The Political Pilgrim: William Lithgow of Lanark on God and Country

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The Political Pilgrim:

William Lithgow of Lanark on God and Country

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
Department of History
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Where does one begin when thinking of all those to whom they owe a debt of gratitude? Is it truly possible to recall every individual who has touched our life and influenced our musings? Are those who may be forgotten indelibly linked to our soul so that it is impossible to ever really “forget” to include them? I should hope that they are always a part of me, and though deserving of accolades, for one reason or another fail to make the list before the deadline of publication, or to borrow from the annual awards shows popular in twentieth and, thus far, twenty-first century America, before the music cuts the remembrances. Also, there are many people whom we have each encountered during our own travels: too many to recall in a brief span of time.

First and foremost, I must thank my parents, without whom I would not have been brought into this world and, after birth, helped to become person I am today. You have both been an inspiration and a source of constant support (and prodding when necessary). In so many ways, this would not have been possible without you. My grandparents were always there for support and encouragement, as have my family members now spread across the country. Special thanks, of course, go to my brothers, who despite all my quirks and the many moments of frustration, anger, and antagonism have, for me, been a motivation. I also thank my many teachers and instructors over the years who helped to mold my thinking in disparate ways. Also, to the many people with whom I have worked for both short and long periods of my life. There are too many of you to name in this brief space, but you are often in my thoughts.
I must thank William Lithgow and the many people who brought his travel account to market so that his adventures could be preserved for posterity. Without this striking individual, I would not have found the font of so many hours of entertainment, thought, discussion, angst, and befuddlement. You certainly were one of a kind! It is hard to believe how I stumbled upon you during a keyword search! You made the cut and have challenged me over the past three years.

During my travels through life, there have been many people who supported me following the death of my first partner, with whom I spend a quarter of my life. Kip, his family, and our friends are forever in my heart and on my mind. Dustin, you entered my life at a trying time and have been with me in one manner or another for an additional quarter of my life. I am honored and blessed to have met you both. You both have touched and continue to touch me in profound ways. Sebastian too, has shared my life for a decade. Your constant smiles and tapping tail have brought me profound joy in some of my moments of great despair. Thanks too to Ken, who has probably felt more like a babysitter over the past two years than anything.

I first returned to the University of South Florida following a circuitous route and was greeted by adversity (which only further motivated me) and compassion. Dr. Benadusi, I remember turning to you after some failed attempts at a seminar paper on the fourteenth century and then returned a few years later with hundreds of pages I compiled from secondary sources and tried to call and “undergraduate thesis.” We have had our struggles, but know that none of this would be possible without your encouragement, recommendations, and dogged insistence. I hope to earn your admiration as our relationship continues. Dr. Koenig, for your smile, honesty, and stimulation for perfection are inspiring. I wish we had met sooner, but I am glad we did. Thank you as well, Dr. Fraser for asking probing questions. Of course, to my many colleagues, each you are present in this. Thank you for dealing with my rants and raves about Lithgow.
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ABSTRACT

Early modern travel literature commented on the expectations and impressions of the traveler as they encountered foreign spaces, customs, and people. Those travelers who wrote their tales used their narratives about distant places to engage in debates that were meaningful to their domestic audience. However, modern scholarship often insists on maintaining the centrality of the author and proof of their sensory experience. The gaze of scholarship, therefore, rarely extends beyond the traveler and those whom s/he encountered: the Other. This serves only to perpetuate the severance of travel literature from other linguistic exercises that more directly engaged in debates that were directly relevant to domestic readers. Author-centered analysis isolates the traveler from the wider world in which they engaged. It also ignores the other voices that are inherent in the works.

As the disparate kingdoms of England and Scotland began their process of unification under King James VI and I, society did not emerge as distinctly British within a short period of time. Religious beliefs inherited from a unified Christian Europe helped travelers engage with other confessions. They also provided models to help travelers both understand their experiences and relate them to their readers. Powerful Christian ideas, such as martyrdom, pilgrimage, and shared devotion, infused the thoughts of travelers, readers, and those who brought the two together in the marketplace.
The travel works relating William Lithgow’s adventures at the dawn of the seventeenth century provide an exceptional opportunity to glimpse the development of a traveler’s identity. They also provide the opportunity to place the various editions within the context of his domestic culture, as he was re-inculcated before once again debarking on new adventures. As England and Scotland fluctuated between a state of stronger alliance and greater distance, Lithgow became a subtle example of political and religious unity. Understanding that early modern Europeans, in general, travelers more specifically required the ability to easily adopt variant persona are critical to recognizing the protagonist of an adventure tale as a political partisan and tolerant zealot.
CHAPTER ONE:  
A PROFUSE PEREGRINATOR  

While visiting the Holy Land around 1611, William Lithgow of Lanark took part in an excursion to the River Jordan, one of the holiest sites in Christendom. Lithgow engaged in a ritualistic bath before he decided to craft a pilgrim staff from a tree branch. Ultimately, he gave the staff to his twofold sovereign King James VI of Lithgow’s native Scotland and I of England, an inherited association. Perched in the tree, Lithgow noted that his fellow travelers were under attack. Despite his nakedness, Lithgow leapt from the tree and ran between the janissaries, who had been hired to protect the travelers, and the attacking party, distracting the attackers. Lithgow ultimately credited himself for saving the party. As enlivening as this episode is on its own, Lithgow’s commentary which follows captured a critical element of his traveling persona: mutability. After being given a Franciscan robe, Lithgow noted in amusement that “in the space of an hour I was clothed three manner of ways - first like a Turk; secondly like a wild Arabian; and thirdly like a grey friar, which was a barbarous, a savage, and a religious habit.”1 Changing clothes may seem trivial, but in Lithgow’s account, he identified his attire with distinct roles which possessed specific characteristics. By donning the attire of these various personae, Lithgow seemed to adopt certain elements of the people most associated with each particular style of dress. For him, life as an early modern traveler required such mutability.  

While travel fostered the skill of adaptability, producing a travel account for the seventeenth-century marketplace required additional skills, including cooperation and the ability  

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to deliver a timely message to potential readers. The protagonist in Lithgow’s travel accounts possessed a significant degree of versatility. This thesis has two objectives. First it shows how in three distinct travel accounts Lithgow crafted a character whose foreign encounters provided the opportunity to espouse important religious and political messages to his readers. I will highlight the ways in which the protagonist demonstrated toleration of religious difference. This same character also idealized sacrifice for a Christian God and for a kingdom that united Scotland and England under Stuart rule. Secondly, I more broadly argue that distinct forms of texts ought to be more fully incorporated into our understanding of the past. Rather than to isolate various types of writing, from formal literature to broadsides, these various media participated in often overlapping conversations about the society from which they emerged. Drawing on various strands of scholarship, I will show that multiple voices are present in early modern books, even those which purport to be singular in origin.

In order to more fully discover the various ways in which the subjects of textual remains represented, and often shaped, the ideas of their initial audience, I suggest that we begin by acknowledging the complexity of early modern Europeans themselves. We may never fully understand figures from the past and we can only partly reconstruct a facsimile of who they were. Our chance to fully re-animate people from the early modern period is complicated by the fondness of Europeans from the era to masquerade. Early modern Europeans often adopted alterior personae in order to engage in activities from which they ordinarily would be excluded, and contrariwise, to escape detection. Wendy Doniger recognizes that each of us has a “network of selves inside us...we are never ourselves merely to ourselves but always in relation to others, even if only imagined others.” She contends that each of these “masks” are of vital importance
both to the individual and to the world at large, for safety and to enhance the complexity of life. By existing within foreign spaces, travelers especially had to adapt to unfamiliar, and often dangerous, situations, often through the ability to masquerade.3

While in foreign spaces, there were expectations placed upon itinerants by at least two cultural groups: those whom s/he encountered and those s/he left behind. A traveler inhabited the space between cultural landscapes. As a traveler, William Lithgow transitioned from persona to persona as required by his travels. Sometimes he hoped to escape detection; at other times, Lithgow changed his outward persona, both through dress and action in order to join a community that he encountered more fully. In essence, the goal was often to disappear into his surroundings and not to stand out. This desire to mis-present themselves was especially troubling to secular and religious institutions which simultaneously, according to Miriam Eliav-Feldon, “were frantically creating new means for ascertaining each person’s identity.”4 In recording his experiences in printed form, the ability to adopt and discard various identities became evident. For example, this mutability allowed William Lithgow to move within a range of religious and ethnic identities. Occasionally, he even encountered fellow countrymen on his journeys, which undoubtedly led him to fondly recall his home. William Lithgow’s domestic culture (and that of other travelers), certainly exerted a stronger and often more direct influence on the adventurer.

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2 Wendy Doniger, “Many Masks, Many Selves,” *Daedalus*, 135:4 (Fall 2006), 67. Doniger contends that “there’s a natural human tendency to search for the real self, a center, but I think that’s the coward’s way out. As we go deeper and deeper through the alternating layers of masks and faces, we never reach a monolithic core…Perhaps, then, the best bet is to wear as many as possible, realize that we are wearing them, and try to find out what each one conceals and reveals.” She continues to contend that “if we always tried to be one single self, without our masks, the world would grind to a halt. With them, the world proceeds from self to self,” 70-71.

3 Miriam Eliav-Feldon, *Renaissance Imposters and Proofs of Identity* (Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 9. In *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, John Jeffries Martin also noted that “the experience of personhood in the Renaissance world was therefore, often the experience of the divided self, of a person who was frequently forced to wear a façade in public that disguised his or her convictions, beliefs or feelings – an experience that often led in the Renaissance and in the sixteenth century in particular to a new emphasis on inwardness,” (Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 48.

than he probably anticipated. The range of encounters provided the foundation on which to un-
mask the multiple identities that Lithgow adopted in order to survive. My notion of “persona/e”
derives in part from Eliay-Feldon and Doniger, who persuasively argue that early modern
individuals drew from their personal “network of selves” to project a particular self-image, based
on the group of people with whom they were engaged and the specific situation in which the
encounter took place. I also borrow from Tison Pugh’s conception of a literary self, which
“represents the plurality of personal possibilities which that author embodies.”

To claim that early modern individuals were able to create a personal and ‘national’
identity is troubling to many theorists. It is often anticipated that Europeans did not create an
individual identity until the Enlightenment era. The authors of *Early Modern English Lives:
Autobiography and Self-Representation, 1500-1660* certainly disagree with this interpretation,
finding that personal, specifically national identities emerged within sixteenth century England.
Most importantly, they find that travel-writers incorporated elements gleaned from their
encounters into their personal accounts of the journey. These meetings also helped the travel-
writer construct an identity that included perceptions of gender, nation and community, foreign

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5 Tison Pugh, “Personae, Same-Sex Desire, and Salvation in the Poetry of Marbod of Rennes, Baudri of

6 Much of the concentration on post-Enlightenment selfhood has relied on criticisms that reached their
peak, perhaps with Michel Foucault. Consider, for example, that while he allows for the early indications of a sexual
self in the early seventeenth century, it is only in the Victorian Era in which the western sense of a sexual self
emerged. Much of the response to Stephen Greenblatt’s influential *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to
Shakespeare*, focused on his assumptions concerning a timeless concept of selfhood. Critics have been especially
concerned with his claims for a certain level of consistency between humans culture today and that of the past, see
especially Alistair Fowler, “Power to the self: Review of Stephen Greenblatt, From More to Shakespeare,” *TLS* 4092
More to Shakespeare*,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 35:2 (Summer 1982), especially 317 and 321. While John Jeffries
Martin questions some of Greenblatt’s findings, he also suggests that the shift toward recognition of “individualist
notions of identity” began in the seventeenth century, a distinct sense of self continues to develop to this day, for
“our own assumptions about the self would be equally unrecognizable to such architects of the modern political
order such as Locke, Montesquieu, and Jefferson,” 132.
practices and places and how “meanings played out in people’s lives.”7 Travel gave certain individuals the opportunity to test their personal assumptions and to emerge changed from the experience seemingly without emotional sacrifice. In part, their fellow travelers and the places they visited, rather than their own personal experience caused travelers to modify their perceptions of others. Travelers helped to formulate “conceptions of the individual – both as political subject and as psycho-social being [which] emerged in some form during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.”8

The thousands of Europeans who traversed the expanses connecting Europe, Asia and Africa virtually required not only a clear sense of self, but a self-concept that could adapt to the variety the traveler encountered. Noted Mediterranean scholar, Eric Dursteler notes that as early as the mid-seventeenth century, a “fluid and instrumental identity...comprised of a number of overlapping religious, cultural, social and political factors” was essential for travelers through the Mediterranean. More importantly, Dursteler notes that Lithgow’s contemporary travelers identified themselves first by religious affiliation, next by specific geographic origin, and finally through a linguistic and cultural similarity. Equally important, travelers “could and did move seamlessly between different poles of their identities as necessity dictated.”9

The maintenance of a “network of selves” was common within early modern Europe, as Wendy Doniger demonstrated. For those who crossed the Mediterranean and intended to occupy its variant shores for any length of time, multiple personae were not only an asset, but a necessity if the traveler wished to successfully navigate the multiple ethnicities and religious persuasions.

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After traversing these variant spaces for nearly nineteen years, William Lithgow certainly was adept at adapting to his surroundings and, somehow finding the means to blend in. The publications described those various personae noting that adaptability and acceptance were most important when a traveler encountered religious difference, as Dursteler noted. Within Lithgow’s narrative, “nation” became more than merely a place of birth, but a larger collective with a shared language and, beginning in 1603, a shared monarch. The nation to which Lithgow belonged was equally comprised of Englishmen and Scotsmen, two peoples who shared a common identity.

**THE INVETERATE, ENIGMATIC TRAVELER**

William Lithgow of Lanark has been identified as one of the first in a new wave of itinerants who journeyed extensively from the island of Britain in the early modern period. His published narratives are also among the oldest and most popular travel works from the era. Four distinct printings from the early seventeenth century described William Lithgow’s experiences during three excursions taken between 1609 and 1621. After nineteen years, he claimed to have traveled “thirty-six thousand and odd miles” through the Mediterranean, nearly

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If the publication of four distinct editions during Lithgow’s lifetime does not speak to his fame on their own right, Clifford Edmund Bosworth notes that Lithgow “achieved much contemporary fame” in *An Intrepid Scot: William Lithgow of Lanark’s Travels in the Ottoman Lands, North Africa and Central Europe, 1609-21* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2006), xvii.

11 Lithgow’s ‘magnum opus’ has been alternately referred to as *The Rare Adventures and Painful Peregrinations* in more contemporary publications. The original title of the work, however, is *The Totall Discourse Of the Rare Aduentures, and painefull Peregrinations of long nineteene Yeares Trauayles, from Scotland to the most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia and Affrica. Persited by three deare bought Voyages, in Surueighing of Forty eight Kingdomes ancient and Moderne; twenty one Rei-publickes, ten absolute Principalities, with two hundred Islands. The Particular Names whereof, are Described in each Argument of the ten Diuisions of this History: And it also diuided in Three Bookes; two whereof, never heretofore Published. Wherein is Contayned, an exact Relation, of the Laws, Religion, Policies, and Government of all their Princes, Potentates, and People. Together with the grevous Tortures he suffered, by the Inquisition of Malaga in Spaine, his miraculous Discovery and Delivery thence: And of his last and late Returne from the Northerne Iles*. The emphasis is my own.
all of Europe, the Levant and North Africa (Figure 1). On his first peregrination, which lasted from 1609 through 1613, Lithgow visited Italy, the Adriatic coast, Greece, the Near East and Egypt. In 1614, after remaining in England for a year, he embarked on a second journey. This time, he visited the areas along the Rhine, Switzerland and northwestern Africa. After traveling through Italy, Lithgow turned to central, eastern and northern Europe. In 1619, William Lithgow finally toured Ireland and sailed for Aquitaine with the ultimate goal of visiting Spain. In Malaga, William Lithgow was captured by Spanish authorities, charged as a spy, and put into prison. He remained in prison for nearly six months and after having been “rescued” by an English captain, he returned to England. He immediately began appeals for restitution for the torture he endured, first from the Spanish and then from the English crown.

In 1614, following his first excursion, Lithgow published the initial narrative describing his journeys. Due to its popularity, the 1614 edition was slightly modified and republished in 1616. After returning from Spain, Lithgow published a revised travelogue in 1623. The final publication of his travels came in 1632. Both of these last two versions included descriptions of Lithgow’s later two trips, which ended with accounts of his captivity in Spain and return to England. With each subsequent edition, Lithgow also expanded on previous experiences, often relating additional details on which he had previously been forced to remain silent, “inclining to factious times.” Each edition began with the same bold objective for the protagonist: to learn “the secrets, manners, customs, and Religions of all Nations, and People.”

Whenever possible, I have elected to use the slightly abridged Folio Society edition as the English script has been modernized along with some of the language, as with the quotation here, from The Rare Adventures and Painful Peregrinations of William Lithgow, Gilbert Phelps, ed., (London: The Folio Society, 1974), 290.
12 Lithgow, A most delectable, and true discourse, of an admired and painefull peregrination from Scotland, to the most famous kingdomes in Europe, Asia and Affricke (London: Nicholas Oakes, 1623), 195. Hereinafter, this edition will be referenced as Lithgow (1623).
13 Lithgow, A most delectable, and true discourse, of an admired and painefull peregrination from Scotland, to the most famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia and Affricke (London: Nicholas Oakes, 1614), B. Hereinafter, I will refer to this edition as Lithgow (1614).
represented the character of the three continents Lithgow visited, but more importantly, the state of affairs in “Britain.” The travel narratives of William Lithgow addressed the broad themes of nation and religion, both of which were at the forefront of contemporary thought, but more importantly, on the mind(s) of those who brought the printed text to the public.

Despite the richness of the representations offered in the publications, most scholars have been more concerned with substantiating the life of William Lithgow rather than examining the larger implications the narrative holds as a window into Jacobean society. This has resulted in the acceptance of local lore and in the terse dismissal of Lithgow’s personality. Setting the tone for later scholars, the early nineteenth century antiquarian collection the *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* noted, but paid no attention to curiosities and gaps within the biography of William Lithgow. Despite recognizing William Lithgow’s fame, Robert Chambers, like those who followed him, did not even attempt to uncover any more than the vaguest information about Lithgow’s background. There are no conclusive records of his birth or death, and like much of his biography, conjecture and “tradition” surround the life of William Lithgow. However, no one seems puzzled by these voids which have progressively been filled only by supposition. Attempts to explain the traveler’s motives parallel this elision between fact and fantasy, where folklore satisfies a desire for a lurid tale of social climbers severely punished for their violation of norms. In the case of William Lithgow, antiquarians tended to relate the tale of his failed attempts to deflower a Scottish woman of some repute prompting him to flee from her

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14 For the sake of consistency and brevity, I will refer to the kingdoms of England and Scotland, which were united under James VI/I in 1603 as “Britain.” Although the kingdoms were not officially united until 1707, I contend that the team which brought Lithgow’s narratives to print conceived of the kingdoms as already united. See Chapter 4, “Written British: Traveled as Both English and Scot” for a more thorough discussion of the conception of “nation” in the travel narratives.

defenders.\textsuperscript{16} Rather than highlighting the flaws in the personal account and examining the context of the journals, two of the most recent Lithgow scholars, though disputing the exact details, repeated the moral failings that explained the protagonist’s wanderlust.\textsuperscript{17} While this points to expectations that Lithgow flouted gendered interactions, it diverts attention from the real import of Lithgow’s works for scholars and allows for Lithgow’s dismissal as an outsider.

Most commentators, hoping to avoid the quagmire of antiquarianism, have focused more on the over-the-top style of the tomes. Noted scholar Clifford Edmund Bosworth, described Lithgow as “a fascinating character who seems to have attracted adventures to himself like iron filings to a magnet.”\textsuperscript{18} Samuel Chew, who is certainly not a fan of the “hard, dour, truculent, and pugnacious Scot,” criticized Lithgow for accounts that “typical of the writers of early travel books…frequently pillaged from their predecessors with no acknowledgement whatsoever,” only to praise what he ultimately considers “an invaluable record of travel.”\textsuperscript{19} It is more fruitful to approach his publications as potential manifestations of popular beliefs that were possibly influential on contemporary culture, rather than to corroborate his travels. In that light, the attention paid to the significant themes of religion, nation and identity become more important than attempts to construct Lithgow’s specific past.

\textsuperscript{16} The earliest attempt to discover Lithgow’s past, by an anonymous compiler found a political explanation most plausible, \textit{The Retrospective review, and historical antiquarian magazine}, Volume 11, Henry Southern and Nicholas Harris Nicolas, eds. (London: Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1825), 343-344, accessed March 6, 2015, http://google.com/books?id=Br8VAQAAIAAJ.

Rather than focus on too many specifics, Thomas George Stevenson indicates that there is a great deal of mystery surrounding much of Lithgow’s past, including “the exact period of Lithgow’s birth,” “Prefatory Notes,” \textit{The poetical remains of William Lithgow, the Scottish [sic.] traveller. M.D.XVIII.-M.DC.LX.: now first collected}, Thomas George Stevenson, ed. (Edinburgh: Colston & Son, Printer,1863), vii-xi, accessed November 23, 2014, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc2.ark:/13960/t2h70dd0r.. Stevenson is quite proud of his investigative work, which uncovered local tales of sexual impropriety from the “present representative of the Lithgows of Boathaugh...according to the understanding of his predecessors” (x) and “the grandfather of Dr. Newbigging, the eminent Edinburgh physician, when mentioning this story” of the acquisition of a home in the area. Recognizing his lack of specific proof, Stevenson insists that “generally speaking, family repute is to a certain extent evidence” (xi)!

\textsuperscript{17} Bosworth, 17-18.

\textsuperscript{18} Bosworth, xvi.

TRAVEL LITERATURE AND HYBRIDITY

Historians have tended to focus on two themes in English travel literature during the early modern period: the Grand Tour of the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and colonial endeavors. The Grand Tour, has long been the most popular subject within the travel genre, and has served as the temporal and spatial boundary for most literature through familiar realms (non-colonial). English scholars have grappled with themes of gender20, religion21 and the construction of modern identities. Histories of earlier travel have tended to focus on England’s contacts with those outside of Europe, primarily the Americas. The concentration has clearly been on those cultures that had rarely or never been encountered by the English and the construction of a proto-

20 This is only intended to be a sampling of the attention paid to the gender of travelers. An examination of the assumptions made by writers in the early modern period and by our contemporaries about the gender of travelers would be enlightening. In the interest of brevity, I will only touch on this notion. A. Lyton Sells, notes that “Elizabeth I encouraged you men to go abroad,” The Paradise of Travellers: The Italian Influence of Englishmen in the Seventeenth Century (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964.), 43. It is noteworthy that the only women mentioned in Sells’ account are: political leaders, such as Elizabeth, Mary Tudor, Mary Queen of Scots, Marguerite-Louise d’Orleans, the Spanish Intiftata and Henrieta-Maria, who are all peripheral figures; or still reside in England, such as Finch’s sister Anne Conway, who is mentioned only as the recipient of his letters. Only Mary Cromwell is a ‘participant’ in travel to Italy, and although she is mentioned as part of her husband, Viscount Falconbridge’s motivation for seeking the ambassadorship to Venice, p.48. While Christopher Hibbert never explicitly mentions that travel was an activity exclusively for men in The Grand Tour, he elides that “young English gentlemen were sent on their travels,” (London: Methven London, Ltd., 1987), 14. Although Jeremy Black mentions (in passing) that “the eighteenth century witnessed a substantial increase in the number of British men and women travelling,” The British and the Grand Tour (Beckenham, Kent: Croom Helm, 1985), 1, he begins the work noting that he intended to examine “the Grand Tour, the classic trip of a wealth, young man,” ii. Brian Dolan infers that early travel to Continental Europe effectively barred women when he noted “the Continent was no longer considered the exclusive playground for Gentlemen’s Grand Tours,” Ladies of the Grand Tour: British Women in Pursuit of Enlightenment and Adventure in Eighteenth Century Europe (New York: Harper Collins, 2001), 7. Chloe Chard briefly discusses the problem of gender in the authorship of travel accounts in Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600-1830 (Manchester: University Press, 1999, 34-39. She notes that the first travel accounts that can be attributed to women do not appear until the mid-eighteenth century.

