The Peregrinations of ‘Lugless Will’: Deconstructing an Early Modern Travel Narrative

by

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ABSTRACT

THE PEREGRINATIONS OF ‘LUGLESS WILL’: DECONSTRUCTING AN EARLY MODERN TRAVEL NARRATIVE

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William Lithgow (1582-1645) went travelling during a period in which the meanings and practices associated with travel were undergoing a change. Lithgow was a Scotsman who embarked on three separate journeys in the early seventeenth century. Travelling all throughout Continental Europe, the Middle East, and parts of North Africa and Asia, he recorded his observations and produced a narrative of his travels, first published in 1614, and subsequently re-worked and expanded in its final iteration, The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painefull Peregrinations, in 1632. This thesis seeks to analyze this text within the context of the history of travel, evaluating the degree to which Lithgow’s work is representative of seventeenth century travel narratives and practices. In order to do so, this thesis deconstructs the text by examining Lithgow’s travel identity, rhetorical structures, and the circulation and reception of his work throughout the seventeenth century. Positioning this study within the field of the history of travel and tourism, this thesis seeks to refine linear conceptions of the genesis of travel practices by investigating how Lithgow appropriates travel experience in a tourist mode. While acknowledging that tourism was not properly established until the
nineteenth century, this study contributes to scholarship by demonstrating the benefit of adapting this mode of analysis to an early modern travel narrative.
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Introduction

While passing through the countryside in Italy and headed to Calabria in 1615, William Lithgow was ambushed and held up by “foure Bandits” at the side of the road.\(^1\) Pleading for his life, Lithgow attempted to relate to the armed robbers by stating he was a Christian, a traveller, and an adventurer. Giving up, Lithgow held his arms up in surrender. In doing so, he revealed a tattoo of the holy cross he had received earlier in his travels to Jerusalem. “Reading my patent of Jerusalem,” Lithgow writes, the bandits “uncovered their heads, and did me homage, notwithstanding they were absolute murderers: Our lives and liberty granted and for a greater assurance, they tooke us both in to a great thicket of wood, where their timberd Cabine stood, and there made merry with us in good Wine and the best cheare their sequestrate cottage could afford.”\(^2\) What had began for Lithgow as a near death experience ended in an encounter where complete strangers, and bandits no less, provided him with an afternoon of hospitality.

This instance of danger turned good deed is part of a much larger set of travel stories recorded by William Lithgow in his *Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painefull Peregrinations*. Lithgow’s book recounts three separate voyages between 1609 and 1628 that took him throughout Scotland, continental Europe, the eastern Mediterranean, North Africa, and even the Holy Land. His travels were first published in *A Most Delectable and True Discourse, of an admired and painefull peregrination*, which was a brief account of his first voyage. Printed in 1614 by Nicholas Okes, this first work was reissued again in 1616. In 1623, this short account was reworked and expanded with the addition of limited versions of his second and third journeys. By 1632, Lithgow had

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2 Ibid.
expanded this version yet again, which produced the first collected edition of his three
journeys in The Totall Discourse of the rare Adventures and Painefull Peregrinations of
Long Nineteene Yeares Travayls.³ The Totall Discourse proved to be relatively popular,
with further editions being published in London in 1640. This popularity extended as far
as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as The Totall Discourse saw additional
publications in London in 1782, and in Edinburgh in 1770 and 1814.⁴

The introductory anecdote highlights a number of fascinating features of
Lithgow’s travel narrative. It tells of an experience in which Lithgow’s life was spared
because of his religious identity, but it is also an instance where total strangers interacted
through the medium of hospitality. Despite the bandits having threatened him with death,
Lithgow describes no hesitancy in retreating with them back to their cabin in order to
make merry in good wine and good cheer. Ultimately, the story highlights the power of
hospitality, but it also underlines the importance of his credentials as a religious traveller,
and how this fits into his wider identity as a traveller. These two themes form the
backbone of this subsequent thesis.

