seate of the Towne). It is gouerned by the ciuill Law, and by statutes made by the Se|nate; as also some made by the consent of the confederate cities. No appeale to 244 Vniuersities or to the Chamber of the Empire is admitted, except the cause be aboue the value of fiue hundred dollers. They lately made sumptuary Lawes, restraining the number of guests and dishes in Feasts, with penalties according to the excesse. The Citizens yeerely chuse twenty new Senators, and this [...] chuseth of their number foure Consuls, with a Iudge skilfull in the ciuill Lawes. These Magistrates define all ciuill

and criminal causes, the whole Senate first examining them, and iudge|ments are giuen by common consent with the doores shut: but when any capitall iudgement is to be executed, at the day appointed to the Malefactor, and the very houre he is to die, the hangman pronounceth the sentence in the market place. The consuls take the highest place by turnes, one in the morning, the other in the after|noone, at which times they also by turnes heare Ambassadours, and receiue com|plaints. Many Offices are deuided among the Senators, two gather the rents, others haue care of the wines, (which are sold in a publike house to publike vse, no priuate man being allowed to make that gaine), others ouersee the buildings, that they be vniforme and strongly built, and free from danger of fier, and likewise the fortifica|tions of the City. Foure Serieants attired in red gownes, attend the Senate, and sum|mon men to appeare, (besides twelue inferiour Serieants), and they neither carry Sword nor any Mace before the Magistrates, but follow them in the streetes like Ser|uants. They doe not imprison any debtor or light offender, but onely summon such to appeare before the Magistrate, and declare to them the fines imposed for not ap|pearing: but they apprehend capitall offenders, and preuent their escape by flight. It is not lawfull for a creditor to put his debtor in prison, but after a set time and with cautions, prescribed in the Law of Saxony, wherein notwithstanding, they of Lubecke so fauour strangers, as they onely haue right in this kind with expedition, and haue a proper tribunall (or seate of iudgement) for themselues onely: yet herein they seeme not fauourable to strangers, in that they permit them not to dwell in the City, other|wise they doe as the common vse is, to keepe all commodities in the hands of Citi|zens, not to be sold to strangers, but by a Citizen, especially since without the helpe of strangers they haue their owne ships to bring in and carry out all commodities.

Hamburg is in like sort gouerned, but I cannot so much commend them for hospi|tality, [Note: Hamburg.] being rude to all strangers, and malicious to Englishmen aboue others, for no other cause then for that our Merchants leauing that City, seated themselues at Stoade: so as it was not safe for any stranger, much lesse for an Englishman, to walke abroade after dinner, when the common people are generally heated with drinke: And the very Iustice was herein commonly taxed, not that they punished whore|dom (which no good man will disallow) but that they permitted whores in great mul|titudes, and yet fauoured the knauery of the Sergeants, who combining with the whores, intrapped men in their houses, so as not onely the whores and Sergeants made profit thereby, but the very Magistrates were iustly suspected, to approue this course for their owne gaine.

Brunswick an Imperiall City, worthily to be numbred among the cheefe, and so cal|led as the Village of Bruno, is not farre distant from Hamburg, and seated in the center [Note: Brunswicke.] of Saxony, was of old (as they say) the Metropolitan City therof. It consists of fiue Cities gathered into one, wherof each hath his seuerall priuiledges, and they are thus seated, Alstatt is the part on the West side, Newstatt on the North side, Imsacke the part towards the East, Imhagen, and Altweg (built first of all the rest) are the part towards the South. And howsoeuer all these haue each their seueral Senators and priuiledges, yet all of them iointly making the city of Brunswick, liue vnder one common Law and gouernme t, the Senators of each by yerely courses gouerning the whole body of that common-wealth. For howsoeuer tenn Consuls be yeerly chosen,

two of each City, yet to the two Consuls of that City which by course is to gouern for the yeere, the other eight as inferiour, and much more all the Senators of the fiue Cities, yeelde for the time great reuerence in the Senate and all meetings, and great obedience in all things commanded. One Senate house is common to all the fiue Cities, yet each of them hath also a priuate Senate-house. The forme of the publike 245 gouernement is Democraticall (or popular.) They liue in such feare of the Duke of Brunswick, left he should take away their liberty, as they haue not onely fortified the Towne very strongly against assaults or sieges, but also willingly imploy their Citi|zens in forraigne warres as hired souldiers, insomuch as no man is made free who hath not first serued one or two yeeres in the warres.

The Dukes of Brunswick and of Luneburg, deriue their pedegree from one root, namely, [Note: The Dukes of Bruns|wick and of Luneburg.] from the old family of the Dukes of Bauaria: for Henrie called the Lion, D. of Bauaria, (who was Duke and Elector of Saxony also, commanding a most ample Territory), being proscribed by the Emperour, and for a time liuing as a banished man in Eng|land, the Dukedome of Bauaria was by the Emperour giuen in Fee to the Palatines of the Rheine, and so passed to a new Family. This Henrie the Lion died in Brunswick about the yeere 1195. His eldest sonne Otho the fourth being chosen Emperour, was ouercome by his Competitor, and being againe raised to that dignitie, was put from it by Frederike the second, and died 1218. Otho his brothers Sonne, was forced to yeeld the Dukedome of Saxony to the Elector of Saxony Albert the second. And the Emperour Frederick the second cast his Garrison out of Brunswick, with the helpe of the Citizens, and made Brunswick a free Imperiall City. But at last the Emperour vpon the submission of Otho forgaue him, and created him Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg. This Otho died in the yeere 1252, from whom this house was subdeuided into the following Families. From Henrie the Wonderfull, descend the Lords of Em|ber and Grobenbagen. From Albert the Fat, dying in the yeere 1318, descend the Dukes of Brunswick and of Luneburg, as followeth.

Magnus Torquatus heire of both Dukedomes, (whose garrison the citizens of Lune|burg cast out of the castle Calkberg) left three sonnes. Frederick cho|sen Emperour a|gainst Wenceslaus, killed by treache|tie in the yeere 1400. Bernard after the killing of his brother yeelded the D. of Bruns|wick to his Ne|phew William, and retaining the D. of Luneburg, died 1434. From Bernard descend Otho, who exhibited the Reformed Confession at Augtburg and di|ed 1549. Otho Lord of Har|burg, had to his first wife the daughter to the Earle of Schwart|zenburg; and with the second Wife, Daughter to the Earle of Emden, hee then liued when I passed though Ger|many. Otho had by his first wife two sonnes, Otho Hen|rich, borne 1555; and Iohn Frederick borne 1557; and one daughter, Elizabeth, borne 1553, and married to the King of Suecia. And by his second wife, sixe sonnes. William borne 1564. Euno borne 1565. Chri|stopher borne 1570. Otho borne 1572. Iohn borne 1573. Frederick borne 1578. And three daughters, Anna Margarita borne 1567. Heduigis borne 1569. Catherina Sophia borne 1577. The first house of the Dukes of Luneburg and Brunswick (for the titles are co mon to al.) Anne borne 1526. And Ernest, who reformed Religion, and died 1546, buried at Cella. Henry maried the daughter of the D. of the lower Saxony, dwelling at Angria. Henry had three sons, Iulius Ernestus borne 1571. Francis Cannon of Strasburg, borne 1572. And Augustus borne 1579. And

two daughters, Sibilla Eli|zabetha borne 1576. And Sidonia borne 1577. The second branch like|wise Dukes of Luneburg and Brunswick. William in the yere 1561, married Doro|thy, Daughter to Christian King of Denmarke. William had seuen sons, Ernest borne 1564. Christian borne 1561. Augustus borne 1568. Frederick borne 1574. Magnus borne 1577, then Rector of the Vni|uersitie of Iena. George borne 1582. Iohn borne 1583. And seuen daughters, Sophia married to George, Mar|quis of Brandeburg 1579. Elizabeth to the Count of Hohelm 1585. Doroty borne 1570. Clara 1571. Mar|garet 1573. Marie 1575. And Sibilla 1584. The third branch with the same titles. Francis of the reformed re|ligion, left two daughters no heires males; and died 1549. Henrie died be|fore his brother Frederick. William the Victorious, at the death of his Vncle Frederick possessed the Dukedome of Brunswick, which his Vncle Ber|nard did yeeld to him. Hee died 1482. 246 Dukes of Bruns|wick. From William the Victorious descends Henry, who twise in vaine besieged Brunswick aided by other free Cities. He died 1514. Henrie made captiue by the Elector of Saxony 1545, twice besieged Brunswick. He had two sisters and foure brothers; Ericus, Christopher Bishop of Verden, Francis, and George Archbishop of Breme. The eldest married Mary, Daughter to the Duke of Wirtenberg, and died 1568. Iulius, his two elder Brethren being killed, left his Priesthood, reformed Religion after Luthers doctrine, founded an Vniuersitie at Helmstat, and called it Iulia; married Heduigis, daughter to Ioa|chim the second, Elector of Brandeburg, and died in the yeere 1589. 247 Henrie Iulius borne 1562 Administrator of two Bi|shopricks of Halberstat and Mind, first married Dorothy Daughter to Au|gustus Elector of Saxony, then Elizabeth daughter to Frederike King of Den|mark, yet liuing. By his first wife he had Dorothy Heduigis borne 1587 by the second Frederike Vdalrike borne 1591. Three brothers, Philip Sigismond Bishop of Ver|den, borne 1568. Ioachim Carolus borne 1573. Iulius Augustus borne 1578. Fiue sisters, Sophia mar|ried to Ernest Duke of Po|meru. Mary to Francis D. of lower Saxony 1582. Eli|zabeth to the Count of Schaumberg, Dorothy borne 1577. Heduigis 1580. The second house of the Duke of Brunswicke, more powerfull then all the former ioyned. He had foure sisters, Catherine married to Iohn Marquisse of Brandeburg. Margaret to the D. of Munsterberg. Clara first an Abbesse, then married to Phillip Lord of Grachenhage. And Mary an Abbesse. And Ericus, called the Po|pish. Ericus called also the Popish, mar|ried his daughter to Iohn Prince Dauria of Genoa in Italy. He had a base sonne, who died without issue, and lies buried with his Father at Pauia in Italy. The Duke of Brunswicke keepes his Court at a strong Castle, within the little City Wolfeubeiten, lesse then a German mile distant from Brunswick, of which City he beares [Note: The Duke of Bruns|wicke.] the title, in respect it of old belonged to his Progenitors (in which kind he is also called Duke of Luneburg, to which he hath right of succession, and Purgraue of Nurnberg, which title hath beene long extinct), not that he hath any least power ouer the City, or so much as a house therein, whom the Citizens rather wish many miles remoued from them. I haue said that Henry Iulius Duke of Brunswick hath three brothers, and that the eldest of them was Bishop of Verden, but when my selfe passed that way, I vnderstood that of these three younger brothers, the eldest was Bishop of Osenburg, the next Channon of Strasburg, and that the youngest was a Student in the Vniuersity of Helmstatt, founded by his Father: And it is worth obseruation, that the Duke

him|selfe was Administrator of two Bishoprickes. I haue shewed that the City of Bruns|wicke got their liberty by the Sword, in the time of Duke Otho, and with the aide of the Emperour Fredericke the second: And as they gained it by Armes, so they main|taine it, hauing beene often besieged by the Dukes, and to this day bearing vp the same against the Dukes, with whom they cease not to expostulate, that they vsurpe the title of their City. And not long before my passage that way, when at the marri|age of the Duke with the sister to the King of Denmarke, the Citizens of Brunswicke discharged some great Peeces of Artillery in honour of the marriage, yet so great are the iealousies betweene the Duke and them, as hee tooke it in ill part, and shaking his head for anger, said it was done in ostentation of their strength, and as the threatning of enemies rather then the triumph of friends: And the Senators of Brunswicke, though inuited to the marriage, yet would not come thither. Nei|ther doe they willingly suffer the Duke to come into their City. And not long before, when the Duke for pleasure disguised himselfe as a Carman, and droue a Cart of wood into the City, to be sold there, the chief Consul hauing notice therof, comman|ded the gates to be shut, and the streets to be chained, and when the Duke had long sate vpon the cart, with some annoiance by reason of raine, and found he could not goe back, and thought it dangerous to goe into any priuate house, at last the Consul bought his wood, and so drew the Duke to his house, where he intertained him ho|norably, yet remembred him that he had put himselfe in needles danger, knowing the ill affection of the common people towards him, and then sending for the Dukes ser|vantes to attend him led him out of the city with honour.

Luneburg a free City of the Empire, is strongly fortified, and statly built, but hath no lesse ielosy with the neighbor Dukes, bearing the title of the City, yet they neither [Note: The City and the Dukes of Luneburg] dwell in the City, nor medle with the gouernment therof, but abide at Cella, and at Sethern, some twelue miles distant, and in other Cities of that Prouince, according to the diuision of their inheritance betweene them. The Citizens of Lune|burg 248 knowing that of old they bought their liberty of these Dukes, and that to this day they pay them some tributes, iustly feare lest the Duke or his Brothers and Cosens, being many in number, shold practise any thing against their liberty, or at least being poor, shold seek new occasio s to extort mony fro them. The Duke of old had a strong Castle, built vpon a Mountaine hanging ouer the City, vulgarly called Kalckberg, that is the Mountaine of Chalke; but the Butchers of the City, at a Shroftide, making shew of mustering in Armes, tooke this Castle, for which seruice to the Common|wealth, the Butchers to this day haue the keeping therof. But the Citizens are so su|spitious, lest it should be betraied to the Duke for mony, as if any of them who keep it, doe at any time goe forth of it, into the City or to any other place, they are no more permitted to enter the same.

Vpon the furthest shore of the Baltike sea towards the North-east, the free City [Note: Dantzke.] of Dantzke is seated. It is free in respect of priuiledges for traffique, and for that it is gouerned by the Senators and the Lawes of the City, yet not numbered among the Imperiall Cities, because it in some sort acknowledgeth the King of Poland, and paies some couenanted tributes to his Minister residing in the City. In the time of Stephen Bathory Prince of Transiluania and King of Poland, this City was by him besieged, and forced to pay these tributes. Whervpon the Citizens to pay them without their own preiudice, dou-

bled all Impositions vpon strangers trading there. The Consul of the City there, (as in all Germany) is vulgarly called Burgomaster, and he iudgeth all ciuill and criminal causes, but appeales are granted from him to the Colledge of ciuil Lawyers, and from them to the Senate of the City, and in some causes, from the Senate to the King of Poland. This City consists of three Cities, vulgarly called Reichstat, Furstat, and Altstatt (that is, the City of the Kingdome, the fore City, and the old City), and each hath his gates, and his Senate, and the Consull may be chosen out of either Senate, so as for the time of his Office, he reside in the cheefe City, called Reichstatt. Here be the furthest limits of the Empire towards the North and the East.

And from hence towards the West Iles the shore of the Balticke Sea, and of the German Ocean, vpon which are seated Stetinum, Meckleburg, Lubecke, Hamburg, and Breame, Imperiall Cities, and free, as weli for priuiledges of trafficke in neighbour Kingdomes, as for absolute gouernement at home: And in East-Freesland (for West-Freesland belongs to Netherland) the furthest limits of the Empire towards the West and North, end in the City of Emden.

This City hath his Count, bearing title of the City, and of late he kept his Court [Note: Emden.] therein: but the Citizens professing the reformed Doctrine of Caluin, and the Count attempting to force them to the profession of Luthers Doctrine, not long before I pas|sed that way, the Citizens expelled the Count, and gaue oath to the Senators of the City, to obey them, to be ready in armes for the defence of the City, and not to re|moue their dwellings from thence without leaue of the Senate. And the Citizens were thus confident, because the City lies vpon the confines of the Netherlanders, who maintained men of warre in that Inland Sea, and vpon the Riuer passing by the wals of the City, to stop any passage, and to defend the ships of Merchants, forced in those flats to expect the returne of the tide. And generally it was thought that Em|den would ioine in league with the vnited Prouinces of Netherland, but as yet it remai|ned vnder the Empire, not free by priuiledge, nor yet subiect to the Count of Emden. This Count at this time had two sonnes by the daughter of the King of Suelia, and howsoeuer his younger brother by the loue of his mother, had obtained the best part of the inheritance, yet he had no children, nor was thought likely to haue any, so as no doubt was then made, but that the whole inheritance would after his death returne to the children of the elder brother. And these things shall suffice, briefly written in generall of the Common-wealth of Germany, and in particular, of the absolute Domi|nions vnder the Empire.

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2

7.5 CHAP. V

Of the Common-wealth of Sweitzerland, according to the diuers subiects of the former Chapters.

THE Sweitzers deriued of diuers peoples (and among o|thers of the Schwalen and Friselanders), howsoeuer they be Germans both in language and manners, yet because the old Galles gaue them a seat at the foote of the Alpes, they were accounted Galles (or French) till the time of Iulius Caesar. In the Commentaries of Caesar, wee find their Commonwealth diuided into foure Communities, whereof one, namely that of Zurech, had not long before ouerthrown the Army of Lucius Cassius Consul of Rome . About this time the Sweitzers weary of their barren seat, attempted to seeke a new place of dwelling, had not Caesar ouercome them, and con|tained them at home. And from that time to the daies of Charles the Great, and so long as his race possessed the renewed Empire of the West, they were still esteemed Galles: but when that imperiall dignity fell to the Germans, they became subiects to those Emperours, and were numbred among the Germans, hauing the same man|ners, lawes, and customes with them, as at this day they haue. The Emperours gouer|ned this Nation, by Gouernours vulgarly called Reichs vogt, till at last the Common|wealth of the Sweitzers was seuered from that of the Germans, and made a free state, which in the age before ours, hath gotten great reputation: And here it is worthy to be obserued, that the ambition of Popes, and their diuellish tyranny ouer the Empe|rours, not onely (after some eight hundred yeeres from Christ) caused almost all the Garboyles of States, whereof we haue heard, or read, or which with our owne eyes wee haue seene, but in particular were the chiefe, yea, sole causes, of rending this strong member from the body of the Empire. Sweitzerland about that time, aboun|ded with noble Families, and them the Gouernours fauoured, to increase their owne power, whereupon they oppressed the common people, and prouoked their extreame hatred, so as they were forced to combine themselues in mutuall league against this oppression: yet the common people had neuer dared to oppose themselues to the Gentry, if the Empire had enioied peace: But when the Bishops of Rome , often cast out their spirituall thunderbolts (I meane excommunications) against the Empe|rours, and aswell absolued all subiects from the Oath of Allegiance, as heartried am|bitious Traitors to be competitors against the Emperours, yea, stirred vp their Kins|man and their very Children to make ciuill warre with them: in this confused Anar|chy, a Patron was not wanting to the most wicked person, to defend him, so he would follow his party. Hence it came, that when the Emperour Fredericke the second, in the yeere 1240, receiued the common people of Sweitzerland into his protection a|gainst the Gentlemen, they likewise, as the Clients of Monasteries, followed the Popes party, whereupon the people of Zurech, the Vrij and Suitij, (of whom the whole Nati|on is called Sweitzers) being three Communities, first in the yeere 1251, made a league for three yeeres against the Gentlemen, lying in waite to intrap them; and after by little and little, they made more firme and perpetuall leagues for defence of absolute liberty: and seruing diuers Emperours in the Parall tumults, from time to

time ob|tained great priuiledges. Then they drew other Communities and neighbour Cities to be partners of their leagues. Finally, after they had rooted out the Families of Gen|tlemen, and had by conspiracy castout the Gouernours of the Arch-Dukes of Au|stria (to who in the Lordship of Sweitzerland was fallen), they in processe of time at|tained this absolute State, which we see them enioy at this day: For the foresaid strife 250 continuing betweene the Emperours and the Popes, and Lodwick of Bauaria conten|ding for the Empire with Fredericke of the House of Austria, the Sweitzers tooke part with Lodwicke, who expresly ratified the freedome or liberty of then Common|wealth.

And that consists of three parts, the communities (vulgarly called Cantons) the [Note: Foure parts of the Com|monwealth.] fellowes or confederates, and the stipendary Cities, or gouernements, to which Semler addeth the forraigue leagues for a fourth part.

The communities are vulgarly called Orts, and by the Italians Cantons of the [Note: Thirteene Cantons.] Sweitzers, (as we will hereafter call them), and they are thirteene in number. Among these Cantons, the Vrij (comming from the Taurisci) the Suitij (comming from the Cimbri) the Vnderualdij (of the race of banished Romans) about the yeere 1308, made a mutual league for ten yeeres, and hauing ouercome in battell Leopold Arch-Duke of Austria, in the yeere 1315, made this league perpetuall Lucerna the fourth Canton, be|ing much wronged, while it was vnder the Patronage of the House of Austria, to a|uoide tyranny in that confusion of the Empire, did in the yeere 1332, ioine it selfe in perpetuall league. Zurech a free City of the Empire, was in like sort receiued for the 5 Canto . When these cantons made war vpon Glarona, to haue the possession of a coun|try most commodious for the co mon good, all the people so hated the Gouernors ap|pointed by the House of Austria, and so desired freedome, as they yeelded vp them|selues to the Cantons, and so Glarona the foresaid yeere became the sixth Canton: Likewise when the Canton Zurech made warre vpon Zug, a Towne (possessed by gen|tlemen subiect to the House of Austria) whence they were much annoied, the Citi|zens being forsaken by the Gentlemen, yeelded themselues, and being receiued into the league, became the seuenth Canton. [...] a free city of the Empire, and vnder the power of the Gouernours, hauing found the faithfull loue of the Cantons, in the said confusion of the Empire, did in the yeer 1352, make a perpetuall league with the three first named Cantons, wherein notwithstanding Zurech and Lucerna are contained, the three Cantons being bound to those two, for the succour of Bern, and being bound to Bern, for the succour of the two Cantons, and so Bern became the eight Canton. The Towne Friburg, subiect to the House of Austria, being many waies oppressed in the said confusion of the Empire, made league with Bern, and when the House of Au|stria, vpon pretence to visit them, did for that cause, spoile them of their goods, they in the yeere 1481, after the end of the Burgundian warre, became the ninth Canton. Solothara a free City of the Empire, had made a perpetuall league with Berne in the yeere 1351, and after in the yeere 1481, was receiued for the tenth Canton. Bizila free City of the Empire, had in the yeare 1327 made a perpetuall league with the 3 first Cantons, and after prouoked by many iniuries of the house of Austria, did in the yeare 1501 make a perpetuall league with all the Cantons, and so was re|ceiued for the Eleuenth Canton. [...] an Imperiall city, first sold or ingaged to the house of Austria, and againe vnited to the Empire, when the Duke of

Austria was proscribed in the Councel of Costnetz, because the Emperor Frederick the third in the yeare 1454, exacted an oath of the citizens, as Duke of Austria not as Emperor, they first made a league for certaine yeares with six Cantons, and after at the end of the Suenian warr made a perpetuall league in the yeare 1501 with all the Cantons, and so becam the twelfth Canton. Abbatiscella vulgarly called Apinzill, containing eight Villages, after it had obtained freedome from the Abbot of Saint Gallus by Armes and mony, had warr with the house of Austria about the yeare 1408, at which time it made a league with the Cantons, and after prouoked by the iniuries of the said Ab|bot, in the yeare 1452; it made a perpetuall league with the seauen first Cantons, and at last in the yeare 1513 became the thirteenth Canton.

Among the fellowes in league, first the Abbot of Saint Gallus in the yeare 1451, [Note: Fellowes in league.] obtained to be made a cityzen of the foure Cantons, zurech, Lucerna, Suitia, and Gla|rona, which right all the Abbots renewe, and promise that all their possessions shall lie open to the said Cantons, and that in controuersies they will rest in the iudgement of the cantons, and by another agreement each of these Cantons appoint a captain to 251 be Assessor to the Abbot in iudgment, and the cantons haue halfe of all mulcts or fines imposed, and the subiects of the Abbot are bound to serue them in warr. And howsoeuer some of the cantons at this day are of the reformed religio , yet they send a captaine according to the couenant, and defend all the rights of the Monastery. In the second place, is the towne of Saint Gallus, which hauing bought freedome from all rights of the Abbot and of the Empire, made a perpectuall league with six Can|tons, Zurech, Bern, Lucerna, Suitia, Zug, and Glarona, which was confirmed in the yeare 1454.