21 Most scholarship on religious themes within travel literature have, unsurprisingly, focused on religious difference, including descriptions of contrary religions in terms that would be used for a range of ‘Others’ For example, see Hadfield, Literature, Travel and Colonial Writing, 13. John Walter Stoye noted that English travel journals that described visits to Italy especially are wrought with observations of religious attitudes, English Travelers Abroad: 1604-1667, Their Influence in English Society and Politics (New York: Octagon Books, 1968), 111. Some scholars have coalesced references to fears of conversion while traveling. Edward Chaney connected the ebbs and flows of travel from the British Isles to confessionalism. He noted that throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries especially, English writers expressed an anxiety over potential conversion. See The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance (Portland: Frank Cass, 1998), 45, 75-6, and 80.
colonial approach to the Other.22 Even the most recent calls for a reinterpretation of the earliest travel literature have restricted their examination within these themes, either stressing the international dimension of travel (proto-colonial) or desire to separate travel and religion (proto-Grand Tour). Following the critique of orientalism, some historians have examined the nature of interactions with more familiar cultures during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most notably, the Ottomans. Influential works by Gerald MacLean and Anna Suryani, among others, have uncovered how the English dealt with contradictory concerns: engaging in contacts that were strategically beneficial but fraught with moral concerns that were rooted in centuries-old discourse on the danger of known foreigners, especially Muslims.23

Abandoning an almost-exclusive focus on specific themes of the Other, Percy Adams has noted that an intrinsic characteristic of travel literature is its hybridity, which allows the voyager to capture both the expected and unexpected. Before they even left home, the variety of reasons

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22 By the time Lithgow began his travels, the English were only beginning to engage in colonial enterprises. Scholars tend to consider the eighteenth century to be critical to early modern colonial enterprises as European powers battled over early imperial holdings. Lasting colonial policies within Europe were enacted in the latter half of the seventeenth century. See, for example, *The Western Perspective: A History of Civilization in the West*, Volume II, Since 1500, Philip V. Cannistraro and John J. Reich, eds. (Fort Wort: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1999), 556-7. *Travel Knowledge: European 'Discoveries' in the Early Modern Period* discusses the emergence of a colonial discourse, in which travel literature played a considerable part, in the eighteenth century. In either case, notions of overseas empire were, at best, only beginning to enter into the English mindset as Lithgow disembarked. Ivo Kampfs and Jyotsma E. Singh, eds. (New York: Palgrave, 2001)

23 The editors of *Travel Knowledge: European 'Discoveries' in the Early Modern Period* note that early modern travel writers clear tropes, fantasies and rhetorical structures to construct binaries that would later justify colonialism and contrast civilization and barbarism and pious and impious Christianity. Readers were expected to respond to the cultural, racial and sexual identities that the travel-writer encountered. 6. "cultural codes which travel narratives place between the reader and the supposed eyewitness," 6. In *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare’s Time*, contributors noted that within the Grand Tour, even Italy was constructed as the foreign space and that Italians and Italian culture as the ‘Other’ experienced by the English traveler. The contributors find that the English created a mapped world that connected foreign courts to the crown, while excluding Catholics and rival Protestants. Jean-Pierre Maquerlot and Michelle Williams, eds. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Chard also notes the preoccupation with the ‘Other’ in travel literature. Gerald MacLean’s *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720* (Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2004) provides an exceptional account of English travel accounts and the representation of the tensions inherent in cooperation with the Ottomans, passim, especially xvi. Anna Suryani connects travel, travel writing and the intensification of English economic enterprises, which were directly connected to the interest in overseas holdings in *The Genius of the English Nation: Travel Writing and National Identity in Early Modern England* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), passim, especially 2-3, 17-19, 21-28, 30-38, and 166-168.
that motivated travelers to depart clearly shaped their conceptions. Those stimuli helped to chart the travelers’ itineraries and their experiences. The peregrination would be filled with both milestones and mishaps, further molding the form and content as the story evolved. As the traveler returned to their home and set out to pen their adventures, they drew on a range of established forms, including narratives, epistolary collections, and journals, to describe their peregrinations. All works shared a singular characteristic: representation of physical movement in word. The final form largely depended on the expectations and experiences of each individual author and the manner they chose to relate them and the ways the writer anticipated the reader to reenact the drama of the journey. The Lithgow narratives certainly brim with drama.

For such a work as creative and intriguing as Lithgow’s, it is surprising that more scholars have not followed the general advice of Charles L. Batten, whose Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth Century Travel Literature calls for a closer examination of travel literature from a more literary perspective. This approach leads the critic to recognize the use of popular forms and conventions that many authors of travel books used to highlight the entertainment value of their works. Thrills and drama captured their reader’s interest and attention. Once readers were hooked, the crafty travel narrator interjected timely and

24 Percy Adams discusses the flexibility inherent in travel literature in Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1983). While not exhaustive, Adams points to numerous reasons for travel, including “unprincipled sailors...pilgrims...traders, missionaries, explorers, colonizers, and warriors...ambassadors...” various bureaucrats, those “following the call of religion, occupation, or education...visiting or accompanying spouses, other relatives or friends...people [who] fled litigation, family problems, persecution, or unhealthy climates...adventurers and the lovers of travel for the sake of travel,” 58-68. Each of these reasons would provide a different experience for the participant and would have resulted in a variety of descriptions of what took place.

25 Some have noted that there were expected but evolving forms. See Charles L. Batten, Jr., Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth Century Travel Literature (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1978) and The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600-2000, Berghoff, Harmut, Barbara Korte, Ralf Schneider and Christopher Harvie, eds., New York: Palgrave, 2002. For Brian Dolan, in Ladies of the Grand Tour: British Women in Pursuit of Enlightenment and Adventure in Eighteenth Century Europe, the experience was specific to the expectations and desires of women travelers, (New York: Harper Collins, 2001). The ideas originated at home and helped to shape their impressions. Andrew Hadfield also notes that while there were certain expected forms in which travel literature was expected to appear, it was “continually interrogated, challenged, and undermined by the manifold writings of the growing literate populace” and the travelers themselves, Literature, Travel and Colonial Writing, 266.
contentious arguments into their work as part of their desire to inform their contemporary audience about a situation of particular concern. Batten’s suggestion that travel literature be placed into its proper historical context holds true for travelogues of any period. This contextual approach helps scholars understand the popularity of specific works in their own day.

Building on the idea of contextualizing travel literature, Jonathan P.A. Sell suggests that it is possible to uncover the attitudes of the writer in travel writing in *Rhetoric and Wonder in English Travel Writing*. In Sell’s view, authorial intent is central. He reminds scholars of travel literature that the most successful travelogues depend on convincing their readers of the writer’s perspectives on timely issues. Travel literature holds much valuable information that is connected to the broader discourse from the period in which it was written. Andrew Hadfield, a specialist in the field of English/British travel literature in the early modern period, insists that even fictive travel accounts are inseparable from political debates. Hadfield finds that within the structure of a tale of travel, writers often commented about various cliques within the court and even attempted to interject the producer’s sentiments on more weighty issues, such as war, the fear of foreign influences, religion and even the very structure of domestic government. Certain topics, such as the status of Protestants in foreign countries, were especially well-suited to travel literature.

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Travel literature engaged in timely debates alongside other popular forms. Lithgow’s publications were part of a growing print culture, which profoundly affected England (and other parts of Europe) in the early modern period. Though focused on teleological implications, John Parker argues that the development of the print industry in England “was of fundamental importance” to laying the foundation for what was to become the British Empire. When the English could barely conceive of a global reach in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, English print houses played a significant role in the religious conflicts that rocked the kingdom. In the words of John Foxe, “God hath opened the press to preach.” English authors, printers and sellers, who were officially organized with booksellers as the Stationers’ Company in 1557, quickly realized the possibilities offered by the print industry.

Many hands were involved in converting an idea into a printed product that was available for consumers in early modern England. The editors of *Books and Readers in Early Modern England* noted the problems inherent in placing too much emphasis on the intent of a single author in the early modern period. In addition to recognizing the multiple hands which shaped published works in the period, they stressed that focus on the writer inevitably leads to a misreading of the work. They also asserted that scholars have focused on how well the “printed materials reflected or generated public opinion, and to what extent public opinion so generated could matter.”

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suggests that many seventeenth century works contain “omissions,” which were intentionally included to draw the reader’s attention to particularly important messages. Astute readers recognized these moments and collaborated in constructing the intended meaning; a collaboration that first began when the author and publishers began working together. Prefatory sections, which became particularly important after the sixteenth century served a dual purpose: getting consumers to read a particular work and securing the protection and ideally the active support of a particular patron. These introductory interventions are critical to any understanding of a particular work’s intended and actual reception. Dobranski’s work uncovering specific examples of multiple authorship in the seventeenth century is equally evocative. He highlights how authors, printers and publishers cooperated in crafting the text that appeared in the marketplace. In his estimation, the “authorial” voice was perhaps the most silent.

In maneuvering a work into the public sphere, the production team (consisting of author, publisher, printer, the Stationer’s Company, and at times, a patron) first had to negotiate governmental regulation. In Sell’s account, the travel-writer had to express their opinions carefully, ensuring that they couldn’t be charged with “sociocultural nonconformity.”

University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 1-2 and 13. Anderson and Sauer remind scholars that a printer need only register their intent to produce a work with the Stationers’ Register; authorial permission was not required, 6.

33 Stephen B. Dobranski, Readers and authorship in early modern England (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 9, 12. Dobranski noted that the ability to direct readers to a particular message was fully realized in the seventeenth century, Ibid., 24-32.

34 Dobranski noted that the most important development of the period was the introduction of authorial instruction, which specifically encouraged certain types of readings intended to elicit specific conclusions, Ibid., 34-8. Heidi Brayman Hackel contends that there are two distinct sets of instruction that are equally important, but serve two functions within the prefatory pages of a seventeenth century book. One, to the reader, was intended to instruct the reader on “how” to appropriate the information in the work, but more importantly, served as a form of advertising meant to attract the attention of particular readers, Reading Material in early modern England: print, gender, and literacy (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 69, and 102-4. Hackel contends that the dedicatory passage was primarily intended to ensure that a work made it to the bookstalls and to “protect it from attackers,” 115. Of course, the author hoped that the protection would extend to their personage.

35 Dobranski, 7-8.

36 Sell, Rhetoric and Wonder, 25, 27.
of rules governed the content of publications. Religious themes were especially scrutinized.\(^{37}\) There was a tenuous line between publishing a book that both satisfied readers’ appetites and would still be acceptable to authorities. Censorship and possibly punishment for expressing the wrong opinions were ever-present concerns, even within travel literature. Many modern critics looked for specific evidence of direct government action in deeming what could and could not be printed. However, chief among the reasons that led to the creation of the Stationers’ Company was the desire to have an extra-governmental body control the substance of what was printed, rather than direct government hand, rather like contemporary outsourcing of government action. The Stationers’ power to collect any books considered undesirable was confirmed throughout the late sixteenth century. The company was even permitted to search for books in storage facilities and transit stations. At times, the government specifically directed Stationers’ action. At other times, the Stationers’ Company took action on its own, especially in the early years of its existence. Providing direct proof that censorship was carried out within early modern England is difficult.\(^{38}\) As Hadfield noted, however, whether travel literature was actually emended or not, writers and publishers certainly would have expected to be scrutinized by authorities and taken those concerns into account while preparing the work.\(^{39}\)

While censorship was perhaps one of the most excessive means by which the content of a written work could be directed, it was not the only means. Lori Anne Ferrell’s *Government by Polemic*, a study on sermons, concerns the ways in which an officially proscribed mind-set can

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\(^{37}\) Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 4. Richard L. Williams argues that both images and text were threatened with censorship, especially if the work was considered “controversial.” Religious works were especially subject to inspection. Oftentimes, the mere threat of suppression was enough to cause the author to self-censor their work. “Censorship and Self-censorship in Late Sixteenth-century English Book Illustration,” in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, Michael Hunter, ed. (Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), 44 and 51.

\(^{38}\) Blagden, 30-31, and 70-70s1.

\(^{39}\) Hadfield, *Literature, Travel and Colonial Writing*, 5.
enter into popular works. Ferrell is noteworthy in her specific recognition of the ways that various forms of popular media mutually influence each other and how Elizabethan and Jacobean governments directly manipulated the themes of public popular expression. While the monarchs did not always prevent the publication of undesirable works, the Star Chamber and Stationers’ Company were left to decide what was printed and by whom. However, both monarchs were directly involved in ensuring that their message was widely broadcast. Ferrell also reminds us that James VI/I especially stressed the use of written media to broadcast propaganda and persuade the public. Like travelers, books were also considered “fluid” and marked by “instability, permeability, sociability, and adaptability to particular occasions and readerships.”

The author and publishers certainly intended to do more than merely voice their personal opinions, they also wished to change the minds of those who read their works. The more entertaining, the more successful the written project would be. While it is often impossible to discover the full impressions and effects of a work, many scholars have endeavored to uncover the practices of literary consumers in the past. One is best served, in fact, by examining the way in which travel literature was read and received by the voracious public in early modern England. As Roger Chartier and Natalie Zemon Davis, suggested separately but broadly, many in early

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40 Lori Anne Ferrell contends that a particular element of James’ brilliance was his ability to shape discourse in such a way that what has traditionally been described (both in his day and our own) as “moderation” was a carefully crafted representation that characterized oppositional opinions as both extremes within “the rhetorical laboratory” that crafted “a powerful and ultimately successful propagandistic strategy,” Government by Polemic: James I, the King’s Preachers, and the Rhetorics of Conformity, 1603-1625 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 6-7 and 11, where she notes that James gave “cues to [court preachers in]...his own speeches and written works.”


42 Ferrell, 29. Sharpe echoed James’ particular affinity for the printed word, 123-4. Also see Anderson and Sauer, 13-14.

43 Anderson and Sauer, 2.
modern Europe read orally.\textsuperscript{44} The communal approach to reading is specifically appropriate for travel literature, which tended to be read aloud and discussed in groups.\textsuperscript{45} By conceiving of travel literature like Lithgow’s as part of a fireside conversation and the center of storytelling, the subtleties - the opportunities for the author(s) to comment on issues of concern - move to the foreground and the engagement with the text becomes more active as well. Scholars continue to uncover new techniques to arrive at intended meaning. Confirming received meaning, however, can be more difficult.

In the early modern period, complex interactions took place, not only within travel but through the additional process of committing the experiences and realizations of a traveler to print. Travelers, like many other Europeans in the early modern period were beginning to form clearly-defined identities. While possessing a fluid identity was not as essential to the survival of many Europeans, for travelers, it was essentially required. No doubt, the time spent alone in foreign spaces, even when surrounded by countless others, aided in the traveler’s cognition of their own uniqueness. The diversity they encountered allowed travelers to test out new behaviors and patterns of thought. When travelers resolved to record their experiences, they incorporated an additional filter to their experiences. Even when penned during the course of travel (such as in a diary or series of letters), the experiences were further shaped by the travelers changing sense of self. If the happenings were recalled at a later date, as is occasionally the case with narratives


\textsuperscript{45} Judith Adler discusses both the performative nature of travel writing and comments that the debates that centered around the merits of travel were conducted orally, “Travel as Performed Art,” \textit{American Journal of Sociology}, 94:6 (May 1989), 1378. See also Brian Dolan who is concerned with the reception of travel literature by a growing community of female readers and writers, \textit{Ladies of the Grand Tour: British Women in Pursuit of Enlightenment and Adventure in Eighteenth Century Europe} (New York: Harper Collins, 2001), 5-6. Though he is concerned with a later period, communities of readers certainly existed in an earlier period, especially in what is increasingly described as an oral culture. R. W. Scribner also notes the tradition of readers orally engaging with their texts, \textit{For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation} (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), xv.
that have been examined in diary form, the events, places and people and their significance take on new meaning. In the seventeenth century, travel writers who found their musings in demand were confronted by yet another set of filters: the interested publisher, the Stationers’ Company, the selected printer and finally in at least a few instances, the bookseller.

When, as is the case with the writings by Lithgow, multiple editions, often with modifications, appeared, market forces and interested patrons and bureaucrats potentially influenced the final product in additional ways. Within the Jacobean state, printed words held special importance for the monarch and his entourage. Among the many voices present in the various published versions of Lithgow’s travels, the lexicon took on new meanings. Messages within the text were clarified and bolstered by new recollections and novel experiences. During the course of the revisions, critical messages of special concern to domestic readers were highlighted. New details could often re-orient earlier experiences to reflect changing times. Because of this, I feel it especially appropriate to refer to the textual William, who is the primary player in the travel books, and Lithgow, the author (or more appropriately the collective makers of the particular edition in question). Amidst growing tensions between the diverse branches of Christianity, Lithgow’s narrative recognized some of the common heritage among the confessions. The text also called for cooperation with those of opposing beliefs and a realization

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46 Jeremy Black was among the first scholars who attempted to look outside published sources, which included a significant number of diaries in *The British and the Grand Tour*, see especially ii, where he argues for the need to look outside traditional sources on travel. Brian Dolan also looks outside published accounts such as letters, in an attempt to more closely access the experiences of the traveler in action in *Ladies of the Grand Tour*. He is especially interested in examining the domestic culture which developed around the recipients of letters from abroad, 5-6.

47 I borrow this technique from Lynn Staley who points to an accepted tradition which views the authorial voice as distinct from the voice of the character of the same name that comes forth from the text. As she points out through her examples, this is especially appropriate in English literature in which the writer (presumably a singular person) had to carefully maneuver their textual opinions to the public. Adopting an authorial distance aided in preserving the physical safety of the writer, for “the scribe served as a screen between the author and the reader and was deliberately used to mask intent,” “The Trope of the Scribe and the Question of Literary Authority in the works of Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe,” *Speculum* 66:4 (October 1991), 838. Staley references similar uses in the writings of William Chaucer and William Langland, among others.
that survival often required a willingness to tolerate and even cooperate with diverse faiths. At critical moments in his travels, William faced adversity. He survived by a careful balance between confronting the danger and acceptance of his fate. His religious convictions helped sustain him during each of these trials. In telling of the ordeals he endured, Lithgow crafted an account that drew upon English and Scottish perceptions of martyrdom that were given new importance during the various stages of religious reformation the island experienced. Ultimately, what Lithgow had described as a sacrifice for his ecumenical beliefs would be re-presented in the final edition as a parallel sacrifice for his country. Lithgow’s tortures at the hands of the Spanish tested his faith in God and in his country. Looking beyond the character, real or fictive, presented in the tales and an awareness of the cultural context of the publications bring these messages more clearly to the surface.
CHAPTER TWO:  
AN AMBIVALENT CHRISTIAN IN A ‘WORLD’ OF RELIGIOUS ENCOUNTERS

While Lithgow admitted that travel could reveal many facets about a range of cultures, he was particularly focused on the faith of those he encountered. This was especially true when he contemplated his relations with other Christians. In Lithgow’s travel literature, he highlighted his own spiritual attitudes and crafts a personal form of Christianity. In this chapter, I will show that this accommodationalist approach to religion drew on ideas and practices that had been rejected by many English and Scottish Protestants. This flexibility also allowed him to form ties with Roman Christians, despite an overarching anti-Papist rhetoric. By incorporating this rhetoric into the narrative, Lithgow helped to secure an anti-Catholic reputation at a time when his religious convictions would be considered most at risk – while he was traveling.

Rather than recognizing the contributions that Lithgow’s cross-confessional experience offers to our understanding of the state of religious affairs in Europe on the eve of the Thirty Years’ War, many historians continue to brood over the religious overtone of Lithgow’s work. Capturing much of the critical reaction to Lithgow’s travel writing, Clifford Edmund Bosworth, author of the most thorough contemporary biography of Lithgow, finds William Lithgow “opinionated, humourless, fanatically anti-Catholic.”48 Bosworth is not alone in this assessment, nor was he the first to emphasize and simplify Lithgow’s religious attitudes. Writing in the

1960s, John Walter Stoye called Lithgow an “intractable Protestant.” Lithgow’s religious convictions have been noted most recently by Thomas Christensen, who described him “as a fierce Calvinist.” Christensen claims that Lithgow was equally critical of eastern Christians, Jews and Muslims but focused some of his sharpest rhetoric on Catholics. Historians find Lithgow useful when examining cultures outside of Christian Europe, but his encounters with other Christians, especially Roman Christians are dismissed because they are overly-simplified as harshly critical.

**RELIGIOUS FEARS IN REFORMATION ENGLAND**

Rather than probe Lithgow’s religious actions and his prose, which often run contrary to each other, scholars tend to dismiss Lithgow, accepting his religious statements at face value. Part of this acceptance reflects a tendency among travel historians to downplay religion in seventeenth century literature. Although contemporary scholars avoid examining theological themes in travel accounts, religion was at the forefront of travelers’ minds. Writers often expressed anxiety over religious diversity, and a few scholars have acknowledged the polemic tradition that regarded travel through Europe as dangerous. Many sixteenth and seventeenth century critics expressed a fear that exposure to alternate beliefs would result in conversion and moral corruption, especially while traveling through Catholic Italy. For instance, consider the warning to Britons from the preacher, justice of the peace and tutor to James’ eldest son, Prince Henry William Leigh. Because English Roman Christians hid among the population, Leigh

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50 Thomas Christensen claims that “the empire of the sultans comes off better than the Church of Rome in [Lithgow’s] estimation,” *1616: The World in Motion* (Berkeley: Counterpoint, 213), 264.

51 Hadfield, *Literature, Travel and Colonial Writing*, 13. Stoye also noted that English travel journals are wrought with observations of religious attitudes, especially as they described the traveler’s experiences in Italy, *English Travelers Abroad*, 111.
cautioned his countrymen to “take heed of Poperie, take heed of Papists, and tolerate neither the cause nor person.” Leigh continued to warn of the pervasiveness of Roman Christians in England who “sow the tares of all treasons.” An anonymous writer who identified themselves as “I. H.” warned that Catholics aimed “to ruinate the land.” If the domestic rhetoric is to be believed, he certainly did encounter the dangers of religious nonconformists at home. There was no need to search for members of opposing confessions outside William Lithgow’s native land.