William Lithgow went traveling during an era in which what it meant be a
traveller was in flux. Until the Reformation of the sixteenth century, travel often implied
pilgrimage. Having this institution of pilgrimage restructured or abolished amongst
Catholics and Protestants alike, the act and meaning of travel underwent a seismic shift
across the sixteenth century.⁵ Despite the stigma against pilgrimage in this period,

³ Clifford Edmund Bosworth, An Intrepid Scot: William Lithgow of Lanark’s Travels in the Ottoman
⁴ James Maclehole, ed., “Publisher’s Note,” in The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painefull
⁵ F. Thomas Noonan, The Road to Jerusalem: Pilgrimage and Travel in the Age of Discovery
religious travel still occurred. And there were still merchants, mercenaries, and ambassadors amongst those who needed to travel to make a living. Indeed, this was century that saw the development of the ‘age of exploration,’ with explorers attempting to find new routes to the East and bumping into the ‘New World.’ Still, as the sixteenth century progressed, many travellers became difficult to define using these traditional typologies.

Take William Lithgow, a Presbyterian Scot born in Lanark in 1582. Other than the autobiographical information retrieved from his travel writings, his life is scantily documented. He came from a respectable family, likely connected to nobility on his mothers’ side, and was educated at Lanark Grammar School where he received a classical education and an extensive knowledge of the Bible and catechisms. By his own account, he chose to undertake his life of travels for three purposes. The first was to “seclude [himself] from [his] soyle,” and to be “entertained with strangers,” in what he called a “voluntary wandring and unconstrayned exile.” The second reason was to unfold “to the world, the government of States, the authority and disposition of Kings and Princes; the secrets, manners, customes, and Religions of all Nations and People.” And finally, to bring “satisfaction to the home-dwelling man, of these things, he would have seene, and could not attempt.” Given the traditional typologies of travellers of this time period, these self-professed motivations alone make it difficult to classify Lithgow under any one travel identity based on the customary criterion of motivation: the first seems to

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8 William Lithgow, 6-7.
9 Ibid, 8.
10 Ibid.
point to some feeling of ‘wanderlust,’ which was incurred by a tragic event early in Lithgow’s life. The second reads as more utilitarian, posing himself as some form of ethnographer. The third builds on the second, pitting himself as the travel writer bringing home reports of far off lands for the common man. Indeed, scholarship on Lithgow struggles to identify him, and some even go as far as to call him a “genuine original…who redefines the experience of travel….”

Only a few scholars treat Lithgow’s text in its entirety, which perhaps contributes to the difficulty in its categorization. Many works allude to Lithgow’s travels in passing, citing his narrative amongst a number of others. Further, a small number of scholars have produced short articles that analyze The Total Discourse in the context of Scottish identity. There is an entire monograph based on his travels: an incredibly useful book that reproduces Lithgow’s travels by contextualizing key events from the narrative, and while it aptly serves its purpose, its tone is largely uncritical. This study expands on this growing body of scholarship, and provides an extended analysis of the entire text. This is an important undertaking for a number of reasons. It is possible to use Lithgow’s travel narrative to construct a spectrum of early modern hospitality, drawing on current treatments of the topic and on theoretical innovations in the field of hospitality and performance studies; by analyzing his treatment of provisions of rest and performances of hospitality, Lithgow’s narrative provides accounts of experiences important in understanding early modern conceptions of hospitality. Moreover, Lithgow presents a

14 Bosworth, 17.
complex mode of travel in his pseudo-pilgrimage, and by unpacking his form of mobility within the context of other travellers from the period, it is possible to problematize established notions of early modern travel attitudes.

**Historiography of Travel Writing**

Before beginning this analysis, it will be beneficial to first contextualize this project within the historiography of early modern travel writing. Travel is motion that is idealized, remembered, and pondered. While these concepts can take many forms, the traveller elucidates them most tangibly when they write them down. Indeed, since antiquity, the act of travelling has become inextricably linked to the production of a subsequent written account. Along with the production of these texts, there has been a reciprocal audience for consumption. Though the nature of these texts and audiences have changed drastically over the last five hundred years, there has been a substantial body of literature and an extensive readership that has accompanied travel since at least the heyday of pilgrimage in the high Middle Ages. After a brief survey of the history of travel writing as a scholarly source, I will turn to a discussion of contemporary debates on its status and utility within academia. After reaching a definition of travel literature, it will then be possible to discuss the historiography of early modern travel writing.