In the third place are the Rhaeti, called Grisons by the Itallians, deuided into three leagues. The first is called the vpper league, consisting of nintene communities, and was made with the seauen old cantons in the yeare 1407. The second, in respect of the Bishoprick of Chur, is called the league of the house of God, consisting of nine|teene communities, (wherof two vse the Language of Germany, the rest the Language of the country, being corrupt Italian), which the yeare following ioined in league with the cantons. The third league called the tenne iudgments, (or iurisdictions) and consisting of tenne communities ioined in the league with the Cantons in the yeare 1498, and at the same time the house of Austria preparing war against the Rhetians, they all iointly made a perpetuall league of fellowship with all the Cantons.

In the fourth place the seauen tenths of the Valesians, and the Bishop of Sedune Earle of Valesia, for the controuersies of religion in our time, made a perpetuall league of fellowship with seauen Cantons of the Roman Religion, Lucerna, Vria, Suitia, Vn|derualdia, Tugium, (vulgarly Zug), Friburg, and Solodurum, vulgarly Solothurne).

The Towne Roteuilla in the fifth place, made a perpetuall league of fellowship with all the Cantons, in the yeere 1519; but because it is seated in Germany, out of the con|fines of mountainous Sweitzerland, caution was made that without the consent of the Cantons, they shall make no warre, nor giue any aides, and if warre be made vpon them, in case the enemy consent, they shall rest in the iudgement which the Cantons shall hold iust and equall: And that they shall make no league without the consent of the Cantons, and in time of ciuill warre shall follow the greatest part of them.

In the sixth place Mulhusium of old

an Imperiall City, was incorporated to the Ci|ty of Bazill in the yeere 1506, and after nine yeeres, made a perpetuall league of fel|lowship with all the Cantons.

In the seuenth place, the Towne Bienna (or Bipennium) enioying all priuiledges vn|der the Bishop of [...] in the yeere 1303, made a more firme league with Bern in the yeere 1352.

In the eighth place is Geneua, which gaue all rights, and kept all olde couenants with the Bishop thereof, till hee sold the same to the Duke of Sauoy. After that time, this City made diuers leagues with the Cantons for certaine yeeres, and at last coue|nanted the right of Citizens with the Canton of Bern, and being assailed for Religi|on, confirmed the same more strictly, in the yeere 1536, since which time some moti|ons haue beene made, to vnite Geneua with the Cantons in publike league, but hither|to it could not be effected.

In the ninth and last place is the Towne Neocomum, with the County thereof, which the Sweitzers tooke in the warre against the King of France, Lewis the twelfth, and because it belonged to the Duke of Longouille in France, his widow in the yeere 1529, obtained to haue it restored to her vpon certaine conditions, yet still it hath league of fellowship with the Cantons of Bern, Lucern, Friburg, and Solothurn, and the Lords of the County haue a particular league with the Canton of Bern.

Touching the people gouerned by the Sweitzers in common, they be fiue stipen|diary [Note: Stipendiary Cities and Gouerne|ments.] Cities, and nine gouernements. The Cities are so called, because they serue the Sweitzers in warre at their stipend, and hauing their owne Magistrates, yet are subiect to the Cantons, and ruled by their statutes. These Cities of old subiect to the House of Austria, became subiect to the Cantons, vpon condition that keeping their priui|ledges, they should obey them in the same manner, as formerly they did the house of Austria. The Sweitzers took Baden, Brimigart, and Mallinga, when the Duke of Austria 252 was proscribed, and after the Emperour ingaged those cities to the Canton of Zurech, which made other 7 cantons partners of that ingageme t, namely, Lucerna, Suitia, Vn|derualdia, Vria, Tugium, Glarona, and Berna. The Sweitzers tooke Rapersuilla in the yeare 1458, being receiued into the city, and helped by those of their faction. And they tooke the fifth city Frawenfield, in the yeare 1460, when the Duke of Austria was ex|communed, vpon the Popes command well pleasing to them. Among the Gouern|ments, that of Baden is subiect to the foresaid eight Cantons. The second of Turg is subiect to al the same Cantons, excepting Bern, but the iudgements and Fines belong to the ten old Cantons. The third of the free Prouince, was giuen to the Sweitzers in fee from the Emperor, when the said Duke of Austria was proscribed, and it is subiect to the same Cantons, excepting Bern, but the Gouernor dwels not among them, onely vsing to come to them for the iudgement of causes. The fourth is the country of the Sarunetes, sold by their Earle to the said Cantons, excepting Bern, in the yeer 1483. The fist of the Rhegusei was sold to the Canton Apenzill in the yeare 1460, and the Cantons drew it to common subiection, when Apenzill was admitted into the num|ber of the Cantons, so as Apenzill also is partner in that Gouernment.

In the last place are the foure Gouernments beyond the Alpes, seated in Italy, namely the town Lucanum, the Locarnenses, the Medrisians, and the middle vally, which the Duke of Milan gaue to the Cantons for a reward, vpon the casting out of the French in the yeare 1513, and yet the

King of France, Francis the first, after vpon the casting out of that Duke, confirmed this guift to the Cantons. To these is added the towne Bilitioni sold to the Cantons, Vria, Suitia, and Vnderualdia, in the yeare 1422, the country wherof is diuided into three Gouernments, commaunded by the said three Cantons, by courses or turnes.

Touching forraigne leagues. Among those made for certaine yeares, Pope Sixtus [Note: Forraigne leagues for [...], name|ly the papall leagues.] in the yeare 1478 made league with the Sweitzers, and gaue them large spirituall in|dulgences. Likewise at the end of the Sweitzers league with the king of Fraunce Lewis the twelfth, in the yeare 1509, Pope Iulius the second in the yeare 1510 made league with the Sweitzers, but the soldiers leuied vnder the pay of Pope Iulius, percei|uing that he delt not directly and truly with them, imploying them to expell the king of Fraunce out of Milan , whome he had hired vnder pretence to defend the Church against the Duke of Ferrara, they could not containe themselues from returning su|denly into their country, and being dismissed without pay, they ceased not with many threatnings to storm against the Pope. Yet in the yeer 1511 the same Pope Iulius being ouercome by the French, he called the Sweitzers again to his aide, who sent him an Army of 20000 foote, at which time the Sweitzers being offended with the French, cast them out of Milan , wherupon Pope Iulius gaue to this commonwealth the title of the Defender of the Church, and diuers. Banners charged with diuers Ima|ges, and a Cap for signe of liberty, with a sword. Also Maximilianus Sfortia by their aide being then put into the possession of the Dukedome of Milan , made league with the Sweitzers, and gaue them the foresaide Gouernments in Italy. Also Pope Leo the tenth in the yeere 1515, ioyned himselfe to the league, made betweene the Emperour Maximilian, and Sfortia Duke of Milan , and the Sweitzers, against the King of France. Lastly, Pope Clement the eight, sitting in the chaire of Rome when I passed through Italy, had also league with the Sweitzers.

But I must come to the hereditary forraigne leagues, which onely, and no other, can truly be called part of the Commonwealth.

Among the cheefe of them, is that of Milan : And not to speake of the ancient leagues, which some of the Cantons had with the Insubres, old inhabitants of Lom|bardy, [Note: Forraigne hereditary leagues, as that of Mi|lan.] Galeacius Duke of Milan in the yeere 1466, made a league with eight Cantons, (wherein mention is made of the said leagues with the Insubres), and he granted to the Vrij, that they should possesse the Lepontian Valley, for which they were to send vnto the Duke yeerely foure Hawkes and a Crosse-bow: Moreouer he granted to the eight Cantons, that in his Dukedome they should bee free from all impositions and taxes. Afterwards these and other heads of that league, were confirmed and re|newed 253 by the Duke his successours: And Ferdinand Gonzaga in the name of the Em|perour Charles the fifth, confirmed the same in the yeere 1551. And among other heads of that league, it is couenanted, that it shall be free for the Sweitzers to buy corne, yet in time of dearth, they may carry none out of the Dukedome, onely some 200 bushels shall in that case be sold to them, as friends. Also cautions are inserted a|bout the buying and carrying of salt, and that they shall freely passe to and fro with|out safe conduct, excepting those times in which Sweitzerland shall be infected with the plague, and that they shal be free from impositions in all places, excepting the city of Milan ; where they shall pay custome at the gates. Lastly, that the Sweitzers thus priuiledged, shall not take any oth-

ers to be partners in trafficke with them, to the pre|iudice of the Dukedome; and that all such shall be excluded from these priuiledges, as haue fled out of the Dukedome, whether they liue in Sweitzerland or else where: And this league was made to continue foure yeers after the death of the Emperour Charles the fifth, and this time expired, howsoeuer the league was not for a time renewed, yet the Sweitzers enioied all these priuiledges. This hereditary league descends to the Kings of Spaine, who succeed Charles the fifth in the said Dutchy of Milan , and all his possessions in Italy.

The Sweitzers haue had sharpe warres with the House of Burgundy, and long con|tinuing warres with the House of Austria, which at last were ended in league and [Note: The Bur|gundian and Au|strian league.] friendship. The first warre of Burgundy began in the yeere 1474, the House of Austria vsing the pride and ambition of the Dukes of Burgundy, to keepe downe the Sweitzers, with whom themselues had often fought with no good succesee: For the cause of the warre sprang from certaine Countries, to this end ingaged by Sigismund Duke of Au|stria, to Charles Duke of Burgundy, whence the desired and expected ielousies grew be|tween them, which Lewis the II King of France did nourish, bearing a splene to Duke Charles, and for that cause did furnish the Sweitzers with money to make that warre: And Sigismund Duke of Austria more to incourage the Sweitzers, made league with them against the Duke of Burgundy. Also the Emperor Frederick of the House of Au|stria, leading an Army against the said Duke, did stirre vp the Sweitzers to assaile him. But when they had with good successe pierced into Burgundy, the Emperour made peace with the said Duke, wherein the Sweitzers were not contained, so as the Duke turned all his Forces vpon them; and not to speake of light skirmishes and fights, the maine busines was tried betweene them in three battels, wherein the Duke himselfe was in person. First at the town Granson, where the Sweitzers had the victory, but they hauing no horse, (which could not so soone be sent to them from their confederates), and the horse of the Duke defending the foot in their flight, few of the Burgundians were killed there. Secondly, they fought at Morat; where they write that 26000 of the Burgundians were slaine. And to this day huge heapes of dead bones lie in that place, to witnes that great ouerthrow. The third battel was at Nancy, a City of Lorain, where Charles Duke of Burgundy besieged Renatus Duke of Loraine, confederate with the Sweitzers, and then 8000 Sweitzers and 3000 of their confederates sent to helpe them, ouercame the Duke of Burgundy, and himselfe being killed [...], his death gaue an end to that warre in the yeere 1477.

After the house of Austria had made many wars and leagues for yeers with the Sweit|zers, at last Sigismund Duke of Austria, before the Burgundian warre, made an heredi|tary league with them, Lewis the French King mediating the same, that hee might draw the Sweitzers to make warre with Charles the proud Duke of Burgundy. By this league it was agreed, that any controuersies falling, they should be put to Arbiters, both parts binding themselues to stand to their iudgeme t. That al old leagues alwaies preserued, they should serue the Duke of Austria in his wars, vpon the same pay they haue at home seruing the State. On the other side, that the possessors should hold all places, without calling into question for them. That neither part shold ioine in league the subiects of the other, or make them free of their Cities. That neither part should burthen the other with customes or impositions. At this time in the yeere 1474, many neigh-

bour Princes, Cities, and Bishops, did ioine themselues in league for yeeres: but the foresaid league with the house of Austria, ceased in the time of the Emperour 254 Maximilian the first, who made League with the Princes and cities of Germany, against the Sweitzers (called the great League of Sucura.)

That warre ended, Maximilian in the yeere 1511, renewed the former League, ioy|ning therein the house of Burgundy, and his grand-child Charles (after made Emperour the fifth of that name), so vniting all the thirteene Cantons with both those houses, and he promised in the name of Charles, that he should yeerely pay in the Towne of Zurech two hundred gold crownes to each Canton, for a testimony of loue, and for the Abbot of Saint Gallus, and the Towne, and besides for Apenzill he should yeere|ly [Note: The Ger|man Empe|rors renew the League of Austria.] giue each of them one hundred Crownes, and that he should confirme this league. This was done in the yeere 1543, wherein Charles the Emperour renewed the League of Burgundy, and his brother Ferdinand succeeding him in the Empire, renewed the League of the House of Austria.

At this time whereof I write, the Ambassadour of the King of Spaine resided at [Note: Phillip King of Spaine re|newes the Leagues of Burgundy and Milan .] Frihurg, and Philip King of Spaine, sonne to Charles, had (as I vnderstood by Sweitzers of good credit) renewed the Leagues of Burgundy and Milan , with the Cantons of the Roman religion, to last fiue yeres after his death; and this was done in the Church of Milan , where the Ambassadours are said to haue hung vp their Shields in memory therof, and to haue giuen a thousand gold crownes to the beautifying of the Church, at which time the King of Spaine diuided twelue thousand gold crownes betweene the Ambassadours, besides the charges, passing three thousand crownes. But the Am|bassadours of Solothurn, with-drew themselues from this League, because the King of France was indebted to them, which debt the King of Spaine refused to pay. By this League they are mutually bound to aide each other with one thousand two hundred foote: and the King of Spaine promised yeerely Pensions in generall to the Cantons, and in particular to diuers chiefe men and Captaines. For the Sweitzers vse to make no League without profit, since the Neighbour Princes grew of opinion, that they could not make warre, except their Armies were strengthened with a firme body of Sweitzers. Not onely Solothurn renounced the said League, but also the Cantons of the reformed religion, partly not to do any thing against their League with France, partly left they should take part with a King, whom they iudged most ambitions, and a great enemy to the Reformed Religion, howsoeuer he couered that hatred; and part|ly lest they should aduance the House of Austria, iustly suspected by them, whose vi|ctories might turne to their ruine. And at the same time the Cantons and Fellowes in League, being of the Reformed Religion after the doctrine of Caluine, made a League for defence of religion among themselues, and with Strasburg, a neigh|bour free city of Germany, being of the Reformed Religion after the doctrine of Luther.

The Duke of Sauoy had his Ambassadour residing at Lucerna, (where the Popes Ambassadours also reside, of whose Leagues for yeeres we formerly spake.) The old [Note: The League of Sauoy.] Allobroges, now called Sauoyans, had old Leagues with the Cantons of Bern, Fri|burg, and Solothurn: but Charles Duke of Sauoy in the yeere 1512, made a League for twenty fiue yeeres with all the

Cantons, by which, among other things, it was coue|nanted, that the Duke should aide the Sweitzers with sixe hundred or more horse at his owne charge, so hee were not distracted with warres at home, and that the Sweit|zers should aide the Duke with sixe thousand foot for any warre in his owne Coun|trie, to whom the Duke should pay each man sixe Frankes by the moneth. But hee should not imploy them to fight at sea, nor leade them beyond the sea, but onely to defend his owne Countrie, and the confines thereof. And it was couenanted, that during this League the Duke should yeerely pay at Bern two hundred gold crownes to each Canton. When this League was expired, Duke Charles put out of his Duke|dome by the French King Francis the first, followed the Emperour Charles the fifth, and the renewing of this League was intermitted. But the King of France restoring Philebert his sonne to the Dukedome, this Duke in the yeere 1560 made a new and perpetuall League with sixe Cantons, namely, Lucerna, Suitia, Vria, Vnderualdia, Zug, and Solothurne. And after, the rest of the Cantons vpon like conditions, renewed the 255 old league with this Duke, onely in this last league no mention is made of mutuall aides couenanted by the former league.

The French Ambassadour resided at Solothurn, (who of old vsed to reside at Bazil) [Note: The French league.] and the league of the French Kings with the Sweitzers, is of farre greater moment then any of the rest. The first of the French that made warre with the Sweitzers, was Lewis the French Kings sonne (after the eleuenth King of that name) who leading an Army to assist Pope Eugenius in dissoluing the Councell at Bazill, was perswaded by the Emperour Fredericke to assaile the Sweitzers, but a small number of them pos|sessing straight passages, did so annoy his Army, as he soone retired. He made peaco with the Sweitzers in the yeere 1450, and hauing tried their strength, made league with them for ten yeeres. His son Charles the eighth in the yeere 1483, renewed this league, and vsed the Sweitzers in his warres with the Duke of Britany, and for the Kingdome of Naples . Lewis the twelfth, after the league for yeers was expired, renounced the pay|ment of all publike or priuate pensions, wherwith the Sweitzers were so greatly offen|ded, as after they refused to renew that league with him, and ioined in league with the Pope and the Duke of Milan against him, so as by their aide he was in the yeere 1512, cast out of the Dukedome of Milan . The French King Francis the first, fought with the Sweitzers, ioined against him in league with the Emperour Maximilian, Pope Leo the tenth, and Sfortia Duke of Milan . For howsoeuer the Sweitzers suspected the pro|ceeding of their confederates, and purposed to returne home, yet the Pretorian Sweit|zers of the Duke of Milan , assailing the French, the rest of the Sweitzers, though cal|led home, yet lest they should seeme to forsake their companions, ioined with the Pre|torian Sweitzers, and so by art and cunning drawne to fight, gaue the French a notable ouerthrow, at which time the Sweitzers had the greatest Army they euer brought in|to the field, being 31000 foot: but the French King Francis, the next day fighting again with the Sweitzers, ouerthrew them, yet so as the retreit (as they write) was nothing like a flight: And so the King casting Sfortia out of the Dukedome of Milan , recoue|red the same.

After this prosperous successe, the French King sought nothing more then to be reconciled and ioined in league with the Sweitzers hee had ouercome, which hee did, the league consisting of 13 heads. 1. They couenanted for taking away all iniuries and controuersies. 2. For freeing

of captiues. 3. How the Sweitzers may plead any cause in iudgement against the King. 4 That al should enioy the benefit therof, being borne within the confines of Sweitzerland, and speaking the Dutch tongue. 5. Priuiledges are confirmed to the Merchants of Sweitzerland. 6 For charges in the siege of Dyiune and in Italy, the King couenants to pay them a great sum of mony by yeerly portions. 7. It is agreed that all controuersies shall be determined by courses there set downe, not by warre. 8. That neither part shall giue passage to the enemies of the other. 9. That Mer|chants and all subiects on both parts, shall freely passe, not offended with reproches, or oppressed with impositions. 10. That the King shall yeerly pay to each Canton 2000 Franks, and to the Abbot of S. Gallus and his subiects, and to those of Toggenburg 600 Frankes, and to the City of S. Gallus 400, to the Mulhusians 400, to the Gruerians 600, to the Valisians 2000, and to the Grisons the pensions giuen by Lewis the 12: and moreo|uer yeerly 2000 Franks (but howsoeuer the Rhetians or Grisons by this league serue the King in his warres with the Sweitzers: yet Semler witnesseth, that they serue seuerally vnder their owne Captaines). In the 11 Article all immunities in the Dukedome of Milan are confirmed to the Bilitianenses, the Inhabitants of the middle Valley, the Lu|ganenses, and the Locarnenses. 12. Choice is giuen to the Sweitzers to retaine the Castles they had, or to take mony for them. Lastly, it is agreed and couenanted, that the league shall be peripetuall, and not be broken vpon any fraudulent pretence. In this league the King excepts all his confederates, and the Sweitzers except Pope Leo the 10, the Empe|ror Maximilian, the Empire, and the House of Austria; and all old leagues: so as if the King should make war vpon any of these in their own countries, it may be free to the Sweitzers to obserue their leagues with them, but if any of them assaile the King in his own Kingdome, the Sweitzers shal not permit any of their subiects to serue them, 256 but shall call them home. This League was made at Friburg, in the yeere 1516, the moneth of Nouember, and vpon the day of Saint Andrew.

And the King rested not, till after fiue yeeres since this Peace was made, he leagued himselfe more strictly at Lucerna with all the Cantons (that of Zurech only excepted) and with all their fellowes in league; of which league I will briefly relate some heads added to the former: namely, that if any man should make warre vpon the King in France, or in the Dukedome of Milan , the King at his pleasure might leauy in Sweit|zerland an Army of sixe thousand at the least, or sixteene thousand foote at the most (except the Senate should grant a greater number.) That the King might chuse the Captaines, and the Senate without delay should permit them to march within tenne dayes, and not recall them till the warre should bee ended, if the King shall please so long to vse them. That by the same right, and vnder the same conditions, the King making warre vpon any, may freely leauy souldiers, but with this caution, that the Sweitzers troubled with warre at home, should be free from these couenants. It was further cautioned, that the King should not diuide the Army of the Sweitzers into di|uers places or Forts, but should keepe it vaited in one body. That he should not vse it for any fight at Sea. That they should receiue pay the same day they should march out of their country, and were they neuer so soone sent backe, yet three months pay, should be presently due vnto them, and that the first moneths pay should be giuen them within the confines of Sweitzerland. That the King to aide the Sweitzers ha|uing any warre, should send them two hundred armed horse, and

twelue great pieces of Ordinance with all furniture (namely, six battering pieces, and sixe middle pieces) and besides towards the charge of their warre, should each three moneths pay a cer|taine summe of mony at Lyons, and if the Sweitzers shall chuse rather to haue mony in stead of the armed horse, the King should further pay them two thousand crownes each three moneths. That if in time of warre, the Sweitzers shall be forbidden to buy Salt in other places, they may buy and bring Salt out of France. That neither part shall make the subiects of the other free of their Cities, or receiue them into patro|nage. That the King, to declare his good will towards the Sweitzers, shall besides the two thousand Franckes promised by the former League to each Canton, pay yeerely one thousand Franckes more to each of them during this League; and moreouer shal besides the former Pensions, giue to their Confederates yeerely halfe as much more. In this League the King excepts Pope Leo the tenth, the Emperour, the Kings of Eng|land, Scotland and Denmark, with other Princes; and the Sweitzers except the Pope, the Emperor, the House of Austria, the house of Medici, the D. of Sanoy, and some others. But if these so excepted should make war vpon either part, within their territories, that aides should be sent mutually without any respect. This League was made to last three yeeres after the death of the French King Francis the first, and was renewed by his son Henrie the second at Solotburn, in the yeere 1549, and by all the Cantons (excep|ting Zurech and Bern), and was after renewed by Charles the ninth, and the succeeding Kings. But in the leagues made with the successors of Francis the first, caution is in|serted, that the Sweitzers shal not serue the King in any warre for the recouery of any part of the Dukedome of Milan : but if the King shall recouer it with any other Ar|my, then they shall aide him to defend his possession, as formerly.

And whereas the Cantons of Zurech and Bern refused to ioyne in the Leagues made with Francis the first, and Henrie the second, these reasons thereof were then alleaged. First, because the Canton of Zurech was then alienated from the French by the Car|dinall of Sedon. Secondly, because Zwinglius a notable Preacher of the Reformed Religion, did in many Sermons sharpely inueigh against mercinary warfare. Third|ly, because this League much displeased the military men of Sweitzerland, in that the Senate had no liberty to looke into the cause of the warre; in that the Souldiers and Captaines were not to be chosen by the Sweitzers, but by the King at his pleasure; in that the large profits of the League redounded to few; in that the armed horse to bee sent by the King, were of no vse to the Sweitzers warres, commonly made in moun|tainous places and craggy passages. Lastly, because it seemed a point of great incon|stancy, 25 that the Sweitzers, who lately when the French King Francis, and Charles the deceased Emperors grandchild, were competitors for the Empire, had written to the Electors, that they would yeild no obedience to the French King, in case he were cho|sen, should so suddenly change their minds, and make a more strict league with the French: but the greater part was of a contrary iudgement, because Souldiers were not bound curiously to enquire after the causes of warre, for which onely the King in his conscience was bound to giue accompt. And because their barren Countrey being also populous, was most fit for a mercenary warre, and that military experience was thereby to be retained and gained; by which and like reasons, they perswaded the ne|cessity of this league.