Religious xenophobes in England were not alone in expressing fears connected to their devotional beliefs. Travelers lived in fear of being caught by the Inquisition in Italy and Spain. Inquisitors and their informants, however, were not the only ones watching English travelers. Among their many duties, English ambassadors monitored the movements of fellow nationals who were abroad and reported any suspicions to the English court. Occasionally, the ambassador would question a traveler on foreign soil. It was more likely, though, that a traveler would be met on their return by authorities asking about their activities. Some travelers found that their property had been seized by the crown under suspicion of treason (including religious ‘treason’) while they were overseas. Italian travel then was especially fraught with a tension that was

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rooted in religious fears, both for the traveler and those who were apprehensive about their activities while abroad.

William Lithgow embarked on his first trip in 1609, a time that was specifically fraught with religious tension within Britannia. The Papacy and adherents to the Roman faith were a significant concern for travelers and the general public. The dangers posed by Catholics in England ignited an intense debate, both as Lithgow left for the continent and when he returned from his first sojourn in 1612. Catholics were on his and his fellow countrymen’s minds as Lithgow put the finishing touches on the first edition of the travelogue. In the years leading up to Lithgow’s 1608 departure for France, England was rocked by the discovery of the ‘Gunpowder Plot,’ which from the outset was blamed on Great Britaines disgruntled Catholics who also despaired at the arrival of a Scottish king just two years before.55

Whatever motivation lay behind the Gunpowder Plot, the rhetoric which emerged from it blamed Catholics for the scheme, placing responsibility as high as the pope.56 James and the English Parliament responded in kind by requiring an Oath of Allegiance, which demanded all citizens of the realm swear fealty to the monarch and promise that they would provide neither physical nor spiritual support to the papacy. The king’s insistence that all subjects take the oath initiated a flurry of tracts from crown supporters in favor of the pledge, and detractors who were largely backed by the papacy. Most importantly, according to noted Jacobean scholar William B.

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55 Pauline Croft, in “The Gunpowder Plot: Talking Points,” History Review, 52 (Sept. 2005) claims that James firmly believed that the plotters targeted his Scottish birth. In an effort to downplay religious tension on which popular literature focused, James called on those closest to him to emphasize the ethnic, rather than the spiritual connections between the conspirators and their motive, 14.

Patterson, the debate “entered a more public phase” which peaked between 1607 and 1614.\textsuperscript{57} The debate, in turn, affected Lithgow’s narrative which was crafted amidst this tension.

As chapter one revealed, writers and publishers of various printed materials had to negotiate readers’ expectations carefully. Literary production also demanded the ability to anticipate and possibly experience censorship, along with the involvement of other interested parties. Religious themes were especially scrutinized. It was a tenuous line between publishing a book that satisfied readers’ appetites and would still be acceptable to authorities. Lithgow had to adhere to the expectations of a variety of critics: an audience of both potential readers and censors. William Lithgow espoused mainstream Protestant beliefs about the dangers of other Christian denominations, especially those loyal to the Roman Church. By doing so, he reflected general concerns in English society, while demonstrating his orthodoxy. Beneath that veneer, Lithgow was much more willing to: participate in religious practices that had been shunned by reformist leaders, establish friendly personal connections with individual Papists and espouse the ideas of a universal Christendom that seemed to be abandoned by many of his contemporaries. Lithgow, as author of the narrative carefully crafted this persona.

Many scholars are unable to move beyond this persona of William Lithgow’s: a devout Protestant obsessed with the errors of Roman Christians.\textsuperscript{58} Part of this attention was motivated by the state of affairs in Britannia upon departure; part of the vitriol was no doubt inspired by

\textsuperscript{57} William B. Patterson, \textit{King James VI and the Reunion of Christendom} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 86. For a discussion of the background of the Oath of Allegiance and the discourse surrounding it, see 75-123. While Patterson argues for a more restricted timespan for the debate, James Doelman in \textit{King James I and the Religious Culture of England} (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2000) argues more persuasively that the furor surrounding the Oath of Allegiance was longer lasting and became connected (in the minds of the English at least) with the 1606-1607 Papal Interdict against Venice, 105. Zorzi Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador to England reported on December 13, 1606 report that English sentiment with Venice reported that the “King of England is ready to assist the Republic with all his forces.” In the same report, Giustinian also noted the widespread belief that the pope was using Jesuits to try to bolster support for the papacy, which was helpful to the Venetian’s appeal for English assistance against the papacy, \textit{Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy}, Volume X, 1603-1607, Horatio F. Brown, ed. (London: Norfolk Chronicle Company, 1900), 442-446.

\textsuperscript{58} Bosworth, \textit{The Intrepid Scot}, 19-21.
Reformation theology, which represented Papists as the dangerous Other.\(^5^9\) During the reign of the early Stuarts, the danger of proximity to Roman Christians troubled Britons.\(^6^0\) This fear of Roman Christians helps to explain William’s phobia of omnipresent Roman Christians, especially within spaces loyal to the pope – he represents the threat as constant.\(^6^1\) Lithgow cannot, it seems, avoid every opportunity to present the errors of Roman Christians to his readers. This fixation is reminiscent of what Foucault suggested became a requirement in the eighteenth and nineteenth century prohibitions about sex: “There was a steady proliferation of discourses.”\(^6^2\) He contended that in order to fully establish and maintain power, the behavior over which control is sought must first be completely studied and discussed at all levels of society. The Victorian concern with sex recalls Lithgow’s obsession with Roman Christians in certain dangerous zones within Europe and the Levant. Lithgow described the dangers of Roman Christians for his readers in apocalyptic terms. He appears to be obsessed with finding them everywhere. What Diarmott MacCulloch describes as the “golden age” of the Church of England, as he demonstrates, required the codification of religious beliefs and practices. This control was accomplished through ecclesiastical debates at various councils, including the notable Hampton Court Conference in 1604.\(^6^3\) James’ desire for limited accommodation but outward orthodoxy is reflected in William Lithgow.

On one hand, Lithgow described classical elements of a stigmatizer in his inventory of despised behaviors. The research of Elliott, Ziegler, Altman and Scott on the process of

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\(^5^9\) While Suryani downplays the role of religion in the judgments that travelers made about foreign people, she does acknowledge its use as part of the criticism of the Other, *The Genius of the English Nation*, 40-41

\(^6^0\) John Coffey notes that the English were especially critical of Stuart marriages to Catholics in *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558-1689* (Harlow, London, New York: Longman, 2000), 117-125.

\(^6^1\) *The Rare Adventures*, 36.


\(^6^3\) In many ways, the conference continued until 1611 when ecclesiastics agreed to the Authorized Bible. MacCulloch discusses the successes of the Early Stuart Era in *The Protestantism*, 513-520.
stigmatization, though showed that the typical response would have been for William to avoid contact with Roman Christians altogether. However, William actively courted contact, making Italy, perceived as the nucleus for Roman Christians, his first destination (partly out of necessity, no doubt, but his initial stay was for twenty-eight days). Additionally, despite initial hesitation, he often sets aside his biases as he encountered stigmatized Christians on a personal level, another surprising behavior were he truly fearful of Roman Christians as his rhetoric related. Lithgow seemed more concerned with creating a *perceived* distance from the groups as his domestic readers expected. Creating actual distance from Roman Christians in Rome and other locales in Italy would have been virtually impossible. To express the thoughts and emotions Lithgow described would have been dangerous for William. To completely hide them, while possible, would be difficult to maintain over an extended period of time.

However, constructing an edifice of vitriol, intended specifically for his readership would be much easier for Lithgow. This literary construction would help to shield William Lithgow from scrutiny. This anti-Roman Christian polemic helped William Lithgow, to borrow from Erving Goffman, cover. In a recent examination of Goffman’s theories on stigmatization, Kenjo Yoshini found that there are four principle ways in which people attempt to hide what is deemed as dangerous associations with people labeled as deviant. Notably, Yoshini highlights

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64 Gregory C. Elliott, Herbert L. Ziegler, Barbara M. Altman, and Deborah R. Scott, “Understanding Stigma: Dimensions of Deviance and Coping,” *Deviant Behavior: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 3:3 (April 1, 1982), 281 and 293. The researchers do find that people could set aside biases and engage the stigmatized when the “normals…position in the [normals] world is secure, they can avoid picking” the stigmatization, 294.

65 The Rare Adventures, 36.

66 Phelps’ introduction to his edited *The Rare Adventures* alerts his reader that “the diatribes against Roman Catholicism, which were the *de rigeur* for a Protestant writer in Lithgow’s day, but which now make rather dreary and unpleasant reading, have been considerably thinned out,” 20. Some of the attacks that Phelps left can be found on 31-39 and 233-236. They focus primarily on simony and idolatry and the temporal distractions of popes.

the importance of maintaining proper appearance, proper cultural associations, proper levels of identity expression in activism, and proper personal associations. In such a risky space, Lithgow had to create distance between himself and those he deemed dangerous: at least on paper. William, however, engaged in a number of activities and relationships which would endanger the safety he desired within a domestic setting. In these moments of stress or uncertainty, Lithgow deployed defense mechanisms, meant to shield him from excessive scrutiny. The writer exhibits a technique that Timothy Pugh described, whereby through “adopting an authorial position which frees himself of contamination…he specifically assumes a persona other than his own voice and that he clearly directs the reader’s attention to this persona.” Lithgow, through elision and downplaying, as well as excessive vitriol distracted the reader. At key moments, he deflected concerns toward a socially acceptable deviant: the Roman Christian. The multiple personae available to Lithgow were helpful. By drawing on the necessary identity at the appropriate time, both the traveler and his book would survive stigmatization and undesired scrutiny. But what was William Lithgow using deflection and covering to accomplish? He hoped to downplay the multiple instances in which religious difference was accommodated through the traveler’s actions. Conformity was a significant issue in early seventeenth century Britannia, along with efforts to highlight cooperation and community. Lithgow became a subtle proponent for religious difference beneath outward compliance.

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68 While Yoshini examines efforts in which homosexuals attempt to fit into mainstream society, the ideas he expresses, are applicable in any situation in which a person engages in behaviors which are deemed deviant by their society. In this stage of contending with stigmatization, the “deviant” downplays behaviors and associations that could “blow their cover.” Yoshini recognizes the applicability of his theories to many minorities, Covering: The Hidden Assault on Our Civil Rights (New York: Random House, 2006), 79-91. Elliott, Ziegler, Altman, and Scott, notably, also find significant similarities both in the treatment and coping mechanisms of those who are stigmatized by society, 282.
69 Pugh, 82.
70 Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560-1660, edited by Peter Lake and Michael Questier (Woodbridge, Suffolk and Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, 2000), passim, see especially vii, x-xx for a discussion of the modern debate over notions of conformity and orthodoxy. Peter Lake’s contribution to the volume, while focusing more on Puritan debates on conformity is an apt description that, I feel can be applied to any of the
UNCOVERING RELIGIOUS ACCOMMODATION

In order to uncover how William was crafted as a religious accommodationist, I will examine a range of experiences that appeared in the initial 1614/16 edition of his travel journal. The people with whom Lithgow interacted, the ideas he expressed and his experiences themselves will be scrutinized. Lithgow’s language, the placement of the chosen words and the choices of what and when he makes his revelations will expose details that help frame Lithgow’s religious experience while traveling in new ways. Lithgow includes (and at times excludes) specific details in his first-edition descriptions of people, places and ideas in his travel. I argue that his presentation reflects his personal connections, reactions and thoughts. A number of meetings with individuals from different religions are present throughout the various editions, but contain additional details after time has past. I argue that these situations represented an initial hesitance to tell the reader everything. As the Lithgow and the publisher could not have anticipated future editions, choices were explicitly made about what not to say. They often make sense within a temporal context. The degree (or lack) of details tells us much about the state of affairs within Britannia, especially confessionally. Oftentimes, these are masked behind the bitter polemic on which modern scholars tend to focus. Sometimes the scenarios are contained within a particular framework that is intended to shape his contemporary audience’s reading. Each of these vignettes will be compared to the beliefs and practices sanctioned by authorities in England and Scotland. It is my estimation that Lithgow was at least aware of these pronouncements.

Lithgow’s hometown, Lanark, had long been held by the Hamilton clan, who were next-in-line for the Scottish throne behind the Stuarts. Aside from their aspirations for the crown (or perhaps as part of the plan to acquire it), the Hamilton’s were directly involved in some of the

confessions within Britannia: “Moving the Goal Posts? Modified Subscription and the Construction of Conformity in the Early Stuart Church,” Lake shows that “the whole point was to avoid conflict” over religion, 181. This notion of toleration of religious difference certainly reflects James’ desire for religious unity,
key events of the mid-sixteenth century Reformation in Scotland.71 While certainly proud of a uniquely Scottish brand of Protestantism, Lithgow fluidly referenced his nationality as both Scottish and English. William seemed, in the initial publications, to be unconcerned with national specificity - pure geographic barriers suffice, the most personal interactions are between people of different faiths. While James, his courts in England and Scotland, and the English and Scottish parliaments grappled with the nature of a ‘British’ religion, the distinctions were unimportant to William Lithgow.72 While Lithgow’s nationality was mutable based on the Union of the Crowns, his ‘official’ religious affiliation would have been closest to his Scottish roots.

The influences of the Scottish Reformation were substantial. Scholars have interpreted that William Lithgow (both traveler and author) was overwhelmingly Calvinist. Lithgow certainly recognized the importance of Geneva as the “Gospell-Guiding Gem.”73 His roots and education would most likely have ensured William Lithgow’s instruction in Scotland’s unique brand of Protestantism. He was, after all, among the first generation to be educated at a public grammar school.

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71 Members of the Hamilton family were involved in the earliest efforts at beginning a religious reform movement in Scotland, Bernard M. G. Reardon, Religious thought in the Reformation (London and New York: Longman, 1981), 288. Rosaland Mitchison, in A History of Scotland, third edition (New York: Routledge, 2002), showed that the Hamilton’s were closely involved in the fight against Mary Queen of Scots, arguing that the Hamilton clan were sought as allies on both sides, eventually aligning themselves with the forces against the Stuarts, 101. The Hamilton’s continued to be involved in Scottish religion and politics, including a 1596 move against James VI, Julian Goodare, “The Scottish Presbyterian Movement in 1596,” Canadian Journal of History, Spring/Summer 2010, 32. The Hamilton’s were also part of James’ court and were influential in the

72 Chapter 4, “Written British, Traveled as Both English and Scot” addresses nationality in greater detail. When I reference “Britain” or “Britannia,” I am referring to a united England and Scotland ultimately realized in 1707. I will use the term to describe both the imagined union and the actual state of political unity of the kingdoms. Similarly, “Britons” occasionally will serve to describe persons who conceived of their birth within the united kingdoms.

73 William Lithgow, The Totall Discourse Of the Rare Aduentures, and painefull Peregrinations of long nineteen Yeares Trauayles from Scotland, to the most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Africa (London: Nicholas Okes, 1632), 348. Hereinafter this edition will be referenced as The Totall Discourse (1632) to differentiate from the Folio Society edition. When the text is essentially the same, I will continue to reference the Folio Society edition. Generally, if the 1632 edition is quoted, it is because the editor of the Folio Society edition left the particular text out.
school, an immediate result of the larger social program of the Scottish Reformation. I will therefore reference the belief system in Scotland for comparison to William Lithgow’s behaviors and pronouncements, rather than that of England (wherever possible). William Lithgow had resided in England for a maximum of five years by the time he left London in 1608. While he would have certainly been exposed to the uniquely English form of Protestantism, dogma was still in a state of flux, an indeterminate state that was only complicated by James’ presence on the throne, a significant source of anxiety for many within England. His knowledge of the fraught political state and debates pitting Roman against Protestant Christianity, however, would have been fresh on William Lithgow’s mind as he left for the continent. The religious and political tension would greet him upon his return to England in 1612.

The opening pages of Lithgow’s 1614/16 text were clearly shaped by the fear of collective Papists that appeared in the bulk of travel literature of his day. Lithgow’s ambiguous identity though, allowed him to draw on anti-Papist sentiment and still remain non-judgmental when interacting with individual Christians loyal to the papacy. William Lithgow presented himself as an incontrovertible Protestant – a persona scholars readily accept. This is a devout

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75 I am assuming that Lithgow, at best, left Scotland as part of the entourage of King James VI and I, when most Scots who migrated with James emigrated in 1603.

76 Diarmaid MacCulloch is not alone in his recognition of the unsettled state of religion within the initial years of James’ accession. As MacCulloch deftly describes, James had made what various confessions perceived as pledges to support their particular religious interpretations over others in England. While the Hampton Court Conference had been called to settle many of the differences, especially between English and Scottish Protestantism, as well as adherents to a more Calvinist form of Christianity within England, it had not yet produced recognizable results by 1608. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reformation: A History* (New York, Toronto and London: Penguin Books, 2003), 513-514.

Protestant resisting all forms of “superstitious idolatrie.” However, at various moments in his account, Lithgow showed a willingness to look past the religious affiliation of the anonymous people he meets. His temperance enabled Lithgow to associate with noted adherents to the Roman faith. Why would that be a concern? Travelers could be scrutinized for their associations while abroad because of the dual fear that they converted while outside England and in turn hoped to convert others. Secret meetings were essential to conversion, explaining much of the concern on the part of religious and secular leaders who occasionally called for laws that prohibited encounters between the faithful and papists. The fear was that conversation would inevitably turn to religion and, it was assumed, conversion.

Two specific encounters with infamous Roman Christians in and near to Rome show that Lithgow recognized the potential benefits of looking beyond religious affiliation. The first individual with whom Lithgow digressed from his itinerary was a fellow Scot, noted traveler and

78 Lithgow (1614), B3b. As I am tracing specific differences as the narrative of the account of William Lithgow’s travels developed over time, I have resorted to the initial edition of the travelogues in order to trace the changes that developed. As such, when applicable, I will refer to the various editions.

79 On the specific link between conversion and travel in scholarship, see Hadfield, Literature, Travel and Colonial Writing, 13 and Stoye, English Travelers Abroad, 111 noted the concern expressed in England over possible conversion while in areas loyal to the papacy, especially France and Italy. Numerous scholars have written on the rampant fear in England that loyal Protestants would convert to ‘Papistry’ and join in the anticipated rebellion against a Protestant monarch in England, thereby restoring Roman Christianity as the dominant religion. Carol Z. Wiener, was among the first of recent scholars to point to the fear that recusancy and “The Beleaguered Isle. A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism,” Past & Present, No. 51 (May, 1971), 44-45. Anthony Milton, Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 42-46. Arthur Marotti has written extensively on the religious phobias prevalent in early modern England and their connection to larger political and cultural concerns. See especially Religious ideology and cultural fantasy: Catholic and anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005). In it, Marotti notes the specific concern over Protestant ministers who converted while abroad and returned in order to convert others, 97. Of particular note in Marotti’s work is the account of Sir Toby Matthew, who though son of an English bishop, converted to Roman Christianity while traveling in Italy and was ordained as a Jesuit priest in 1614, 115-119.

80 The phobia over conversion in a religiously-divided place relied on the secrecy that is inherent in the conversion process in a religiously-charged atmosphere. Openly professing conversion would be dangerous. Certainly, England had experienced many years in which the state hoped that secret converts would be revealed. The Inquisition in Rome, by its very nature relied on the renunciation of suspected converts (as well as those who hadn’t converted ‘completely’). The literature on the desire of various Jewish populations, especially after the Spanish diaspora, to retain a mysterious religious identity is extensive. This mysterious identity relied on the obscurity of the actual conversion and the possibility of maintaining an ambiguous religious identity. See Kim Siebenhner, “Conversion, Mobility and the Roman Inquisition in Italy Around 1600,” Past and Present, 200 (August 2008), 8, 12, 21.
somewhat famous author, Simeon Grahame. Grahame, who was also Lithgow’s cousin, wrote
one of the dedicatory epistles for Lithgow’s *A Most Delectable and True Discourse*. Grahame’s
letter notably focuses on the physical pains endured while traveling, especially the horrors
inflicted on Christians by Turks. As Lithgow’s work went to press, Grahame was somewhat
famously ordained as a Franciscan monk. Because of the presence of a relative, who was also
notorious in Britannia, Lithgow did not detail the encounter until 1632. However, in his final
work Lithgow relates that he met Grahame outside Rome and joined him in a tavern, where “a
Iayle [ale] held us both fast” before they parted ways. While William and Grahame may not
have discussed the latter’s conversion, Grahame’s reputation as a convert and ordained minister
would have been known to William’s cousin. Lithgow’s intimate encounter with Grahame, also a
noted traveler and now a Franciscan priest, would have caused concern for key leaders in
England and Scotland, so it is not surprising that Lithgow decided to keep the meeting secret.
Had he announced his extended conversation with a relative and noted Catholic priest as he
finalized and published his first account, William would raise suspicions of his own conversion.
Lithgow’s meeting with Grahame was not the only dangerous interaction with a notorious
Catholic.

Lithgow described a threat from “blood-sucking Inquisitors, of whom the most part were
mine owne Countrymen” while in Rome in 1609. This was a vague reference to an ominous
group of Catholics who would have recognized William in Rome – but more importantly been
aware of his Protestant convictions – was palpable. Ironically, Lithgow used this vague threat to

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81 John Malcolm Bulloch, *Scottish Notes and Queries*, D. Wylie and Sons, 1906, accessed April 10, 2014,
82 *The Totall Discourse* (1632), 405. While the encounter in described in the Folio Society edition, the
account uses different prose to relate the interaction: “till a highway tavern like a jail held us both fast,” indicating
that some time passed in the establishment, *The Rare Adventures*, 233.
83 Lithgow (1614), B3c.
justify an extended stay in the home of a Catholic living in Rome. In Lithgow’s presentation, English (and Scottish) Catholics, not other nationalities, created specific problems for English Protestant visitors in Rome. Why was William afraid and was it justified in the minds of his readers? While foreigners wouldn’t recognize most travelers, fellow nationals could have recognized acquaintances, patterns of behavior and dress and reported the heretic (no longer adherents to the true religion) to authorities in Rome. Just as Lithgow had to re-assert his Protestantism to his readership, English Catholics in Rome would be concerned with asserting their allegiance to the papacy and could take the opportunity to renounce a fellow national who fell outside the Catholic fold. Protestant English travelers attracted the attention of anxious English Catholics. Lithgow himself expressed a fearfulness of English Catholics in Rome, especially those with whom he was familiar.