In some ways, the sixteenth-century writer Richard Hakluyt can be understood as one of the first scholars to study travel literature. His voluminous collections of the travel accounts of his contemporaries, which he began compiling into his *Principal Navigations* in 1589, represented a concerted effort to distinguish fact from fiction when it came to the

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literature of travel.\textsuperscript{16} His successor Samuel Purchas carried on this tradition, publishing a similar style of compilation in his 1625 \textit{Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimage}. These texts indicate the burgeoning interest in travel writing. While there has been a fascination with travel literature since figures like Purchas and Hakluyt, there is less acceptance of the genre in scholarly vogue. Indeed, the ‘low-brow’ stigma that has been attached to travel literature, likely as a result of the (over)production of popular accounts in the modern age, has led to reluctance from scholars in accepting it as a critical source.\textsuperscript{17} In fact, it was not until the 1980s that scholars deemed the genre worthy of rigorous and sustained study.

**Travel Writing as a Critical Source**

The initial acceptance of travel literature into modern scholarship was driven most predominately by two theoretical forces: postcolonialism and feminism. Edward Said’s \textit{Orientalism} demonstrated the strategies of travel writing in representing Other cultures.\textsuperscript{18} Ushering in the theory of postcolonialism, Said’s work conveyed the connections between travel and empire, shattering the conception that travel texts were ideologically neutral.\textsuperscript{19} Feminism played an important role too, recovering the voices of women travellers from obscurity. Works such as Jane Robinson’s \textit{Wayward Women}\textsuperscript{20} and Sara Mills’ \textit{Discourses of Difference}\textsuperscript{21} highlight the important role women travellers played in occupying both the ‘observer’ and the ‘observed’. The inceptions of postcolonial and

\textsuperscript{17} Carl Thompson, \textit{Travel Writing} (New York: Routledge, 2011), 17.  
feminist studies prove to be watershed moments in the study of travel writing. Both theories centre their analysis on the role of the ‘observer’, their ‘gaze,’ and the subsequent effect on the ‘observed’; travel writing proves to be an extremely useful source for such an examination.

The reluctance of scholarship to accept travel writing into the Academy is a complicated issue, but it can be best demonstrated by two interrelated problems: genre and facticity. Travel writing is by nature heterogeneous, and a trenchant debate has formed over the classification of the genre. On one side of the spectrum, there are those scholars who emphasize the fictitious nature of travel writing. Barbara Korte gives expression to this argument, stating that, in terms of narrative structure, there is no distinction between factual travel accounts and fictional forms of narrative literature.22 She goes on to question the testability of travel reports, stating there is no way to recreate the journey outside the narrative itself.23 On the other side of the debate lie those who deem travel literature as factual until proven otherwise. Peter Hulme is a proponent of this more trusting approach, appreciating a “degree of ethics” that is involved in travel writing.24 He contends that travel to the described place must have actually occurred in order for a source to be deemed travel literature; if it is proven otherwise, then it is discredited and classified as an ‘imaginative journey.’25 The side of the debate chosen has a huge effect on what is considered travel literature. Thus it is important to distinguish

23 Ibid.
24 Peter Hulme, Talking about Travel Writing: A Conversation Between Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Leicester: The English Association, 2007), 3.
25 Ibid.
what we mean when we use the term travel literature. In order to do so, it is beneficial to turn to general surveys of the history of travel writing.

Most recent scholarship favours a broad and expansive definition of travel writing. In their *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs privilege an open definition of the genre in an attempt to avoid focusing on individual travellers. This wide focus allows their work to involve a large body of texts, giving them the ability to account for “major shifts” in kinds and forms of travel writing. Hulme and Youngs accept the heterogeneous nature of travel, and thus by extension are able to analyze the constantly changing nature of travel writing itself. Over a decade later, in his *Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, Youngs solidifies his views. His *Introduction* provides great insight into the status of contemporary scholarship on travel writing. By approaching the history of travel writing in both a chronological and thematic manner, and appreciating “a combination of diachronic and synchronic” modes of examination, Youngs argues for the necessity of an inclusive definition of travel writing.

Representing somewhat of a departure from these previous examples, Carl Thompson characterizes the recent wave of academic interest as an ongoing debate. He decides not to adjudicate much of the controversy, leaving readers “to form their own opinion on several key debates currently associated with the genre.” However, he does attach important qualification to what he considers travel literature. Fundamentally, he agrees with Hulme and Youngs’ inclusive definition, but notes the genre’s important autobiographical role and literary form. For the most part, a consensus of scholars

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26 Hulme and Youngs, *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, 1.
28 Thompson, 7.
29 Ibid, 14.
accept the wide range of travel writing and permit the heterogeneity of the genre, a view that will be adopted for this paper as well. With this definition, it is possible to move forward with looking at early modern travel writing specifically.