Thus haue I (according to the discription of Sembler) briefly shewed, that the

Sweit|zers [Note: Of the Sweitzers Common|wealth in generall.] Commonwealth consists of three parts at home, (not to speake of the forraigne leagues), namely of the Cantons, of the Fellowes in league; and of the stipendiary ci|ties and prefectures or gouernments. Each community is vulgarly called Ort, and the Italians call them Cantons, whereof (I haue said) that there be thirteene in number, namely, Suitia, (vulgarly Schweis, whereof the rest haue the name of Sweitzers), Vria, Vnderualdia, Lucerna, Tigurum, (vulgarly Zurech), Glarona, Tugium, (vulgarly Zug) Ber|na, Friburgum, Solodorum, (vulgarly Solothurn), Basilea (vulgarly Bazill), Seaphusium, (vulgarly Shafhusen), and Abbatiscella (vulgarly Apenzill). I haue said that the Fel|lowes in league, are the Abbot and Towne of Saint Gallus, the Rhetians or Grisons, the Bishop of Sedun, the Valcsians, and the Townes Rotauile, Mulhasium, and Bipenue: And the gouernements are Turgea, that of Baden, of the Rhegusci, of the Sarunetes, of the free Prouince, the Lugani, the Locarnenses, the Inhabitants of the middle Valley, and the Bilitionenses. That of Turgea is subiect to the seuen old Cantons, yet Bern, Fri|burg, and Solothurn, haue also their rights in capitall causes. That of Raden, the Sarune|tes, the Rhegusci, and the free Prouince, are subiect likewise to the seuen old Cantons, onely Bern hath beene admitted partner in that of Baden, and Apenzill in that of the Rhegusci. The foure Italian gouernements are equally subiect to all the cantons, ex|cepting Apenzill: and the Bilitionenses are subiect to the three old Cantons. All these ioined, haue these Cities and Townes, Zurech, Bern, Lucern, Zug, Bazill, Friburg, Solo|thurn, Schafhusen, the Towne of S. Gallus, Chur of the Grisons, Sedun of the Valesians, Ro|teuil, Mulhuse, and Bipenne, all the rest dwell in Villages. Among the cantons, Bazill of the Rauraci, Schafhusen of Germany, Glarona in part of the Grisons, Vria in part of the Le|pontij, are seated out of the old confines of Sweitzerland; and so are all the fellowes in league, excepting the Abbot, and Towne of S. Gallus, and the Towne Ripenne. Among these, the old Nation of the Rhetians, now called Grisons, were of old called Valesiani, Viberi, Seduni, and Veragri: And Roteuile is a city of Germany, and Mulhuse of the Sequa|ui in France. Among the gouernements, the Rhegusci and the Sarunetes, are of the old Rhetians, and the Luganenses, the Locarnenses, the Mendrisij, and the Inhabitants of the middle Valley, and the Bilitionij, are of the Lepontij, and Italian Nation, which tongue they speake. Many doubt to number these confederates among common-wealths, since each of them is no otherwise tied to the decrees of the other, then by free con|sent, as all priuate societies are, whereas in a commonwealth the greater part binds all: yet because they haue one common councell, and most of the Prouinces are ruled thereby, because warre and peace is made by common consent, and they liue almost vnder the same lawes and customes, and are vnited strictly in perpetuall league, Sem|ler concludes, that this society comes neerest to the forme of a common-wealth: for whereas some hating the nation, obiect Anarchy to them, and say they got freedome by killing the Gentlemen; and others interpreting it more mildly, and confessing the oppression of the Gentlemen, yet iudge the reuenge to haue exceeded all measure, the truth thereof will appeare by the History of Semler and others, shewing that great part of the Gentry was extinguished by the House of Austria. Therefore it must be a mixt commonwealth, (if such it may be called) being neither a Monarchy (of one iust King) Aristocraty (of iust great men) nor Democrity (a popular state) much lesse

any of the corrupt commonwealths, called Tyranny, Oligarchy, and Anarchy, (that is, the ty|ranny of a King, or of noble men, or a confused State), the equity of the gouernment 258 shewing that it much differs from them. The Vrij, Suitij, Vnderualdij, the Glaronenses dwelling scattered, and Zug, (though it be a Towne), gouerne all with the consent of the people. Zurech, Bern, Lucern, Bazill, Friburg, Solothurn, and Schafhusen, are gouerned by the cheefe men; but since the Magistrates are chosen by the people, some of these Cities are more, some lesse Aristocraticall, or popular. The Ambassadours sent to publike meetings haue Aristocraticall forme, but since they are chosen by the people with limited power, it may seeme popular: And it is not vnequall that the people hauing setled freedome with their danger, should be partners of their gouernement: but in the meane time the Sweitzers auoide as much as they can, the discommodities of a popular State, while none but the best and most wise are sent to the meetings, and howsoeuer their power is limited, yet when they returne, they so relate all things to the people, as they easily vnderstand them, and giue consent thereunto.

But to make the strict vnion of these confederates more apparant, it will not be a|misse to peruse some of the heads of the league between the eight old Cantons. Ther|in first is cautioned, of sending mutuall aides, so as first in publike counsell the iust|nes of the warre may be examined. Then the aides are not to be required of all, but of each particular Canton, according to their mutuall leagues. Zurech by old league hath right to require aides of the first six Cantons, and by a new league also of Bern. And Bern requires aide of the three first Cantons, and they of Bern. Lucerna requires aide of fiue Cantons. The three first Cantons require mutuall aides of one another, and of all the rest. Zug and Lucerna are bound to aide the fiue Cantons. Glarona requires aide of the three old cantons, and Zurech. Thus while one Canton cals the next ioined to it in league, howsoeuer each one cannot require aid of all or each one by right of league, yet in any common danger, all the Cantons bring their forces, being called of some one or more Cantons in league with them: besides, that they haue wisely decreed, that in sudden dangers, all shall bring succours, whether they be called or no. They which are called to giue aide by vertue of any league, serue at their owne cost, without any pay. Between Bern and the three old Cantons it is decreed, that if the aides be sent be|yond certaine bounds, then they which called them shall giue them pay, and in like sort certaine bounds of sending aides are limited between all the rest of the Cantons, in their seuerall leagues, with all conditions expressed. In any siege, the Canton which causeth it, is bound to find many necessaries, but if the cause be publike, all prouisions are made at the publike charge. The foure old cantons and Glarona, cannot make any new league, which is free to the rest, alwayes preseruing the old league, which they also may encrease or diminish by common consent. It is decreed, that euery fiue or ten yeeres, this league shall be renewed by word or writing, or (if need be) by oath. Zu rech, Bern, Vria, Suitia, and Vnderualdia, in this league except the rights of the Roman Empire. Lucerna and Zug the rights of the Dukes of Austria, Glarona the rights of their lawfull Magistrates, and each Canton the rights of old leagues.

When the said eight Cantons receiued the other fiue into their number, besides the foresaid heads, it was decreed among other things in their league, that the fiue last can|tons howsoeuer wronged, should make no warre without the consent of the eight old Cantons, and in like sort that

they should make no league without their consent, nei|ther in time of warre should refuse good conditions of peace. And lastly it was de|creed, that without great cause, no warre should be made in places out of the moun|taines and difficult passages of that Prouince, where they could not fight with ad|uantage.

The thirteene Cantons haue that priuiledge, that they deliberate and determine the affaires of the commonwealth in publike meetings, by voices, and gouerne by equall right the gouernments gotten iointly by them, and haue equal part in all booties. The greatest Senate is when all the Ambassadours (that is, chosen Burgesses of the cantons, and Fellowes in league) are called together, which is seldom done, but in the causes of making warre or peace onely the Ambassadors of the thirteene Cantons being com|monly called to counsell: Al Ambassadors haue equal right in giuing voices, but two or more being sent from one Canton, haue but one voice. In causes concerning the 259 gouernements belonging to seuen or eight or 12 Cantons, onely the Ambassadours (or Burgesses, or States) of those Cantons meet, to whom the gouernement belongs, and so the Burgesses of all other seuerally for things belonging to themselues: but where the cause concernes the publike State, the full Senate of all the Cantons is cal|led to the meeting. Since the late differences of Religion, new and particular meetings haue beene instituted. The Cantons of the Roman Religion, Vria, Suitia, Vnderual|dia, Lucerna, and Zug, ioined in a more strict league; doe often meete together, and when any man names the fiue Cantons simply, they meane them, not the hue old cantons, howsoeuer naming the three, seuen, or eight Cantons, they are taken according to the time of their entring into league. And sometimes the Cantons of Frihurg and Solo|thurn, being also of the Roman Religion, come to the meetings of the said fiue Can|tons: Greatest part of the Citizens of Glarona and Apenzill, are of the reformed Reli|gion, and the foure Cities chiefe of the Cantons, namely Zurech, Bern, Bazill, and Schaf|husen, haue altogether cast off the Roman Religion, and haue particular meetings, but not often: yet when I passed through this Prouince, I vnderstood that Glarona was al|together of the reformed Religion, and that Apenzill was numbred among the Can|tons of the Roman Religion. The great Senate determines of warre, peace, and leagues, (each hauing freedome to refuse any league), likewise of making Lawes, of sending, receiuing, and answering Ambassadors, of gouernments, of distributing gainefull Offi|ces, of difficult causes referred to the Senate by Gouernors, and of appeales made from Gouernours to the Senate. Ambassadours (or Burgesses in place of Iudges are sent a|bout the moneth of Iune to heare the causes of the Italian gouernments, from whom they may appeale to the Senate, and these appeales (as all other) are determined by the Senate in the meetings at Baden; where also they deliberate of customes and impositi|ons, and the reuenues, and if need be of punishing the Gouernours, or displacing them, (in which case the Canton which sent that Gouernour, appoints another.) The City Zurech chiefe of the Cantons, hath the first place, not by antiquity, but dignity, and of old custome hath the highest authority to call the Senate together, signifying to each canton by letters the cause and the time of each meeting: yet if any canton thinke it for the publike good, to haue an extraordinary meeting, they write to Zurech to appoint the same, or if the cause admit no delay, they meet vncalled. Most commonly the ge|nerall meetings are at Lucern, Zurech, Bremogart, and Baden; but more commonly in

these daies and almost continually they are at Baden, in respect of the commodity of the houses and Innes, the pleasant situation and famous medicinall Baths; and because it is seated in the center of Sweitzerland, and is subiect to the 8 old cantons. The cantons of the Roman religion, commonly haue their particular meetings at Lucerna, sometimes at Bockenried of the Vrij, or Brame of the Suitij, and are called together by the canton of Lucern: and the cantons of the reformed religion haue their particular meetings com|monly at Arowike vnder Bern, somtimes at Bazil, and are called together by the canton of Zurech. Forrain Ambassadors require of Zurech to haue audience in the Senate: but the peculiar meeings for French causes are called by the French Ambassador as often as he wil at Solothurn where he resideth, or at Lucern: and other Ambassadors shold not be denied extraordinary meetings, so they pay the expences, as the French Ambassa|dor doth. The ful Senate yeerly meets about September at Baden, about which time I said that Burgesses in place of Iudges are sent to heare the causes of the Italian gouern|ments: And in this first meeting, the greatest causes are not determined, either because the Ambassadours (or Burgesses, or States), haue not full power, or for other causes, but another meeting is there appointed, and howsoeuer this Senate is onely called for publike causes, yet those being ended, they vse to heare priuate causes also. Assoone as the said Burgesses or States at the appointed day come to the City, the Burgesse of Zurech sends the Vice-gouernor of Baden to salute them, and to acquaint them with the time of meeting. Then they sit downe in the Court, first the Burgesses of Zurech in a place raised higher then the rest: 2. Those of Bern: Thirdly, Those of Lucerna, as chief, though not in antiquity, yet in dignity; and after the rest, according to the anti|quity of their Cantons. The Burgesse of Zurech first makes an Oration, and pro|pounds the causes vpon which they are to consult, adding what his Canton hath 260 commanded him in each particular, and then the rest speake in order, according to the directions giuen them at home. The vnder Gouernour of Baden, of what Can|ton soeuer he be, askes and numbers the voices. The peculiar meetings of particular Cantons, and those for French affaires, haue no set times.

Each Canton hath publike Magistrates, vulgarly called Vmbgelten, who administer the Impositions vpon wine and corne, and gather them by their deputies. They pay [Note: The Tri|butes.] tribute only for that wine which is sold in Tauerns, and for that corne which is ex|ported or vsed by Bakers, for otherwise the Citizens pay not for wine and corne brought iuto their priuate houses, and spent therein. And I haue obserued that they pay in some places the value of 24 measures tribute, for a vessell of wine containing ninety six measures: The salt which is brought in, is onely sold by the Senate of each Citie or Canton: and I vnderstood by discourse, that the Citizens may not buy salt, or take it of gift out of the Citie. Particularly at Schafhusen the Customes are great, especially for salt, in respect that the water of the Rheine hath a great fall from a rocke, so as all ships must be vnladed before they can passe by that Citie. In gene|rall, the Sweitzers especially want wine, corne, and salt, as may appeare by the coue|nants of their forraigne leagues, and otherwise the tributes are small, which can bee imposed vpon such a free Nation.

Concerning their Lawes, I haue formerly said that the senerall Cantons are not bound one to the decrees of the other, except they freely consent thereunto; yet that [Note: The Lawes.] they all haue one Common Councell, and almost all

haue the same common Lawes and customes, which they inuiolably keepe. They long suffered the Gouernours of the Empire to bee ouer them in capitall causes, though with preiudice to their free|dome, till at last in the Sueuian warre, about the yeere 1499, the iudgement of capitall causes was granted to them by the Emperor, among the conditions of peace. Where|upon the ten oldest Cantons who made this warre, haue equal right of capitall iudge|ments in the stipendiary Cities and gouernments, with the Cantons to whom they are subiect, though gotten before they entred into the common league, howsoeuer they haue no right in the Ciuill causes, nor any other commaund ouer them. In the old leagues, besides the Articles concerning vnion, many Lawes for the publike good are contained and established. Such is that of the old league between the eight first Cantons, wherin they set downe cautions for peaceable determining of publike con|trouersies between the Cantons, and thereby, two Cantons being at strife, are to chuse two honest men, who giue their othes, to make an equall composition between them, and the rest of the Cantons are to adde one Arbiter to them; and in case one of the Cantons consenteth, the other refuseth to stand to their iudgement, all the rest are to helpe the Canton consenting thereunto And in the league of the fiue last Can|tons, as in al other, they iustly giue curious cantions for taking away all controuersies, and especially labour to effect, that they breake not out into Ciuill war, in which case they should be diuersly distracted, according to their diuers combinations and leagues among themselues. Therefore of old, when the Abbot of Saint Gallus at|tempted to remoue the trade of clothing, and the holy reliques (the superstitious worship whereof brought great profit) from Apenzill, to Rosake (where the Abbot had absolute commaund) and this matter drew them to Armes, wherin the Abbot called the foure Cantons his confederates, and Apenzill the six Cantons with whome it had league, to giue them aide, according to their mutuall leagues, the saide Cantons thus called to aide both parts, earnestly endeuored to make peace, wherby they preserued the common-welth. For if they should not alwaiea carefully so doe in like occasions, many times the dissention of one or two Cantons, might draw all the rest into a perni|cious Ciuill warre. In the foresaid league betweene the eight oldest Cantons, and in the Stantian Transaction in the yeere 1481 Lawes were established. That he who kil|led any confederate (vulgarly called Eidgenossen, that is inioiers of the oath) should be beheaded, except he had sufficient witnessea that he did it to saue his life; and in case of flight, he being banished by one Canton, should also be banished by all the rest, and that he should be iudged guilty of the crime, who should helpe him; and that 261 sentence shoud be giuen vpon him in the Canton where the crime was committed. That there should be no generall meetings of the people without consent of the Ma|gistrate. That none of the Cantons should support any disobedient subiect of another Canton, but should force them to obedience. That a lay person shall not vse the helpe of an Ecclesiasticall Iudge, but in causes of matrimony and manifest vsury, which are referred to Ecclesiasticall iudgement. That pledges or gages be not taken at priuate mens pleasures, but with consent of the Iudge. That causes be iudged in the Canton, wherein the act was done, and sentence be giuen without fraud or deceit, and that euery man bee content and rest satisfied in the Iudgements, Lawes and customes of another Canton. That all booties in warre be diuided among the Cantons, according to the number of Souldiers which each of

them sent, but that Townes, Tributes, and like things gained by warre, shal be vnder the common command of all the Cantons, of which commodities, the subiects of stipendary Cities and fellowes in league, shall haue no part, though their Forces be ioined in the same warre with the Forces of the Cantons, howsoeuer they are to haue part in the deuision of all other booties.

In like sort the league of Schafhusen with the Cantons of the Sweitzers, determineth how debts are to be recouered, and what law is to be vsed in such suites, and that no leagues be made by one without the priuity and against the will of the rest, and that the oldest leagues be euer most respected.

The Common-wealth is administred with great equity, yet with no lesse seuerity of Iustice, then the Germans vse: And howsoeuer all the Country lies within moun|taines and woods, yet the high way for passengers is no where more safe from theeues, so as it is there prouerbially said, that you may carry gold in the palmes of your hands: For all crimes are seuerely punished without all respect of persons. The scope and butt whereat all their leagues aime, is that euery man may peaceably enioy his owne, and that the best men among them, may in publike counsell examine the cau|ses of warre, that they be iust and lawfull, to the end they may neuer rashly make warre vpon any: And because the common people being burthened with debt, is more prone to seditions, curious orders are set downe in their leagues, for the man|ner of exacting debts, and taking pledges, neither giuing liberty of oppression to the creditors, nor permitting fraud to the debtors.

Also because military men, and such as drinke in excesse, are prone to brawling and blowes, most heauy penalties are thereby insticted vpon such as are Authours of in|iuries, [Note: Duells.] and the leagues make not more frequent mention of any other thing, then of reproaches, for which they prescribe such good remedies and reall satisfactions, not passing ouer the least iniury of the poorest man, as among the very Souldiers, yea, halfe drunken, there very seldome hapneth any murther: Wherein I could wish that our inferiour Magistrates would apply themselues, and our Lawes were accommo|dated to the Sweitzers gouernement. For the English being most impatient of repro|ches, and the law giuing ridiculous satisfactions for iniuries by word, and all wrongs, excepting maimes, it hath beene accounted a disgracefull course to seeke remedy that way, and most iniuries haue commonly beene reuenged by the Sword in single com|bat: But in Sweitzerland all standers by are bound to keepe the peace, and compose the strife, and if they who striue, being remembred of the Lawes, doe not obey, they vse to punish them most seuerely; and if any kill another, he is sure to be beheaded, ex|cept he escape by flight, (in which case he shall be banished by his owne and all other Cantons) or except he can proue by witnes that he killed him in defence of himselfe.

And such is the fame of the Sweitzers sincere Iustice, as many strangers their neigh|bours, [Note: Iudgements] desire to haue their controuersies ended after the manner of the Sweitzers, and by them: When causes are to be pleaded before the Senate, most men pleade their owne cause; some vse Lawyers, brought by them from home, or sound there by chance, and the causes are not determined after the ciuill, but after the prouinciall law, or according to that which seemes good and equall, and by the statutes and customes of each Canton. They haue no quirkes or obscurities to protract iudgement, and they thinke it better sometimes to erre in a doubtfull cause, then to follow the Law|yers, 262 iudging

according to Law, not equity, and so making the suites perpetuall. In the Gouernements, all controuersies are determined by the Gouernours and Iudges of the place, yet so, as appeale is granted from them to the common Senate. In pri|uate Cantons, causes are iudged by the Senatours and Iudges of each Canton, yet they haue some publike Iudgements, namely, when the Cantons haue any contro|uersie one with another, or a priuate man with a Canton, for which cases they haue many cautions in their Leagues; and at this day they are determined after this man|ner. Each part chuseth two Iudges of his owne Citizens, who are absolued in that case from their oath giuen to their owne Canton, and then they are sworne, that they will consider of the controuersie, according to that which seemes good and equall, and that they will faithfully indeuour to compose it, at least so as it shall bee decided by Law, not by Armes. And in the old leagues certaine places are appointed, in which these Iudgements are handled. The 7 Cantons commonly meete for them in the Monastery of the Heremites within their owne confines, and so other leagues in o|ther appointed places. The Iudges and Burgesses of those Cantons, with which those that haue controuersies haue more strict league, determine these causes, if the first ar|biters cannot compose them, and both parts are bound to rest in the iudgement of the greater part; and if the Voices be equall on each part, as many times it falleth out, a new Iudge or Arbiter is chosen, who doth not giue a new Iudgement of his owne, but approueth one of the Iudgements giuen by the equall Voices of the said Burges|ses. And this Arbiter is chosen by those Burgesses, and so he be a Citizen of any one Canton, it is not required, that he should be of either of the Cantons, to whom the cause belongeth. Thus if Bern be plaintiffe against the 3 Cantons, 16 men are chosen by the Cantons, out of which Bern chuseth one to be Arbiter: but if the Cantons be plaintiffes against Bern, they chuse an Arbiter out of the lesser Senate of Bern. Like|wise in controuersies betweene Zurech, and Bern, the plaintiffe chuseth an Arbi|ter out of the Senate of the other Citie. To conclude, in all Iudgements pub|like and priuate, they vse such integrity, as this simplicitie of their Iudgements, disal|lowed by subtill politicians, happily succeeds in all occasions, and so they retaine their old vertue, is like euer so to succeede. In most of the Cantons, namely, at Zurech, Ba|sil, and Schafhusen, no Bastard may beare publike office, nor be a Senator, or Iudge, which Law is common to the Sweitzers with the Germans, first instituted to re|straine fornication, and to preserue the dignity of marriage. In some places, he must haue been a Citizen ten yeres, in other places twenty yeres, who is chosen to be of the common Counsell; and at Zurech no stranger is euer chosen to be a Senator or Iudge; and by Common law, no Homicide, Adulterer or infamous person for any crime, may be of the Senate.

In all the Cantons, they are no lesse carefull to preuent domages by fier, then to keepe out their enemies; for which cause they hire watchmen to walke the streetes [Note: Lawer.] by night, and Belmen to tell the howers, and in some places, as the Towne of Saint Gallus, they haue nightly thirty two Watchmen, and chuse Citizens to visit the chim|nies and ouens, that they be free from danger of fier. In other Cantons they haue publike Officers, who in any such chance, see that all things be done in order, and that no tumult be raised vpon such occasions, to which end they appoint some to quench the fier, and draw others in armes to defend the walles and the gates. And at Zu|rech able young men are yeerely chosen, to be ready for the quenching of any such casuall fier.

In Lucerna the Law of Retribution (an arme for an arme, a leg for a leg) is in many cases obserued, where he that killes a Citizen, bee the cause neuer so iust, as repelling force by force, shal die if he be taken, or be perpetually banished, if he escape by flight, yet when he hath satisfied the Kinsmen of him bee killed, hee is permitted to returne from banishment. And in all the Cantons where they dwell in Villages, he that kills a man in his defence, shal be banished, and his owne Senate cannot permit his returne, which can onely be obtained from the great and publike Senate. And in the same Cantons, no lands may be ingaged to any stranger, neither may any stranger buy any 263 possessions, but onely a house and a Garden for herbes.

And if any man often offend in Drunkennes, he is imprisoned, and may drink no Wine for a yere, till he haue procured pardon of the publike Senate (which me thinks should easily be granted him, by Iudges guilty of the same fault, except they meane quarrels and like offences, not simple drinking, which I thinke probable, because ge|nerally the Sweitzers drinke as stiffely, as those of the vpper part of Germany.

In the same Cantons, Matrimoniall causes are referred to the Consistory of the Bishop of Costnetz: but all adulteries are punished by the Senate at home, commonly with the losse of goods, sometimes with a fine of ten pounds, that is ten Dollers with them.

The publike Edicts are yeerely in these Cantons confirmed or abrogated by the Voices of the common people. And in the Towne of Friburg and the Territory, if a debter pay not his debt, the Creditor sends certaine seruants and horses to the pub|like Inne, the charge whereof is paid by the debter, till he satisfie his Creditor. Besides in any controuersie, if sureties be thrise demanded of any man, and he bring not in su|erty (or caution), he is punished with banishment, and the same punishment is infli|cted on them, who violate the command of keeping the peace, and who without iust cause take part with either of them that are at variance. In generall, for the Gentry of the whole Prouince, mention hath been, and is after to be made, that the same is extin|guished, so as it were in vaine to seeke for any Knightly order among these men, who howsoeuer they be military men, yet vniuersally are Cittizens, or of common Plebe|an ranck. They take to themselues coates of Armes deuised by themselues, and tric|ked after their owne fancies, yet not with open Helmets, as Gentlemen beare them, but with closed Helmets, after the manner vsed by the Citizens in Germany. And their Lawes of inheritance and the dowries of wiues, doe come neerest to those of Germany, the Ciuill law, (if I be not deceiued) passing with them into Prouinciall lawes and cu|stomes (by which they are gouerned) vpon the old and long continued vse of them. In one particular example I obserued, that the younger brother, in the diuision of his fathers inheritance, first chose his part, and had libertie to buy the parts of his brethren if he would, and not otherwise. But I shall haue occasion to speake of the common lawes more at large in the discourse of the seuerall Commonwealths among them.