Lithgow’s audience also felt that he should fear the Roman Inquisition. However, William made a surprising choice in his refuge and he left key details of his that choice out of the first edition of his travelogue. Those details fully reveal the extent of Lithgow’s fear: he was able to justify staying in a papist’s home in order to avoid being turned over to other papists more closely aligned with the curial and Inquisitorial staff. But only in his final 1632 edition did Lithgow finally relate that he stayed in the home of “the old Earle of Tyrone…for three days.” Lithgow finally revealed the identity of this notorious Catholic, Hugh O’Neill, because O’Neil died in 1616. A recent scholar described William’s protector in Rome as “the greatest rebel” to fight the English invasion of Ireland under Elizabeth I, a reputation certainly recognized in

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84 This fear seems to have been primarily rhetorical. I have been unable to uncover much literature, either from Lithgow’s contemporaries or from recent writers on the reality, or the myth, of the persecution of foreign Protestants by the Roman Inquisition. However, the idea that the Inquisition was actively hunting foreign Protestants would have struck a chord with English readers. Perhaps this fear is born from the notorious persecution of Protestants under Queen Mary.  
85 The Rare Adventures, 36.
William Lithgow’s day.\textsuperscript{86} After fleeing Ireland as James claimed his crown, O’Neill clandestinely crossed France and Spain for Italy. Lithgow neglects to tell his early readers that a Catholic exile, who himself was harbored by the Pope, in turn harbored Lithgow during his first journey through Rome. The specifics are only revealed in 1632, when Lithgow is confident that his sojourn more than twenty years earlier would not bring interrogation and punishment.\textsuperscript{87} If Lithgow gave names in his first editions, O’Neill’s would have appeared in print barely five years after O’Neill’s surrender and self-imposed exile.\textsuperscript{88} Relating this detail would have raised the eyebrow of at least a few of Lithgow’s readers. Merely associating with Catholics could evoke punishment\textsuperscript{89} and would have attracted the attention of English representatives in Rome, especially because Tyrone was well-known in England. However, William needed protection from more dangerous forces in Rome that were looking for him. For that reason, he owed his life to an Irish papist who housed him. Lithgow set aside Scottish-Protestant concerns over being in a Roman Christian’s household. He also felt that his convictions and his salvation were not in

\textsuperscript{86} Richard Berleth, \textit{The Twilight Lords: An Irish Chronicle} (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 293.xiii. Hiram Morgan feels the earl of Tyrone belongs “at the centre of developments” in Ireland in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, \textit{Tyrone’s Rebellion: The Outbreak of the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland} (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1993), 214. Tyrone actively sought both Spanish assistance and aid from Pope Clement VIII (as late as 1600) against Queen Elizabeth Ibld., 194-5, 208-213. After conceding to English forces (at the ascension of King James) in 1604, O’Neill escaped to Rome. The family remained loyal to the ‘Catholic’ cause. Hugh’s son was trained by the Spanish and fought William of Orange as leader of the Irish companies fighting alongside Spain in Flanders, Christopher Highley, \textit{Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 153. The O’Neill’s would continue to meddle in English affairs. The earl of Tyrone’s nephew Owen fought against the Roundheads in the English Civil War, Berleth, 293.

\textsuperscript{87} Lithgow’s capture and torture at the hands of Spanish authorities between October 1620 and late June 1621, which became the centerpiece of Lithgow’s final edition of his travels, makes his religious identity, that of a Protestant, central to the punishment he received at the hands of the Spanish authorities, which his readers would have connected with Catholicism. Because Lithgow feels that the new incidents, in which religion pays a relatively minor role (in the actual events, not the account per se), secure his own Protestantism, in 1632, he could reveal this intimate encounter with a Catholic directly connected to the pope. Lithgow’s religious identity, in light of his suffering in Spain, will be further explored in Chapter Three, “Evasion and Martyrdom: Heroism and Religious Conviction in the Early Modern Mediterranean.”

\textsuperscript{88} Because O’Neill died in 1616, Lithgow could only have stayed with him between 1609 and 1612, Lithgow’s first trip.

\textsuperscript{89} Richard G. Kyle reports that Knox was deeply concerned with even basic toleration toward those loyal to the Roman Church, “John Knox and the Purification of Religion,” \textit{Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte. Archive for reformation history}, 77 (January 1986), 269.
danger of corruption in this doubly-Catholic space.\textsuperscript{90} Again, Lithgow demonstrated his ability to see beyond religious affiliations in cases of personal benefit, even if it meant associating with a Roman Christian who was also a known enemy of the English state. The places in which William encountered Roman Christians clearly shaped his interactions with them and the prose that he constructed around the experience and place. Now that the danger of his association had passed, and Lithgow firmly established his confessional adherence, as chapter three will demonstrate, Lithgow could safely relate his association with known Catholics.

Lithgow’s initial text is clearly influenced by the fear of Papists. But an ambiguous identity allowed him to wield the rhetoric of anti-Papist sentiment, while permitting him to experience Catholic sites first-hand. Significantly, within his first edition, Lithgow expressed his enthrallment with places that were sacred within the Roman Church. Lithgow was particularly enthusiastic about his visit to the Vatican Library. While he portrayed its contents as mostly pagan, he believed that the library was used by the papacy to pursue its religious mission.\textsuperscript{91} It was clearly a Roman Christian space dedicated to increasing papal power, and one that Lithgow particularly enjoyed. He then relates that he “longed to view the gorgeous mosaical work of St. Peter’s Church.” The proud Scottish Protestant then paused, “afraid to enter, because I was not accustomed, with the carriage, and ceremonies of such a Sanctum Sanctorum. But at the last, abandoning all scrupulosity, I came in boldly.”\textsuperscript{92} Perhaps Lithgow felt a sense of liberation that

\textsuperscript{90} Doubly-Catholic since he is in the home of a Catholic in a Catholic city. Lithgow later expresses a similar security of his religious identity, despite being surrounded by Roman Christian practices and people when he is in Jerusalem. Not only does Lithgow willingly participate in Franciscan rituals when asked to, he reacts passively to the lecture of the Guardian of the Holy Sites who rebukes Lithgow and four other Protestants who ridicule the Palm Sunday procession of the faithful, Lithgow (1614), P1a and O3a-b.

\textsuperscript{91} Lithgow presents the library he visits in Rome as the “Librarie of the ancient Romanes.” The intervention of “William Kerre and James Aughermyty,” however enable him to enter the public areas of the Vatican Library, Lithgow (1614), B2a-B2b. Carmela Viricillofranklin argues that, beginning in the fifteenth century, the Vatican collections were increasingly segregated as the contents “became a citadel of Counter-Reformation ideology,” in “‘Pro communi doctorum virorum comodo’: The Vatican Library and Its Service to Scholarship,” Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 146:4 (Dec., 2002), see especially 377-8.

\textsuperscript{92} The Rare Adventures, 35.
allowed him to visit a church that was richly decorated. He was certainly aware that the First Book of Discipline specifically ordered that “Idolatry, with all monuments and places of the same…to bee utterly soppreffed in all bounds and places of this Realme [Scotland].”93 As Ian Cowan noted, the physical space of religious practices was of particular concern to reformers in Scotland.94 Churches were not to be decorated with images of saints or religious symbols, for fear of motivating idolatrous behavior.95

The continued resistance of Scots to the presence of images in churches was reflected in the furor that was initiated as the king’s chapel in Holyrood Palace in Edinburgh was remodeled to more closely resemble English churches in preparation for James’ return in 1617. Amidst the controversy, King James complained to the Privy Council that “the Scots could not tell the difference between idolatrous images and decoration,” since they assumed all art in Churches were a form of idolatry.96 The mere fact that Lithgow went to a religious building, much less the seat of Roman Christianity was cause for concern. That Lithgow visited St. Peter’s in order to view the artistic décor of a place that Lithgow clearly recognized as holy would have been even more troubling for those faithful to the Scottish Kirk.

93 The First and Second Booke of Discipline. As it was formerly Set forth in Scotland by publicke authoritie, Anno 1560. And is at present commanded there to be practiced (n.p.: London, 1641) 27-8.
95 Todd, The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland, 327-30.
Lithgow was concerned over his own sinfulness and worthiness to enter a holy place – a location that still represented divine power to him and which held great importance for his personal faith. He explained that he was overcome with concern over whether he possessed merit to enter a “Sanctum Sanctorum” because of his own “scrupulosity.” This was an interesting way for an early modern English Protestant to describe the seat of the Roman Church, as the “Holy of Holies,” rather than the source of damnation for many Christians. In my reading, these scruples originated either in Lithgow’s guilt over his vitriol about Catholic doctrine and practices, despite his recognition of the spiritual power of the center of Roman Christianity; or Lithgow could be expressing his fear of endangering his own religious identity, ties so strongly to the language of a rigid Protestant by entering a Roman Christian space. As a Scottish Protestant, whose ideas were shaped most critically by those of John Knox, Lithgow would have understood Knox’s efforts in the 1560s to eliminate the Catholic Mass. To describe a place dedicated to the Roman mass and filled with idolatrous images as a ‘Holy Sanctuary’ ought to have attracted the attention of religious authorities and concerned his Protestant readership. However, Lithgow did not merely express the sanctity of St. Peter’s, a place that he dared to enter despite its direct association with the papacy. Before that, he hesitated out of concern over his own humanity under the weight of the structure’s sanctity. This pointed to another chink in Lithgow’s Protestant armor: why was he concerned with sinfulness at a Catholic place?

97 Richard G. Kyle, finds that, for Knox and other Scottish reformers, weekly religious gatherings in the kirk were to be an opportunity to hear the Word of God, not to be surrounded by representations of it, “John Knox and the purification of religion: the intellectual aspects of his crusade against idolatry,” 265.

Such “scruples” were not uncommon in the early modern period, but as Paul Cefalu reported, ‘scrupulosity’ for a Protestant was connected “to the conversion experience.” To reference the overwhelming sanctity of the Church of St. Peter and to connect it with the possibility of conversion would strike a nerve. A Protestant should have not paused at a place of dubious religious value (to Scottish and English Protestants). Lithgow pushed the limits of orthodoxy by pondering his own sinfulness and concern for salvation and, especially by connecting St. Peter’s Basilica to an ecstatic experience. Once he entered St. Peter’s, William immediately observed the practices within the Roman Church, which he described as idolatry. However, William did not flee at the sight of superstitious practices. Presumably, he continued his tour of the basilica. His observations of the masses again provided cover, allowing Lithgow to continue his visit while satisfying his readers of the security of his own Protestant convictions.

After his time in Rome, William traveled to The Shrine of the Holy House in Loreto, a dubious place within both English and Scottish Protestantism. The Holy House became the most significant of the “substitute pilgrimage centres” in the Late Middle Ages, as travel to the Holy Land became more difficult. Although first founded in Italy in 1294 the shrine only received official papal sanction as a site where indulgences could be gained in the early sixteenth century. That Lithgow visited Loreto is surprising then, as there was no need to visit a substitute since he had always intended to visit the Holy Land. Furthermore, the Cult of Our Lady of Loreto had been particularly important in Scotland before 1565, however, by Lithgow’s

99 Paul Cefalu, “The Doubting Disease: Religious Scrupulosity and Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder in Historical Context,” J Med Humanit 31 (2010), 115. Cefalu points out that religious scrupulosity would most often be connected to Catholic and Jewish theology which are concerned with commission of good works, compared to English Protestant theology which would be more aligned with Lutheran thought on the idea of “full ‘sanctification’ or moral regeneration during creaturely existence,” Cefalu, 116. Cefalu challenges the application of modern psychoanalytic categories on the past, but does acknowledge the possibility of “obsessive religiosity” among early modern Protestant theologians, but notes “that such religiosity is considered to be an integral stage in the Protestant order of salvation and meaningful to the conversion experience,” 115.

time it occupied a dubious space. The Cult of Our Lady of Loreto became an important symbol within the Reformation in Scotland. A shrine built at Musselburgh in 1533 was destroyed by Protestant forces twice. The English army destroyed the Scottish pilgrimage site in 1547 and the people of Musselburgh demolished a rebuilt shrine when a noteworthy miracle there was uncovered as a hoax.101 Protestants in both Scotland and England were concerned with the practices that took place at the papists’ shrine. Despite parliamentary action inside Scotland to dissuade pilgrimage, the practice of traveling to sacred sites was still popular into the Reformation.102 The papal shrine at Loreto remained a popular site for English Catholics throughout the seventeenth century.103 Notably, Lithgow claimed that he was not participating in a pilgrimage to Loreto. Instead, he justified the visit by proudly announcing his intent to provide readers with the first description of the Shrine in Loreto in English. His narrative focused on the actions of a group of pilgrims from Rome who had been sent to perform penance. When he discussed the site itself, Lithgow advised the reader that the details he provided were directly from a book that he was given by one of the Roman pilgrims.104 Though he had fully engaged in most of the rituals, by joining with Catholic pilgrims, entering the shrine, and even walking to the statue dedicated to Our Lady of Loreto, William Lithgow insisted on distance from the practices he described.

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102 David Ditchburn reports that “to the annoyance of the new church, domestic pilgrimages were still undertaken, even in the seventeenth century. Pilgrimage, this suggests, was a religious practice deeply ingrained in the popular psyche and doggedly resistant to authoritarian Protestant diktat,” “‘Saints at the Door Don't Make Miracles'? The Contrasting Fortunes of Scottish Pilgrimage, c.1450-1550,” Sixteenth-Century Scotland, Essays in Honor of Michael Lynch, ed. Julian Goodare and Alasdair A. MacDonald, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008, 97-98. Though Ditchburn raises multiple concerns with the idea of an end to pilgrimage in 1559/60, he is left only with the possibility of travel to the holy sites in Rome, Jerusalem, Amiens and Compostela. He notes that the Scottish Parliament officially banned pilgrimage in 1581. 97.


104 Lithgow (1614), B3d-C3.
Lithgow also traveled to Jerusalem and visited all of the traditional pilgrimage sites both in the city and throughout Judea. While in Jerusalem, Lithgow joined other Christians (mostly Catholics) in a range of excursions throughout the Holy Land. He also participated in a range of religious festivals within Roman Christian spaces. He arrived in Jerusalem on Palm Sunday and stayed until after Easter. He willingly stayed in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, then under Franciscan control, for the entirety of Easter weekend. Lithgow described the celebration that ensued: “beating of kettle-drums, sounding of horn-trumpets, and other instruments, dancing, leaping, and running about the Sepulcher, with an intolerable tumult.”

In her examination of *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*, Margo Todd explains how at the turn of the sixteenth century, the Scottish Parliament enforced a prohibition against the celebration of religious feast days. To have been the devout Scottish Protestant he appeared to be, Lithgow certainly would not have presented himself as a willing participant in religious festivals within Roman Christian spaces. He did, in fact, initially object to the rituals he witnessed in Jerusalem, eliciting the censure of the Franciscan Patriarch, “to which we [William and three German Protestants] condescended, and promised to give no occasion of offense.” Most notably, William continued to participate in the travels and ceremonies of the Roman Christians for the remainder of his stay in the Holy Land, including the Easter weekend rituals, joining the Roman Christians for a variety of excursions to Nazareth, Bethlehem, the Dead Sea, and the River Jordan. Though risking his own life, William even saved an Italian friar who almost fell to his death as they were climbing the mountain Quaranto (where Jesus’

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105 *The Rare Adventures*, 152.
106 Todd admits that Scottish reformers had a difficult time (at best) of eliminating religious celebrations, they “tempered voluble disapproval with relative tolerance,” 183-6. Again the expression of an expected mode of belief and behavior is extremely important, especially as Lithgow crafted the identity of him as traveler explicitly, with a hindsight that permitted him to ensure an aura of orthodoxy if he desired to do so. That he continued to test the limits of possible religious practices and beliefs through his writing is telling.
107 *The Rare Adventures*, 142.
Transfiguration was purported to have occurred). William fully participated in the activities of Catholic pilgrims to Italy and the Holy Land. When confronted with danger, William risked his own life to save a fellow traveler, a priest of the pope. William also abandoned any concern over his salvation or standing within his native Church. He appeared to view other Christian travelers as followers of Christ worthy of the same cordiality and respect during the course of their shared experiences. William formed close bonds with co-travelers who worshipped the same Christ, he describes “seven sorts of Nations,” who gather in Jerusalem – they are all Christians through specific practices vary. Lithgow was concerned to relate that Christians from a range of confessions had gathered in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and engaged in the same rituals. Notably, he too has gathered with them and during the course of his travels in the Holy Land, he assumes an identity rooted in the similarities between the branches of Christianity.

**CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS OF UNITY**

During his earlier experiences, Lithgow described himself as a traveler in relatively generic terms. He refers to many of his fellow Christian travelers as pilgrims, but he describes himself as a “passenger” who traveled through the Adriatic and Aegean. Linguistically at least, Lithgow adheres to Scottish and English religious and secular regulations that banned participation in religiously-inspired travel. Instead, he views himself as merely moving from place-to-place while he deems others, especially Catholics, as engaging in superstitious rituals that fill their coffers with vast amounts of wealth.

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108 Ibid., 148.
109 Ibid., 152.
110 *The Totall Discourse*, B1b, B3c, C3d and D3d.
111 Ibid., C1a.
As he crossed into lands shared by Christians and Muslims, however, Lithgow articulated a new identity steeped in the expressions of a religious traveler or pilgrim. His transformation into the evasive identity of pilgrim signifies his full incorporation into the religious tradition. More than ninety pages into his tome as he entered the gates of Jerusalem, Lithgow willingly adopted the appellation, noting that his fellow German Protestants were surprised that “I had no fellow pilgrim in my long peregrination.” After his Palm Sunday protest, Lithgow participated in a pilgrim’s traditional rituals.\textsuperscript{112} When he described an excursion to the River Jordan where Lithgow wrote that he was motivated to “cut down faire hunting rod...which afterward, with great pains, I brought to England, and did present it (as the rarest gem of a pilgrims treasure)” to King James. Lithgow not only represented himself as a pilgrim but adopted the trappings of a pilgrim as well, including their attire and props.\textsuperscript{113} This final identity was part of Lithgow’s adoption of traditional ideas of a universal Christianity that the pilgrim, among other forms and identities, represented.

While traveling through the Mediterranean and its adjoining seas, Lithgow focused on a universal Christian experience. Lithgow hoped that the “glorious victory” at Lepanto would be repeated when “Christian Princes could concord, and conduct together.”\textsuperscript{114} No doubt, Lithgow drew upon his countrymen’s recollection of King James’ ode to the battle, which appeared in print in 1591. Lithgow mentioned the idea of a universal Christian experience when lamenting the desire and potential for Ottoman forces to “abolish the very name of Christianity.”\textsuperscript{115}

\textsuperscript{112}\textit{Ibid.}, 145.

\textsuperscript{113} Sarah Hopper noted that many pilgrims, in fact had their walking staff blessed at their destinations. She also records that earlier pilgrims were often buried with their walking staff, \textit{To be a Pilgrim: The Medieval Pilgrimage Experience} (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2002), 80-1.

\textsuperscript{114} Lithgow (1614), K1b. He reports that Muslims recognize this possibility and are particularly fearful of Christian travelers to Jerusalem: “at the gate we were particularly searched, to the effect we carried in no furniture of armes, nor poulder with us, and the Armenians (notwithstanding they are slaves to Turkes) behooved to render their weapons to the Keepers, such is the fear they have of Christians,” O-Ob.

\textsuperscript{115} \textit{Ibid.}, H2b.
Lithgow described with praise a united Christian front at Lepanto and reported that “twelve thousand Christians [were] delivered from their slavish bondage.”\textsuperscript{116} A united force of Christians freed enslaved Christians from their Muslim captors. Lithgow generalized Christians and Christendom when he compared the followers of Christ to the Turks and other Muslims. Specifically, he used the idea of “Christian” to emphasize mistreatment at the hands of Turks\textsuperscript{117} or to relate the possibility of defeating Turkish mastery of the Levant. Apparently, Lithgow hoped that the “glorious victory” at Lepanto would be repeated, for he tells his reader that “if Christian Princes could concord, and conduct together, it were a easie thing in one yeare, to subdue the Turkes, and roote out their very names from the earth.”\textsuperscript{118}

King James was interested in the type of program that Lithgow proposed. In his poem on the Battle of Lepanto, written in 1593, James saw a divine confrontation in which “the baptized race,” rallied by Angel Gabriel fought the “circumcised turband Turkes,” called to battle by Satan himself.\textsuperscript{119} James’ expression of the potential of a unified Christianity in his writings on Lepanto was only one of his literary endeavors on the theme. From his earliest days on the throne, King James envisioned “church unity on an international scale – reaching across denominational as well as national boundaries.”\textsuperscript{120} James was also especially adept at balancing the competing interests of the various sects battling for dominance within the English Church so that during his reign, “the Church of England might be seen as enjoying a golden age.” King

\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., E3.
\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., H.
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., K1b. He reports that Muslims recognize this possibility and are particularly fearful of Christian travelers to Jerusalem: “at the gate we were particularly searched, to the effect we carried in no furniture of arms, nor powder with us, and the Armenians (notwithstanding they are slaves to Turks) behooved to render their weapons to the keepers, such is the fear they have of Christians,” 138-9.
\textsuperscript{120} Patterson, King James VI and the Reunion of Christendom, 4. James even actively pressed for a general counsel of Christian Churches, including the papacy and pressed Christian countries at war to make peace., 91 and 39-50.
James also maintained contact with both the papacy and other branches of Protestantism in Europe, despite the impending conflict over religious doctrine.\textsuperscript{121} During the course of his travels, William Lithgow encountered the various branches within the Christian religion and fully collaborated with his fellow Christians as they maneuvered through the Levant, realizing part of James’ dream of coordinated spiritual battle against the enemies of the Christian faith.

The idea that by taking coordinated action, Christians could counter the Muslim challenge was not new. In Lithgow, the subtle articulation of ‘Frankish’ Christianity was a confused term to English travelers but one that merchants readily adopted.\textsuperscript{122} While the origins may have been obscured, the appellation was only applicable to Western Europeans who were traveling in Ottoman lands.\textsuperscript{123} English travelers typically connected the title of ‘Frank’ to the efforts of Crusaders to take and then defend the Holy Land. In the process, ‘Frank’ was seen as a communal reference to western European Christians’ rule over the Holy Land.\textsuperscript{124} The Muslims, by the time the Holy Land was retaken, continued to conceive of Western European Christians as a singular group – Franks. Both Muslims and Western European Christians recalled a moment when a ‘universal’ Christianity seemed truly possible. Lithgow connected his own sense of self to the two significant parts of his Levantine identity as a Frank and pilgrim. This joined identity was expressly adopted while in the Holy Land, where Lithgow also feels the closest connection to other Christians. Perhaps it was the shared identity in contrast to Muslims. It certainly

\textsuperscript{121} MacCulloch, 515.


\textsuperscript{123} \textit{Ibid.}, 364.

\textsuperscript{124} The initial laws over the Christian kingdom in the Holy Land compare “Franks” to various other people in the Holy Land, including Syrians, Saracens, Griffons, Nestorians, Jacobites, Samaritans, and Jews in “Laws of the Kingdom of Jerusalem,” in The Crusades: A Reader, S. J. Allen and Emilie Amt, eds. (Toronto: Broadview press, 2003), 93-95. It is interesting how comparable the list is to Lithgow’s referenced above: “Italians, Greeks, Armenians, Ethiopians, Jacobins…Nestorians and Chelfaines,” \textit{The Rare Adventures}, 152.. Lithgow in this moment calls medieval Franks, Italians.
recalled a time, before the Reformations, when Western European Christians united to defeat Muslims and collectively rule the Holy Land.