**Historiography of Early Modern Travel Writing**

There are distinctive qualities in the historiography surrounding travel writing of the early modern period. A great deal of attention is given to English travellers. Within this area, scholarship is further divided by considering the locations and motivations for travel, most often focusing on either the age of exploration and travel within a colonial context, or travel to the continent and the Holy Land. Furthermore, because the history of travel is a relatively new field of study, it is possible to identify distinct theoretical approaches in the area. This historiography points to the existing methods of travel writing analysis, which focus on the theoretical lenses of postcolonialism, cultural history, linguistic studies, and global and transnational history. Before providing an extended analysis of representative texts of these tightly focused studies, it is beneficial to first discuss sources that provide a more general survey of travel writing in the early modern era.

The earliest works in the field of early modern travel focus heavily on the age of exploration spurred by Columbus’ transatlantic voyage. These works cite the importance of the technological advancements in facilitating the era of exploration, and emphasize the utilitarian role of travel in this period. Boies Penrose’s early study epitomizes this approach, and looks to analyze the original maps used by explorers, the technology that the ships used, and the books that were written upon return.³⁰ He stresses the importance of

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of “not considering what the men did, but how they did it.” Penrose’s *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance* is rife with teleological understandings of the history of travel in this period. Penrose is concerned mostly with the era of exploration associated with colonialism, imperialism, and transatlantic trade, noting the ways in which subsequent “eras” of travellers built on the technological innovations and curiosity of their “ancestors.” While more recent sources are careful not to apply this form of grand narrative, many still focus on this mode of travel. In his chapter on early modern travel literature, Thompson spends most of his discussion on the travels to the new world, and he too points to Columbus’ voyage as a watershed in the history of travel. While he moves away from the technological aspects, Thompson shares the view that travellers “improved” on one another through time. Pointing to the crucial importance that travel writing had in providing an incremental evolution of voyages abroad, Thompson argues that the information from travel writings informed subsequent travellers and allowed them to be more “successful.” This success is attributed to travellers reaching further around the globe and maintaining more sustained travels. While these works were almost fifty years apart, they share a similar form of telos that is apparent in much of the historiography surrounding travel in the age of exploration. Providing a more theoretical approach, Davis Sacks also centres his analysis on these early explorers, but notes the relationship between utopia, travel, and knowledge in the texts they produced. He examines these texts within the compilation of Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations*, arguing that they played a pivotal role in discerning a narrative of England’s imperial interests.

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31 Ibid, viii.
32 Ibid, 32.
33 Thompson, 40.
34 Ibid, 41.
Texts of this period, he argues, have the recurrent themes of dominion over nature, the recovery of knowledge, and the discovery of the new world. Sacks’s study departs from other works in this area by arguing for the existence of a religious undertone in the *Principal Navigations* collection, dubbing Hakluyt an “avant-garde millenialist.”

Sacks’s work highlights not only the important role that the explorer played in this period, but also the editors of travel collections, like Hakluyt, whom Sacks accuses of presenting travel narratives in the allusion to a providential plan, and likening the discovery of the New World to the inception of a “New Age.” These works represent a larger body of scholarship that is centred on the ‘age of exploration’ and the New World, highlighting the importance of geographical focus in the historiography.

While many explorers traveled west to the new world, recent scholarship has also acknowledged eastward travel to the continent and beyond. Daniel Viktus provides an analysis of English and Scottish explorers who traveled eastward in the seventeenth century. While noting the traditional eastward travel of religious pilgrims, he delineates the changes that take place over the sixteenth century that problematize this mode of travel. Defining a new typology, the “iconoclastic anti-pilgrim,” Viktus contends that these travellers and their subsequent writing played an invaluable role in the construction and perception of the Ottoman. As such, he extends his classification of these travellers to ‘proto-imperialists,’ vouching that the knowledge of the East these travellers brought back with them played a significant role in developing the ideological basis for the

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36 Ibid, 55.
38 Ibid, 36.
process of colonizing. In another study of eastward travel, Thomas Noonan also acknowledges the existence of pilgrim-type travel. Noonan too notes the “seismic shift” in the meaning of travel during the sixteenth century, but instead of resulting in ‘proto-imperialist’ travel, Noonan attempts to demonstrate the persistence of Levantine pilgrimage.\(^\text{39}\) Pointing to a number of sources that were produced by such travellers, Noonan relies heavily on printed texts to assert the continuance of this form of travel. In doing so, he highlights the importance of print in creating a literary culture of travel, which is a common recurring theme in the historiography. Furthermore, Noonan and Viktus represent the diversity of approaches that can be taken to a single type of travel. Whether centering the focus on traveling to the New World or to the ancient Near East, these works demonstrate the heterogeneous scholarship produced when taking a geographically centered approach.