The leagues which the Sweitzers haue with forraine Princes, doe manifestly shew that they professe Mercenary Armes, no lesse, yea much more, then the Germans: For [Note: Their War|fare.] whereas the Germans are hired for present seruice in time of warre, these men besides that pay, must haue ample pensions in time of peace, as their league with France espe|cially sheweth. In this they differ, that the Sweitzers onely send aides of foote, but the Germans are hired both horse and

foote. And both these Nations haue one com|mendable property, that after their seruice one or more yeeres in the warres, peace be|ing made, they returne home nothing corrupted with military licentiousnesse, and roundly fall to the Plough, or any other their trade of life. By the same leagues it ap|peares, that they will not serue in any sea-fights, nor in the defence or taking of forts, neither will haue their forces diuided, as if they reputed the strong bodies of their bands only fit to fight in a pitched field, and to defend the great Ordinance and car|riage. Neither vse they to fortifie their owne Cities (excepting few which of old were fortified, and after receiued into the number of the Cantons), bragging with the Lacedemonians, that valiant brests are brazen walles. In the time of Iulius Caesar, we reade, that this Nation being populous, and weary of the barren soile wherein they dwelt, resolued to seeke a new seate: but were soone restrained and kept at home by the Armes of Caesar. From that time wee reade of no great warlike exploit done by them, till they laid the first foundation of their Commonwealth by mutuall leagues. The first perpetuall league made betweene the three first Cantons, was in the yeere 1315 from which time the rest of the Sweitzers, hauing long been subiect to the house of Austria, began by parts to rebell against that house, and to winne their liberty by the sword. But all their warre was at home, long continued against the said house, 264 and at last breaking out against the Duke of Burgundy vpon their confines, till the yeer 1477, when in the third battaile the Duke of Burgundy was slaine, and so that warre ended. At which time only eight Cantons were vnited in perpetuall league, the other fiue Cantons being after vnited at seuerall times, from the yeere 1481 to the yeere 1513, when the 13 and last Canton was vnited to the rest in perpetuall league.

Touching their forraigne warres, the first league they made for yeeres, was in the yeere 1478, and the second in the yeere 1510, with two Popes. The first perpetuall forraine league they made, was with the Duke of Milan , in the yeere 1466; wherin mention is made of former leagues with the Insubres; but we reade no effects of warre produced by them. And the first perpetuall league they had with France was in the yeere 1483, when Charles the eight made warre in Italy for the kingdome of Naples , about which time the Sweitzers Armes began to be knowne in forraine parts. Guicciar|dine the famous writer of those Italian warres, among the Actions of the yeere 1500, saith, that the Sweitzers hired by Lodwick Sforza Duke of Milan , fought wel on his side at the taking of Nouara; but after, that their Captaines were corrupted to betray him, by the Captaines of other Sweitzers seruing the French king, whereupen they prouo|ked the multitude to Mutiny for pay; but the Duke appeasing them by louing words, by present pay in good part, and promise of the rest vpon the coming of mony from Milan dayly expected; that the Captaines of the Dukes Sweitzers conspired with the Sweitzers of the French king, to make the French presently draw to Nouaria, which done, the Duke prepared to fight, but the Captains of his Sweitzers answered him, that without speciall authority from their Magistrates, they would not fight against their Kinsmen and Countrimen on the French side, and that so the Sweitzers seruing the Duke, vpon their Captains instigation, mingled themselues with the Switzers on the French side, as if they had been both of one Army, saying they would depart home. And that the Duke could with no praiers nor promises moue their barbarous trea|chery, to stand with him in this distresse, nor so much as to conduct him to a safe place, onely granting him to march

in their bands on foote disguised like a Sweitzer, in which disguise taken of force, he with some of his chiefe friends were taken by the French, mouing compassion of all men, towards him, and detestation of their trea|chery. And this Author leaues it in doubt, whether they were found out in this dis|guise by the French spies, or rather visely betraied. Semler a famous writer of the Sweitzers Nation, thinks that souldiers in generall might be excused, who being in a towne vnfortified, and hauing other iust causes (as disability to withstand the Ene|my) should make peace and returne home, but granting this fact to be vnexcusable; yet whether it were done by the Captaines, or by the common souldiers, or by both, and that on both sides, hee thinks it a great wrong to impute the same to the whole nation, especially those Soldiers being leuied secretly, and without leaue of the Ma|gistrates.

The foresaid Author Guicciardine in the Actions of the yeere 1511, writes of the Sweitzers to this effect; The Sweitzers of old called Heluetians, inhabit the high places of the Mountaine Iura, men fierce by nature, clownes, and by reason of the barren soile, rather Crasiers then Ploughmen. Of old they were subiect to the Princes of Austria, but casting off their yoke, haue long been free, liuing after their owne Lawes, and yeelding no signe of obedience to the Emperours or any other Princes, diuided into thirteen Cantons, wherof each is gouerned by their owne Magistrates, Lawes and customes. The name of this so wilde and vnciuill Nation, hath gotten honour by concord and the glory of Armes. For being fierce by nature, and trained in warlike discipline, and keeping their Orders (or rankes) they haue not only with valour de|fended their Country, but in forraine parts haue exercised Armes with high praise, which no doubt had beene greater, if they had fought to inlarge their owne Empire, and not for wages to inlarge the Empire of others; and if nobly they had propounded to themselues other ends then the gaine of mony, by the loue wherof being made abiect, they haue lost the occasion to become fearefull to all Italy: for since they neuer come out of their confines, but as mercenary men, they haue had no publike fruit of their vi|ctory 265 but by couetousnesse haue become intollerable in exactions where they ouer|come, and in demands with other men; yea, at home froward and obstinat in traffick, and in following their Comands, vnder whose pay they serue in war. Their chiefe men haue pensions of Princes to fauour them in their publike meetings, and so publike Counsels being referred to priuate profit, they are apt to be corrupted, and by degrees fall at discord among themselues, with great lessning of the reputation they had got|ten among strangers. He addes, that the Sweitzers, at the Popes instigation, armed a|gainst the French in Milan , as if it were onely the act of Suitia and Friburg, who pre|tended offence against the French, for a messenger of theirs killed by them. And that the French King for sparing a small addition to their Pensions neglected to reconcile himselfe to them, and so lost their friendship, which after hee would haue redeemed with great treasure, hoping that either they would not arme against him, or if they did, that hauing no horse nor artilery, they could do him small hurt.

The same Guicciardine in the actions of the yere 1513 witnesseth, that the Sweitzers had then gotten great reputation by the terrour of their Armes, and that it seemed then, that their States or Burgesses, and souldiers, began to carry themselues no more as grasers or mercinary men, but as Senatours and subiects of a well ordered Com|mon-wealth, and that they now swaied all affaires, almost

al Christian Princes hauing their Ambassadours with them, by pensions and great rewards seeking to haue league with them, and to be serued by them in their warres. But that hereupon they grew proud, and remembring that by their Armes the French King Charles the eighth had got the Kingdome of Naples , and Lewis the twelfth the Dukedome of Milan , with the City and State of Genoa , and victorie against the Venetians, they began to proceede insolently in the affaires with Princes; that the French King Francis the first then wooed them, and to haue audience, gaue them the Forts of Lugana and of Lugar|na (with such indignitie did Princes then seeke their friendship.) Yet that hee could not obtaine his demaunds, but that they rather chose, vpon ample conditions of pro|fit, to assist the Duke of Milan .

Also in the actions of the yeere 1516, when the Emperour ioyned with other Prin|ces in League against the King of France, he writes, that the Sweitzers, according to their Leagues, serued both on the Emperours, and the French Kings side. And that the Emperour knowing the hatred that Nation bore to the House of Austria, feared lest the Sweitzers on his owne part, should serue him, as they serued the Duke of Mi|lan at Nouaria, thinking it more probable, in that he wanted money to content them, whereof the French King had plenty. And that hee feared this the more, because their generall Captaine had with much insolency demanded pay for them. And that hereupon the Emperour retired with his Army, the Sweitzers not following him, but staying at Lodi, which after they sacked, and so returned home. Of the other side hee writes, that onely some few of the Sweitzers were at first come to the French party, who professed to bee ready to defend Milan , but that they would in no wise fight a|gainst their Countrimen on the other side. That the French complained of the slow comming of the rest, and at first doubted lest they should not come, and when they came, feared no lesse, lest they should conspire with their countrimen seruing the Em|perour, or left vpon pretence of their Magistrates command, they should suddenly leaue the and returne home. That the French iustly complained thus of their slow co |ming, purposely vsed to be affected by them, and continued to doubt of their faith, especially because they had alwaies said, that they would not fight with their country men, and to feare as before, lest the Cantons should recall their men from seruing the French, which feare after increased, when they saw two thousand of them already re|turned home, and doubted that the rest would follow.

Also in the actions of the yeere 1526, he writes, that the French King made request to haue a great leauy of Sweitzers, hoping they would readily serue him, the rather to blot out their ignominy in the battell of Pauia: but that this Nation which not long before by their fierce nature had opportunity much to increase their State, had now no more either desire of glory, or care of the Common-wealth, but with incredible 266 couetousnesse, made it their last end to returne home laded with money managing the warre like Merchants, and vsing the necessitie of Princes to their profit, like merce|nary corrupt men doing all things to that end in their publike meetings. And that the priuate Captaines, according to the necessity of Princes, stood vpon high termes, making most impudent and intollerable demaunds. That the French King requiring aides of them, according to his league, they after their accustomed manner made long consultations, and in the ende answered, that they would send no aides, except the King first paid them all pensions due in areare, being a great summe, and not sudden|ly to bee prouided,

which their delay was very hurtfull to the King, making his Ar|my long time lie idle.

By the premises we may gather, that the Sweitzers Armes were first made knowne to forraine parts about the yere 1483; that they increased in reputation to the yere 1513, when they attained to the height of their glory, which fel in few yeres, by the foresaid iealousies, and couetous practises. And no maruell; for their leagues and leuies are made with huge expences. Their Bands are great consumers of victuals, and wasters of the Countries they passe. They make frequent and great mutinies for pay. They haue league with the Emperour, as possessing the Arch-Dukedome of Austria; with the Kings of Spaine as Arch-Dukes of Austria by title, as heires to the Duke of Burgun|dy, and Conquerors of the Dukedome of Milan , and with the Kings of France vpon ample Pensions. Now all the warres of those times hauing been managed by these Princes, and the Sweitzers by league seruing on all sides, since they will not fight a|gainst their Countrimen, small trust can be placed in their auxiliary Bands. If any man speake of the King of England, he did not in those times leade any army into the conti|nent, but associated with one of the Kings of Spaine or France, or with the Emperour, in which case the Sweitzers serued vpon the same condition on both sides. And if any of their confederates should make warre with the King of England at home, they shall haue no vse of Sweitzers, who condition in their leagues not to bee sent beyond the Seaes, nor to be imploied in Nauall fights. If any man speake of the warres in Nether|land, the Sweitzers wil be found no lesse vnprofitable to their confederates, those wars consisting in taking and defending strong places, and the Sweitzers couenanting in their leagues, not to haue their bodies diuided, nor to serue in that kind. And in truth since all the rage of late warres commonly lies in defending and assailing Forts, and set battels are rarely fought, it may seeme strange they should thus diuide themselues from the common dangers of the Armies in which they serue. And all these things considered, I find not what vse their confederates can make of them, but only in ciuill warres against their owne subiects, with whom the Sweitzers haue no league. For the rest, as we reade of some Indians, who light one candle to the Diuell, left hee should hurt them, and another to God that he may doe them good; so I thinke Princes still intertaine their expensiue leagues, rather left their enemies should be strengthened by their entire aides, then for any profit themselues can reape thereby.

The Sweitzers haue no horse, which are of no vse in the Mountaines and craggie places of their Country: but when they make their owne warre out of their owne con|fines, their confederates are by league bound to supply them therewith; and if the warre be not their owne, their confederates only expect auxiliary Bands of foot from them. The Roman Boterus writes, that in his iudgement the Sweitzers can make six score thousand foote for the defence of their owne Country. No doubt that Nation is very populous: but the greatest Army we euer reade them to haue carried out of Sweitzerland, was that of thirty one thousand, when they ioyned with the Pope Leo the tenth, the Emperour Maximilian, and Sfortia Duke of Milan , being confederates against the King of France. Nature and necessity haue framed them to the warre; for a Mountanous Region, and Woody (as of old it was, being stil somewhat barren and labourious to the Husbandman) breedes a rude people, patient of hardnesse, and of warlike disposition, and as taller trees and larger cattle, so stronger bodies of men, so as they seeme to be borne souldiers. Necessity likewise

forced them to Armes, when the Gentlemen and Princes oppressed them, and they had no meanes of liberty, but 267 Armes, wherein long vse hath made them expert. And their very lawes and customes are fitted to the warres. All Citizens and Plebeans vse and are commanded conti|nually to weare their swords. All their seuerall exercises haue a reference to the war as shooting with muskets at Butts (which they practise for wagers both in Cities and Villages), leaping, casting of stones, wrastling, fencing, swimming, continuall hunting, wherein they pursue Beares, wild Boares, and Linces (a kind of Wolfe), the shooting of the boyes in bowes, the vse of Drummes in stead of musick, euen at feasts of mar|riages, where the Bridegroome is thought most honoured, who is met by his friends with most shot and Pikes. All priuate men are bound to haue their Armes sit for war, and there with are commonly armed, though many times the worst furnished are sup|plied out of the Armories of the Cities. Their kinds of Armes are muskets, calciuers, ashen pikes 18 foote long halbards, long two-handed swords (which they carry on their shoulders, and with them they defeated the Burgundians comming to hand strokes with them), and another long sword gift to their side, with a dagger very hea|uy, the haftes of siluer or guilded, and armor of solid steele for brest and backe: but the poorer sort haue only helmets of iron, and thick leather pelts in stead of armor; and some in stead of armor, weare coats of quilted taffety, wrought with aglet-holes. They who will appeare brauer then the rest, carry feathers, white, or of some other colour, commonly neere the colour of their owne Banner. Each weare a right cornerd crosse vpon his Armes, which is the military badge of the Sweitzers. All follow the Colors and Banners of their owne Canton, and vse drums, trumpets and bagpipes, and a man can hardly distinguish betweene the beating of the drums of the Sweitzers, and Germans, saue that the former march is more graue and slow, and not so tumultuous as that of the Germans. The Vrij blow a horne of a wild Hart, which they call the Bul. The Vnderualdij haue the like, but those of Lucerna vse a horne of brasse No man that can weare Armes, is excused from warre at home, and no doubt their foot are of great force to fight within their mountaines, and keepe themselues from tyranny of stran|gers, howsoeuer they haue not so much strength, when with the snaile they come out of their house. Men chosen in peace are trained for the warres, but in forraigne expe|ditions one man chuseth another, that being acquainted and friends, they may sticke closer together, and when they are to march, the Law commands them to lay aside all priuate quarrels, so as they may more truly be called brothers, then the Landtznechts or foot of Germany, who calling themselues brothers, yet bring home more wounds and scarres from their priuate quarrels, then from the Enemy. It is a capitall crime with the Sweitzers, to fall to the spoile, before the Enemy be fully ouercome. The publike spoile, as Artillery, Castles, Countries, and tributes, or any reuenues, belong equally to all the Cantons, though some of them set forth fiue times more men then others, yet extraordinarie rewards are giuen to the best deseruing Cantons and pri|uate men. They iustly giue all protection to those that bring victuals to the Campe. They haue an old Law alwaies to spare holy places, and the sex of women, excepting such women as giue weapons to their Enemy, or by casting downe stones, and like helps, doe hurt vnto their Army. They boast that their fouresquared body of foote, is the best forme of battel to resist horsemen, and that thereby they hauing no horse, did ouerthrow the French horse at Nouaria;

and when for want of artillery, and by the great number of the French, they were beaten by them at Marignano, yet that they re|tired in a close body and good array to Milan , so as they could not be iustly said to flie.

It remaines to speak somthing, but briefly of the gouernment of the particular Can|tons, [Note: Particular Common|wealths.] because they haue absolut power within themselues. Among them such as haue no townes, but dwel in villages, cal the heads of their Counsels Ammans, and the chiefe power is in the common people. Such are Vrania, Suitia, Vnderueldia, Tugium, Glarona, [Note: 13 Cantons in three fermes.] Ahatis ella. Again some haue towns or Cities which command the Cantons, and the same especially those that were built by Princes, or were subiect to them are gouerned Aristocratically by chief men (namely, a Senat chosen out of al the citisens) and cal their chiefe Magistrate Scultet, (vulgarly Schuldte Hessen) such are Bern, Lucerna, Friburg, So|lothurn. Thirdly, other townes or cities are diuided into tribes or companies, and the Senators are chosen out of these Tribes by the voices of the people, wherof the chiefe 268 is called Burgomeister. Such are Zurech, Basill, and Schafhusen,

Among those of the first forme dwelling in Villages, I named Glarona, Abatifcella, [Note: The sixe Townes and Villages of the first forme.] (vulgarly Apenzill) and Tugium (vulgarly Zug), for howsoeuer they haue Townes, yet the territory or Canton is not commanded by the Townes, hauing onely equall right with all the Inhabitants of the Country. All Townes and Villages of this forme (whereof I named sixe) haue a President of their Counsels, called Amman, that is, Amptman, signifying a man of Office. The Vrij are deuided into ten parts, called Tenths by the vulgar name. The Suitij are diuided into foure parts, called quarters. The Vnderualdij are parted with a wood of Oakes, and thereby are diuided into the vpper and lower, and the whole canton hath the name of the lower, as dwelling vn|der the wood, and Stantium is their chiefe Village. Zug for the Towne consists of two, and for the county, of three, conuents or meetings. Glarona consists of fifteene Tagwans (signifying a daies tillage) Apenzill as well towne as countrey, consists of twelue Roden, whereof the sixe inward were of old vnder the Abbot, and the sixe outward were out of his territory, either free, or subiect to priuate Gentlemen. Out of each of these conuents or parts, the Senators of the whole canton are chosen in equall number, being in most of them threescore in number, besides those who ha|uing had publike honours, remaine perpetuall Senators. Zug hath forty fiue Sena|tors, that is, nine of each conuent, the towne being taken for two conuents. Apenzill hath 144 Senators, namely twelue for each conuent. In weighty affaires, for which it seemes not good to call the people together, the Counsels of Senators in most places are doubled or trebled, each Senator chusing one or two Assessors: But onely citi|zens are capable of this dignity, and it is much more difficult to obtaine freedome of being a citizen with these cantons, then with the cities. The highest power is in the generall meeting of the people, to which all are admitted of foureteene or sixteene yeeres age, and they meete in the middest of the territory, or in the chiefe Village of the canton, and there is first chosen the Amman, in most places for two yeeres, and out of all the people, of what part or conuent soeuer he be: but at Apenzill he must re|moue his dwelling to the Towne, where publike counsels vse to be held, and there a|bide during his office. And at Zug he is chosen out of the conuents by or-

der and course, and for the time of his Office must dwell in the city. Next to the Amman, they chuse his Deputy called Statthalter, then the Treasurer called Seckelmeister, that is, Master of the Purse, then the Scribes or Clarkes, and other Officers in order: And this is pe|culiar to these Cantons, in the seeking of any publike Office, that they who seeke it, are themselues present at the giuing of voices, and themselues, their Parents and chil|dren, giue voices in their election, which are giuen by lifting vp the hand from an high place, and in case of doubt, are numbered by the Pole. The Senators are not chosen by the whole Assembly, but each by the Inhabitants of his owne conuent or part: Be|sides this publike meeting, other meetings vse to be appointed vpon extraordinary occasions, namely, when Ambassadours are to be sent, or any decree is to be made of league, peace, or warre: Besides the two counsels, of all the people, and of chosen Sena|tors, most of the cantons haue a priuy counsell of few men: Thus the Suitij haue a priuy counsell of one Senator, and one Amman chosen of each conuent or part, and this counsel gouernes the publike rents and expences. They haue two courts of Iudg|ment, one of nine men, in which the Amman is President, and that determines the weighty causes of inheritance, of defamation, and iniuries. The other of seuen men; in which the Ammans Deputy is President, and that determines ciuill causes of debts and contracts. The Vrij (or canton of Vrania) haue the same course, where the Court of fifteene men, in which the Amman is President, determines ciuill controuersies of greatest moment, and the court of seuen men, in which the Ammans Deputy is Pre|sident, iudgeth of debts vnder the value of threescore pound. The Vnderualdij haue one court of iudgement at Stantium, and another at Sarna, and each hath an Amman for President. The towne or city of Zug, besides the publike counsels of the Canton, hath his proper Senate and Magistrates or Iudges. In the canton of Glarona, the in|diciall court of nine men, determines of inheritance, defamation, and iniuries: And that of fiue men iudgeth debts, but onely in the two moneths of May 269 and September, Iudgements are exercised by the Iudges yeerely chosen at the gene|rall meeting of the Canton. The Canton of Apenzill hath two Courts of Iudgement, one of twenty foure men (two of each conuent or part), wherein fines are imposed, and defamations and iniuries are iudged. The other of twelue men called the sworne Court of Iudgement, because it iudgeth of doubtfull controuersies, and such as are tried vpon oath, and this also obserues the breaches of Statutes, and determine what causes are to be propounded before the Senate, and this Office is perpetuall. Of Consistories, and Matrimoniall, and Spirituall causes, handled in other, Courts, I shall speake hereafter in the Chapter of Religion. Capitall causes almost in all these Can|tons are iudged by the Senate, or publike Counsell, and that commonly doubled, the Amman of the Canton, or his Deputy being President. At Zug Assessors out of each Conuent or part are associated to the Senate, and they sit in a publike place, where all men may behold the Iudges, and heare their sentences: For the Courts of Iudgements in the prefectures or gouernements, commonly a Deputy Gouernor, and Assessors, are chosen of the Inhabitants, to ioyne with the Gouernour, and they determine as well of ciuill as criminall causes, and these Gouernours in some places are chosen for three yeeres. Some Villages haue municipall rights vnder the Cantons, and there they chuse Magistrates out of their owne Village, yet they yerely craue this priuiledge at the publike meeting, and it is granted them as a singular

fauour. And some of these Villages haue also their peculiar Banners and Ensignes; but they beare them not where the great and common Banner of the Canton is displaied.

In the second place are the Cantons (as formerly is shewed) ouer which the Townes [Note: Foure Townes of the second Forme.] commaund not diuided into Tribes or Companies, namely, Bern, Lucern, Friburg and Solothurn, in which it is forbidden by the Law that they should be diuided into Tribes. But the Artisans haue their Colledges (or Halles) not for the chusing of Ma|gistrates, but for orders of the Art, and these they call Geselscafften, that is, Societies or Fellowships, not Tribes or Companies, which are vulgarly called Zunfften. In these Cantons the chiefe Magistrate is vulgarly called Schuldthessen, that is set ouer debts, whom I may call Consull, and they haue two Counsels, the greater and the lesse. The greater at Bern hath the name of two hundred, though they be more in number, and the lesser is of twenty sixe men. At Lucern the greater is of one hundred men, and each halfe yeere eighteene gouerne the Common-wealth by courses. At Bern when they chuse the Senate, the foure Ensignes of the Citie take to them sixteene out of all the Citizens, and these twenty men with the Consull, chuse the greater Senate. First, they inquire after those two hundred that were of the Senate, and if any of them hath dis|graced his dignity by any ill act, they put him out of his place, and towards Easter they chuse new Senators into the places of them, and of such as are dead, and the Ser|ieants make this election knowne to them that are chosen. All the Magistrates are chosen, and then all the Citizens haue feasts in their seuerall Colledges or Halles, and after dinner they passe the time in games and diuers exercises. Then the Consul with the twenty men called the Electors, doe meete againe, and chuse the Senatours of the lesser Counsell, who the day following are approued by the greater Counsell. At Lu|cern twice each yeere they make election of Senators into the greater or lesser Coun|sell, if any places be voide, namely, about each Solstice of the yeere. And the Sena|tors are chosen by those of the greater Counsell, who gouerned the last halfe yeere. The Consuls are chosen by the common voices of both the Counsels, and these Con|suls are chosen for a yeere at Lucern, for two yeeres at Bern, (though for forme yeerely Voyces be giuen, and so they may seeme to be newly chosen.)