At first, like many Christian itinerants, Lithgow did not adopt the title himself. Instead, he was designated as such by a nomadic party of Arab raiders who had been monitoring the activities of the travelers as they passed Mount Carmel. Lithgow expressed his dismay at the demand for “seven chickens of gold,” rather than the moniker. Once he arrived at Jerusalem, the identification appeared more permanent and self-adopted. Immediately, Lithgow received food over the locked gate – food that only Lithgow received since he was the only ‘Frank’ in the travel party. Lithgow’s status as a ‘Frank’ enabled him to visit the major sites in Jerusalem as well. With Lithgow’s ‘intractable’ Protestantism, it is surprising that as he and a small group of fellow Frankish travelers left Judea, Lithgow observed, “greatly was I animated with the company of these Frank pilgrims, which I found in Jerusalem; but alas! No sooner was their society deere & acceptable to me, but as some by death, was I robd of all the ten.” Lithgow expressed sorrow over the loss of his traveling companions because he had connected with them and had finally realized his own Christian identity more fully. He saw his fellow travelers as Christian pilgrims, whether they pledged allegiance to the pope or the king. For the moment of solidarity in the Holy Land, differences were not important. Such intimacies caused Lithgow to re-evaluate his own religious identity, an identity that was more accommodating to other religious affiliations than required.

\[\text{125 Lithgow (1614), N3.}\]
\[\text{126 Ibid., R3c.}\]
REMNANTS OF A CATHOLIC PAST

William Lithgow of Lanark crafted a rhetorically-ambiguous identity in his 1614/16 travelogue, *A most delectable, and true discourse, of an admired and painefull peregrination from Scotland, to the most famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia and Affricke*. Lithgow presented himself as a self-described Protestant at various moments in the narrative. As part of this persona, he was a virulent anti-Papist. However, William participated in a range of rituals that were expressly forbidden by the official doctrine of the Reformed Church in Scotland, including pilgrimage to ‘holy sites’ and engagement in religious festivities that had been banned. Lithgow was also friendly with individual Catholics whom he encountered in and near Rome, including a notorious Irish Catholic rebel who fought against the English as well as a Scotsman who converted even took monastic vows during his own travels. Lithgow also adhered to past notions of Christianity that were rooted in Crusading notions that sought universal Christian action against a common Muslim enemy. This included the idea of a holy pilgrim to the historical sites of Christianity, and the Frankish (Western) Christians who moved through them. Lithgow even personally adopted a Frankish identity, inherited from the days of Crusades in the Holy Land.

My reading of William Lithgow’s narrative challenges the accepted historiographical framing of the English and especially Scottish Reformations at the turn of the seventeenth century. This model claimed that both religious reforms were complete at the turn of the seventeenth century. This idea of a comprehensive conversion relies on a tradition of an all-embracing intolerance toward unsanctioned beliefs and actions. Peter Lake and Michael Questier are among the pioneers of the idea of “synthesis,” which allows for some distance between doctrine and practice in post-Reformation England.127 However, their ideas are still debated.

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Many scholars, such as David Cressy recognize a flexible ‘middle’ between practice and belief, where actions deemed unacceptable are permitted. However, Cressy still insists on a teleological progression from allegiance to the Roman Church to a definitive Protestantism. The compromise he envisions is limited to the secular sphere. The “transition from Catholicism to Protestantism” in England was irreversible and unstoppable. Alan MacDonald has even claimed that England continued on an unstoppable march toward Protestantism, even after effectively uniting with Scotland and absorbing much of Ireland. The English eliminated vestiges of Catholicism especially in Scotland and Ireland as they moved toward a more unified version of a religious state.

When historians deal with the Reformation era in Scotland, the notion of a definitive break from a Catholic to Protestant state continues to hold sway. Recent thought even points to a “revolution” in belief that affected all of Scottish society. This change “came dramatically” but “profoundly and permanently changed the political climate…it had changed the rules by which politics, religion and society worked.” Alec Ryrie voiced this theory clearly in the last decade. The Reformation of 1559/60 forever changed the political and religious landscape in Scotland. Even Todd, who allowed for the survival of many pre-Reformation practices in Scotland, noted that social institutions “enforce[d] a common culture – a new common identity – of Protestantism.” It is overly simplistic to think that an itinerant such as William Lithgow who spent much of his adult life traveling through Europe, North Africa and the Near East understood and followed a well-defined Protestantism, especially as it had become dominant only in the generation before him. However, he was certainly aware of the primary tenets of Scottish

131 Todd, The Culture of Protestantism in early Modern Scotland, 410.
Protestant dogma. Rather, Lithgow arrived at an accommodating version of Christianity that drew from old forms and ideas, while allowing for the interchange between the different branches of Christianity, including dangerous Papists. In order to see this, however, one must crack the protective shell of the supposed “intractable Protestant”\(^{132}\) Perhaps there are others whose true beliefs remain hidden beneath a rhetorical shell. Change never comes easy, nor is it seemingly effortless and complete (at least in its initial stages). Sometimes, evidence of its elusiveness can be hard to uncover behind a mask of obedience. William Lithgow seemed adept at presenting a good face of a compliant Protestant, while participating in practices and engaging in personal encounters within an abandoned belief system. The performance convinced not only his readers, but modern scholars as well.

The actions of William as he traversed lands inhabited by representatives of different faiths reached his readers through the actions of many filters. They included the traveler own recollections and records, what he wrote for the initial editions, as well as publishers, printers, the Stationers’ Company and the continued involvement of each party in successive editions. Patrons and perhaps courtiers were even involved in crafting the narratives that were made public. These multiple voices and fears of censorship certainly influenced the presentation of religious diversity, a contentious issue within Britannia into the seventeenth century. I do not contend that William Lithgow was a crypto-Catholic. However, I do see evidence of “passing” as anti-Catholic. Central to Lithgow’s condemnation was “Papists” participation in various ritualized forms of worship, especially of objects he and other polemicists interpreted as idols. In order to escape scrutiny and attract the readership the producers of the travel books desired, William Lithgow would have to appear as anti-Roman Christian. However, beneath the charged

rhetoric laid a figure who located similarities within beliefs and practices, within the community of pilgrims and crusading forces which fought at Lepanto for the preservation of Christianity. Lithgow advocated fuller participation of all Christian nations in that mission. As an individual, William ignored prohibitions on participation in banned rituals, set foot in forbidden Roman Christian shrines, and consorted with known Roman Christians whose identities could not be divulged until the 1632 edition – more than twenty years after the encounters had taken place.

William Lithgow’s virulent anti-Catholicism provided an effective cover for real accommodation of religious difference in action. Under the early Stuarts, religious deviance was still dangerous. After the failed Gunpowder Plot and the 1606 Oath of Allegiance, the crown and those closest to it appeared to abandon any hint of toleration. However, the Oath especially ignited a robust debate concerning the issues of outward conformity and religious difference. Ultimately, Britons were required to pledge supreme loyalty to their king. Subjects were required to assimilate. English travelers during the early modern period had to be careful to avoid accusations of conversion while abroad. This demanded the exhibition of distinct personae: one that showed their devotion to Protestantism; another that, out of necessity, could accommodate religious difference. Because of the balancing required of travelers during this period, William Lithgow could serve as the perfect vehicle to profess a careful tolerance. Within foreign spaces, William Lithgow encountered a variety of confessions and was able to interact with actual people, not stereotypes of them. However, William Lithgow was also concerned, of course, with selling books and with securing his personal safety while in Britannia. These aims were achieved by covering tolerance with a literary superstructure of indignation.
CHAPTER THREE: 
EVASION AND MARTYRDOM: HEROISM AND RELIGIOUS CONVICTION 
IN THE EARLY MODERN MEDITERRANEAN

Religion was certainly an important element of the Lithgow travel narratives, as well as to the people who crafted, produced, and consumed the texts. While subtly calling for general tolerance toward other Christians, the Lithgow’s theological focus allowed him to draw on a range of religious motifs familiar to Christian readers. These readers recognized Papists, Turks, and mendicant friars. Pilgrims, including Lithgow, who populated the texts continued to visit places sacred to Roman Christians, such as Rome and Loreto. All Christians longed to complete the journey to the Holy Land. The readers perceived that Inquisitors meant danger, physical abuse and ultimately death for the devout Protestant.

A willingness to die for one’s religious beliefs held sway through all adaptations of Christianity.133 Martyrdom represented the ultimate sacrifice for Christians. Most, if not all, of Lithgow’s readers in Britannia lived with a mental conception of martyrdom, whether by perusing immensely popular works such as Foxe’s Actes and Monuments, hearing about the martyr’s sacrifice from the pulpit, or perhaps first-hand experience as they witnessed the sacrifice of some of their religious heroes who remained steadfast in their theological convictions during the fits and starts of the English and Scottish Reformations. Equally familiar, no doubt, was the captive victim of an often elusive enemy, whose life of civility and order ended when

133 Brad S. Gregory, Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 1999), passim., especially see Chapter Two: “The Late Medieval Inheritance” and 3-4, where Gregory highlights the proliferation of martyrologies during the sixteenth and seventeenth century Reformations in Europe.
they were seized at sea, along with precious cargoes and floating vessels. While the British were only beginning to hear about the natives of North America who took settlers captive, they certainly knew of prisoners taken by Barbary pirates, who often turned to raiding after converting to Islam.

As a seafarer, William encountered naval pirates throughout the Mediterranean. He described the encounters in the eastern Mediterranean in detail. William continued to encounter physical challenges as his peregrination progressed. These experiences were described throughout William’s adventures. The narrative drew on popular conceptions of the trial of a martyr. The devout representation required an ability to bravely draw on his inner determination when heroics were possible. Woven into the narrative was the recognition that those called by the Christian God to suffer for their faith must also recognize when to accept that fate. While evoking such images of trial and sacrifice, Lithgow re-imaged the pious notion of martyrdom. Lithgow recast an image of extreme devotion to his Lord in Heaven to call for similar sacrifice to his Lord on Earth. While there is an element of religious tension in William’s final test during his captivity in Spain, Lithgow carefully presents Spanish secular officials, not Inquisitors as the agents of William’s imprisonment and torture. This use of a recognizable *topos* for novel ends was not an innovation that can be credited to Lithgow, but was increasingly common during the Tudor and Stuart periods in England. Recent scholarship has recognized how religious and secular leaders drew upon popular ideas and themes to reshape the landscape of Reformation Europe, specifically within Britannia.\(^{134}\)

\(^{134}\) Scribner points to the many ways in which easily recognized images were utilized by Lutheran reformers to convert the populace of Germany. By using a visual repertoire that the populace already understood, reformers were able to incorporate past rhetoric into new arguments, *For the Sake of Simple Folk, passim*. Scribner directly references the value of using established “types” or of creating new ones on xxii-xxiii and 229. Ethan H. Shagan showed how rhetoric during the Henrician Era drew upon and recast religious themes under a new politicized context, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), *passim.*, especially 7.
During the course of William’s earliest experiences, he evaded Barbary pirates, local renegades and dubious janissaries. On his final journey, William visited Ireland and Spain, intending to disembark from Malaga to see “Prester John’s dominions and court.”  

Although arrangements had been made, he never embarked on this adventure, but was instead imprisoned for over seven months. By twist of fate, he returned to London after his release to English factors, narrowly avoiding death at the hands of the governor of Malaga. Lithgow never fully recovered from his imprisonment and torture there. In 1623 and 1632, Lithgow published two editions which presented two slightly different accounts of his experiences which ended with his miraculous rescue. Despite reportedly losing his travel documents, including his personal diary, Lithgow provided a brief description of his latest encounters in 1623. The 1632 edition provided significantly greater details of William’s experiences. More uniquely, the 1632 edition significantly expanded upon the details of William’s captivity. Because of the success of his earlier works, Lithgow included woodcuts, such as “The Artist’s Effigy” (Figure A), to highlight important moments in his travels. In a number of these images, Lithgow represented himself in the dual image of traveler and martyr. He did not approach each crisis during his peregrination with quiet resolve. When he was in control of a situation, Lithgow acted swiftly and decisively as the situation dictated. He also rallied his fellow travelers when they were prepared to abandon hope.

In addition to making a range of texts available to a wider public, the use of the printing press made it possible to disseminate printed images to a wider audience. While prints came in many forms and served a variety of purposes, the impact of woodcuts on the popularity of

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135 *The Rare Adventures*, 261.
literature in early modern England cannot be underestimated. Specifically, the combination of illustrations and text, featured throughout John Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments* helped to make it one of the most influential books produced in early modern England. Books in the early seventeenth-century featured illustrations much less frequently than today. In fact, Lithgow’s *The Totall Discourse* (the 1632 edition) was one of the earliest English travel books to include woodcuts. The pictures helped to authenticate the narrative descriptions since images provided concrete proof of a travel-writer’s journeys. By including printed images, the writer, printer and patron particularly emphasized a critical message. Although woodcut illustrations were the least expensive way to reproduce images, they were still costly. Because of the expense and the power of visual imagery, great thought went into the commissioning of the blocks for printing images to include in works of literature. Unlike early modern printers who explored virtually every possible usage of the technology, Michael Hunter noted that scholars have only

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136 Michael Hunter mentions that the most common means of reproducing images were from engraved metal plates or woodblocks. Some of the more common products that spread through London, in addition to books, were printed wallpaper, items related to inexpensive entertainment, packaging, broadsheets, music sheets, items to spread knowledge of the world (including maps, botanica, and representations of bizarre species and ethnicities), “Introduction,” *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, Michael Hunter, ed., (Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 1 and 5, 9-14. Scribner also recognizes the greatest factor in the proliferation of printed images: a vast number of images that could be produced from a single block, 5-6.


140 While most scholars have abandoned (for the time being) attempts to estimate the costs involved in the inclusion of woodcuts, most, including King, 168-9 and Evenden and Freeman, 190-3 concur that once all aspects of the production, from the initial woodblock to instances of misprinting are included, the cost was, the words of Evenden and Freeman “considerable”.

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recently begun to investigate the art of print. Despite the relative neglect of scholarly treatment, the potential impact of printed imagery has not escaped notice.\textsuperscript{141} The desire to authenticate his travels\textsuperscript{142} that they described motivated the inclusion of prints in Lithgow’s final edition. Illustrations in a text satisfied the desire to relay a powerful message to potential readers through a medium that could deliver meaning to those who, unable to read on their own, received information directly from those images. For this segment of a book’s audience, pictures were the only direct meaning that was derived from the team that created the work. Literate readers, no doubt, also mused like Alice would before she fell down the rabbit hole: “and what is the use of a book...without pictures?”\textsuperscript{143} Sometimes messages are best relayed, in fact, through pictures.

By the time the third unique version of Lithgow’s travel account was prepared in 1632, his adventures had attracted a substantial following.\textsuperscript{144} No doubt, the potential to attract new readers helped convince Nicholas Okes, the printer for every version, to include the selected images. These eight unique images fall into three categories. They serve to prove his travels, represent his captivity, and illustrate the tattoo Lithgow received in the Holy Land as a reminder of his spiritual journey and as a tribute to the “bounty, wisdom, and learning...not paragonized [surpassed] among all the princes of the earth.”\textsuperscript{145} Two of the prints, which are accompanied by poetic verse,\textsuperscript{146} related experiences on a particular leg of the journey, validating the narrative. The first of the woodcut images, “The Author’s Effigy” (Figure A) celebrated Greece lyric history. It also connected Lithgow to the epic poets of ancient times and included a

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\textsuperscript{141} Ibid., 4-5.  \\
\textsuperscript{142} Snader points to the early use of visual imagery as proof of an experience, 17.  \\
\textsuperscript{143} Lewis Carroll, Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland, produced by David Widger, Salt Lake City: Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation, 2008, Ebook, Chapter 1: Down the Rabbit Hole.  \\
\textsuperscript{144} Snader, 33.  \\
\textsuperscript{145} The Rare Adventures, 157.  \\
\textsuperscript{146} As Bosworth noted, Lithgow “fancied himself a poet.” His efforts were included in a volume published during his lifetime as well as a sampling of various verses in a number of his works, including The Rare Adventures, 21-2.
\end{flushright}
corresponding rhyme recorded as he embarked for Troy. Verse narrative also accompanies “The Author in the Libyan Desert” (Figure B), where Lithgow related the environmental assault on his personage. There are two additional images that Lithgow includes as ‘proof’ of his travels. The first, “The Model of the Great Seal of the Guardians of the Holy Grave” (Figure C), which is also accompanied by verse, marked Lithgow’s departure from the Holy Land but failed to include his personal visage. However, in Figure D, the “Model of the Great City of Fez,” the protagonist was included in a miniature that provided a visual representation of the cityscape he visited. These four images collectively served as proof that Lithgow visited each location.

Some of the images served a personal purpose for Lithgow. At the end of The Rare Adventures and Painful Peregrinations, the author felt obliged to provide proof to both the reader and the general public of the injuries sustained during captivity in Spain.147 To that end, two illustrations were included to represent Lithgow’s torture in Spain. “The Author in irons in the Governor’s palace at Malaga” (Figure E) places the image of “The Author in the Rack at Malaga” (Figure J) into perspective and makes it clear that, in fact, William Lithgow was depicted (based on the other images of him) since these representations were but eight pages apart. Otherwise, “The Author in the Rack at Malaga” was not unmistakably him.

Intended to represent the major travails in the narrative, the image “The Author beset with six murderers in Moravia” (Figure F) was included with the text from Lithgow’s second embarkation. Lithgow related that these images collectively represent the trial of captivity in both Moravia and Spain, and the torture and disfigurement endured in Spain.148 The images,

147 Lithgow spends eight pages of his 1932 publication discussing his attempt to obtain compensation from the Spanish government for his torture, even appealing to Parliament (prior to its dissolution in 1626). He provides the reader with the text of a letter Sir Thomas Button drafted in response to detractors who doubted Lithgow’s experiences in Spain, (1932), 484-92.

148 In addition to the Frontispiece (Figure A), the other images include: “A Farewell to Zion,” which depicts Jesus and Christian patriarchs; a representation of Lithgow in the Libyan desert (which is similar in conception to the Frontispiece); a map of Fez, which include a figural representation of Lithgow and his dragoman guide.)
along with their accompanying narrative, made certain key events stand out to the audience. The book’s producers hoped to authenticate the journeys described, but more importantly, highlighted key moments in the text in which the traveler’s resolve was tested. These pictures made these episodes stand out. How did Lithgow’s readers react to the instances of captivity? What is the relationship between these experiences and the moments when he clearly avoids capture? How did Lithgow react to the torture he endured in Spain and how did the torture relate to the exploits outlined in the travelogue? In conceiving of the tortures suffered, Lithgow drew on the imagery of Protestant martyrs. However, this representation is only visible when William Lithgow’s travel narratives are distinguished from the larger discourse of travel and captivity literature, which insist on particular standard representations. The trials that William encountered were presented, not in the traditional conception of either form. Lithgow represented the dangers encountered as divine trials which William was specifically destined to endure and later relate to a reading public. Scholars have tended to place specific expectations on the narrative which caused Lithgow’s borrowing from other literary forms, especially the martyrdom narrative, to remain obscured.

Percy Adams suggested that travel literature assumed hybrid forms which demanded the author find unique ways in which to connect to their readership. To Adams, as the travel writer penned their work, they paid particular attention to the way in which they delivered the narrative. One such manifestation of travel literature is the captivity narrative. Joe Snader favors a broad conception of these tales so that the genre includes even “short accounts of captivity [which] sometimes appeared within longer texts framed according to very different agendas.”149 Snader favors viewing captivity narratives as a distinct literary form, unrelated to other travel narratives. To him, the act of capture completely changes the characteristics of the entire narrative.

149 Snader, 24.
Significantly, when travelers evaded capture, Snader contends that the tale ought to be excluded from the captivity genre. A captivity account, to Snader, becomes a completely different form.

In my reading of the Lithgow narrative, it is disingenuous to separate accounts in which a traveler is captured from the larger narrative context, simply based on what serves as part of the plot. Travel narratives that describe similar journeys, akin to the largely formulaic Grand Tour, for instance, should not be treated as completely different simply because one of the travelers was captured.\(^{150}\) While the captivity certainly affected the shape of one traveler’s journey, it should not automatically cause readers to treat it differently. Travelers could have been captured early in their journey but were later liberated and continued their travels. Because the narrative begins and ultimately returns to the more standard format of a travelogue, the experience of captivity was merely part of the journey. Only the tortured author could properly evaluate the impact of captivity or any other experience. It is not the role of the scholar to force narratives from the past into convenient categories for the sake of completing our work. If the traveler sought knowledge, causing them to push limits or to go where they shouldn’t, their tale should not be isolated solely because of the experience of captivity. The traveler’s captivity experience ought to be viewed simply as one of the many potential experiences the traveler endured. Until captivity tales emerge as “long, individualized, separately published accounts” at the end of the seventeenth century,\(^ {151}\) they should not be viewed as a distinct entity or outside the excursion itself. Even then, the experience ought to be viewed within the context of the entire narrative.

The captivity genre was developed for specific reasons, which naturally became part of its


\(^{151}\) Snader, 15 and 20-27
construction. It was typically used within a colonial context to justify aggression against an enemy. The victims in these tales often were not engaging in an activity that brought them into contact with their captors, but were seized from a place of presumed safety.

Snader does recognize the hybridity common in earlier accounts of travel that included captivity, as a “travail narrative” which sits somewhere between our modern conceptions of the separate genres of travel narrative and captivity narrative. As a result, this “travail narrative” contains elements of both: it encapsulates the pain of travel and the celebration of the experience of the journey. However, capture was not part of its potential plot devices. It was seen simply as an acceptable hardship of travel in the early modern period. Captivity becomes a way to highlight the difficulty of travel. This conception, naturally, requires a period after its terminus in which the nature of the narrative changes and the tale becomes either one of travel or one of captivity. It is this end, be it desired or not, which the “travail narrative” must lead. It cannot coexist with other related forms. It is destined to disappear in Snader’s conception.

William traveled and wrote during the period before a fully-formed early modern travel (e.g. Grand Tour) and captivity (e.g. the late-seventeenth century A Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson) narrative had formed as distinct forms which provided readers with distinct expectations. Lithgow’s narrative also serves as an example of how breaking out of a particular framework opens possibilities. While many force Lithgow’s work into the broader field of travel literature, with its own set of expectations and norms, Lithgow defied categorization. While travel certainly framed his endeavor and he expressed the desire to learn (one of the traditional motives expressed by the traveler), his experience in captivity and reaction to near-captivity do not fall completely within the criteria of either genre,

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152 Ibid., 15.
but contain elements of both and more. His marginal existence\textsuperscript{153} demanded the ability to adroitly move through a variety of cultures and to respond to a range of tests of his determination (akin to a “travail narrative”). Throughout his narratives, Lithgow described with pride his ability to avoid detection when he desired secrecy or it was required for his safety.\textsuperscript{154} The pattern of his travels contributed to his marginal existence, for he remained in London (not his native Lanark in Scotland) for a year between his first and second peregrination, a period that he seemed to repeat between his final two pan-European excursions.\textsuperscript{155} This ability to evade detection and capture was especially put to the test as he sailed from port-to-port in the central and eastern Mediterranean. The way he responded to the scenarios is telling. A brief but closer examination of the Mediterranean captivity experience will reveal how Lithgow adhered to certain patterns, yet retained elements of exceptionality in the ways that he presented both captivity and near-captivity.