At Bern the chiefe authoritie next to the Consuls, is giuen to the foure Ensignes vulgarly called Venner, which are chosen of the foure Colledges or Hals of the Smiths Shoomakers, Bakers, and Butchers, and the City is diuided into foure parts, each part committed to one of the Ensignes, to visit their Armes, and ouer-see all military du|ties, and they execute this place foure yeeres, though for forme they yeerely resigne their Banners vp to the Senate; and if in the meane time any one of them die, ano|ther is set in his place, to fulfill the rest of the yeeres, as deputy to his Predecessor 270 and then exercise the place foure yeeres more for himselfe.

In all the Cities of Sweitzerland, the Treasurers or Tribunes of the Exchequer, are of great reputation, who exercise that Office not for any set time, but so long as the Senate will, and themselues like. At Bern the Consuls, the Ensignes, and the Treasu|rers, adding one Senator of the Counsel of 200 make the Priuy Counsell, to which all secrets are first brought. In these Cantons (as I said) the Magistrates are chosen by pub|like voices, and so are the officers, but the places of lesse dignity, as Serieants and watch|men, are bestowed by the lesser counsell. It is peculiar to those

of Bern, that they admit no man into the lesser counsel, who was not borne in the City, and of old they admit|ted not the very sonnes of Senators into that Counsell, if they were borne out of the City: but in these daies for the publike good, the Sonnes of the absent are as if they were borne in the City: but into the greater counsell they admit those that are borne out of the City, so they be the children of Sweitzers or any confederates, for stangers are also excluded from being of the Senate of 200. All bastards or infamo us persons are excluded from being of any Senate at all.

The Canton of Bern hath three Courts of Iudgement, the Iudges of them being chosen by the Ensignes and Treasurers, and confirmed by the lesser counsell. The first is called the outward Court, in which the Consull is President, but almost conti|nually the chiefe Apparater or Sergeant supplies his place, and he hath twelue Asses|sors or Assistants, whereof one is the last chosen Ensigne, and another is chosen of the lesser Counsell, the rest being ten, are chosen out of the greater counsell, or Senate, and to them be added one Clarke and two Appariters. This Court iudgeth of debts, of lesser iniuries, as ill words and light blowes, and appeale is granted from it to the lesser Senate, from that to the sixty men, (being Senators chosen out of both the Se|nates), and from them to the great Counsell, and these Iudges meete daily, Tuesday only excepted, on which they haue a market. The second Court of Iudgement heares the appeales made from those of the Canton which dwell in the territory of Sauoy, whereupon it is called Das Weltsch gericht, that is, the strangers Iustice, in which the Treasurer of the French renenues is President, and he hath ten Assessors, but onely Losanna, though of the same territory, is exempted from this Iudgement, whether once euery two yeeres, a Iudge is sent, with certaine Assessors, to heare their appeales. A third court of Iudgement called the Consistory, belongs to the discourse of Reli|gion.

The Canton of Lucerna hath two Courts of Iudgement, one called Das Wuchenge|vicht, that is, the weekely Iustice, which determines of debts and contracts: The other of nine men, in which iniuries and reproches are punished. In the Cantons of Bern and Lucern, capitall crimes are not tried by any speciall Iudges, but both the Senates sit, and giue sentence vpon them.

At Bern after sentence is giuen in the Senate, the Consull sets in the pub|like tribunall, where the Clerke reades in writing the prisoners confession, and the sentence of the Senate, which done, the Consull commands the hangman to doe execution, and the Prisoner to be deliuered to his hands. And at Lucerna the Se|nate iudgeth all capitall crimes, not only for the Canton, but also for the Presectures or Gouernements, and all executions are done within the City, wheras Bern appoints speciall Iudges for capitall crimes in the gouernements, the Gouernour being Presi|dent, but their sentence there giuen may bee changed, or mitigated by the Senate of Bern, which commandeth ouer larger gouernements, then any other Canton.

At Friburg the greater Senate consists of two hundred Senators, which manageth all publike affairee, and things of greatest moment. The lesser Counsell or Senate is of twenty foure men, and iudgeth of Citizens causes, and appeales made by the sub|iects, and the Consull is President of both Senates, who is chosen by all the people for 3 yeres, vpon the day of S. Iohn Baptist, as the choises of Senators is yerely made vpon the Sunday next before that feast. The foure Ensignes are next to the Consull, and are set ouer the 4 parts of the

city, and howsoeuer they are not Senators of the lesser Senate, yet they are alwaies present at their meetings, in the name of the people, and they 271 performe this office for three yeeres, being chosen by both the Senates as most of the Magistrates are likewise chosen by them. The Treasurer is next in dignity, who ouer|sees the treasure and the buildings, and holds his office for three yeeres, but yeelds ac|count twice euery yeere to the Senate. They haue foure chiefe Clarkes or Secretaries, and the Office of the chiefe Apparater, exercised by one man for three yeeres, is ho|nourable here, as at Bern, for commonly he assists the Consull, and when the Senate meetes, stands at the doore, takes the Senators voices, and hath the care of captiues. At Friburg they haue a Court of Iustice, called the Cities Court, which iudgeth the citizens causes, takes the examination of captiues, and puts the accused to the racke or torment, but after, referres all to the Senate. They haue another Court of Iustice for the countrey, wherein the causes of subiects dwelling out of the city are deter|mined. In both Courts are two of the lesser Senate, and eight Iudges of the greater Senate, chosen for three yeeres, and they meete thrice euery weeke, and appeale is admitted from them to the lesser Senate. Also twelue Iudges chosen out of both the Senates, determine the appeales of the prefectures or gouernements, meeting once euery moneth for that purpose, and from them there is no appeale. The Gouer|nours are chosen by both the Senates, and hold that Office for fiue yeeres, but giue accompt yeerely before the lesser Senate, and they iudge capitall crimes in their go|uernements; but the Senate hath power to change, mittigate, or approue their sen|tence, as they Iudge meete.

In the third place it remaines to speake of the third forme of gouernement in the [Note: Three Ci|ties of the third forme.] three Cities distributed into tribes or companies, namely Zurech, Bazill, and Schafbusen, wherein the state is diuided into two Orders of the noble and plebean. They haue a peculiar society of those called noble (which is vulgarly called Eingeselschafft, and at Zurech, Etn Constaffell): but Bazill for the great number of them, had two societies, which had the chiefe authority, the Consull being chosen of one, and the tribune (next in dignity) chosen of the other, till the nobility was remoued from gouerne|ment, or rather freely gaue it ouer: For these Gentlemen first ioined with the House of Austria, and were after banished with them, till the yeere 1501, a perpetuall league was made with the House of Austria, and the Gentlemen returned from banishment, but hating the common people, left the City to dwell in their Castles, whereupon their authority was much diminished; and that which remained they vtterly lost in the yeere 1529, when they left the City, and opposed themselues to the refor|mation of religion decreed by the Senate: yet the said two societies in name, and their publike houses of the societies, and the priuate houses in their possession, remaine to them at this day, but none of the Gentlemen are chosen into the Senate, being exclu|ded by the common consent of the Citizens from the gouernement of the Com|monwealth, which they willingly forsook, so as the gentlemen haue really no peculiar society, only some few of them dwelling continually in the City, are numbered in the foure chiefe Tribes or companies of the Citizens, and in them are chosen into the Senate, as Citizens, and these foure companies are called the companies of the Lords or Gentlemen. At Zurech they haue a peculiar society of Gentlemen, which hath this priuiledge, that halfe as many more are chosen into the Senate out of it, as out of any other tribe. And in this very society of Gentlemen, there is differ-

ence among themselues, for the old Families haue a peculiar society, and a priuate stoaue wherein they onely meete, and many Citizens are ioined to the whole society, who neither exercise any art nor trade of Merchandize; and because Porters and the baser sort must be numbered in some tribe or company, all these for occasions of warre, are, numbered in this society of the Gentlemen, called Constaffel, and vnder the same they serue in the warres, yea, and giue their voices in the choice of the Master of the society, who is one of the Senate. Also at Schafhusen, the Gentlemen haue a peculiar society: but in all these Cities, the people is diuided into tribes or companies (vulgarly cal|led Zunft, whereas the Gentlemens society is called Geselschafft or Constaffell).

At Basii there be 15 Tribes, (whereof 4 are called the tribes of the Lords or Gentle|men) namely of the Merchants, of the Goldsmiths, of the Vintners, of the Apoticaries 272 and Silkemen (the most populous of all other), and the other eleuen are Plebean Tribes of all kinds of Artisans. Zurech hath twelue Tribes (for the Weauers of wol|len cloth being few, are numbred among the Dyers.) Schafhusen hath but eleuen Tribes, wherein sometimes Artisans of diuers Arts are ioyned in one Tribe: but each Art hath his peculiar Hall, and these are called the diuided Tribes, and they meete in their peculiar Halles, when they consult of any thing concerning their priuate Art: but they meete in the common Hall of the Tribe for causes touching the Common|wealth, as the choise of Senators, or Masters of each Tribe.

In the said Cities are two Counsels, the greater when many meete in the name of the people to consult of weighty causes belonging to the Commonwealth, and the lesser, which daily sits in iudgement. At Zurech the greater Counsell or Senate is of 200 men, and the lesser of 50. At Basil the greater is of 244, the lesser of 64. At Schafhu|sen the greater is of 86, the lesser of 26 Senators. To these ad two Consuls, the Heads or Presidents of publike Counsels in each of these Cities. And this is common to al these Cities, that each Tribe hath two Masters, chosen for half or a whole yeere, which time ended, others succeede in that place, yet commonly he that was Master the last halfe yeere is chosen againe, except there be some impediment. The lesser Senate is diuided into new and old, and that is called the old, whereof the Senators haue serued halfe a yeere, and these are not alwaies called to the meetings, for some businesse only belongs to the new Senate. At Zurech the two Senates are changed each halfe yeere, and the old Senate at the halfe yeeres end chuseth the new. But at Basil and Schafhu|sen, they remaine in Office a whole yeere. And the Masters of the Tribes are chosen by their owne Tribes, and confirmed by the greater Senate, but they are confirmed by the old Senate at Basil. The voices are openly taken at Zurech, but secretly at Schaf|husen (for certaine men are set ouer the elections, in whose eares they giue their Voy|ces softly whispering.) The lesser Counsell or Senate meetes commonly thrice or foure times each weeke. The Consull is President of both Senates, and is chosen by the greater Senate for halfe a yeere, and in some places for a yeere. The Tribunes are ioyned with the Consuls for Heads and Presidents of the Senates; and at Basil nine o|ther are ioyned to them, who make the Counsell of thirteene, to whom the more weighty affaires are referred, to consider of them before they be propounded to the whole Senate. Zurech hath a peculiar Counsell, which may be called the Exchequer Court, consisting of eight men, chosen foure out of each Senate, and to them all Ex|chequer accounts are referred. Two Clerkes or Secretaries are present at pub-

like Counsels, with assistants ioyned to them if neede require; and the Office of these Se|cretaries, especially of the chiefe, is honourable and gainefull, and not easily conferred on any but a Patritian, because they must haue full knowledge of the Lawes, Cu|stomes, Priuiledges, and all secrets of the Common-wealth.

Zurech hath two publike Courts of Iudgement or Iustice, one of eight Iudges cho|sen out of the lesser Counsell or Senate, who determine Ciuill causes, Debts, and the like, and from them there is no appeale: but themselues referre the most difficult mat|ters to the Senate. The other determines the causes of the Reuenue. Basil hath two Courts of Iustice in the great Towne, and a third in the lesser Towne. The greater Court consists of ten Iudges, who are partly taken out of the Senate, partly out of the people, and they determine Ciuill and Criminall causes: but the Burgomaster (or Maior) is President for Ciuill causes, and the Aduocate of the Empire for Criminall, and three men called the Capitall Triumuiri of Senators degree, pleade and proue in|ditements against malefactors. But at Zurech and Schafhusen, the new Senate iudgeth capitall causes, yet the Consull or Burgomaster is not then President as at other times: but the Aduocate of the Empire, whom the Senate by speciall priuiledge chuseth yeerely out of their owne body. And at Basil capitall Iudgements are giuen in a pub|like place: but at Zurech in a close priuate Court with the doores shut, and at Schafhusen, the accusation and defence are made in open Court: but all are exclu|ded when the Senate giues iudgement. The lesser Court of the great Towne at Basil, doth onely determine small controuersies not exceeding the value of 273 ten pounds. The Court of Iustice in the lesser Towne of Basill, hath his owne Bur|gomaster or Consull; and determines all causes except criminall. At Schafbusen the Cities Court of Iustice, determines of debts, contracts, and the like: but if the summe of the controuersie exceed the value of one hundred gold Guldens, the Senate iudgo|eth it. And this Cities Court hath twenty Assessors, namely one of each Tribe, and eight other chosen by the Senate. It hath another Court of Iustice for the Mulcts or Fines, consisting of twelue men, and the Aduocate of the Empire is President thereof, and this Court imposeth Fines, and iudgeth the criminall causes of lesse weight, as small iniuries and vulgar reproches, for the Senate determines of the grea|ter.

Touching the Magistrates and Officers of these Cities, the Consuls called Burgo|masters, are of chiefe dignity, then the Tribunes, then diuers Treasurers and Officers about the Reuenues and Tributes. The next degree is of those Officers, who haue the care of publike buildings and workes, then those who haue the care of victuals, as those who looke to the weight and goodnesse of bread, and those who ouersee the shambles, that no vnsound meate be sold, and that all things be sold at a moderate price, which they set downe, and appoint how flesh shall be sold by the pound. In like sort the ouerseers of the fish market, and salted meates, and butter and cheese. Like|wise the Officers who protect Orphanes and widowes, who dispence publike aimes, gouerning those houses, and who ouersee weights and measures, and the publike Schooles. Some of the prefectures or gouernements belonging to the Cities, are go|uerned by the Senate of the City, so as the Gouernours remaine Senators in the Ci|ty, and onely at set daies goe to the Villages for administration of Iustice; but the Se|nate onely iudgeth of capitall causes: but to those Gouernements which be larger and farther distant, they send Gouernours, who

iudge not onely ciuill, but most capitall causes. In priuiledges, customes, and peculiar Courts of Iudgement, where the prefectures haue power to chuse Iudges among themselues, the Gouernours alter nothing therein, but onely sit as Presidents in their iudgements, these their rights al|waies preserued. Thus among other, the City of Zurech hath two pleasant saire Townes subiect to it, which are ruled by the Lawes of Zurech, but haue their owne Magistrates, and serue Zurech in warre, but vnder their owne colours. And this shall suffice touching the Common-wealths generall and particular of the Cantons.

Among the fellowes in league, are the Abbot and Towne of Saint Gallus. The [Note: Of the fellowes in league] Abbot is numbered among the Princes of the Empire, but his power is much dimi|nished in these daies: yet he sets Gouernours ouer many places, and his Ammans doe Iustice in his name. Also he hath instituted an high Court of Iustice, to which ap|peales [Note: Of the Abbot and Towne of S. Gallus.] are made from the lesser Courts, and besides he hath Officers of all kinds, after the manner of Princes. The Towne (as likewise that of Mulhuse and Roteuil) is num|bered among the Cities of the Empire, and it (as the other two) hath the forme of a Common wealth formerly described, sauing that this Towne of Saint Gallus hath some peculiar things. It hath sixe Tribes, whereof one is of Gentlemen. It hath two Senates, the greater and the lesser, in which lesser Senate are foure and twenty Sena|tors, namely three Consuls, nine Senators and twelue Masters of the Tribes, (for each Tribe hath three Masters chosen by the Tribes, and confirmed by the lesser Coun|sell or Senate, and one of them yeerely by course gouernes each Tribe, being sixe in number, the other two are of the Senate, and make twelue): And twice euery yeere, is the choice made of the Senate and Magistrates. The first of the three Consuls ex|erciseth that Office for the present yeere, the second did exercise it the yeere besore, and the third is Iudge of capitall crimes: And the Consull is yeerely chosen by the whole assembly of the people. The greater Senate consists of sixty sixe men. This Towne hath also an inferiour Consull, or (as I may say) a Deputy Consull. The lesser Senate iudgeth ciuill causes. The greater meeteth fiue times in the yeere, and iudgeth of appeales, and of taking new inhabitants, and the like, and extraordinarily it is called oftner, as for iudging capital causes, at which time the Aduocate of the Empire (who I said to be the third consul) is President of the counsel. The whole people is called to|gether 274 thrice in the yeere, first when the Consuls are chosen, 2. when oath is giuen to the newe Consul, thirdly when the Ordination of Tributes is read before the people: and the Lawes deuided into three Parts, are read before the pepole at these three mee|tings. The first Court of Iustice, is of fiue men, which iudgeth of debts, of wages or hires, of victuals, of iniuries, and fines, without appeale. The court of Iustice for the City, is of twelue men, changed twice each yeere; and from it apeale is admitted, to the lesser Senate, so the cause be aboue the value of fiue pounds; but if he that appeales lose the cause, he paies a fine to the Iudges. The common people of the towne and country, liues by making woollen cloth, whereupon strict Lawes are made for the same, that the web vndressed be viewed by three skillfull men, and be marked accor|ding to the goodnes, and if it be faulty, be rent in the middest through the breadth, or be burnt, where any great fault is found, and that publikely, besides a fine imposed vpon the weauer. After, sworne men measure and marke the cloth, besides other offi|cers, who curiously and particularly view each cloth. I said before

in the History of this towne, that it made warre vpon the Abbot, when he sought to remoue from it to another towne, more absolutely in his power, not only the gainefull trade of cloth|working, but also the holy reliques, whereby in those daies great gaine came to them.

Among the Rhetians or Grisons, each conuent or meeting or community hath his Amman, and chiefe Magistrates, yeerely chosen, and a generall Gouernor of the whole [Note: Of the Gri|sons.] leage, called Landtrichter, that is, Iustice of the land, yeerly chosen at the publike mee|ting. They haue many conuents or meetings, but only three leagues. The head of the second league, called the house of God, is the City of Chur, which hath a Cathe|drall Church, and the common-wealth thereof is not vnlike that of Zurech. The three leagues haue but one common-wealth; for howsoeuer most places haue their owne Magistrates, and Lawes, or rather customes, and Courts of Iustice aswell for Ci|uill as criminall causes, yet the chiefe power is in the common or publike Senate of the three leagues, consisting of the Burgesses of the seuerall conuents, not vnlike the generall Senate of the Sweitzers, and the meeting of all the people is seldome called. But they haue another Counsell or Senate of the chief men, namely the Prouinciall Iudge of the vpper league, the Consull of Chur for the league of the house of God, and the Amman of the third league of the ten Iurisdictions, with other chosen men ioi|ned to them, but this Counsell hath not full power, for the acts thereof are referred to the communities of the leagues, and that stands in force which the greater part of them doth confirme, and the iudgments of such causes as are referred to the seuerall com|munities, are registred in a written booke. They determine controuersies and giue Iudgements, as the Sweitzers doe. Among their Statutes, it is decreed by common consent, that the Bishop of Chur, or any Ecclesiasticall person, shall not appoint any Ciuill Magistrates, but that they shall be chosen by the voices of the people. The three leagues haue their prefectures or gouernments vnder them, and the gouernor of their Italian prefectures (as of those vnder the Sweitzers) is vulgarly called Il Podesta, from whom the subiects may appeale. The three leagues by course appoint these Gouernors for two yeeres, and the conuentes or communities by course in their owne league, name the said Gouernors for two yeeres.

Touching the Valesians. The conuents of vpper Valesia are seuen, and of the lower [Note: Of the Vale|sians.] are six. The Bishop of Sedune is the Prince of the Country or region, who is named the Earle and Gouernor of the same, and he is chosen by the Cannons of the Church at Sedune, and by the Burgesses sent from the seuen conuents of vpper Valesia. The Captaine of the Country is next to the Bishop, and is chosen by the Bishop and the said Burgesses for two yeeres, and confirmed by the publke consent of the seuerall conuents, and to him all Ciuill causes are referred. Each conuent hath a chiefe Magi|strate or Maior, or Castellan, who with the Senate of that counent iudgeth Ciuill and capitall causes, and vnder him is the Amman, (whichis the highest officer in the Cau|tons dwelling in villages). Appeales are admitted from all the seuerall conuents to the publike Senate of Valesia, consisting of Burgesses chosen by the conuents, and this Senate meetes at Sedune twise euery yere, and the Bish op sits in that Counsell, and 275 the Baly takes the Voyces. By this Senate the Common-wealth is gouerned, the go|uernours, and publike Officers are chosen, and it is called the highest Court, from which there is no appeale. The Lords of Chiurone, of old were of great authority, and are the Marshalls

of the Bishopricke of Sedune, Vicounts of Sedune, and Seneschalls (or Stewards) of Valesia. The Valesians haue a peculiar Statute to represse the vio|lence of mighty men. The Common wealth is gouerned by the Bishop and the se|uen Conuents of vpper Valesia, whom lower Valesia obeyeth, being distributed into sixe prefectures or gouernments, and three other prefectures out of Valesia, taken or subdued in the Sauoian warre, are also subiect to them.

The Towne of Bipenne hauing league with the three Cantons, for ciuill causes ac|knowledgeth [Note: Of the Towne of Bipenne.] the Bishop of Basil, and for Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction is vnder the Bi|shop of Losanna, but hath cast of the yoke of the Papacy, and obtained immunitie from the Bishop of Losanna, when that Bishoprick and Citie were taken and made subiect to the Canton of Bern. The Bishop of Basil appoints the Maior, out of the Se|nate of the Towne, and the Maior taketh an oath from the Citizens, and they like|wise an oath from him, and he with the Senate iudgeth criminall causes, and is Presi|dent for capitall Iudgements. The Bishop hath halfe of all fines aboue three pound, and certaine tythes with some other reuenewes, but the Customes Impositions and Tributes belong to the Citie. The Citizens serue the Bishop of Basil in warre, but no further from the Towne, then they may returne home the same day: but if he will vse them further, he must hire them with pay. The same priuiledges were granted to this Towne by the Bishop, in the yeere 1382, which he granted to the lesser Towne of Basil. The publike Senates, as well the greater as the lesser, are yeerely chosen by all the Citizens, and the Master of the Citizens, or Burgomaster is next in authority to the Maior, and is chosen by both the Senats, and when they consult of the Common-wealth, the Maior and the Officers of the Bishop goe out of the Counsell. The Con|sull, Tribunes, Iudges, and other Officers are chosen by both the Senates, onely the Ensigne is chosen by all the people, and he with the Consull hath the care of Pupils. This Towne hath some subiects, and their Conuents without any Gouernour exer|cise Iudgements: but the greatest matters are referred to the Senate of the Towne.

The Stipendiary Townes or Cities of the Cantons, haue two Counsels or Senates, [Note: Of the sti|pendiary Cities.] and he that is President of the publike Counsell is called Schuldthess (as set ouer debts) and at Baden he is chosen by both the Senates. Also they haue their Officers, their Exchequers and Tributes belongiug to each City: but at Baden the customes at the gate belong to the Towne: but the impositions vpon Merchandise belong to the Cantons, to which the Towne is subiect. Lastly, they haue Iurisdiction in Ciuill cri|minall and capitall causes. Among them the Towne of Frawenfeld redeemed it selfe from the seruitude of the Monastery of Augia, for no small part of the Citizens were Ecclesiasticall slaues to that Monastery. At this day it giues an oath to the Lord of Augia, the priuiledges alwaies preserued, and that Monastery is incorporated to the Bishoprick of Constantia (vulgarly called Costnetz.) The City Iudges haue also power to iudge and punish capitally.

Touching the prefectures or gouernementes vnder the Cantons, the Gouernours [Note: Of the Go|uernements] are sent by course from the Cantons for two yeeres, who iudge according to the lawes of the seuerall people, and for those beyond the Alpes, the Gouernour hath assistants of the Country chosen and ioyned with him to iudge of capitall and more weighty causes, but in Ciuill causes he iudgeth alone, though sometimes he calles some of the wiser

inhabitants to aduise him therein. The Gouernours about the Solstice of the yeere, yeeld account before the Senate of Sweitzerland, which then iudgeth the ap|peales made by the subiects. They serue the Cantons in warre, to which they are subict, and they follow the standard of that cantons, which for the present yeere giues them a Gouernor, and in ciuill warre they are bound to follow the greater part of the Cantons to which they are subiect. The Gouernor of Baden is present in the publike Senate of the Sweitzers, he takes the voices, and they being equall, is the arbiter of the difference: but he hath only power in the territory of Baden not in the City, and there 276 he appoints capitall Iudges for life; for their manner is, that the Iudges once chosen by him, exercise that place so long as they liue. And the same Gouernour hath the power to mitigate their Iudgements. The next in autority are the Clerke or Secreta|ry and the vnder or Deputy Gouernour. Two little Townes of the County or ter|ritory of Baden, haue Gouernours from the Bishop of Costnetz: but they serue the Sweitzers in their warres, and the Gouernour of Baden is their Iudge for capitall cau|ses. The prefecture or gouernement of Terg most large of all the rest, hath 50 Paris hes, whereof some haue their own immunities or priuiledges, the rest are subiect to diuers iurisdictions: but the Soueraigne power is in the Gouernour sent and chosen by the Cantons, excepting Cella, where the Citizens haue their owne gouernement, the Bi|shop of Costnetz hauing only the keeping of the Castle, and halfe the mulcts or fines. The seuen Cantons with consent of the Lords in the seuerall iurisdictions of all this prefecture of Torg, appoint one forme of Iustice. And the Iudges impose very great fines, which belong to the Cantons, and especially vpon crimes which haue cohe|rence with capitall offences, namely, foule iniuries, breaches of peace, violence offered by the high way, challengers of publike waies or passages, changers of Land-markes, or goods committed in trust to their keeping, breakers of publike faith, and those who scandale or reproch any Magistrate. The prefectures of the Saranetes, and the Rhegusci, and those of Italy, haue each a Gouernour, vulgarly called Commissary, sent from the Sweitzers, and because the people speake the Italian tongue, hee hath a Sweitzer skilfull in that tongue for his interpreter. The people hath the power to chuse their owne Magistrates and Officers, and to determine of things concerning their Commonwealth, the Commissary not intermedling therewith.

2

7.6 CHAP. VI.

Of the Netherlanders Common-wealth, according to the foresaid subiects of the former Chapters.

LOwer Germany, called of old Belgia, and now commonly [Note: The Com|monwealth of Nether|lan in ge|nerall.] Netherland (which the French name Pais bas, that is, Low countries) is diuided into seuenteene Prouinces, as I haue formerly shewed in the Geographicall description there|of, namely, seuen Counties, of Flaunders, of Artois, of Han|naw, of Holland, of Zealand, of Zutphane, and of Namurtz; foure Dukedomes, of Luzenburg, of Limburg, of Brabant, and of Gelderland, the Lordship or Dominion of West Freisland, three Countries or Territories, or places of Iu|risdiction, of Grouing, of Vtrecht, and of Transisola, vulgar|ly Dlands ouer Ysel. To which fifteene Prouinces, that the number of seuenteene may be compleate, some adde the County of walkenburg (which is part of the Dukedome of Limburg), and others adde the two dominions of Mecblin and Antwerp, (which are contained vnder the Dukedome of Brebant.) And how soeuer it be not my purpose to speak of any other Prouinces, then those which they cal vnited, and through which onely I passed, yet it is not amisse in a word or two to shew, how these Principalities at first hauing seuerall Princes, by little and little grew into one body, and in our daies through ciuill warre became diuided into two parts, the one of diuers Prouinces vni|ted for defeuce of their liberty, the other of the rest remaining vnder the obedience of their Prince.

The County of Flaunders hath giuen the name of Flemmings to all the inhabi|tants of these Prouincess before named, and the Earles thereof, when other Prouinces [Note: Flaunders.] were erected to Dukedomes, did obstinately retaine their owne degree, least they should disgrace their antiquitic, with the newnesse of any Ducall or other title. And it 277 is manifest, that this Earle was the first Peere of France, hauing the prerogatiue to car|ry the sword before the King of France at his Coronation, and to gird the same to his side, being not bound to appeare in Iudgement before his Compeeres, except some controuersie were about the property of his Earledome, or he should deny iustice to his subiects: and finally hauing the badges of Soueraigne Maiesty, to raise an Ar|my, to make Warre and Peace, to yeeld no tributes or subiection to the King of France, to punish or pardon his subiects, to make Statutes, to grant priuiledges, to coine mony, and to write himself by the Grace of God Earle, which no other Prince of France might do, but only the Duke of Britany, Baldwyn Earle of Flaunders in the yeere 1202, became Emperour of Constantinople, and held that dignity sixty yeeres, af|ter which time the Empire returned to the Greekes. Earle Lodwick died in the yeere 1383, and Margaret his daughter and heire was married to Phillip Duke of Burgundy, who by her right became Earle of Flaunders. Charles Duke of Burgundy died in the yeere 1477, and Marie his daughter and heire was married to the Emperour Maxi|millian, and so Flaunders became subiect to the House of Austria.

For Phillip, sonne to Maximillian, died before his father, and left two sons, whereof Charles the eldest was Emperour the fifth of that name, and heire to his Grandfather [Note: The House of Austria.] Maximillian. And Charles the Em-

perour taking the King of France, Francis the first, prisoner, in the battell of Pauia, in the yeere 1525, forced him to renounce all Soue|raigne power ouer Flaunders and Artois, and to yeeld the Rightes of the House of Aniou to the Kingdome of Naples , and of the House of Orleans to the Dukedome of Milan , and of Genoa . Charles died, and his younger brother Ferdinand succeeded him in the Empire, being long before designed his successor, by being chosen King of the Romans but he left al his States of inheritance to his eldest son Phillip King of Spaine. The rest of the Prouinces by like right of marriage became subiect to Maximillian, and so fell to Charles, and lastly to the King of Spaine, excepting Virecht and the Tran|sisolan Dominion, which by the yeelding of the Bishop (reseruing his spiritual rights) and of the States of those Prouinces, were ioyned to the rest, and so finally fell to Phil|lip King of Spaine.

Histories witnesse, that some of these Prouinces did owe homage to the Empire, [Note: The vni|ted Pro|uinces.] and the rest to the King of France, till they fell into the hands of the powerfull Dukes of Borgundy, who by diuers transactions tooke all rights from the Kings of France, and because the Empire hath been euer since in the House of Austria, it cannot seeme strange, the Kings of Spaine being of the same House, that these Prouinces haue been freed of the homage due to the Empire. The Emperour Charles the fifth happily gouerned these Prouinces with great iudgement, handling the people gently, who had alwaies been held vnder a gentle yoke by their Princes, inioying great priuiledges in|uiolably kept to them, neuer vsed to absolute gouernement, but hauing often taken Armes, when their Princes imposed exactions vpon them, or broke any of their pri|uiledges, and so bringing their Princes to iust and equall termes. But his son Phillip K. of Spaine, and many other Kingdomes, straying from his Fathers example in the go|uernement of Netherland, and obstinately despising his counsell, which at his death as it were by his last Testament he gaue him to handle this people gently, and not indu|ring their voluntarie and free subiection, hath caused the greater, or at least the richer part of these Prouinces to fall from him and his heires. For vpon the first dissention about Religion, Pope Pius the fourth induced Phillip King of Spaine to publish a De|cree in Netherland, for the establishing of the infamous Inquisition (first inuented in Spaine of late to punish the Iewes and Saracens, who being Christians yet retained their owne rites), and also for the execution of the Decrees made in the Councell of Trent; which done, more then 400 Gentlemen made petition to the King to abolish this decree, and ioyning the intercession of the Emperor, sent this petition to the King by the hands of diuers Lords and Gentlemen, whereof the Prince of Egmond was one, who had done the King very great seruice in the battell of Saint Quintens. These petitioners were despised by the Spaniards, and called Geuses (that is beggers or poore slaues), and the King sent them backe vnregarded, and sent the Duke of Alua to go. 278 uern Netherland, who cruelly raged against the Professors of the reformed religion, and beheaded the Prince of Egmond and the Earle of Horn, both Knights of the golden fleece, and on all sides proceeded butcherly. In the meane time the Prince of Orange, (who formerly had in vaine perswaded the Prince of Egmond to fly) foreseing this tiranny, with other banished Geutlemen, was gone out of Netherland, and fled to the Prince of Condy in France. At last the Duke of Alua, hauing brought all in subiecti|on, reformed the policy, and imposed an exaction of the tenth penny, was recalled in|to Spaine, whither he re-

tourned with much treasure he had extorted, and Don Iuvan of Austria succeeded in that Gouernment, in whose time the fatal Ciuill warre began in Flaunders, and shortly after mutinous troopes called Male contents ioined together, [Note: The Ciuill warre.] neither acknowledging the King nor the States of the Prouinces, and while Don Iu|nan pursued them, he died in the Camp in the yeere 1578. Then Alexander Farnese Duke of Parma, was made Gouernor of Netherland, and the King persisting in his pur|pose to bring that people to absolute subiection, and the Professors of the reformed religion being grieuously persecuted, and all the people being murinously affected for the newe and tirannicall exaction of the tenth penny without consent of the ge|nerall States, the troubles still continuing in Flaunders, at last some few Prouinces, ha|uing [Note: The vnited, States.] the Prince of Orange for their Generall in the warre, strictly combined them|selues in league for mutual defence. So Flaunders and the firme land was left vnder the Spanish yoke, but the confederate Prouinces firmly resoluing to cast off all subiection to the King of Spaine, instituted a new forme of common wealth; For the Prince of Orange wisely and variantly procuring the publike good, was in the yeere 1584 traite|rously slaine with a baller by a desperate Roague, whereupon the cities of Flaunders lay [Note: The Prince of Orange killed.] open to the Duke of Parma.

But the foresaid vnited Prouinces cast themselues into the protection of the Queene of England; and if my, memory faile not, they are thus named, Holland, Zealand, V|treiht, [Note: England protects them.] Groning, west Friesland, besides many townes for Gelderland, some fortes and strong cities of Brabant, and Ostend in Flaunders, a towne for neerenes fit to annoy the Enemy. And the foresaid fortes and strong cities, for the most part lying vpon the coast of the sea within land, and vpon the mouth of the Rheine where it fals into the sea, gaue free traffick by sea to the vnited Prouinces, and forbad the same to the cities with|in land, and besides yeelded this commodity; that as the Spanish soldiers from their forts send frey booters to spoile the vnited countries of Gelderland, Groning and Friesland, so the soldiers of the states might fro thence make incursio s vpo the countries subiect to the King of Spaine, wherby the country people were forced to pay large yeerly co |tributions, to be free from this spoile. The few inhabitants of these small Prouinces, whome men will iudge but a breakefast to the Spanish Army, notwithstanding haue not only bene able to this day to keepe out these powerfull forces from entring their territories; but may iustly brag, that they haue wonne many strong forts and townes from the Spaniard, and carried their Army into Flaunders, where in a field fought at Newport, they obtained a glorious victory against the Spaniardes. And so much in small progresse of time haue their iust and moderate Counsells increased their com|mon-wealth, gouerned with great equity and equality, as at last forsaken (as it were) by the King of France, and for the time hauing little helpe from England, they alone did not onely long defend themselues from the powerfull reuenge of the Spaniard, but stoutly bearing out the warr to a wished peace, are now no more to be pittied, but in common iudgment rather to be enuied and feared by their neighbours.

Mention hath bene made of the Prince of Orange, and hereafter mention is to be [Note: The House of Nassaw.] made of his sonne Count Maurice, therefore it will not be amisse to say somthing of this noble family. The vnited Prouinces consisting of citizens and the common peo|ple, there being few Gentlemen in Friesland, and few

or none in Holland and Zeland, and such kind of Plebean men vnfit to leade Armies, they aswell for the common|wealths sake, first tooke the Prince of Orange for their head, as after for thankfulnes to him much esteemed the Family of Nassaw, and besides others of that Family go|uerning in Friesland and other parts, made choise of the said Princes sonne Count Mau|rice 279 to be General of their Army, but with limited power from the States, and he hath a double (as I thinke) voice in their publike meetings, in which notwithstanding hee seldome or neuer vsed to be present. His father the Prince of Orange had all his inhe|ritance in Brabant and Flaunders, excepting the Principality of Orange, seated in France neare the City of Marseits, und when he suspected the counsels of the King of Spaine (into whose net Count Egmond, confident in his innocency and great seruice done to the King, and the Count of Horne, vnaduisedly fell), he first withdrew himselfe into France, and after into Holland, where (as I said) hee ioyned with the States of the Vni|ted Prouinces, and was much respected and loued of them all, inioying from them honourable meanes of maintenance, well deserued in that his name and assistance much profited the common cause. He had many wiues; first, he married the Coun|tesse of Buren, sole daughter and heire to her father, and she bare him a sonne, who in the beginning of these troubles, was a Student in the Vniuersity of Louan, whence the Gouernour called him, and sent him into Spaine, and she bore him likewise a daugh|ter, which was married to Count Hollock, a German well respected by the States for his warlike reputation and good seruices done to them, and he with his wife liued in Holland, when I passed through these parts. His second wife was the sister to the Ele|ctor of Saxony, by whom he had the foresaid Count Maurice, who yet being young, succeeded his father in the generall conduct of the States Army, and about this time whereof I write, had taken two strong Cities in Brabant, the inheritance of the Prince of Orange, namely, Bredaw and Getrudenberg; and because they were part of the Earle|dome of Buren, some difference was then about them, betweene the said Count Mau|rice and his said sister by the fathers side, wherein it was generally said, that the States fauoured the Count. Also the Prince had by this wife a daughter, after married to the Gouernour of Friesland. His third wife was sister to the Duke of Mompensier in France, which had been a Nun, and by her hee had sixe daughters. Lewis married to the Palatine of the Rhein, Marie then liuing at Hage, the third liuing then in France, the fourth with the Count of Schwarthenburg, and Francis also then liuing at Hage, and a sixth then brought vp in the County of Nassaw. His fourth wife was a French Lady of the Family Chastillon, famous in that worthy Admirall of France killed in the Pari|sian Massacre. And this wife after the Prince was slaine liued then at Hage, with her onely sonne by him, who being borne at Delph in Holland, was therefore, and for ma|ny respects much regarded by the Hollanders, and yet being a childe, was honoured with military commands, and a large stipend for his maintenance, and shortly after had the title of Colonell of Holland, with no small addition to his meanes.

Being now to speake of the Magistrates, Lawes and degrees of Orders in this Commonwealth, it will not be amisie, first for coniecture of the generall estate of Ne|therland, to write some few things out of Marchantius a Flemming, and other appro|ued Authours, particularly of the County of Flanders, for the preheminence it alwaies had ouer the rest of the Prouinces. The chiefe strength of the Common-wealth of [Note: The

Co |mon|wealth of Flanders] Flanders, is in the Counsell or Parliament of the three generall States, namely, of the Clergy, the Nobility, and the foure members, (in steed of the people making the third estate in other Kingdomes), and without the consent of these, the Earles were neuer wont to exact money, or make warre. And howsoeuer the King of Spaine hath weak|ned the authority of this Counsell, yet when Subsidies are imposed, the very forme of old proceeding comforts the people, as a shadow of their old liberty. The Earle by writing is to appoint the time and place of this Assembly, or in the Earles name the Counsell of Flanders vsed to call together the Burgesses or Deputies there|of.

In these three States the Clergy is of chiefe dignitie, as well for their degree, as for the greatnesse of their reuenewes, and many Territories vnder their command, and a|mong these were onely fiue Bishops, till Pope Pius the fourth in the yeere 1560, esta|lished three new seates of Bishops at Gant, Bruges, and Ypre.

The first degree of Nobility, is that of Barons, hauing their name of Ban|ners, which they are bound to follow, whereof there bee very many in Flan|ders, 280 and of them some in later times haue beene raised to the titles of Earles and Prin|ces.

In the second ranke, are the Lords of Townes and Villages, whence Gentlemen haue their sirnames, and they cannot be numbered without tediousnesse: But almost all of them haue possession giuen them from some of the Feudatory Courts of the Earles of Flanders, and differ in many customes, but in this all agree, that he who hath this fee, cannot alienate it, without the consent of the Prince and the next heire, or vp|on oath giuen in Court, that hee doth it for pouerty and want. The inheritance of Fees descends to the eldest sonnes, a third part reserued for the younger brothers, so they giue ouer to the elder their part in the other goods that are not in Fee. And it is an high fault, if these Lords impose any tribute vpon their subiects, except it bee with the consent of the Earle of Flaunders. There bee some of these that are called vassals, whereof some are clients of an higher, some of a lower degree. And the Earle of Flan|ders hath about seuenteene feudatory Courts, and the number is very great of Cli|ents in Fee, depending immediately vpon one or other of the said Courts, whereby the Earle hath many pecuniary profits and other seruices, vpon fines and alienations of inheritance.

In the third rancke of Gentlemen are they, who hold inheritance in Fee, whereof some are tied to the Iurisdiction and Counsell of the Earle, as the Chancelor (so cal|led of correcting or cancelling writings ill drawne with blotting outlines), which dig|nitie is tied to the Prepositure of Bruges Church, and before the Counsell of Flaunders was erected, this Office was of greater authoritie then now it is. Others of this kind are Burgraues or Castellanes or high Sheriffes, who are set Iudges ouer Townes and Castles, with prerogatiue to haue a proportion of the mulcts or fines, which dignity belongs to certaine Families, and may be alienated to others by sale, or for dowrie in marriage, and all haue not the like but diuers iurisdiction and preheminence. The Burgraue of [...] hath the Lordship or command of the Towne (which no other Burgraue hath), the ruling of the weights in the Market, the customes at the Gate, ca|pitall Iudgement, the fines that are vnder three pounds of Paris , and a part with the Earle of the greater fines, and the power to appoint the Baily, Scabins and Burgoma|fter, and a third part of the goods of bastards dying without children. Also the Bur|graue of Ypre takes an oath to himselfe of the Officers of that Towne as well as to the Earle, and he hath the fines, and power to appoint Magistrates. Others of

this third rancke of Gentlemen haue warlike Offices by inheritance, as the Constable (so called of Conine and stapel, as the stay and vpholding of the King), who hath the highest com|mand in the warres; and the Admirall (so called of a Greeke word), who hath the chiefe command in Nauall affaires. Then two Marshals (so called as skilfull in hors|manship, for the old Dutch called an horse-mar, and now a mare is by them called meri, and schalc signifies cunning.) Also the Steward of the house. And the militarie titles still remaine hereditary to diuers families, but the exercise of the Office is taken from them. Other Gentlemen of this third ranck, are by inheritance Officers to o|uersee the Reuenues, and to take accounts; such are the Treasurers and receiuers for the Princes Rents, for perpetuall Tributes of land, and these honours still remaine to certaine Families, though these Rents are now brought in ready money into the Ex|chequer. Other Gentlemen of this third ranck, haue Offices in Court, as the Master of the houshold, Chamberlaine, Cup-bearer, which offices are proper by inheritance to certaine Families: but the Master of the game, as well for hunting as hawking, and the Water-Graues, (ouerseeing Lakes and Riuers for Swannes, fishing, and other like things), are offices giuen at the Princes pleasure, and not proper to any Fami|lie.

The fourth rancke of Gentlemen is of those, who are adorned with the Knightly girdle, and they are called guilded Knights, of their golden spurres and other orna|ments, which honour the Princes giue for great seruices, creating them, with laying a drawne sword on their left shoulder, and with certaine solemnity of words, and those who haue this title, be they neuer so meane, are made Gentlemen with 281 their posteritie; and if they be Gentlemen, yet it addes dignities to them. And be|cause I haue made this mention of Knights, giue mee leaue to adde a word of the Knightly order of the Golden Fleece, instituted by the Duke of Burgundy, Phillip the Good, in the yeere 1429, vpon the very day of his mariage with Elizabeth of Portugall, in imitation of Gedions Fleece, and of the Golden Fleece fetcht by the Argonauts of Greece. He receiued into this Order, Gentlemen vnblameable for life and valour in Armes, whereof the Prince and his successours are the Head or chiefe President, and hee gaue each of them a Scarlet gowne of woollen cloth (which his son Charles chan|ged into a red Veluet Gowne), and a gold chaine, with his fathers Emblem, of a steele striking fire out of a flint, vpon which chaine hangs the Golden Fleece, and vpon the death of any Knight this badge is sent backe, to be bestowed vpon some other Gen|tleman of merit. At first the number of these Knights with the Prince their head was twenty fiue: but within fiue yeeres they were increased to thirty fiue. And the Em|perour Charles the fifth in the yeere 1516, made the number fifty one. At the first in|stitution, this order had foure Officers, a Chancelor, a Treasurer, a King at Armes, and a Secretary; and in the Court of this Order, the vnlawfull flying of any Knight out of the field, and all other crimes, and the dissentions among them, are iudged without appeale. The feast of the Order hath been kept in diuers places, according to the Prin|ces pleasure, but the Armes of the Knights are set vp in the Chancell of the chiefe Church at Bruges, where the feast thereof was kept at the first institution. In generall, Flaunders hath a great number of Lords and Gentlemen (as likewise the Dukedome of Luxenburg, and adioyning Prouinces), and they exercise themselues in feeding of Cattle and tillage, but iudging ignoble all trade of Merchants, and profession of ma|nuall arts. They haue no immunities (as in Artois, Henault, and all France), but beare

the same burthen of tributes with the people, to keepe them from sedition, while the Gentlemen, hated by them, beare the same burthen as they doe.

Hauing spoken of the two States of the Clergy and Gentlemen, it remaines to adde something of the third State, namely, the foure members, which haue the place of the common people in other Kingdomes; and they are Ghant, Bruges, Ypre, and Terra Franca, that is, the Free land, which foure Territories haue the chiefe, or rather all authoritie in Flaunders. Each of these members is exempted from all confisca|tion of goods by old priuiledge, confirmed by the Emperour Charles the fifth, in the yeere 1549. Other Cities, howsoeuer they haue their Magistrates, Lawes and Reue|newes to themselues, yet in the common Counsell or Parliament for imposing tri|butes, or leauying of souldiers, they follow the foure members, and all Flaunders is bound to their Decree in this generall meeting of the States, the Clergie, Gen|tlemen, Lords and Burgesses of other Cities consulting with the foure members: but they challenging all authoritie to decree, and solely representing the whole bodie of Flaunders in the generall meetings of all Netherland. Iohn Duke of Burgundie remoued from Lile to Ghant the Senate, called the Counsell of Flaunders, and gi|uing the Law to all Flaunders. Bruges, a most pleasant Citie is the second mem|ber, hauing this priuiledge aboue all other Cities, that hee who is free of the same by birth, gift, buying, or marriage, is freed from all confiscation of any goods wheresoeuer found, no crime or case excepted; whereas the priuiledges of other Ci|ties alwaies except violence offered to the persons of the Prince, his Wife, and Chil|dren. Also Bruges hath a stately Mint-house, with priuiledge to coyne money. Ypre is the third member, which City I passe ouer, for feare to be tedious. The fourth member is Terra Franca, added to the rest (being but three at the first institution), by Phillip the Good, in the yeere 1437, with intent to bridle the power of Bruges, which Citie then much repined at the same, and neuer ceased to raise tumults, till Marie, wife to the Emperour Maximilian abolished this fourth member, which Charles the fifth their Grand-child shortly after restored to that dignitie.