\textsuperscript{153} Beginning with Victor Turner and Edith L.B. Turner’s \textit{Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture} (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 2-6, there has been a tradition which has viewed religious travel as liminal. Much recent literature on travel during the early modern period has addressed the traveler’s existence at the borders, most notably, \textit{Borders and Travelers in Early Modern Europe}, edited by Thomas Betteridge (Aldershot, Hampshire and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), passim.

\textsuperscript{154} As an early example, Lithgow stops in Rome on his first excursion. This is the first location where he stops to describe the city, the people and the places that he visits. There is a constant fear overhanging his stay in Rome: being captured by Catholic forces, should he be discovered. He insists that he narrowly escapes. \textit{The Rare Adventures}, 36.

\textsuperscript{155} Scholars have recently more thoroughly examined the notion of the hybridity of people and objects who exist in cross-cultural spaces. In her examination of a Venetian Codex, E. Natalie Rothman discusses the problems inherent in our scientific attempt to describe people and products of the past with ‘pin-point accuracy.’, “Visualizing a Space of Encounter: Intimacy, Alterity, and Trans-Imperial Perspective in an Ottoman-Venetian Miniature Album,” \textit{The Journal of Ottoman Studies}, XL (2012), 41, 44-6. While Maya Jasanoff addresses the specific application of national identity to people who reside at the margins, her claims would be as applicable to the items and thoughts produced by people who exist within the spaces between cultures. The items that they produce from such places on the margins would certainly shape their conceptions and actions, “Cosmopolitan: A Tale of Identity from Ottoman Alexandria”, \textit{Common Knowledge} 11:3 (2005). 393-4 and 406-9.
BARBARY CAPTIVITY: FEAR AND REALITY

Often left out of the account of cross-cultural contacts along the Mediterranean littoral in the early modern period are the experiences of those taken as captives during movement. In *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600-1850*, Linda Colley attempts to correct that neglect. She observed that “captivity was an integral part of Britain’s overseas experience which cannot be properly understood without it.”\textsuperscript{156} While her focus is on the global phenomenon, her statement rings especially true for the Mediterranean, where according to Robert C. Davis noted that between one million and one-and-a-quarter million Christians were enslaved by the Barbary States.\textsuperscript{157} The fear of enslavement extended to European coastal communities as far north as Ireland, which Barbary pirates regularly raided.

Once captured, few options remained for European Christians. While millions were forced into slavery, other chose to convert, which guaranteed acceptance into Muslim society. More importantly, conversion ensured that they would not be forced into slavery.\textsuperscript{158} Some experienced a different sort of conversion as they resorted to a life of piracy themselves. In describing travel through the eastern Mediterranean, the Lithgow narratives mention a number of British-born pirates.\textsuperscript{159} Either form of conversion, which required abandoning their way of life to

\textsuperscript{156} Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600-1850* (New York: Anchor Books, 2004), 3. Note that to Colley, captivity is part of the collective experience of travel. To her, travel through and within the various spaces must remain in context.


\textsuperscript{159} The most lengthy incident occurs during travels on the island of Candia (modern-day Crete), Lithgow described a near-death encounter with an “English runagate named Wolson,” who had joined Barbary pirates. Luckily, Lithgow is joined by other Englishmen who defend his person, foiling the plans of “the arch-villain...prepared for mischief.” The pirate is last reported to have fled as a coward, *The Rare Adventures*, 65-6.
become a Muslim ‘infidel’ was dangerous. More importantly, this constituted a rejection of the civility and community of fellow Christians. Some captives escaped. Many were liberated when families, friends and often complete strangers ransomed them from Barbary corsairs who encouraged frequent contact with fellow nationals in an attempt to receive payment. Redemption was not uncommon, as most Western European powers had a variety of public and private groups that regularly elicited donations from fellow-nationals to establish a relief fund. \(^{160}\) Efforts at obtaining funding for captives’ redemption were so effective because, according to Colley, “for early modern Britons, the fear of Barbary was very real. So visceral were these terrors, indeed, that they long outlasted the corsairs’ capacity to do serious harm.”\(^{161}\) Popular images, such as “Remember the Poor Prisoners” (Figure L) reminded those in Britannia that they would likely experience captivity, either first-hand, or through the capture of family and neighbors. As contact and trade within the Mediterranean increased during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the likelihood of being captured only increased. In travel literature, this played an important part in the experience of first-hand contact with those along the Mediterranean. While referencing the considerable numbers of pirates was popular with other writers, it is particularly important to Lithgow’s experience in the eastern Mediterranean.

\(^{160}\) Oftentimes, these collections were made by relief organizations, such as the Trinity House in England, Matar, 24. Confraternities, such as the Santa Maria del Gonfalone, were centered in Rome and Naples, and religious houses, such as The Order of the Most Holy Trinity (Trinitarians) and Our Lady of Mercy (Mercedarians) collected donations for Italians and French captives, Davis, 149-50. Most of these organizations collected donations as alms as part of religious gatherings, Matar, 24-5. Davis, 155-161. Colley, 75-81. At other times they were encountered on the streets, as seen in Marcellus Laroon’s “Remember the Poor Prisoners,” in The Cryes of the City of London, Marcellus Laroon, The Cryes of the City of London, 2nd Edition, in Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption, 54.

\(^{161}\) Colley, 63.
LITHGOW’S HEROICS: EVADING CAPTURE

When William Lithgow described the assorted maritime legs of his journey, he drew upon his reader’s awareness of the dangers of direct contact with Barbary pirates. Twice during his journeys from Italy to the Levant, he describes how closely he and his shipmates came to capture (and assumed slavery). Lithgow described the first encounter extensively, how the mere sight of the ships in the distance risked panic: the “sudden, afrigtening news [of the pursuit of Tunisian corsairs] overwhelmed us in despair.”162 Most of his fellow passengers and the crew encouraged surrender since they expected to be redeemed. Although William shared his fellow travelers’ fears, he chose single-handedly to rally the ship’s captain to fight and helped to change the minds of his fellow travelers. Ultimately, William and his shipmates successfully evaded capture through joint effort and ingenuity. Lithgow stressed his role in overcoming certain dread, and to repel the danger of imminent death or capture and imprisonment during travel. Lithgow was extremely familiar with the dangers of travel. He described how he had “escaped infinite dangers, by seas suffering thrice shipwreck; by land, in woods, and on mountains often invaded; by ravenous beasts...by home-bred robbers and remote savages five times stripped to the skin.”163 Here, he showed that in his mind at least (based on his personal experience), near-capture, near-drowning and robbery were no less dramatic than actually experiencing captivity. The only difference was the physical result. The anticipation of capture made the anxiety just as real. Lithgow related a continual awareness of his surroundings and bragged about his creative and pugnacious nature. By controlling fear, Lithgow often avoided capture.164 Though previous experiences brought him dangerously close to capture and ultimately found him abandoned in

162 The Rare Adventures, 50.
163 Ibid., 249.
164 In the “Introduction” to Fear in early modern society, Penny Roberts and William G. Naphy find that in while fear was pervasive in the early modern period, if some individuals (often ‘authorities’) were able to manage fear, the populace of Europe were able to fend off a number of disasters by controlling a tendency, at times, to panic, William G. Naphy and Penny Roberts, eds. (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1992), 5.
Moldavia, William chose to embark on successive journeys. He had already overcome his fear of abduction. Perhaps he anticipated another chance to rescue his fellow travelers and himself from the dangers that awaited them.

Lithgow credited his unique combination of a collected manner and rash behavior with saving his fellow travelers from certain capture. Survival and freedom did not require coordination, or even the cooperation of others. Lithgow displayed a confidence that the action of a single brave person who was unwilling to accept the fate of capture or death would generally bring a satisfactory outcome. Absolute bravery was required. When he and his company were on an excursion from Jerusalem, they stopped at the River Jordan to bathe. While still naked, William climbed a nearby tree to collect a branch that he planned to craft into a walking stick that he eventually hoped to give to King James. While he was still in the tree, Lithgow observed the rest of his company being assaulted by marauders. Lithgow paused to decide what to do next: “pondering I could hardly or never escape their hands either there or by the way going up to Jerusalem, I leaped down from the tree...and ran stark naked above a quarter of a mile amongst thistles and sharp pointed grass,” ultimately drawing the attention of the attackers and securing the safety of his company.165 His reflection and eventual action showed how creative and decisive William could be. In this instance, he felt personally responsible for their salvation, for by distracting the bandits, the company organized their resistance and fought the raiders off.

The image of Lithgow’s distraction, as well as his expressed pride at rescuing his fellow travelers both here and in the Adriatic where William shamed his fellow travelers into engaging pirates after their ship left Corfu calls to mind “Scripting the Macho Man” by Donald L. Mosher and Silvan S. Tomkins. In the work, they highlight some of the ways in which aggressiveness in

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165 The Rare Adventures, 145-6.
men has been rewarded over time.\textsuperscript{166} William’s “hypermasculinity” was evident in his rebuke of Lithgow’s countrymen in a subsequent publication, \textit{Scotland\textsc{\textquotesingle}s welcome to her Native Sonne}, which he published in Scotland in 1633. He attributed the problems encountered by the proud Scots to weakness: the “effeminacy of young men” and the failure to defend the seas from pirates.\textsuperscript{167} He highly valued bravery, especially in the face of the danger of captivity and the potential for conversion. Lithgow displayed specific evidence of hypermasculinity when he reported his opposition to the practice of redeeming Europeans captured by Barbary pirates. Because of their cowardice, he feels that “they deserve rather to be punished and remain there in punishment.” Otherwise, he feels future itinerants will become lax and careless.\textsuperscript{168}

Lithgow made it clear that when travelers were endangered, they must fight back. He had been a similar situation when he was confronted by the risk of capture at the hands of pirates both by sea and on land. He was clear that cowardice deserved punishment. He believed that he was not enslaved because he was prepared to confront danger. If faced with defeat, William would certainly go out fighting. Lithgow was not alone in prizing bravery in the face of overwhelming odds. An anonymous report circulated through London in 1617 which described the steadfast courage of the crew of the \textit{Dolphin}, who would “rather to die, than to yield, as it is still the nature and condition of all Englishmen.”\textsuperscript{169} If Lithgow was aware of the steadfastness of the \textit{Dolphin} crew, he would have found a direct connection between resistance and the


\textsuperscript{167}Bosworth, 174-5, quoting Lithgow’s \textit{Scotland\textsc{\textquotesingle}s welcome to her Native Sonne, and soveraigne Lord, King Charles. Wherein is contained, the manner of his Coronation, and Convocation of Parliament, The whole Grievances, and abuses of the Common-wealth of this Kingdome, with diverse other relations, never heretofore published . . . By William Lithgow, the Bonaventure, of Europe, Asia, and Africa.}

\textsuperscript{168}\textit{The Rare Adventures}, 204.

\textsuperscript{169}Adrian Tinniswood, \textit{Pirates of Barbary: Corsairs, Conquests and Captivity in the Seventeenth-Century Mediterranean} (London: Jonathan Cape, 2010), 88-102. The quote is originally from the tract, \textit{A Fight at Sea, Famously fought by the Dolphin of London} (London: G. Eld, 1617), 8 and is quoted by Tinniswood.
excitement of escape. That crew exemplified a critical quality that Lithgow prized in himself—calm in the face of danger, while fiercely resisting to the end, despite the threat of serious injury or death. In *The Trail of Martyrdom*, Sarah Covington noted that the emerging model of the devout Protestant required that s/he remain calm during dangerous situations; even if s/he knew his/her life would ultimately be sacrificed. Covington also found that the faithful, while accepting their fate with grace, had to be aware of the opportunities to escape on their own, rather than to rely on the intervention of others, divine or otherwise. Lithgow exhibited many characteristics of a martyr when he was confronted with impossible odds. Critical to this representation is an intense religious experience.

**CAPTIVITY AND MARTYRDOM**

When William was captured in Moldavia and later in Spain, the experiences included a personal religious awakening. At each moment of trial (even when he overcame adversity), Lithgow appealed to God to release or at least protect him from extreme suffering. He began his fateful third journey by exclaiming “I may say, as Aeneas did in his penitential mood: ‘O socials! We’re not ignorant of losses; O Sufferings sad, God, too, will end these crosses.’” He was aware when drafting these words what had come to pass in Spain. He learned that God will come to the aid of the truly faithful if their resolve is real and it is in the divine plan. He knew not to lose hope, but to persevere in the face of adversity. One third of the woodcuts (Figures E, F and I) provide visual evidence both of the ordeal he faced when he was captured and testify to his steadfast faith in the promise of his salvation and in his God. These images are strikingly similar to contemporary images of Protestant martyrs.

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171 *The Rare Adventures*, 250.
The first depiction (Figure C) represented William’s capture in Moldavia during his second excursion, when “six murderers, Hungarians and Moldavians...robbed me of three score Hungarian ducats of gold and all my Turkish clothes, leaving me stark naked...they carried me a little out of the way and bound my naked body fast to an oaken tree with wooden ropes.”¹⁷² The accompanying image “The Author beset with murderers in Moldavia” (Figure F) recalls popular imagery of St. Sebastian, one of the most widely-represented early Christian martyrs, who had been especially popular during the Middle Ages. One of the more familiar of these images was the woodcut designed by Durer in 1495 (Figure G). Both the Durer and Lithgow woodcuts depict the victim tied to a tree, as he was confronted by their Christian assailants. Both heroes display a calmness that was highly regarded among the faithful and became an expected element of martyrdom in the early modern period.¹⁷³ Of course, William was not shot with arrows as was Sebastian, though the armed men to the left of the image certainly threaten to shoot him. Nor was he executed like William Tyndale, represented in John Foxe’s influential Acts and Monuments (Figure H), where the means of impending death lies in waiting. Again, the martyr was represented and bound to tree or pole, facing his punishers, displaying quiet resolve. While William Lithgow did not endure the burning flames that Tyndale suffered, his captors forced him to experience the elements on a cold night, his “naked body fast [tied] to an oaken tree with wooden ropes, and my arms backward,” in the manner of St. Sebastian. William Lithgow was left alone by his assailants “in a trembling fear for wolves and wild boars till the morrow...” when “by God’s providence [he was] relieved...by a company of herdsmen,” who provided him

¹⁷² Ibid., 239-240.
¹⁷³ According to Brad Gregory, “The voluntary nature of martyrdom was profoundly paradoxical: the martyrs’ agency depended upon relinquishing control, their strength upon naked admission of their utter impotence and total dependence on God,” 133. He finds that a critical element of the power of the martyr’s persona “exhibited such composure and joy,” 137. Gregory also discusses the means by which early modern English martyrs endured the hardship of imprisonment for their faith: by building a community of fellow-believers, receiving emotional and spiritual support from family and friends outside the prison, and through prayer, 126-138.
with clothes, a meal and a guide to the nearby Protestant Lord who aided William in recovering from the injuries sustained at the hands of the attackers.\footnote{Ibid., 240.} Outnumbered, alone, and at a significant disadvantage, William recognized the futility of resistance. Of the images in the Lithgow travelogue, this image contains the most allegorical meaning, especially when examined with the corresponding text. William appeared as an endangered “sheep,” alone in the wilderness awaiting rescue by the real shepherds in the morning\footnote{Ibid., 261-2. The expedition is confirmed in many accounts of England’s attempts to subdue Barbary piracy. The Spanish ironically participated in the expeditions against Algiers between 1620 and 1621, Tinniswood, 106-123. Lithgow’s dates, however, are slightly off, for as David Delison Hebb reported, the English fleet sat offshore from Malaga in November 3, 1620, as he reports in his chronology of the expedition to suppress Barbary pirates, in \textit{Piracy and the English Government, 1616-1642} (Aldershot, Hants and Brookfield, VT: Scolar Press, 1994), 87, 77-104.} Certainly, the wolves are dangerous, not unlike the ravenous murderers who were initially intent on killing William (or so it is related), sparing the traveler only after persuasion and robbery. In the woodcut, the four individuals to the bottom left are shown with the weapons of purported murder. These murderers and wolves stand in for religious savages. This is in stark contrast to Lithgow’s earlier encounter in the Holy Land where he plunged forward into the armed Arab soldiers, despite being defenseless. He remained centered throughout the ordeal despite his fear. His faith in the divine is rewarded through the amnesty the shepherds bring. His faith was tested to the extreme when he was captured in Spain. Again, William had to resign himself to divine will.

While pausing in Malaga, anticipating his embarkation for Ethiopia, Lithgow reported that on October 27, 1620, “the English fleet that went against the pirates at Algiers gave anchor at midnight...whose sudden coming yielded no small fear to the affrighted town.”\footnote{Ibid., 240.} I am borrowing from the possible meanings of sheep and shepherds in the minds of Europeans from Scribner, who suggests the potential meanings of allegories concerning wolves and shepherds in a Biblical light, especially within the context of the Reformation, \textit{For the Sake of Simple Folk}, 49-57 and 76. I am only meaning to suggest further meanings behind Lithgow’s visual and rhetorical representation within the context of theological notions of vulnerability and salvation at the hands of a ‘good shepherd.’
Expressing his sense of helplessness, the protagonist reported being caught-off-guard as he was surrounded by sergeants and taken to the governor’s palace. Lithgow’s despair grew as his captivity and torture have no apparent end. Just before his rescue, he reported “being a lost man and hopeless of life.” He encountered what he believed to be certain death at the hands of torturers. True to the depiction of Protestant martyrs, Lithgow resisted caving in to the pain of torture and his growing fear. He steadfastly refused to renounce his religious beliefs. Lithgow faced the religious Inquisition in Malaga only briefly. The Inquisitors quickly returned Lithgow to his Spanish captors, since they recognized the insufficient grounds for prosecution on religious grounds, despite Lithgow’s Protestant heresy. He was then secretly detained and repeatedly prodded for a confession, which required that he denounce both his domestic and divine king. The Spanish government, not the Catholic Inquisition, arrested Lithgow as a spy and tortured him as such, not a heretic. However, in representing the torture of the rack (Figure J), William was questioned by what appear to be religious figures. Certainly the figure on the right who is recording the interrogation belongs to Catholic orders, as noted by the robe and zucchetto. The figure on the left seems to resemble closely the figure to the front in the image of Cuthbert Simpson (Figure I) – a churchman during Mary Tudor’s reign. Both the seated man and the man on the left and the individual closest to Cuthbert are interrogating and possibly berating their respective prisoners. The other men who operate the rack in the Lithgow illustration are dressed in a similar fashion as those in the illustration of Simpson’s torture (though with more pronounced lace collars). The device, of course is different in the depictions. William was forced to rely on the divine to determine his fate. Again, as in the depiction of his detention in Moldavia

177 *The Rare Adventures*, 287.
(Figure F), William appeared steadfast, determined to battle potential fear, noting that “many prayers saved my life.”\textsuperscript{178}

When the craftsmen of the 1632 narrative decided to represent William Lithgow in woodcuts, they selected the moments of his imprisonment and torture in Spain as well as captivity in Moldavia. Both visually and textually, they drew on imagery of Protestant martyrs. In choosing these moments of captivity, the author(s), printers, and now artists chose specific moments from the narrative which drew on popular conceptions and knowledge of divine sacrifice. The publishers and audience were familiar with the most popular accounts of Protestant martyrdom from both John Knox’s \textit{History of the Reformation} and John Foxe’s \textit{Acts and Monuments}.\textsuperscript{179} The visual parallels between the images in \textit{The Rare Adventures} and Foxe’s \textit{Acts and Monuments} are striking. In order for the images to capture the religious tension that is emphasized strongly in the imagery, craftsmen had to show that authorities in Spain were primarily concerned with the state of William’s soul. His adherence to a reformed faith threatened God’s kingdom on earth, for William was yet another heretic attempting to corrupt God’s kingdom in Spain. Anne Dillon identified part the existence of a clear dichotomy in early modern English conceptions of martyrdom in \textit{The Construction of Martyrdom}. Dillon finds that for an individual to become a martyr, they must first be regarded as a heretic.\textsuperscript{180} While William did not ultimately sacrifice his life for his beliefs, he refused to deny his religious convictions. William was handed over to the Inquisition in Granada “two days after Candlemass.”\textsuperscript{181} Since

\textsuperscript{178} \textit{The Rare Adventures}, 240.
\textsuperscript{179} Knox’s \textit{History of the Reformation} has long been connected to the spread of Protestant ideas through Scotland, as noted in William Haller, \textit{Foxe’s Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation} (London: Jonathan Cape, 1963), 49 and especially Rosalind K. Marshall, \textit{John Knox} (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2000), xiii, 215-16. Haller notes that “the work was...ordered to be set up along with the Bible for all to read in churches and other public places, where on some instances it remained until quite recent times,” 13.
\textsuperscript{181} \textit{The Rare Adventures}, 280.
the Malaga governor failed to directly connect Lithgow’s activity in Spain to acts against the Spanish crown, he could not justify William’s imprisonment and presumably his execution. However, the governor hoped that the ecclesiastic power would declare him “an arch heretic to the Pope and the Virgin Mary” based on the contents of his journals which were being translated by an English priest. After only three days, however, the Inquisitors returned William to the Malaga governor. The Catholic bureaucracy had no use for him. He was released from the governor’s prison in June, 1621.

The exchange between William Lithgow and his captors parallels one of William Haller’s key contentions in his discussion within Foxe’s Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation. In setting up the alternating conceptions of orthodoxy-heterodoxy under the Tudor monarchs, Haller argued that the work was so successful because it provided examples in which “the distinction between heresy and treason was nugatory.” The text in The Rare Adventures capitalized on the slipperiness between distinctions of an “enemy of the state” and an “enemy of religion.” Here the representation in his account drew on the proximate nature of the idea of “heretic” and “treason.” Broadly, the shift from ecclesiastical to secular authorities reflects the uncertainty surrounding William’s error. During his first interrogation, when challenged to declare the primacy of the Pope, William responded by exclaiming, “as you have murdered me for alleged treason, so you mean to martyr me for religion.” William recognized the precarious nature of his imprisonment. He was both the religious and political enemy of the Spanish sovereign in this early phase of the Thirty Years War, which found the English and Spanish at odds. James I,

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182 Ibid., 280.
183 Most accounts show that the English ships which had been raiding Algiers since the previous fall finally returned to England in the first part of July, 1621, see especially Hebb, 94-5. Lithgow claims to have confronted the Spanish ambassador to England in June of 1621 as well, The Rare Adventures, 286-88.
184 Haller, 43-44.
185 The Rare Adventures, 280.
however, carefully avoided full-scale participation in the battle over the Low Countries. The governor therefore had to justify William’s punishment.

Sarah Covington proposes that the early modern English Protestant notion of martyrdom should be viewed as a “stage-by-stage process,” rather than solely by the final act of execution. In doing so, she contends that notions of “authority and enforcement in Tudor England... involv[ed] a constant tension between authorities, martyrs, and the wider population, all of whom contributed to shaping the drama of persecution laid out before them.” This tension required coordination between multiple players. This conflict centered on the notion of proper piety. The victim of prosecution must hold illicit beliefs. The persecuting power could only punish out of concern for the victim’s soul. Clearly, Lithgow conceived of his torment in a similar fashion. He recognized the part he played in the drama between sovereigns of different faiths with the Catholic hierarchy constantly present in the minds of the protagonist and his fans.