Among the Magistrates some of them doe properly belong to the Princes af|faires, namely, the Legall Chamber, consisting of the Princes Counsellers, and being (as it were) the head of other Courts, the meeting and number where|of 282 is at the Princes pleasure, but commonly the meeting is at Ghant, and they consult of waighty affaires, (which since haue beene referred to the Princes Priuy Counsell, or to the counsell of Flaunders, seated at Ghant). And to the same are referred all controuersies touching fees, and appeales from feodnary Courts, which are iudged without appeall, in the presence of the Earle or his Baily, there being a chaire, cushion, and Sword of estate. Also the chamber Hastredeninga, that is, the supreme court of accounts, co sisting of hereditary treasurers, yeerly meeting at Lile for three daies, who iudge without appeale all things touching Receiuers, with personall and reall acti|ons belonging to the Princes patrimony, and giue oathes to new Treasurers and Feo daries. The third court of accounts, established at Lile, consists of a President, foure Masters, fiue helpers, and two clarkes. It examines the accompts of reuenues by rents of lands, woods, customes at gates, confiscations, Fines, goods left to the Prince, as by shipwracks and Bastards dying without children, by homages, Pensions, and like profits, and all hereditary treasurers, and the two generall Receiuers, giue ac|compt

in this court. Phillip the bold gaue this court great authority, but Iohn his sonne, remoued the counsellers thereof to the office of Iustice in Ghant, and left the court at Lile to register the Princes edicts, and Priuiledges granted by him. Fourthly the court called the Counsell of Flaunders, which I said was remoued from Lile to Ghant, and seems chiefe in dignity; first instituted, partly by litle and litle to draw Flaun|ders from the iurisdiction of Paris , in imitation of Brabant, Hennault, and Holland; for which howsoeuer the Princes did homage to the Emperor, yet they belonged not to the iurisdiction of the Empire, homage and iurisdiction by nature and in themselues being much different. But the chiefe cause of the institution, was the long absence of Phillip the bold in France, during the infirmity of the French King, in whose time this court formerly kept in diuers places at the Princes pleasure, was setled at Ghant, and to this court are referred all things belonging to the Princes right and authority, and the controuersies of Coiners, of the Church, of the Prouince and of Cities among them|selues and with others, and appeales from Magistrates, and ratifying the Princes par|dons for crimes. The Counsell consists of a President (of a Knightly degree by ver|tue of his office) eight Counsellors (hauing yeerly stipends) foure Commissaries (hauing part of the profit by informations) and for Assessors, the Procurator and the Aduocate of the Prince, the Treasurer of the reuenues, a Secretary and a Notary. Besides these courts and this said Counsell, Marchantius mentioneth a court of Iustice highest and without appeale ouer all Netherland, instituted by Charles last Duke of Burgandy in the yeere 1473 at Mechlin, (as being in the Center of Netherland) and it iudgeth after that is equall and good, in imitation of the Parliament of Paris ; so as suiters needed not to follow the Earles Court. And the Prince was chiefe head of this Counsell, or in his absence the Chancellor, he being not present, the Bishop of Tornay, with two Presidents, ten Lay and nine Clergy Counsellors, six Masters of Re|quests (who were commanded to ride on horseback to the Senate, clad in Purple.) But Mary the daughter of the said Charles, fearing the French and Ciuill war, commanded the ceasing of iudgement in this Court, which Phillip her son restored, and in the yeere 1493 reestablished that court at Mechlin, but lesse and more weake, as it still remaines.

And this shall suffice of the Magistrates belonging to the Princes affaires. Others be|long to the subiects in seuerall Countries and Cities. Such are the Scabines and the Bailies. Scabines are so called of a German word Schaffen (that is to dispatch, or of an Hebrew word (as the Germans say.) These defend the rights and priuiledges of the people, determine controuersies by the Statutes and municipall customes, or for want of them, by the written Law, and are present when any are tortured, and iudge capitall causes, the pardoning whereof is rather permitted to the Prince, then much v|sed by him. And these Magistrates are diuersly named in diuers places, as Voegte (Tu|tor) Portmeister, (Officer of the Port or Hauen), Lanthouder, (that is, Keeper of the Land,) Kourcher (that is, chosen Lord), and Burgermaster (that is, Master of the Citi|zens). Vnder them are the Treasurers or Receiuers in each City, and aswell they as the Scabines, are chosen by the Commissaries of the Prince. Next are the Baylies, 283 so called of a French word, as Tutors and Keepers; and they are diuersly called in di|uers places, namely Schuldheten, as Iudges of debts: and they differ from the Scabines, in that the Scabines Iudge, the Bailies execute their Iudgements and the Princes E|dicts; they haue stipend, these

are paid out of the Fines; they are changed after one or two yeeres, these continue long in Office; lastly, they respect the rights of the people, these of the Prince. In the Villages they haue Officers called [...], who [...] the Edicts of the Magistrate, and warne Debters to make payment, and vpon longer delay then is permitted by the Municipall Lawes, sell their goods at the outery. They haue a supreme Iudge of capitall causes, whom they call Soueraigne Baily, instituted in the yeere 1374, to apprehend murtherers and banished men, and to put them to death, or otherwise punish them, with the assistance of two Gentlemen hauing fees, or being Feodatory Clients to the Prince And to this Officer authority was lately giuen and confirmed by the Emperor Charles the fifth, to release banishment, and for the eues and man slayers by chance, or vpon their owne defence, and like offenders, vpon satis|faction made to the next Kinsman of the man-killer, and to him that was robbed: not onely to giue them safe conduct to passe for forty daies, but also to pardon their crimes, so as the Mulcts or Fines be gathered for the Prince, not to his behoofe; and the Counsell of Flanders approue the confessions of the offender to be true. But in case the Magistrate of the place where the offender dwelt, require him to be there tri|ed, it cannot be withstood. And this Office is of such dignity, as Knights for long time haue executed the same. Many Tributes were of old granted to the Prince, as perpetuall Tributes of the Fields, of Corne, Oates, Cheese, and Larde; which things for foode, haue long time beene redeemed with money, the price being yeerely set diuersly by the Counsell of accounts seated at Lile. And no doubt through troubles and ciuill warres, from the beginning to this day, all like burthens are greatly increa|sed both in number and measure, which may more easily bee coniectured, by that which shal be said of this subiect, in the discourse of the vnited Prouinces.

Flanders is most ruled by municipall Lawes and customes of Townes and Cities, and for want of them by the Ciuill Lawes. The Lawes of Flanders forbid any man to giue in Legacies by his last Will and Testament, more then the thirds of his goods, (wherein are comprehended Lands in Fee); or that any stranger should beare the of|fice of Magistracy: yet strangers may there inherite their Kinsmens goods, contrary to the custome of France, England, and Scotland, where the Kings haue the goods of all strangers dying intestate, and hauing there no children. In Flanders no man is depri|ued of his mothers inheritance for bastardy, no not the children of a noble woman being a concubine, except some municipall Statute made by the Princes, doe in some places preiudice them. The Citizens of Curtrae about the yeere 1557, and those of Ghant some sixe yeeres after, haue excluded those who are borne in adultery or incest from their mothers inheritance: but the prouinciall Counsell of Flanders in the yeere 1532, gaue sentence, that a Bastard should succeed in the see of his mother, with priui|ledge of age and sex, euen where the Parents leaue Children lawfully begotten.

I returne to the foresaid Prouinces, which I said to be vnited in mutuall league for [Note: Of the com|monwealth of the vnited Prouinces, protected by the Queene of England.] their defence against the Spaniards. The said Prouinces, at the first breaking out of the ciuill warre, when Antwerp was besieged, humbly and instantly besought Elizabeth Queene of England, to vndertake their patronage and defence, and to encourage and giue her more power, offered her the Soueraignety of those Prouinces; but the most wise Queene with graue counsell, and for weighty reasons, refused to take them for Subiects.

Perhaps (among other reasons of greater weight) fearing lest vndertaking that warre as Queene of the Prouinces, most part of the burthen thereof should fall vpon her English subiects, thinking it probable, that the Netherlanders, being a peo|ple which had often taken Armes against their Prince, of all other things least bearing new taxes and impositions, (which they professed, next the persecution for Religion, to be the chiefe cause of this warre), would alwaies be apt to stir vp sedition when her Maiesty as their Prince should impose but half the tributes and customes, which them|selues by general consent, and for loue of liberty haue imposed and born with incredible 284 patience, during this warre. And howsoeuer her Maiesty desired their liberty should be preserued, yet the peace betweene England and Spaine, howsoeuer shaken by many iniuries on both sides, prouoking desire of reuenge, notwithstanding was not yet ful|ly broken. And it seemes probable to me (not knowing those counsels but by conie|cture), that her Maiesty being a woman, the King of Spaine being powerfull, and some of her Subiects being alienated from her for the reformation of Religion, thought it more wisdome to suffer warre for her iust defence, then her selfe openly to beginne the same: yet would shee not altogether neglect the afflicted people of those Prouin|ces, but resolued with the States thereof, that they should make Count Maurice sonne to the Prince of Orange, Generall of their Army, gouerning their owne affaires, and her Maiesty should professe the defence of that afflicted people, with whom England alwaies had strict league of trade and amity, till meanes might be vsed for restoring them to the King of Spaines fauour. Whereupon at the instant suite of the States, the tenth of August in the yeere 1585, her Maiesty granted them an aide of fiue thousand Foot, and a thousand horse, to whom her Maiesty was to giue pay during the warre, yet so as the Prouinces were bound to make restitution of all her expences, when the warre should be composed; and for pledge of performance, should giue into her Ma|iesties hands the Towne of Vlishing in Zealand, with the adioining Castle of Ramme|kins, to be kept with a Garrison of seauen hundred English foote, and the Towne of Brill with some adioining Forts, to be kept with a Garrison of 450 English Foot, the said Prouinces being bound (as I said) to make reall satisfaction to her Maiesty at the end of the warre, for all expences, aswel of the said Forces, as of these Garrisons, which amounted yeerly to the summe of one hundred twenty six thousand pounds sterling. And her Maiesty for the safety of her neighbours bore this intollerable burthen, till the yeere 1594, at which time Sir Thomas Bodley Knight, her Maiesties Ambassadour for those Prouinces, by a new transaction diminished those great expences, the wealth of those Prouinces being then much increased, aswell by the concourse of Merchants leauing desolate Flanders to dwell in that flourishing State, as because they had brought many Countries by right of warre to yeeld them contributions, namely, all the Sea Coast of Brabant, some part of Flanders, with the Countries vulgarly called, Ommelands, Drent, Twent, Linghen, Limbrough, and walkenbrough, and had greatly in|creased their tributes, aswel in Holland, Zeland, Freesland, and Vtrecht, as in Guelderland, Zutphan, Dlandt ouer Ysell, and lastly, had taken many strong Townes of no small mo|ment, namely, Deuenter, Zutphan, Nimmenghen, Stonwicke, Bredaw, Hulst, Steneberg, and Groninghen. The state of those Prouinces being (as I said) thus increased, and her Ma|iesty being forced for many yeeres to keepe a strong army at home, to subdue the I|rish Rebels,

her Maiesties Ambassadour at the foresaid time made a new transaction with the States, for diminishing the charge of the English Forces seruing them. And this helpe so long giuen by her Maiesty to the vnited Prouinces, cannot seeme of smal moment: For howsoeuer the Queen did not alwaies keepe the full number of the said Forces, and sometimes called home, or cashiered part of them, yet shee did alwaies maintaine the greatest part, decreasing or increasing the same according to the neces|sity of the present affaires, and imploied the Forces called home, onely in voiages by Sea, profitable aswell to the vnited Prouinces, as to England, and that for a short time of Sommer seruice, after sending them backe to serue the States:

The States who gouerne these Prouinces (if they haue made no change in parti|culars, which at pleasure they both can and vse to doe), are graue men, Counsellors or [Note: The States or chiefe Gouernors.] Burgesses, vulgarly called States, chosen by the people of each City and Towne, not for a limited time, but during pleasure, and with full power; who residing in the chief City of the Prouince, haue care all iointly of the prouinciall affaires, and each particu|larly of his Cities or Townes affaires: And this Counsell must needes be distracted with diuers opinions, arising from the diuers affaires of each Prouince, City and Town, and the seuerall commandements they receiue at home. These prouinciall States, chuse among themselues one, two, or three Burgesses for each Prouince, (according to the condition and capacity of those that are chosen: for how many soeuer they 285 be, they haue but one voice for their Prouince at generall meetings), and these they send to reside at Hage in Holland, with like authority as they haue, there to gouerne the publike affaires of all the vnited Prouinces, and they are called the generall States. And as the prouinciall States may be diminished in number or increased, according to the occasions of the publike businesse, or of any particular meeting, and may bee called home by the Citizens who chuse them; so the generall States chosen by them to reside at Hage, enioy their places vpon like condition. And out of these generall States certaine chosen men are made Counsellors, to order the affaires of warre, and to assist and direct the Generall of the Army therein. Others are set ouer the affaires of the Admiralty, others ouer the Chauncery of Brabant, and others ouer diuers par|ticular Offices, (I call them Counsellors of the Chauncery of Brabant, who manage the affaires of Brabant belonging to Holland). This must alwaies be vnderstood, that the Burgesses or States of Holland, in respect of the dignity of that Prouince, many waies increased and inriched aboue the rest, haue somewhat more authority and re|spect, then any other; but the wheele of the publike State is turned by the Senate of the generall States residing at Hage, yet so, as they doe not take vpon them to deter|mine difficult matters, without some diffidence, till they haue the consent of their par|ticular Cities and Prouinces, except they be made confident by the concurring of e|minent men, who can draw or leade the people to approue of their doings, or in such cases as by long practice they fully know not vnpleasing to the people. So wary are they, notwithstanding the Prouinciall States from their Communities, and the gene|rall States at Hage from them, haue most ample power and absolute commission, in expresse words, to doe any thing they iudge profitable for the Commonwealth. And it is a remarkeable thing, to obserue their Art, when in difficult cases they desire to protract time, or delude Agents, how the generall States answere, that they must first consult with the

prouinciall States, and they againe answere, that they must first know the pleasure of their Communities, before they can determine, and each of them hath nothing more in his mouth, then the consent of his superiours, (for so they call them). Whereas if businesse were so to be dispatched, no doubt great difficulty would arise in all particular actions. In the Senate of the generall States, besides the States them|selues, Count Maurice hath (as I thinke) a double voice, yet I neuer obserued him to be present at their assemblies. The Ambassadour of England hath likewise his voice, and Count Solms (as I heard) because he married the widdow of Count Eg|mond, and for his good deserts in the seruice of the vnited Prouinces, hath for him|selfe and his heires the like priuiledge. Thus the Commonwealth in generall is Ari|stocraticall, (that is, of the best Men), saue that the people chuseth the great Senate, which rules all.

Touching the Commonwealths of particular Cities. Amsterdam is the chiefe Ci|ty of Holland, where the great Senate consists of thirty sixe chiefe Citizens, whereof [Note: Common|wealths of particular Cities.] one dying, another is chosen into his place; and this Senate yeerely chuseth foure Consuls, who iudge ciuill causes; and haue power to appoint ten Iudges of criminall causes (vulgarly called Skout), though they be not of that Senate. The other Cities are in like sort gouerned, but according to the greatnesse of the City or Towne, they haue greater or lesser number of Senators.

The Tributes, Taxes, and Customes, of all kinds imposed by mutuall consent, (so great is the loue of liberty or freedome) are very burthensome, and they willingly beare them, though for much lesse exactions imposed by the King of Spaine (as they hold) contrary to right, and without consent of his Subiects, they had the boldnesse to make warre against a Prince of such great power. Yet in respect of the vnequal pro|portioning of all contributions, they are somewhat at ods among themselues, and ma|ny times iarre, so as it seemed no difficult thing to breake their concord, had not the common Enemy and the eminent danger of Spanish reuenge, together with the sweet|nesse of freedome once tasted, forced them to constant vnity. This I dare say, that when they humbly offered themselues vassals to the Queene of England, in the first infancy of their Commonwealth, if her Maiesty, or any other Prince whosoeuer, 286 vndertaking their protection, had burthened them with halfe the exactions they now beare, it is more then probable, that they would thereby haue beene so exasperated, as they would haue beene more ready to haue returned vnder the obedience of the King of Spaine, whose anger they had highly prouoked, then to endure the yoke of such a Protector: For each Tunne of Beere (which they largely swallow), they pay into the Exchequer sixe Flemmish shillings (each shilling being sixe stiuers), I meane of Beere sold abroad, for they pay onely foure shillings for such Beere, as men brew for the vse of their priuate families, which frugality few or none vse, except perhaps some brew small Beere for their Families, and indeed I doubt they would find small fruga|lity in brewing other Beere for themselues, if the Cellar lay open to their seruants. And howsoeuer the Tunnes be of diuers prices, according to the goodnesse of the Beere, namely of two, three, foure, fiue, or sixe Guldens, the Tunne (though at Leyden onely the Brewers may not sell Beere of diuers prices, for feare of fraud in mixing them), yet there is no difference of the Tribute. They haue excellent fat pastures, whereof each Aker is worth forty pound, or more to be purchased, and they pay tri|bute for euery head of cattle feeding therein, as two

stiuers weekely for each Cow for the Paile, the great number whereof may be coniectured, by the plenty of cheese ex|ported out of Holland, and the infinite quantity of cheese and butter they spend at home, being the most common food of all the people: For Oxen, horses, Sheepe, and other Beasts sold in market, the twelfth part at least of the price is paid for tribute, and be they neuer so often by the yeere sold to and fro, the new Masters still pay as much. They pay fiue stiuers for euery bushel of their owne wheate, which they vse to grind in publike Mils: And since they giue tribute of halfe in halfe for foode and most ne|cessary things, commonly paying as much for tribute as the price of the thing sold, the imposition must needs be thought greater, laid vpon foraigne commodities, ser|uing for pleasure, pride, and luxury: besides that, these tributes are ordinary, and no doubt vpon any necessity of the Commonwealth, would be increased. French wines at Middleburg the Staple thereof, and Rhenish wines at Dort the Staple thereof, are sold by priuiledge without any imposition, but in all other places men pay as much for the Impost, as for the wine: Onely in the Campe all things for food are sold with|out any imposition laid vpon them: And some, but very few eminent men, haue the priuiledge to pay no imposition for like things of food. Each Student in the Vniuer|tie, hath eighty measures of wine (vulgarly called Stoup) allowed him free from impo|sition, and for six barrels of Beere, onely payes one Gulden and a quarter, that is, two shillings six pence English, being altogether free from all other tributes, which priui|ledge the Citizens enioy in the name of the Students dieting with them, and no doubt the Rector and professors of the Vniuersity haue greater immunity in these kinds.

One thing is hardly to be vnderstood how these Prouinces thus oppressed with tributes, and making warre against a most powerfull King, yet at this time in the heate of the warre, (which vseth to waste most flourishing Kingdomes, and make Prouinces desolate), had farre greater riches, then any most peaceable Countrey of their neigh|bours, or then euer themselues formerly attained in their greatest peace and prosperi|tie: Whether it be for that (according to the Poet) Ingenium mala sape monent, Aduer|sity oft whets the wit, so as by warre they are growne more witty and industrious. Or for that Flanders, and Antwerp the famous City, in former times so drew all traf|ficke and rich Merchants to them, as all the neighbour Prouinces were thereby impo|uerished, all which trade by the warre, fell to Holland, most strong in shipping; or for that, the vnited Prouinces haue such commodity by the Sea, and waters running to all Townes, and by the strength of their cities, as in the heat of war they are free from the enemies incursions, or any impediment of their traffick, and seeme rather to carry the war to their confines, then to haue it in their bosomes. In which point, it is not vnplea|sant to remember, how the Hollanders mock the Spaniards, as if, not acquainted with the Northern Sea, and the ebbing and flowing therof, they thought they might at plea|sure come into any hauen, and leade their army into any of those Prouinces, and that when 287 the Spaniards first entered Holland with their Army, and they cutting the banckes of the sea drowned their Country, the Spaniards were therewith astonished, and gaue gold chaines, money, and the most precious things they had to the Country people, on condition they would bring them out of those watery places to firme land. If any man require truer and greater reasons of these Prouinces growing rich by warre, let him make curious search thereof, for it is besides my purpose. No doubt, the fre-

quent Armes of the sea within land, passing by their Cities, the innumerable waters (though for the most part standing, or little mouing), which by made ditches carry boats and barkes to all their Cities, (being there more frequent then in any other part of the World), and to all their Villages, and compasse almost all their pastures, yeeld no small commodity to their Common-wealth. For they hauing little of their owne to export, and wanting Corne, Wood, or Coales, and many necessaries for their vse, yet by this onely benefit, and their singular industry, not only most abundantly inioy all commodities of all Nations for their owne vse, but by transporting them from place to place with their owne ships (whereof they haue an vnspeakable number), make very great gaine, being delighted in Nauigation by nature (as borne and bred in the midst of Seas and waters), and hauing by warre, heating their Flegmaticke humours, attained to such skill therein, as for trafficke they saile to the most remote coasts of the world, and in processe of time being growne so bold sea-men, as they will scarcely yeeld in this Art, to the English for many former yeeres excelling therein. So as their tributes imposed on Merchants commodities, must needs be of exceeding great moment.

And not to weary my selfe with the curious search thereof, I will onely adde for coniecture of the generall, one particular related to me by credible men. That in time when Italy suffered dearth, and was supplied with corne from these parts, the tributes of one Citie Amsterdam, in one weeke, exceeded the summe of ten thousand pounds sterling, whence the reuenewes of all tributes in all the Hauens and Cities, may bee coniectured to be excessiuely great. So as adding the impositions vpon domesticall things, and the great contributions paid by the enemies subiects vpon the confines in time of warre (to purchase the safety of their persons and goods, with freedome to till their grounds from the rapine of freybooting souldiers), a man may well say, that the vnited Prouinces are no lesse able, then they haue been daring, to doe great things.

This Common-wealth is gouerned by particular lawes and customes of diuers [Note: The Lawes.] places, and by the publike edicts vpon diuers new occasions made by the States of the Prouinces, and these wanting, by the Ciuill law. The particular Cities are gouer|ned after the manner aboue named. And particularly at Leyden, my selfe haue obser|ued the inhabitants of Villages, called by writings set vpon posts in the publike streets, to haue their controuersies iudged by the Magistrates of the city, not at any set time of the yeere, but according to the occasions of other affaires, at the Iudges pleasure. High iniuries and maimes of any member, are punished by the law, which passeth ouer lighter iniuries, not giuing such ample satisfactions to the wronged euen by word, as the constitutions of the Sweitzers giue; so as with them no lesse then in England, quarrels and brawlings are frequent, and often breake out into man-slaugh|ters, wherein those who will reuenge themselues by force, first agree betweene them|selues, whether they will strike or stab; and then drawing out long kniues, which they ordinarily weare, they wound one another by course, according to their agreement, either by slashes or stabs (which they call schneiden and stecken.) They commonly al|low mony to be put out to vse, and to the end poore men vpon pawnes may borrow small summes for a short time, they admit an Italian or Lumbard (vulgarly so called) in each Citie, who taking a pawne, lends a gulden for a brasse coine called a doigt by the weeke. But this Lumbard in the French Church there, is not admitted to receiue the Communion.

The pawne vseth to bee worth a third part more then the mony lent, and one yere and a day being past after the mony is due, the vsurer hath the pawne to himselfe: but before that time, the debter at his pleasure may at any time haue his 288 pawne, first paying the borowed mony, with the vse to the day of paiment. And the common report then was, that the States would take this as a publike Office into their owne hands, to help the poore not able to pay, by selling the pawnes to the owners best profit.

Touching inheritance: Vpon the Mothers death, the children may compell their Father to deuide his goods with them, least perhaps hee should consume or waste the same. And the wife that brought a dowry, be her husband growne neuer so rich by his trade, may when shee dies giue, not only her dowry, but halfe her husbands goods gotten in mariage, to her owne Kinsmen after his death, if shee haue no chil|dren by him; and if she brought no dowry, yet shee hath the same right to dispose of halfe her husbands goods gotten in mariage, and (as is supposed) by their mutuall labor. A sonne may not be disinherited but vpon causes approued by the Law, for the Father is bound to giue a third part of his estate among his children, and only hath power to dispose of the rest or any part thereof in Legacies at his pleasure.

The wiues of Holland buy and sell all things at home, and vse to saile to Hamburg [Note: The Wines.] and into England for exercise of traffique. I heard from credible men, that the Citi|zens of Enchusen, within thirty yeeres then past, vsed to marry a wife, and put her away at the yeeres end, if they liked her not; which barbarous custome, Ciuility and Religion hath since abolished and at Delph I did see two examples, of men who hauing buried their wiues, did after marry their wiues Sisters. It is no rare thing for blowes to happen betweene man and wife, and I credibly heard that they haue slight punishments for that fault, and my selfe did heare the Crier summon a man to answer the beating of his wife before the Magistrate.

The multitude of women is farre greater then of men, which I not only formerly heard from others, but my selfe obserued to be true, by the daily meetings of both sexes, where a man may see sixty or more women sliding vpon the yce, and other|wise recreating themselues, with fiue or six or much fewer men. But the reason thereof is not easily yeelded, since wee cannot say that the men are much consumed by the Ciuill warres; their Army consisting altogether of strangers, and few or no Hollanders, except some willingly serued, for otherwise they cannot be pres|sed by authority, but onely for the defence of the City or Towne wherein they dwell: excpt these reasons thereof may bee approued, that the watery Prouinces breed flegmaticke humors, which together with the mens excessiue drinking, may disable them to beget Males; or that the Women (as I haue heard some Hollanders confesse) not easily finding a Husband, in respect of this disparity of the Sexes in number, commonly liue vnmarried till they be thirty yeeres old, and as commonly take Husbands of twenty yeeres age, which must needs make the Wo|men more powerfull in generation. And the Women not onely take young Men to their Husbands, but those also which are most simple and tractable: so as by the fore|said priuiledge of Wiues to dispose goods by their last will, and by the contracts in respect of their Dowry, (which to the same end vse to be warily drawne,) they keepe their Husbands in a kind of awe, and almost alone, without their Husbands intermed|ling, not onely keepe their shops at home, but exercise trafficke abroade. My selfe haue heard a Wise make answere to one asking for her Husband, that he was

not at home, but had newly asked her leaue to goe abroade. Nothing is more frequent, then for little girles to insult ouer their brothers much bigger then they, reprouing their doings, and calling them great lubbers, whereof when I talked with some Schollers my companions, as a fashion seeming strange to mee, they were so farre from wonde|ring thereat, as they told me, it was a common thing for Wiues to driue their Hus|bands and their friends out of the doores with scolding, as if they consumed the goods wherein they had a property with their Husbands. I should be too credulous, if I should thinke all Families to be sicke of this disease; and I must confesse, that in few other Nations all Families are altogether free fro like accidents: but I may boldly say, that the Women of these parts, are aboue all other truly taxed with this vnnatu|rall dominering ouer their Husbands.

289 The Nobility or Gentry hath long been rooted out by the people (as Iunlus wit|nesseth, [Note: The Gentle|men.] and experience shewes) after the example of the Sweitzers, especially in Hol|land and Zealand (for in Friesland they haue many, and within land as frequent Fami|lies of Gentlemen as otherwhere.) I could not heare of more then some three Fami|lies of Gentlemen in Holland and Zeland (for the Lords of Nassaw are strangers), and these Gentlemen liued after the Plebeian maner of the other inhabitants, so as it were in vaine to seeke for any Order of Knighthood among them. Neither are these Gen|tlemen (as those of Germany), curious to marry among themselues; for those who come to greatest honour in this Commonwealth, are either Aduocates of the Law, or sonnes of Merchants. My selfe did once in the high way meete a Gentlemans Wag|gon, to whom our Waggoner gaue the way; and the custome in Holland being, that the Waggons setting forth, giue the way to all they meete, till they haue gone halfe the way, and after in like sort the way is giuen to them, and our Waggon hauing then passed more then halfe the way, the Plebeian Hollanders my companions were much offended with our Waggoner, that contrary to the custome he had done that honor to the Gentlemen. The vulgar sort so despise Gentlemen, or any superiour, if hee af|fect greatnesse, as vpon like occasions they prouerbially vse to say, If hee bee rich, let him dine twice; as if they despised rich men, of whom they stood not in neede, being content with their owne, after the manner of the Italians, saue that the Italians doe it out of pride, these out of clownishnesse, and affecting of equalitie.

Touching capitall Iudgements: Where the offences are hainous, and such as for|mer [Note: Capitall Iudge|ments,] ages haue not knowne, the Iudges inflict exquisite punishments and torments vpon the Malefactors. In such sort with strange torments the wicked person was put to death, who killed the Prince of Orange with a Pistoll. Theeues and Pyrates are put to death by hanging, and of all other offenders, they neuer pardon Pyrates vpon any intercession, as destroyers of traffick, vpon which their Common-wealth and priuate estates depend. The man-slayer is beheaded, and buried in the same coffin with the man he killed; and if perhaps he cannot bee apprehended, but escape into some for|raigne parts, he may perhaps, but very rarely, obtaine pardon, if he can first bee recon|ciled with the friends of the man slaine by him: but in case he be apprehended, they cannot, or at least vse not, to scandall Iustice by pardons. But wilfull murtherers, ac|cording to the circumstances of the person killed, or of the more or lesse wicked man|ner of the act, are put to death with more or lesse torment, and hang in iron chaines till the bodies rot, for terror to others. Coiners of money haue their bones

broken vpon the wheele, a death more vsuall in Germany for hainous crimes: but in all torments they commonly mitigate the seuerity of the Law, more then the Germans doe; for I haue seene some executed in this manner, who were first hanged, and so had no fee|ling of the paine. Hee that burnes priuate (and much more publike) houses, and hee that purposeth or threatneth to burne them, though hee neuer doe the act, is himselfe burned by fier, with a marke vpon his head if the act were done; vpon his breast if it were onely purposed; or vpon his mouth, if it were onely threatned. An offender es|caped by flight, howsoeuer hee liue long in forraine parts, yet if hee euer returne, bee the distance of time neuer so great, he escapeth not vnpunished. My selfe haue seene a man-slayer, who hauing liued six yeeres in forraigne parts, and then for loue of his Country returning home, was then beheaded, as if the crime had been newly com|mitted. No man will apprehend any malefactor, nor hinder his flight, but rather thinke it a point of humanity to helpe him, only the hangman and base fellowes ap|pointed for that office, lay hold vpon capitall offenders, so as very many escape by flight. Neither can any so base or poore man be found, excepting the hangman and his said companions, who for any reward will bee hired to do the Office of an exe|cutioner, both these actions being infamous here, as in Germany. Among the appre|henders, the chiefe are called Prouosts, and they of old had power to hang vagabonds, till abusing it to reuenge and rapine, it was taken from them. Vpon the rumour of any crime committed, these men with their seruants armed, are sent out into the coun|try, to apprehend the malefactors.

290 It was credibly told me, that the Emperor Charles the fifth, hauing suddenly com|manded a man to be hanged, who after, by an others confession of the fact, was found guiltle, vpon this error made a decrec, that no hangman should euer liue at the Hage, or neerer the court then Harlam, to the end, he being not at hand, the Magistrate might lesse offend in deliberate or protracted iudgments. For as in vpper Germany, so in Netherland, there is litle or no distance of time, betweene the offence committed, and the execution of iudgment; whereas in England, these iudgments are excercised at London once in six weeks, and for the Country, at two or foure set times in the yeere. No man is put to death without confession of the fact, neither doe they as in Germany, force confession by torture, but they condemne vpon one witnes, where probable coniectures concur to proue the malefactor guilty.

I thinke (sauing the iudgment of the better experienced in these affaires) that the [Note: Of their [...] in generall.] military discipline of the States Army is very commendable: For since those common|wealthes are most happy, where rewardes and punishments are most iustly giuen, sure|ly the States neither detaine nor delay the paiments due to the soldiers, nor leaue vn|punished their insolencies, nor yet their wanton iniuries, either towardes the subiects, or the Enemy yeelding vpon conditions. In the camp all things for food are free from all impositions, so as a man may there liue more plentifully or more frugally then in any of their Cities. And besides the soldiers pay duly giuen them, all sick and wounded persons are sent to their Hospitals, vulgarly called Gaslhausen (that is, houses for Guests) where all things for health, food, and clenlines of the body, are phisically, plentifully, and neately ministred to them; of which kinde of houses fairely and stately built, they haue one in each City. Also when they are recouered of theire sicknesses and wounds, they are presently sent backe to the Campe or their winter Garrisons. They

who are maimed in the warres, and made thereby vnfit for seruice, haue from them a Pension for life, or the value of the Pension in ready mony. On the other side they so punish the breakers of martiall discipline, as when bandes of Soldiers are conducted to any seruice or Garrison through the middest of their Cities or Vil|lages, not one of them is so hardy as to leaue his rancke, to doe the least wrong to any passenger, or to take so much as a chicken or crust of bread from the Subiects by force. And while my selfe was in those parts, I remember that vpon the giuing vp of a Castle into the States hands, after Proclamation made, that no Souldier should doe the least iniury to any of those who had yeelded the same, a souldier wantonly taking one of their hats away, or changing his hat with one of them, was presently hanged vp for this small insolency.

For warre by land, they haue no great power, (I speake particularly of the vnited [Note: Their Foote and horse.] Prouinces, not of Netherland in generall, which we reade to haue of old raised an ar|my of eighty thousand men). For since the subiects cannot be pressed to the warre, but when their owne City or Towne is besieged, and in that case their Magistrate go|ing before them, and leading them to the wals; and since the number of them is very small, who willingly follow that profession, hereupon almost all their army consisted of strangers, and long experience hath concluded mercenary Souldiers to be vnfit for great Conquests. So as wise men thinke for this reason, that the Common wealth of the States, is more fit, by due obseruing of their leagues and amity with confede|rates and neighbours, to defend their owne, then ambitiously to extend their Empire by inuading others. They haue heauy Friesland horses, more fit to endure the Ene|my charging, then to pursue him flying, (I speake not of Flanders and the other Pro|uinces yeelding good light horses); but all the waies and passages being fenced in with ditches of water, they haue at home lesse vse of horse, which makes them com|monly sell these horses in forraigne parts, vsing onely Mares to draw their Waggons and for other seruices of peace, which Mares are very beautifull and good.

The Inhabitants of these Prouinces, by nature, education, and art, are most fit for [Note: Of their [...] power.] Nauigation; and as in the exercise of all Arts, they are no lesse witty then industrious, so particularly they haue great skill in casting great Ordinance, in making gunpowder, 291 cables, ankers, and in building ships, of all which things and whatsoeuer is necessary to nualll warre, they haue great abundance, the matter being bought in forraigne parts, but wrought by their owne men at home: So as they are most powerfull at Sea, neither hath any King a Nauy superior or equall to theirs, excepting onely the King of England. And for coniecture of their generall power at Sea, I will be bold to adde what I haue credibly heard: That one City of Amsterdam at this time had some hundred shippes for the warre, (or men of warre), and some foure hundred ships of Merchants well armed for defence, besides (as they said) some ten thousand Barkes, or without all doubt an vncredible number.

Therefore if perhaps the vnited Prouinces forgetting their old league with Eng|land, and our late merit in defending their liberty, shall at any time resolue to haue warre with England, (which for the good of both Nations God forbid), then are such bloody fights at Sea like to happen as former Ages neuer knew. Yet the course of those times whereof I write, gaue small probability of any such euent like to hap|pen, for many reasons combining our minds together. First the happy amity that

hath beene time out of mind betweene our Nations. Next the bond of loue on our part, towards those wee haue preserued from bondage, and the like bond of their thankefulnesse towards vs, which howsoeuer ambition may neglect or despise, yet neuer any Nation was more obliged to another in that kind, and so long as the me|mory thereof can liue, it must needs quench all malice betweene vs. Besides, that they being not able to raise an Army of their owne men by Land, aswell for want of men, as because it must consist altogether of voluntaries, no man being bound to serue in the warre, except his Towne be besieged, and his owne Magistrate leade him to the walles; they haue hitherto happily vsed, and may euer so vse, our men for soul|diers, (wherein Britany aboundeth aboue all other Nations, neither doe they by much so esteeme the auxiliary bands of any other Nation as of ours). Lastly, in that they wanting many necessaries of their owne, and yet abounding in all things by trafficke, cannot long subsist without the freedome thereof; and nothing is so powerfull to di|minish their wealth, and to raise ciuill discords among them, as the barring of this freedome, which then seemed more easie or lesse difficult to the King of England, then to any other neighbour Prince, or (I will boldly say) to all other neighbour Princes ioined together against them, (they hauing strength of their owne to maintaine that freedome by Sea, and being able with the onely support of Britany, to defend them|selues by land against all other Enemies). For they had onely three passages to Sea, one by Vlishing in Zeland, another by Brill, vpon the South-west Coast of Holland, and a third narrow passage by the Iland Fly, to the Tassell, on the North-east side of Hol|land, whereof the two first were guarded by the said two strong Cities, with the Forts belonging to them, all kept by Garrisons of English Souldiers, and the stopping or restraining of the third, seemed lesse difficult to the Nauy of Britany, then to the pow|er of any other Enemy. At this time when I passed through these parts (of which time I write) the vnited Prouinces much complained of the English for taking their goods at Sea, and hindering their free traffick: wherein they should haue considered, that they caused the warre with Spaine, which we bore onely to second them. And if our Mer|chants were forced to leaue the trafficke of Spaine, where they had great freedome and amitie onely for their sakes, how could they thinke it iust and equal, that they should freelie supplie Spaine with food and necessaries for warre? so as the very commodities of England could not then be vented into Spaine, but onely by Flemmish (and some few Scottish) ships and Marriners, except they desired to make the warre Eternall, by which they onely grew rich, in which case our proiect was more iust, who for a time made war, that we might after liue in peace And whereas they then complained that not only prohibited wares carried to prohibited places, but also other their com|modities carried to friends, were spoiled by our men of war, (which perhaps through the insolency of Captaines and Souldiers, might sometimes happen); no doubt these iniuries were rare, and neuer borne with by the Queene or inferiour Magistrates; and they could not bee ignorant how hardly the insolency of Souldiers can be restrained 292 by land, and much more by sea. For all good Englishmen I may professe; that they ab|staining from prohibited traffick, no good Englishmen wished good successe or impu|nity to any English ships exercising piracy, especially against so neare confederates. These complaints I well remember to haue been at that time frequent in those parts, I know not how since appeased or continuing. And because the Q. of Eng-

land had dis|bursed much treasure for their safety, which they were bound to repay at the end of the warre, and threatned to deduct these spoiles out of the same, many then feared, lest this difference might in processe of time breed discord between England and those Prouinces. Also because the Townes and Forts giuen to the Queene as pledges for money disbursed, were then kept with weake Garrisons, ouertopped in number by the very Citizens, it was then thought, that the States might take them by force, if our Gouernours had not watchfull eye vpon their dessignes, and changes of counsell. In generall, good men on both sides are to wish the continuance of Peace betweene Eng|land and these Prouinces, by which both Commonwealths haue long had, and may still haue vnspeakable benefit, and that the rather, because we neuer yet had warre but perpetual amity together, neither can any war proue more bloudy or mischieuous to either part, then that betweene our selues. To conclude, happie be the makers, cursed the breakers of our peace.

2

FINIS.

Geographical Index

Bergamo, 8, 116, 234, 235, 858
boat, 19, 23, 29, 33, 37, 41, 42, 44, 45, 47–49, 52, 59, 64, 66, 69, 70, 72, 74, 78, 82–84, 88, 94, 98, 99, 106, 107, 109, 124, 129, 130, 133, 141, 147, 159, 161, 191, 193, 195, 218, 227, 228, 237, 245, 246, 255–257, 262, 263, 270, 274, 277, 280, 322, 323, 326, 334, 339–341, 346, 347, 416, 440, 465, 471, 479, 488, 489, 505, 517, 525, 549, 561, 572, 573, 658, 662, 711, 724, 729, 752, 795, 796, 818, 846, 847, 1076
Brenta, 101, 106–108

canal, 185
coach, 2, 3, 6, 10, 20, 22–24, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 33, 54, 56–60, 84, 89, 91, 92, 97–99, 106, 128, 129, 152, 153, 156, 199, 215, 221, 226, 227, 264–267, 376, 497, 546, 622, 676, 725, 743, 749, 750, 761, 793–797, 799, 802, 803, 810, 833, 836, 854, 910, 933, 937, 941, 948, 983, 1009

Florence, 8, 14, 79, 126, 132, 133, 138, 144, 181, 187, 189–193, 195–200, 204–207, 210, 211, 214–217, 221, 357, 371, 450, 482, 484, 489, 524, 530, 531, 534, 543, 550, 765, 766, 787, 788, 798, 806, 807, 809, 845, 846, 856, 861, 863–865, 940, 956, 967
Foscari, 117, 126
Fusina, 106, 107

Genoa, 8, 16, 130, 153, 217–219, 221, 222, 371, 372, 748, 788–790, 845, 855, 856, 862, 863, 865, 866, 939–941, 1026, 1049, 1064

horse, 2, 3, 6, 10, 11, 14, 26–29, 32, 34, 35, 38–44, 47–49, 52, 54–56, 59, 64, 71, 76, 80, 83, 86, 92–99, 102, 103, 106, 110, 114, 116, 128, 129, 131, 132, 134–136, 141, 142, 144–147, 151, 152, 155, 156, 163, 174, 175, 177, 178, 181, 182, 184, 188, 190, 195, 196, 198, 199, 201, 202, 213, 214, 216, 217, 221, 222, 225–228, 230, 231, 233–237, 239, 240, 242–244, 252, 255, 256, 260, 264, 267–269, 281, 283, 312, 314, 317–319, 326–328, 331, 336, 346, 347, 351, 372, 375, 376, 379, 382, 383, 385, 388, 393, 400, 404, 405, 407–415, 417–422, 424–426, 432–438, 441, 445–448, 450–457, 460, 461, 464, 466, 467, 469–472, 474–478, 481, 482, 484, 486–488, 492–498, 503–509, 511–513, 515, 516, 519–523, 525, 527–530, 532–537, 539, 541, 543–549, 551–555, 557, 558, 560–564, 566, 568, 570, 571, 574, 577, 580–587, 593, 596, 597, 599, 610, 617, 618, 620–625, 627, 631, 637, 639–641, 646, 647, 649, 650, 652, 653, 661, 671, 676, 679, 681, 690, 694, 697, 703, 706, 709, 716, 719, 724, 725, 727–729, 743, 744, 749, 753, 760, 763, 786, 788, 791, 793–803, 809, 821, 823, 831, 833–835, 838, 843, 844, 846, 852–854, 860, 861, 864, 871, 882, 886, 891, 894, 906, 910, 911, 913, 914, 918, 920, 925, 928, 929, 932, 939, 941, 942, 945, 952, 960, 961, 963, 968–973, 981, 983, 984, 988–991, 993, 1000, 1007–1010, 1015, 1022, 1034, 1036–1038, 1046,

1048, 1050, 1051, 1068, 1070, 1072, 1075, 1080

Mantua, 154, 226–228, 232, 372, 788, 789, 809, 858, 866, 939, 957, 967
Milan, 8, 16, 23, 80, 130, 210, 213, 221, 223–227, 230, 232, 234, 235, 248, 259, 372, 748, 765, 787–789, 798, 813, 845, 855, 857, 858, 864–866, 868, 939, 1032–1038, 1047–1050, 1052, 1064

Naples, 8, 130, 144–154, 156, 159, 161–164, 166, 167, 172, 186–188, 192, 221, 259, 302, 352, 353, 357, 370, 371, 744, 760, 764–766, 783, 787, 797, 798, 804, 809, 813, 857, 858, 860, 871, 872, 891, 1036, 1047, 1049, 1064

on foot, 24, 46, 47, 50, 51, 63, 64, 73, 76, 77, 83, 90, 128–130, 134, 136, 153, 172, 188, 190, 203, 204, 217–219, 221–224, 227, 230, 242–244, 255, 260, 262–264, 283, 286, 293, 334, 375, 472, 582, 631, 654, 671, 748, 753, 779, 794, 797, 798, 871, 939, 983, 999, 1048
on foot, 1048

Paduoa, 8, 96, 99–103, 106–109, 118, 127, 207, 209, 211, 213, 227, 228, 231, 233, 235, 236, 765, 787–789
Paris, 9, 74, 75, 109, 114, 116, 174, 182, 230, 239, 243–250, 252, 254–256, 424, 732, 741, 745, 772, 791, 799, 801, 804, 806, 807, 810, 866, 875, 890, 892, 894, 895, 912, 967, 1062, 1067, 1070
Po, 101, 128, 869
Pozzoli, 149, 153, 155–157, 159, 167

Rome, 8, 41, 45, 50, 88, 97, 100, 103, 106, 107, 110, 112, 114–116, 119, 120, 128, 131–134, 136, 139, 141, 142, 144–147, 149, 157, 159–172, 174–182, 184–188, 190, 196, 198, 201, 202, 206, 209, 210, 214, 217, 224, 225, 233, 284, 288, 294, 295, 302, 338, 351, 357, 371, 416, 484, 516, 667, 732–734, 739–741, 744, 745, 756, 758, 760, 765, 766, 768–770, 780, 786, 787, 789, 798, 804–806, 809, 813, 844, 847, 856, 857, 859, 860, 863, 871, 882, 912, 913, 917, 952–954, 960, 968, 989, 1029, 1033

ship, 18, 20–22, 27, 29, 36, 40, 41, 46, 55, 60, 61, 66–68, 71, 73, 74, 76, 78, 81, 82, 84–86, 88–90, 96, 108, 111–113, 115, 117, 119, 122, 124, 130, 133, 136, 137, 139, 144, 151, 156, 165, 172, 187, 192, 193, 196, 199, 212, 218, 231, 232, 247, 256, 257, 262, 263, 270–281, 284, 288, 289, 296, 301, 302, 304, 306, 307, 309, 310, 312, 316, 318, 321–324, 326, 330–334, 337, 340–348, 353, 356, 369, 383, 387, 388, 390–393, 395, 397–402, 405, 407, 408, 411, 414–418, 420, 421, 424, 427, 428, 432–434, 438–442, 448–455, 460, 464–492, 494, 497–515, 518–528, 530–539, 541–545, 547–549, 551–555, 557–562, 564, 566, 567, 570–578, 580, 582, 583, 585–588, 591–599, 601, 602, 604–610, 612–620, 622–628, 630–647, 649–656, 658–662, 666–670, 672–676, 678–682, 686, 688–696, 702, 703, 705–707, 709–724, 727, 741, 744, 751, 753, 756, 760, 761, 764, 766, 768–770, 787, 788, 805, 808, 818, 821, 824–826, 832, 844, 846, 850, 851, 853, 865, 866, 870, 875, 880, 883, 884, 886, 892–894, 896, 898, 900, 904, 910, 911, 919, 926, 928, 938, 944, 962, 963, 974, 989, 990, 994, 998, 1002, 1005–1008, 1012, 1013, 1015, 1016, 1024, 1028, 1030–1032, 1034, 1042, 1043, 1048, 1049, 1054, 1063, 1067–1069, 1075, 1076, 1080, 1081

Siena, 8, 144, 188, 190, 191, 195, 196, 205–207, 210, 211, 214–216, 766, 788–790, 798, 809, 856, 868

Urbino, 135, 858

Venice, 9, 98, 101, 102, 106, 107, 109, 111, 113, 115, 123, 127, 131, 196, 227, 230, 235–237, 244, 259, 270, 271, 275, 279, 280, 311, 323, 327, 341–344, 346, 352, 353, 355, 357, 367, 369, 370, 372–374, 766, 790, 798, 809, 862–866, 868, 893, 941

Verona, 8, 112, 113, 230–234, 236, 788, 817, 858

Villa Contarini, 98, 118, 119, 126

walk, 20, 21, 26, 33, 34, 37, 38, 46, 49, 52, 54–56, 64, 67, 69, 70, 73–81, 90, 93, 95–97, 99, 101, 102, 121–123, 128, 130, 131, 134, 136, 137, 150–153, 155, 160–162, 171, 174, 179, 181–183, 188, 190–193, 197, 201, 204, 219, 221, 222, 224, 226, 227, 233, 239, 240, 245, 247, 250, 252–254, 257, 262, 266, 269, 275, 278, 282, 285–288, 308, 316, 318, 322, 324, 325, 328, 332, 335, 339, 400, 473, 486, 508, 568, 606, 722, 739, 759, 760, 767, 784, 787, 791, 797, 804, 805, 808–810, 832, 899, 913, 937, 993, 1020, 1024, 1045, 1063, 1072