Lithgow’s capture reflected the haphazard nature of the arrest of martyrs that Covington reports in *The Trail of Martyrdom*: that most future martyrs were captured by chance. Lithgow reported that he would have gone to Algiers with the English fleet, “save only that my linen, letters and sacket was lying in my hostelry.” On his was back to his room, he was confronted on the walkway to his lodgings when he was arrested by “nine alguozilos.” Certainly, William Lithgow did not anticipate this turn of events. The soldiers and officials appear not to have planned the arrest either. There is an element which represented the interaction between William and the soldiers as accidental, a case of mistaken identity. Even if they had been looking for him,

186 Derek Hirst chronicles James’ efforts at negotiation with the Spanish, partly though the ‘Spanish Match’ whereby he hoped to link the Palatinate and Spanish, diametrically-opposed forces on the continent, through marriage to the Stuart line, *England in Conflict, 1603-1660: Kingdom, Community, Commonwealth* (London, Sydney and New York: Arnold, 1999). Hirst shows that James attempted to use Parliamentary zeal to frighten the Spanish into cooperation, 103-112.

187 *The Trial of Martyrdom*, 2-3.

188 *The Trial of Martyrdom*, 28.

189 *The Rare Adventures*, 262.
the Spanish governor to whom he was remanded did not anticipate William’s arrival, for “he
caused enclose [William] in a little cabinet...till he went for mass.”190 All appear to be surprised
by William’s arrest and detention (the Spanish appear to have decided that they have no
alternative after the mistake had been made). The arrest resulted from the heightened anxiety of
the citizens of Malaga who were surprised by the presence of a British squadron just off-shore.
Concern over British sailors loose in the city must have caused a panic.191 Covington asserts that
upon arrest, a martyr must “passively yield themselves to the authorities” when they were
apprehended.192 While he maintained his innocence, William submitted to his arrest and fate. He
expressed “sadness” and meekly inquired about the nature of his crime. However, he accepted
his fate willingly, as a martyr.193

Now that authorities had imprisoned a perceived threat by chance, Lithgow endured the
persecutors’ questions, and endured torture. For Covington, this was the most pivotal moment in
the shaping of a martyr (even more than their death). She describes this phase as a “drama
[within a] ... martyr-processing center.”194 All parties involved have a part to play and the setting
and action contribute to the effect. As part of the convoluted action, intended to catch the
prisoner off-guard, Covington relates that the prisoner would often be moved about from prison-
to-prison, rather than remain in one place.195 William’s experience continued to follow the script,
for he is moved to a variety of locations within the governor’s palace (from the cupboard to a
carefully-designed cell (Figure E) and eventually to a house in the country, not to mention his

190 Ibid., 263.
191 In The True Adventures, Lithgow surmises that the “affrighted town [Malaga], mistaking them [the
English] for Turks.” He notes that most of the Spanish residents “fled to the higher castle” out of fear of attack. It
was not until the following morning that calmer heads returned when the Spanish governor determined that it was
the English fleet, 261-2.
192 The Trial of Martyrdom, 65.
193 The Rare Adventures, 262.
194 The Trial of Martyrdom, 67-8.
195 Ibid., 75.
time with the Inquisition.\textsuperscript{196} One of the most critical tests for the potential martyr, according to Covington, was their seizing of any opportunity to freely profess their beliefs.\textsuperscript{197} To the consternation the governor and other examiners, William Lithgow repeatedly expressed his faith.

While William Lithgow described the many pains that he endured at the hands of his captors, he portrayed the removal of the tattoo (Figure K) he received while in the Holy Land as the most gruesome torture he endured.\textsuperscript{198} This mark provided the clearest statement of Lithgow’s conception of the interdependence of his political and religious ideals. Rather than wearing his convictions on his sleeve, allowing him remove marking signs, until this moment William literally wore them on his arm. He described the extraction in vivid detail:

At last, the encarnador informing the governor that I had the mark of Jerusalem on my right arm joined with the name and crown of King James, and done upon the Holy Grave, the corregidor..gave direction to tear asunder the name and crown (as he said) of that heretic king and arch-enemy to the Holy Catholic Church. Then the tormentor...did cast a cord over both arms seven distant times...he charged and drew violently with his hands...till the seven cords combined in one place of my arms, and, cutting the crown, sinews and flesh to the bare bones.\textsuperscript{199}

However, through all of the pain, William retained his insistence in the verity of his beliefs in a Protestant God, not the Spanish Catholic one, exclaiming at this moment, “Oh Jesus, the Lamb of God, have mercy upon me and strengthen me with patience to undergo this barbarous murder!”\textsuperscript{200} William resigned himself to God’s will. Amidst the punishment, Lithgow professed to his readers that “it was the grace of God in me...God pricking my conscience, made trial of my faith. This I speak not for any self-praise, but to glorify God and to condemn the rash censures of

\textsuperscript{196} The Rare Adventures, 262-5, and 271. The location of his four days of interrogation by the Spanish Inquisitors is not revealed, though Lithgow does not mention being transferred again.
\textsuperscript{197} The Trial of Martyrdom, 140.
\textsuperscript{198} In a bit of foreshadowing, Lithgow is rebuked by the Guardian of the Tomb of the Sepulcher for “polluting [this] holy place with the name of such an arch-enemy to the Roman Church,” The Rare Adventures, 157.
\textsuperscript{199} Ibid., 273.
\textsuperscript{200} Ibid., 274.
The “intractable Protestant,” though steadfast in his belief, was no longer confrontational about his beliefs. He resigned his fate to whatever God intended. This earned him the appellation of martyr. Lithgow found in his torture and redemption

> God’s compassionate love four ways here extended...His powerful providence in my long and admirable preservation in prison, hunger, vermin and tortures...His all-seeing eye in the miraculous wonder of my discovery....in my unlooked-for deliverance...And, lastly, by his gracious goodness in the recovery...of my health and use of body again.203

God saved this often elusive traveler during the most severe test of his faith at the hands of the Spanish. Upon his return to England, his “martyred anatomy” was displayed at James’ court on a featherbed so that all, “from the king to the kitchen” could gaze at his sacrifice.204

In the course of his travels, William Lithgow, like many other European travelers confronted danger multiple times. His detailed personal descriptions drew the reader into his tale through their exposure to the true risk to which he has exposed himself. However, William Lithgow’s experiences, and his talent at describing them, can only be appreciated by examining his work in its own right; cognizant of the motivations of the itinerant Scot and those he encountered. In those moments when he was able to elude potential captors, he claimed the credit for motivating his compatriots to resist seizure by Barbary corsairs, rather than abandon immediate salvation for the hope for redemption by an outside force. When faced with the choice of saving himself or saving his company, Lithgow literally exposed himself to what he described as serious personal danger to throw off the enemy. While, true to his Protestant convictions, he often called on the divine for protection. Only when he was unable to save himself, William Lithgow relied on the divine for salvation. He represented his convictions both visually and

201 Lithgow (1632), 285.
202 Stoye, English Travelers Abroad, 115 and 120.
203 Lithgow (1632), 289.
204 Ibid., 287.
verbally, providing his readership with the most visceral examples possible. It is in these moments that he sees himself in the company of martyrs.
CHAPTER FOUR:
WRITTEN BRITISH, TRAVELED AS BOTH AND ENGLISH AND SCOT

Through all of the pain that William endured, he refused to recant either his religious or his political affiliation. Though the tattoo was removed, his devotion to king and country remained.\(^{205}\) William was ultimately released Easter weekend 1621 and returned to London. In the English capital, William achieved what one of his contemporaries described as “never-dying fame.”\(^{206}\) Lithgow was at pains to emphasize the religious elements of William’s torture in order to draw upon conceptions of martyrdom familiar to English readers in seventeenth century. Much of the linguistic and visual representations of the protagonist, especially in the third and fourth editions, drew on the dangers William encountered while traveling. The language used to describe William’s torments in Spain is fraught with tension. While his religious difference was important, Lithgow clearly represented William’s victimization as an enemy of the state. Most of William’s maltreatment was at the hand of local Spanish authorities - the sometimes enemy of the English-Scottish state. He related how he was specifically called to deny his allegiance to his sovereign, ultimately having the physical mark of his devotion painfully excised from his arm. He was also charged as an English spy. The authors recognized the implications this held for his young state, which was in a suspended state of its birth. Heroes would be needed for the united kingdom Lithgow and others envisioned. The punishment Lithgow endured for his budding country certainly (in his eyes at least) identified him as a potential hero.

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\(^{205}\) Ibid., 274.
Lithgow began the final narrative by highlighting his sacrifice for his country. The third edition opened by reminding King Charles that “grievous Sufferings, tortures, and torments, I sustained [in] Malaga, being taken as a Spy for your Late Father’s Fleet.” While Lithgow again denied that he was a “spy,” he boldly reminded the king that he was persecuted as an effigy of the English nation. He also described the intrigues at the English court, where “good and godly Kings, so pricked at, and wounded by the viperous murmurings of miscreant villains, as though their royal and just lives were the mere inordinate patterns of all impiety and lewdness.” Lithgow also described the extent of his devotion to his country and his desire to obtain “the irrevocable redress of my miseries sustained, for this Crown and Kingdom of England.”

To that end, William quickly secured a promise from Don Diego Sarmiento de Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador to England from 1613 through 1622, that his property would be returned and that Spain would compensate him for his torture. If nothing else, this represented admission on the part of the Spanish government that they were responsible for William’s torture. William was not a traditional martyr – a religious devotee. He was caught by the machinations between states. The author ensured that critical allies of his, who were also the king’s favorites, were rightly praised. To Lithgow, these connections to the crown exemplified the magnanimity of his sovereign. The Duke of Buckingham and Marquise James Hamilton also offered support for the protagonist’s claims against the Spanish at court. After waiting almost a year Lithgow “told him [Gondomar] flatly in his face...what he was and whet he went about...in the chamber of presence, before the emperor’s ambassador” and the entire English court. Gondomar and Lithgow came to quick blows after threatening each others’ honor.

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207 Lithgow *The Totall Discourse*, 1632, A3, 3-4. This text does not appear in the Folio Society edition. I have modernized the spelling within the original text.

Lithgow was rewarded for his slight of protocol with two weeks’ incarceration at Marshalsea.\textsuperscript{209} Surprisingly, he doesn’t blame King James for the punishment but ties the breach of political and caste protocol. Within the first year following his return, William was thrust into the divisiveness of the English court, as the negotiations for the Spanish Match disintegrated, just before the dissolution of parliament, and within years of King James’s death. To describe the state of the English government as divisive would be to downplay the contentious state at court as issues connected to the political and religious union of Scotland and England, charges of corruption at court, and international tensions between Catholic and Protestant forces mounted. All of these debates played out at the English court, in broadsides, and certainly in the minds of many Englishmen. Into this furor, the final two editions of Lithgow’s travelogue appeared in the bookstalls of St. Paul’s in 1623 and 1632. These editions provided additional information about previous encounters with the various religions of the Mediterranean, but also expanded on interactions which the authors used to illustrate the benefits of complete union between England and Scotland.

The account of William’s travels in Crete offered a model for his fellow countrymen (both English and Scottish) on the benefits of union. A group of Englishmen saved Lithgow from certain death twice: from the crew of a Venetian galley and from a pirate who abandoned his English identity for greed and revenge. Nearly half-way into his first embarkation to “the most famous Kingdoms in Europe, Asia and Africa,” most likely in 1610, William Lithgow of Lanark arrived at the island of Crete. In the 1614/16 edition, Lithgow expressed his desire to enter the annals of history for traversing the island multiple times, an act “never before achieved by any

\textsuperscript{209} Lithgow (1632), 288.
Traveler of Christendom." He provided few details of his interactions with non-natives. When the book appeared in revised form in 1623, it included new details about the Cretan experience. William had narrowly escaped a Venetian galley crew who pursued him for freeing a French-born convict-slave. William was forced to hide in an Italian monastery while a group of English and French mercenaries whom he had befriended defended him. Before the battle was over, nearly all of the officers and many of the soldiers from the galley are fighting an entire garrison of mercenaries from Crete, who had been roused by the English contingent within their ranks. These Englishmen, including their leader, John Smith, later saved William again. This time, while “exceeding merry with [his] old friends,” the group was confronted by an English renegade-cum pirate. Mr. Wolson later insisted that he planned to murder William merely because he was “the first Scotsman [Wolson] ever saw or met.” Luckily, Mr. Wolson was a coward who fled the island in the face of William’s defenders. This was a stark representation of a one-time Englishman who abandoned his country to become a pirate, who now rejected his countrymen again over a Scottish brother. This divisiveness was not what the newly merged nation required of its citizens.

This story also highlighted the dangers encountered by early seventeenth century travelers, especially on the high seas. It also illustrated the importance and the problem of national identity in liminal spaces. Lithgow specifically used the vignette to demonstrate the confusion generated by the ascendency of James VI/I. During his regency, English and Scottish national identities became the source of both contention and pride as the dream of a united Britain began to take form. Travel clearly helped William Lithgow of Lanark construct his own national identity. He initially based the identity on the abortive attempt to fully unite the separate

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210 The reference to the lands is taken from the title of Lithgow’s 1614 publication. His exposition of his experiences in Crete is featured on F-F3c of Lithgow (1614). The expanded details, first available in 1623 account, Lithgow (1623), 46-55. Again, I have modernized the spelling of much of these passages.
kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland into a single unit - Britain. After returning to Britain in 1620, physically broken by his most recent ordeals, Lithgow scribed a more detailed concept of nationhood, but more importantly, a sense of his place within that developing construct.

When Lithgow embarked on his first excursion, Britannia had only been united for five years. However, he already conceived of the former enemies, England and Scotland, as united under their joint sovereign, James VI and I.\textsuperscript{211} The narrative was generally concerned more with the places which the traveler visited. Other than his dedications, the key exceptions described William’s acquisition of a tattoo in the Holy Land and isolated meetings in Italy and Constantinople when he recognized other Britons. After completing two more journeys, Lithgow’s association with the united kingdoms and with an imagined British state was more evident in the narrative. By the release of the final edition in 1632, Lithgow became fully immersed in courtly debates about the future of Britannia under the Stuarts. He became more openly critical of those at court whose divisiveness obstructed a more complete union of the kingdoms.

One of the most important concerns, especially in the later editions of the Lithgow travelogues, was the status and future of his native Scotland and self-adopted England. The narrative included increasing references to a united Britannia in which both kingdoms maintain equal importance within a larger kingdom: Britain. This closely paralleled what modern scholars have interpreted as the most significant theme through the early years of King James’ reign.

Some have even referred to the kingdom as a “nation.”\textsuperscript{212} Although not critical to my

\textsuperscript{211} James’ ‘title’ is telling example that the kingdoms were still considered separate. James VI refers to his position within the Stuart line, which had ruled Scotland since 1371. As James I of England, the Stuart monarch initiated a new line in the English monarchy, drawing on his maternal great-grandmother, Margaret Tudor, the sister of Henry VIII.

\textsuperscript{212} See especially Bruce Galloway, who traces the political developments and complications of the union project under King James, \textit{The Union of England and Scotland, 1603-1608} (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1986). Judith M. Richards contends that the early modern idea of a unified Protestant Britain owed a great deal to
understanding of nation in the travel writings of William Lithgow, for convenience, I will occasionally reference nation and national identity. I am not out of place in conceiving of a “nation” as the shared identity between peoples with a common past and shared geographic origin. According to the *Oxford Dictionary*, the concept of “nation,” as a people with a shared past, existed in its most basic form in the thirteenth century, with the modern conception of “nationality” emerging in the seventeenth century. I conceive of the weighty concept of nation and nationality outside the rigid definition supported by such modernists as Eric Hobsbawm, who insisted that the idea is purely modern, developing only in the nineteenth century.\(^{213}\)

However, the descriptions of such revisionists as Anthony D. Smith are quite useful. In order to escape what he sees as a tautological and teleological idea that people have only achieved true communal identities after the nineteenth century, Smith develops a new model which is not confined to the “civic territorial” nationalism that emerged through Enlightenment thought.\(^{214}\) Rather, Smith (and others) insists that the essential outlines of a modern idea of nation are visible by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.\(^{215}\) Smith also contends that a nation cannot suddenly emerge, nor can it develop along a teleological line. Instead, the process moves through various phases and forms. To Smith and others, the most critical elements of a nation are “social and cultural processes that ... produce communities and collective identities.”\(^{216}\) A nation, as the most basic of collective, is a group of people with a shared sense of identity. The degree to

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which that identity is felt and expressed is not uniform, nor can it be. However, evidence of a collective cognizance is evident in the literature of the early modern period. A significant step was taken toward a politically-conceived nation with the shattering of a unified Christian Europe, which forced Europeans to re-conceptualize their communal bonds.\(^{217}\) Members of the English and Scottish nations shaped their understanding of themselves as a collective that was distinct and yet mutually dependent.\(^{218}\)

Surprisingly, only certain aspects of specific types of travel literature from the early modern period have been mined for depictions of national identity. Most writers focus on colonial literature, determining that the project of differentiation or Other-ing was the most important contribution travel literature could make.\(^{219}\) Few scholars, such as Andrew McRae, have examined the role that early modern travel played in domestic debates about the idea of the English-Scottish-British state. His ideas, however suggestive they may be, are limited by his exclusive focus on travel within the broadly-conceived British islands.\(^{220}\) Andrew Hadfield, who has written extensively on travel literature, found that it often contended with contemporary problems, especially issues of trade, international competition, religion, and occasionally political struggles. As with many examples of current scholarship, while acknowledging travel


\(^{218}\) Galloway, 2-3.

\(^{219}\) The foreign “Other” is a significant theme that runs through Travel Knowledge. Also, see Jeremy Black, “The Grand Tour,” especially, in Journeys through the Market: Travel, Travellers and the Book Trade, Robin Myers and Michael Harris, eds. (New Castle: Oak Knoll Press, 1999), 65-92. In Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography 1600-1830 (Manchester University Press: 1999), Chloe Chard focuses on the various ways travelers interacted with the foreign. She shows how travelers effectively used language to comprehend the foreign, then refashion it into a relatable experience, and finally express the emotions to their readers through the travel narrative. Mary Blaine Campbell in “Travel Writing and Its Theory” from The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing, Peter Hume and Tim Youngs, eds. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 261-78 provides an exceptional overview of the ways modern historians have examined the treatment of foreignness in travel writing.

\(^{220}\) For McRae, the act of moving from place to place helped the itinerant constitute a concept of nationhood that is shaped by connectedness between places. He finds that the accounts of these experiences are important “agents in the construction of meaning,” Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 10.
within the Europe, Hadfield’s most astute observations concern colonial literature. However, he makes the broad observation that ideas in the early modern period were “continually interrogated, challenged, and undermined by the manifold writings of the growing literate populace.”

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**STATE OF “NATION” BEFORE DEPARTURE**

In order to understand the contributions that William Lithgow’s travel books made toward a desired union between the peoples of Britain, one must understand the past into which such a critical figure emerged. The purported history of Lithgow and his “nation” are vitally important to a cultural understanding of his place within that society. At the dawn of the seventeenth century, former enemies were called upon to create a new collective identity, one that included both the distinct kingdoms of England and Scotland. In the early-1600s, just when it seemed like a moderate form of the eventual collective was settled after much divisive debate, the “inveterate traveler,” William Lithgow reminded the English and the Scottish ought to be one nation made of two distinct peoples. Rather than articulating his model of the island nation in the weighty discourse of lawyers and philosophers, Lithgow subtly acknowledged the camaraderie of the larger group of countrymen in Britain.

In the generations before Lithgow’s birth in 1582, Scots experienced a series of tumultuous events that were occasionally inspired by the English crown, all of which affected the relationship between the neighbors. They also tended to increase the anxiety of many within Scotland. Late in Henry VIII’s reign, England pursued a policy that John Merrill described as aggressive toward its northern neighbor. Elizabeth I herself was noted for reflecting the “deep rooted” distrust the English had toward Scots. In order to defend its sovereignty, Scotland turned

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221 Hadfield, *Literature, Travel and Colonial Writing*, 266.
to France, the ‘Auld ally’ and the nemesis of the English nation. Elizabeth I generally pursued a hands-off approach to Scottish affairs, even at the peak of the reformation in Scotland, though she helped deal the final blow to her cousin. The tumult in Scotland coincided with the mid-century ascendance of Queens Elizabeth I and Mary Queen of Scots.\footnote{222 John Morrill discusses the general hands-off attitude of the Tudor monarchs in “The British Problem, c. 1534-1707,” \textit{The British Problem c. 1534-1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago}, ed. Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996), 22, 25 and 26. For an examination of the English roots of some of the key Scottish Reformers, including most notably John Knox, see Ian B. Cowan, \textit{The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in sixteenth century Scotland} (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1982), especially 105-113. For an exceptional overview on the connection between the final stages of the reformation in Scotland and the imprisonment and coup against Mary, Queen of Scots, see Julian Goodaire, “The First Parliament of Mary, Queen of Scots,” \textit{The Sixteenth Century Journal} 36:1 (Spring 2005), 55-75.} From the outset, the English and Scottish queens engaged in an indirect war. However, in 1587, Elizabeth I imprisoned her cousin and James VI’s mother, Mary Queen of Scots after a number of purported coups attempts. Mary Queen of Scots’ son, the eventual James VI, assumed the throne just after his first birthday when his mother was arrested and eventually sent to England execution. Only near the end of Elizabeth I’s life did the English reach out to Mary’s second cousin, James VI, concerning the possibility of his inheriting the crown upon her death. Negotiations continued until James’s arrival in London. In fact, many in England were even unaware that he was to be crowned in 1603, testing the new monarch’s rule from the beginning.\footnote{223 Roger A. Mason discusses the ambiguity surrounding negotiations that had largely been concluded in 1586 because of “the looming threat of war with Spain” in “Scotland, Elizabethan England and the Idea of Britain,” \textit{Transactions of the Royal Historical Society} 6:14 (2004), 290 and 292-3.}

The relationship between England and Scotland had been strained for some time. The Union of the Crowns did little to ameliorate the tension. The English were almost hostile to the idea of union. Much of this animosity was bred during Elizabeth’s rule since she raised nationalistic fervor within the English populace to increase support for unity within the island.\footnote{224 \textit{Ibid.}, 286 and 288 (where Mason contends that the English antipathy toward Scotts.} Judith Richards notes animosity between the English felt towards the Scots, “was still an agreed
political 'fact' in 1603.'\textsuperscript{225} The English clung to age-old beliefs of ethnic superiority to the savage Scots.\textsuperscript{226} While the English looked disparagingly toward their northern neighbor, James’s attempts to push for a stronger union, evoking mythic language of the British past only pushed both the English populace away. As a foreign monarch, James was perceived as distant, aloof - both Scottish and masculine.\textsuperscript{227} His Otherness did little to inspire a desire to unite the people of Britannia into a newly-designed nation.

While the English were generally hostile toward the idea of merging their peoples, Scottish sentiment generally favored the union. Much of the excitement had been generated by the spirit of divine mission that called upon the people of the Beleaguered Isle to stand as a bulwark of Protestantism in Europe. The notion of the elect nation of Britain was widely touted in Scotland.\textsuperscript{228} In fact, John Knox, who is credited with inspiring much of the success in the mid-sixteenth century, built his idea of a Protestant Scotland on union with England as a united Britain. James successfully used arguments calling for a combined ecclesiastical and political structure, fashioned after the English model. He hoped to silence opponents’ nationalist programs that played on the religious vision of mid century British-minded reformers.\textsuperscript{229} After

\textsuperscript{226} Galloway, 11.
\textsuperscript{227} Richards, 535.
\textsuperscript{228} Galloway, 43 and 52. Much has been written on the nationalistic elements of much of the Protestant propaganda in England, which was crafted into a message that combined apocalyptic themes with the divine mission that England was uniquely called to. See, especially William Haller, Foxe’s Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation (London: Jonathan Cape, 1963) which began a debate over the proximity of the Protestant mission to the development of a stronger monarchy. Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas Freeman. Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of Foxe’s ‘Book of Martyrs’ (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) and John N. King’s Foxe’s ‘Book of Martyrs’ and Early Modern Print Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) revisit many of the themes in Haller’s work, concurring with the general idea that much of the Protestant works of the sixteenth century created a unique mission for the English nation.
\textsuperscript{229} In Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland’s Public Culture (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1979), Arthur Williamson contends that the vision of Knox and other Marian exiles, which called for a form of Protestantism modeled on England’s merging of church and state in an effective partnership, was never pre-ordained. There was significant opposition from Presbyterian reformers who envisioned distinct secular and religious authorities. After fully assuming the throne in
his 1603 coronation, James moved quickly to secure his crown. The first order of business was to
unify his kingdoms on paper, as well as conceptually.\textsuperscript{230}

James charged parliament with coordinating the legal, political and economic unification
of the kingdoms. Despite continued work both through the parliamentary commission and action
by the full body until 1607, James’ vision of a kingdom of Britain was abandoned as impossible
to fully achieve at this juncture.\textsuperscript{231} During the debates that raged in parliament and in pamphlet
literature, it became clear that age-old animosity was too strong to allow full union.\textsuperscript{232} While
Scottish sentiment was not devoid of antagonistic language, the strongest prejudices emerged in
English rhetoric, which focused on the inferiority of the Scots, insinuating that they were
undeserving of union.\textsuperscript{233} Ultimately, it became clear that while Scottish thinkers and the elites
were able to conceive of a dual identity, as both Scottish and British, most of the powerful in
England stressed “familiar alterity, or the space between sameness and difference” between the
peoples on the northern and southern ends of the island.\textsuperscript{234} Interestingly, they couched their
understanding of Scots in language that was common in travel literature.\textsuperscript{235} The English, while
accepting a Scottish king, stressed the differences between the people of the two kingdoms,
while Scots tended to recognize and favor coexistence. Where Scots envisioned a nation that
united the people of the British Isles, the English sought dominance over its nearest neighbors.\textsuperscript{236}

Scotland, James increasingly pushed the Scottish Kirk closer in conception to that of the English church. A
sufficient summary of key moments in the struggle can be found on 20, 39, 50 and 84.

\textsuperscript{230} Galloway, 15.
\textsuperscript{231} Cuddy, 107.
\textsuperscript{232} Galloway, 25.
\textsuperscript{233} Cuddy, 113.
\textsuperscript{234} Morrill contends that the elite from Scotland identified themselves as possessing a dual identity, “The
British Problem,” 9. Sarah Waurechen explains the English insistence that the English and Scottish were and would
remain distinct in “Imagined Polities, Failed Dreams, and the Beginnings of an Unacknowledged Britain: English
Responses to James VI and I’s Vision of Perfect Union,” Journal of British Studies 52: 3 (July 2013), 577.
\textsuperscript{235} Black, “The Grand Tour,” 69.
\textsuperscript{236} Galloway, 45-6.
These competing conceptions of national identity and of the nation itself are not surprising. Pierre L. van den Berghe noted that as conceptions of nationhood are challenged and reformulated, ethnic differences come to the forefront.\textsuperscript{237} England and Scotland had an already strained past and animosities resurfaced in the sixteenth century in more violent ways. Elizabeth, the monarch who seemed to disfavor union, forced the English and Scots to begin a process of integration, not just co-existence. Tensions that simmered found expression in the rejection of union. What Elizabeth pressed and James suggested is that independent kingdoms could unite. James and those around him who favored union stressed the historic precedence.\textsuperscript{238} The issue seemed settled in 1610. James was forced to accept a limited union of the kingdoms. This, for the moment, consisted of a cohesive royal style, coinage, reconfigured Border shires, and laws governing for cross-border trade. Perhaps most significant, post-nati laws now recognized subjects born after James’ coronation as “natural subjects in either kingdom.”\textsuperscript{239} While James I failed to achieve full union of the kingdoms, significant steps were taken to move the parts more closely together. Galloway correctly concluded that the most significant reason for the project’s failure lay not with the king, or even with Parliament, but with a failure to change the “hearts and minds...consent and understanding as essential concomitants of union.”\textsuperscript{240} The dream of a united Britain and Scotland would not lay completely dormant until 1707 when completed under the final Stuart monarch, Queen Anne. In the meantime, a unified England and Scotland lived on in

\textsuperscript{238} Waurechen, 585.
\textsuperscript{239} Galloway contends that the unified style (20) and coinage (59) were largely symbolic. The reconfiguration of the lands along the former border and the replacement or repeal of antagonistic laws (67) and laws that governed commerce, including duties and free trade (69-71) were effective tests for union. Post-nati laws, while contentious, were a novel. Galloway shows that previous instances in which royal domains were united often saw future generations as alien to one or the other kingdom, 71.
\textsuperscript{240} \textit{Ibid.}, 166.
the narrative of William Lithgow’s travels. It certainly endeavored to change ‘hearts and minds,’ though its direct effects may never be known.

LITHGOW AND ENGLISH-SCOTTISH ELISION

While William Lithgow was not included in the post-nati provisions, he also does not appear to have been naturalized by James, as all those at court had been. Whether he officially was recognized as English or not, Lithgow certainly conceived of himself in these terms: as a citizen of both kingdoms to equal degrees. Although we do not know exactly when William Lithgow departed from England, we know that he left Paris in 1609, after nine months there. Thus, he left England either in 1608 or 1609. As Lithgow left Britannia around 1608, according to union historian Sarah Waurechen, James finally recognized that “the union project was officially dead.”241 However, ideas rehearsed during the debates evidently shaped William’s conception of his own national identity and Lithgow’s presentation of those around him. While first articulated in the edition published after his travels ended in 1611, these ideas continued to crystallize in subsequent editions. In the 1614 publication, Lithgow showed particular pride in Scottish history, noting his birth in the “never conquered kingdom” of Scotland.242

During his travels through the Holy Land, William physically joined the crown of Scotland to the “now inconquerable Crown of England” through a tattoo on his arm. (Figure K)243 In this commentary, Lithgow drew on polemic which noted the historic independence of Scotland, while England had been considered a defeated kingdom (by external enemies such as the Normans). Most of this rhetoric, of course, had been uttered by other Scots, but Lithgow uniquely claimed that complete union would undo this checkered history. Now that the two

241 Waurechen, 578.
242 Lithgow (1614), D. Spelling has been modernized.
243 Ibid., R3c. Spelling has been modernized.
kingdoms had been nominally joined under a single monarch, each could share in the rich history of the other. Just before leaving the Holy Land, out of his “bounden duty & loving zeal” toward his country and his sovereign, Lithgow had a tattoo etched into his arm, depicting the united kingdoms of England and Scotland with the seal of Jerusalem, fusing his nation to the holiest of cities. The tattoo even allowed him to silence the objections of the Franciscan Guardian of Jerusalem who reacts with a typical tirade when confronted with a proud Protestant.244 After espousing the greatness of King James, the Catholic friar, a once vocal critic of Protestantism and by extension Britannia, “was stricken in admiration” at William’s “recitation of the incomparable virtues of our dread Sovereign; who for his bounty, Wisdom, learning and government, was not equaled, nor paragonized amongst the Princes of the earth.”245 Lithgow did not reserve his pride for the monarch. It extended through the narrative to all from the two kingdoms.

Throughout the journey, William encountered a number of people from these united kingdoms. He did not distinguish between Scotsmen and Englishmen. This absence of distinction is most visible in the relation of the traveler’s first experiences in Rome in 1609. Lithgow proudly described a visit to the papal library with two of his “Country-men” whose names point to Scottish origins. After he lamented for “all the Papists in Britain,” Lithgow related the dangers he encountered in Rome from his “own Countrymen,” referring to the College of Jesuit priests, who were a significant presence in the Eternal city.246 Interestingly, Lithgow did not pause to

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244 Only one night after arriving in Jerusalem, after mocking the Catholics who participated in a Palm Sunday ritual, Lithgow and a few other Protestants are rebuked during dinner by the Patriarch of the monastery where all western Christians stayed, Ibid., O3-O3b.

245 Lithgow (1614), R3b. Spelling has been modernized. This mark enables Lithgow to endure the extreme pain and to make the greatest sacrifice for his nation in later travels when the tattoo is forcibly removed.

246 They are “Sir William Carre, Mr. James Aughmuy”! Ibid., B2d and B3b-B3c. The spelling has been modernized (with the exception of the names listed here). Lithgow is vague as to the origins of the “countrymen” who endanger his life. Alexandra Walsham notes the significance of the Jesuit seminary in Rome. While she explicitly notes the presence of many English seminarians, her account is notable for the lack of Scots. See
differentiate these two groups of fellow nationals. To him, whether they were born within the boundaries of Scotland or England, and even more boldly, whether they still believed in papal supremacy or to the Church of England or Scottish Kirk, to him, they were from the same place. Within the contemporary conception within Britannia, he and this group of others from Britannia was part of the small group of nationals who were equally part of both England and Scotland. Lithgow’s conception of this shared identity of both lands did not stop there, for in this same episode, he referenced “all the Papists in Britain.” He clearly recognized that Catholics were present throughout the island of Britannia. The only difference between William Lithgow and Catholics from Britannia was the specific location within the shores of the island nation from whence they came. They were all his fellow countrymen. As he traveled through the remainder of Italy, Lithgow referred to a companion “fellow Scot” whose “native Country... [is] North Britain.” This is the name that Scotland acquired within James’ original conception of the British nation.

NEW TALES OF OLD MEETINGS

While William was cautious in his relationships with other countrymen while in Rome, when he reached Venice and encountered James Arthur, both travelers’ spirits were roused, for Arthur was the first Scottish traveler who could truly understand the trials William encountered. Mostly, William recognized “him to be the last witness, of that innate duty, which I did owe unto


Lithgow (1614), B3b. The ranks of Catholic preachers were not limited to the ‘English,’ but included those born within Scotland as well, Walsham, 232.

Lithgow (1614), C3. The spelling has been modified.
my dearest nation, whither I returned, or died in my achievements.” Only someone like Arthur could understand William Lithgow’s devotion to their nation. The space devoted to Arthur gained more prominence in Lithgow’s successive publications. The two mocked Catholic ritual at Loreto at their initial meeting and engaged in more significant escapades in Venice, including lodging together in a costly “ordinary” and witnessing the execution of a Venetian priest. For the 1632 edition, Lithgow even composed an ode to Arthur that recalled their instant friendship and their shared nationality.

The next time William met a fellow countrymen deserving of specific mention, it was the English-born mercenary John Smith. When passing through Candia, William became embroiled in successive threats to his life. The crisscrossing of places of origin and loyalties made the Candian vignette quite interesting. Here William Lithgow’s Scottish origins were brought to the forefront. His origins also provoke a murderous threat from which he was saved by the Englishman. “Remarking the fidelity and kindness that Smith had twice shown me,” William paid Smith’s debt to his Venetian bondsmen/employers and secured Smith’s passage to Venice with a Scottish captain. Again, the proximity and mutual dependence (at least on the part of their itinerants) of England and Scotland was clearly iterated. Lithgow expanded the role of these two characters significantly for the 1623 edition of his book. These personal vignettes highlighted the importance of establishing personal and strong bonds with Englishmen on both sides of the former border between the separate kingdoms of England and Scotland. The fact that James Arthur, a fellow Scot, and John Smith, a fellow Englishman, left an equally lasting impression on Lithgow’s narrative showed the value of recognizing no differences between natives born in either kingdom, now conceived as part of a single nation. The fact that the first legislative efforts

249 Lithgow (1614), D. The spelling has been modified.
250 Lithgow (1632), 32-37, and 42.
251 Lithgow (1632), 91-2. The details of this exchange do not appear in the Folio Society edition.
at union were the laws natal laws, initially recognizing babies born after 1603 as equal members of both kingdoms and James’ concerted effort at ameliorating relations in the border counties, newly re-christened shires, of Britannia.

**A NATION FROM HEROES**

When the tale of William Lithgow’s adventures through the Mediterranean first appeared in the booksellers near St. Paul’s Cathedral in 1614, Lithgow certainly did not anticipate the potential the narrative held. Successive journeys were added to later editions, which also expanded the narrative relating some of the more critical points in that first journey, described to have taken place between 1609 and 1612. These adventures occurred just two years after the 1607 Parliament, which was called to initiate the complete union of England and Scotland. Despite their royal charge to approve the first steps toward the complete union of England and Scotland, parliamentarians failed to enact a single reform. The project of union was declared ‘dead’ in 1610, just one year after William departed from Paris for parts vaguely known. Lithgow was certainly unaware of the failed project union during the initial phase of his travels.

However, Lithgow realized that the narrative could contribute to the furthering of the cause of union. Before the ultimately completed union and creation of Great Britain in 1707, the William Lithgow’s tales of “nineteen years travel” contributed significantly to the idea of union, at least in the mind of those lucky enough to have read of each daring act of this unlikely hero from Lanark, Scotland. Oftentimes, the protagonist successfully partnered with his fellow countrymen from England and Scotland to survive one of the ordeals encountered during travel. William Lithgow envisioned the cooperation of the English and Scots in unexpected ways. What first described effective collaboration between the English and Scots along the Mediterranean
was fused with calls for greater cooperation. Parliament may have failed to realize the complete union of the crowns, but the adventurer William Lithgow accomplished that union in word, deed and the mark of a patriot – the seal of a greater Britain. While the Spanish successfully removed the mark, they could not erase the emotional connections envisioned in a little book first sold just two miles from the Houses of Parliament that pronounced the dream of union dead.
EPILOGUE:
LITHGOW’S MARTYRDOM REVISITED

In 1765, an updated edition of Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments* appeared in London under the moniker of Reverend Henry Southwell, rector of the church at Asterby in Lincolnshire. In that same year, his name also appeared on the *Universal Family Bible*. Was this Reverend Southwell related to Robert Southwell, the Jesuit executed in 1591 at Tyburn who had a hand in the execution of such figures as Henry Howard, the Earl of Surrey in 1547? Was the latest Southwell, therefore connected to an author and victim of the religious and political furor during the Reformation? Did a familial connection help explain the last part of Henry Southwell’s title for his martyrology: “Calculated to promote the Protestant Religion, and expel Superstition?”252 It was as though Henry hoped that the publication of an updated account of Protestant elect would expunge the familial connection to the Papists.

The island of Britannia changed considerably in the nearly one hundred and fifty years between William Lithgow’s departure on his first extended excursion in 1609 and the time of Henry Southwell’s publication. It would appear, however, that old themes died hard. The union, envisioned by King James VI/I upon accession in 1603, and supported by Lithgow’s representation of overseas connections, finally became a reality under the final Stuart monarchs in 1707. As British readers opened their newest edition of *The New and Complete Book of Martyrs or Christian Martyrology* in the 1760s, following the Seven Years’ War, they were reminded of the religious struggles of their Protestant forbears within the island nation and

against foreign enemies. The British had formed what some consider its “first” transatlantic empire. In the analysis of noted British historian Norman Davies, the British Empire was only possible after the crowns of England and Scotland were completely united.\footnote{253} As the empire seemed secure abroad, religious leaders faced a new challenge. Enlightenment thinkers, including David Hume and Voltaire, expanded on the ideas of Locke and his contemporaries by questioning the existence of a Christian God. In response, John Wesley and other religious reformers called for the “re-inspiration” of the Anglican Church.\footnote{254}

Henry Southwell perceived the timing as opportune for the release of an updated account of Anglican exemplars. However, authorship of the new volumes came under almost immediate critique. Late-eighteenth century printer and antiquarian John Nichols’ claimed that Southwell did not actually edit the Bible himself (nor did Nichols think it at all likely), as “no one that knew him [Southwell] ever suspected him of writing a book.” The actual author of both the \textit{Universal Family Bible} and \textit{The New and Complete Book of Martyrs} was Robert Saunders, a Scotsman. Southwell, it seems, earned “a considerable gratuity” for loaning his name to Saunders’ religious works.\footnote{255} Multiple voices, most obviously the authorial voices of at least Foxe, Saunders and Southwell, coordinated for the release of a martyrology which contained the story of William Lithgow. This 1765 version of Foxe’s extremely popular book represents the flexibility of texts, specifically Lithgow’s. This new account emerged as religious and national questions were in a state of flux. Christianity was challenged by Enlightenment suspicion. The British nation had been secured at the dawn of the eighteenth century. However, the soul of Britain was newly-challenged by the thoughts of English philosophers contained in books.

\footnote{253} Norman Davies, \textit{The Isles: A History} (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 715 (Britain’s imperial ‘stages’) and 696 (importance of unification).
\footnote{254} \textit{Ibid.}, 721-724. Also see \textit{The Western Perspective}, 692-702.
The flexibility of William Lithgow’s story is clearly exemplified with the addition of William Lithgow’s torture in Spain to The New and Complete Book of Martyrs or Christian Martyrology. John Foxe’s original and still-celebrated Actes and Monuments, which partially inspired the representation of William Lithgow as a martyr in the 1623 and 1632 editions of the travelogue, also provided the initial impetus and model for Saudners/Southwell’s updated edition. In addition to shared sources, Lithgow’s narrative was called upon as coordinated political and religious dogma were at risk.

To be completely useful, however, Lithgow’s tale required modification. Details of William Lithgow’s tortures were expunged, most notably the removal of his tattoo. The text only reported that Lithgow was forced to endure imprisonment, the rack and the psychological torment of fearing a transfer to harsher confinement on a nightly basis. The suggestion that William Lithgow sacrificed himself for his sovereign, rather than his God, was removed, including the elision of Lithgow’s prized tattoo and the scar that marked its removal during Spanish torture. The 1765 account centered on the actions of inquisitors, not secular judges. While inquisitors played a minor role in the representation of Lithgow’s tortures as related in the 1628 and 1632 editions. The tale as told during William Lithgow’s lifetime described how the governor of Malaga and other regional authorities effected William Lithgow’s torment. In 1765, Southwell/Saunders white-washed William Lithgow’s Scottish origins. Discussion of his Scottish birthplace complicated a purely devotional tale. Now, the reader only needed to know that he was from “a good family.”

Britain was aggressively engaged in the process of expanding its empire during the second half of the eighteenth century. England had just significantly increasing its holdings North America and India following the Seven Years’ War. Empire could serve as a significant

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256 Southwell, 128.
unifying force for its peoples. The celebration of a divinely-inspired past would prove quite useful. Recalling the Spanish enemy from this glorified past proved timely, due to the nature of recent political alignments. Hontanilla noted that Spain re-appeared in travel literature during the height of the Grand Tour as a rare example of “backwardness and cruelty” within the continent of Europe.257 Calling on the Spanish Inquisition proved to be a useful image to contrast to the enlightened state of Britain. Spain served as a negative reminder of the past. By locating William Lithgow’s torture during the seventeenth century in the hands of the Spanish Inquisition with its strong association in the minds of eighteenth century Britons firmly established Spain as a “site for cruelty, torture, and death.”258 His tale was more useful as a representation of religious barbarity and helped to justify “British righteousness, exploitation, and economic dominance.”

William Lithgow came full circle. However, the rhetorical persona of a faithful Protestant must again hide his collaboration with Papists. William Lithgow of Lanark served a greater good in the now-United Kingdom as a near martyr to a strictly-Protestant God. Though Spanish treachery still gets the best of our hero, and he was still rescued from the horrors of Catholic Spain. Once again, God’s “Providence...interfere[d] in [sic.] behalf of the virtuous and oppressed.” The ever-mutable seventeenth century traveler reminded the nation of the horrors as “England suffered herself to be bullied into slavish compliance.”259 England and Scotland had just begun the process of union in Lithgow’s day, an essential step toward empire that also required true Protestant devotion and a sense of a divine mission to bring progress and true faith to the world. By recasting William Lithgow’s already-flexible identity within a framework that was more useful in a purely imperial context, the pilgrim could serve his country, even in death.

258 Ibid., 137.
259 Southwell, 132.
Figure 1

The Travels of William Lithgow

Based on his collected works
Figure A
“The Author’s effigy”

Figure B
“The Author in the Libyan Desert”

The Totall Discourse, Of the Rare Adventures, and painefull Peregrinations of long nineteene Yeares Travayles, from Scotland, to the most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Affrica (London: Nicholas Okes, 1632), 374.

Figure C

The Totall Discourse, Of the Rare Adventures, and painefull Peregrinations of long nineteene Yeares Travayles, from Scotland, to the most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Affrica (London: Nicholas Okes, 1632), 287.

Figure D
“The Model of the Great City of Fez”

The Totall Discourse, Of the Rare Adventures, and painefull Peregrinations of long nineteene Yeares Travayles, from Scotland, to the most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Affrica (London: Nicholas Okes, 1632), 368.
Figure E
The Author in irons in the Governor’s palace at Malaga

The Totall Discourse, Of the Rare Adventures, and painefull Peregrinations of long nineteene Yeares Travayles, from Scotland, to the most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Affrica (London: Nicholas Okes, 1632), 455.
Figure F.1
“The Author beset with murderers in Moldavia”


Figure G
“Martyrdom of St. Sebastian”

Albrecht Durer, c. 1495, British Museum.
Figure H.1

Figure H.2
Detail of “The Martyrdome and burning of mayster William Tyndall, in Flaunders, by Filford Castle”

Figure F.2
Detail of “The Author beset with murderers in Moldavia”

A true description of the racking and cruel handling of Cutbert Simson in the Tower.

Figure I.1

"The Author in the Rack at Malaga"


Figure J

Detail of "A true description of the rackinge and cruel handelinge of Cuthebert Simson in the Tower".
Figure K
The Author’s Tattoo,
comprised of The Armes of Jerusalem and King James his foure Crownes

The Totall Discourse, Of the Rare Adventures, and painefull Peregrinations of long nineteene Yeares Travayles, from Scotland, to the most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Affrica (London: Nicholas Okes, 1632), 285.
Figure L

“Remember the Poor Prisoners = Ayez Souvenance des Pauvres Prisonniers = Ricordateui di far carita a Poueri Carcerati”

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