Viktus, Noonan, and Sacks all create typologies for their studies, centering their focus on a distinct type of traveller. William Sherman takes this further by providing a more comprehensive and exhaustive list that classifies the different types of early modern travellers, demonstrating the existence of a truly diverse array of travellers in the time period. This extensive list includes the aforementioned explorers and pilgrims, but Sherman also widens the scope to include merchants, errant knights, colonisers, ambassadors, and castaways.\(^\text{40}\) Youngs also demonstrates the multiplicity in the types of travellers in this period, citing the changing nature of travel that occurred roughly after


1500.\textsuperscript{41} This shift, he says, is due to the burgeoning literary nature of travel writing. These works allude to the proliferation of travel texts in this period, giving scholars a multitude of possible sources for analysis. As noted above, the heterogeneity of the genre allows many different theoretical approaches to be applied to the study of travel literature. The plethora of approaches is subsequently discussed by pointing to representative texts of theoretical approaches.

**Theoretical Approaches to Early Modern Travel Writing**

While Said’s *Orientalism* cites travel narratives from the eighteenth century onward, a few scholars have attempted to apply the theory of postcolonialism to the early modern era. Anna Suranyi analyzes English travellers to the Middle East. Finding tropes in the way they describe their surroundings, she notes the consistency in their concerns of political structure and civility.\textsuperscript{42} Setting out four case studies, she examines the depiction of foodways, cleanliness, the role of women, and the ascription of gender in these travel narratives. Suryani circumspectly applies notions of Orientalism, while demonstrating an awareness of extending a ‘modern’ concept to the more distant past. By doing so, she contends it is possible to understand these travel texts as ethnographies, which manifest an “imperialistic and nationalistic ethos.”\textsuperscript{43} She contends that this ethos was an antecedent to the subsequent “monolithic” orientalist-type rhetoric.\textsuperscript{44} Suryani’s approach demonstrates the influence of postcolonial analysis in the history of early modern travel. The travel text poses well as a source in this field as it provides a written account of the ‘Other’ and can be analyzed to determine the constructions of this concept.

\textsuperscript{41} Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, 22.


\textsuperscript{43} Ibid, 21.

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid, 22.
Interestingly, Suranyi notes the ways in which the experience of the “Other” affirms a sense of self-identity for the authors. The travel narrative as a cultural text figures most prominently into analyses of self-identity in the early modern period. Most of the works that focus on this theme demonstrate the role travel writing plays in affirming notions of religious and national identity. Suranyi sees English travel literature of the East as “conduits” for developing insight into the way in which national difference was constructed. She extends this analysis to demonstrate the way in which these distinctions facilitate the burgeoning conceptions of a national identity. In a similar manner, Helga Quadflieg provides an account that analyzes the ways in which travellers in the Elizabethan era process the experience of the “foreign,” and by extension, return with an experience of the “familiar or (national) self.” She cites the political motivations of travellers in this period, stating that they visited other countries in order to analyze their political and social organization. In doing so, she dubs these travellers “vanguards of a new epistemological paradigm,” and attributes them with a shift in sources of knowledge from “book-centered” to direct experience. She argues that this direct experience exposes the traveller to new cultural, ethnic, and religious settings, creating a heightened distinction of ‘self’ and ‘Other.’ Analyzing representations of the religious and cultural other in the texts, Quadflieg concludes that this state of liminal reflexivity causes the travellers to return home with a firmer sense of religious and national identity. Andrew Hadfield extends this concept, accepting that while these

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45 Suranyi, 20.  
48 Ibid, 35.
narratives provided affirmations of self-identity for the traveller, they also had ramifications for the readership back home. Hadfield’s analysis of English travel narratives in the second half of the sixteenth and first quarter of the seventeenth century demonstrates that these texts can be understood as media that allow insight into contemporary problems within the body politic. By teasing out recurring themes like “the nature of society…the limitations of existing constitutions…and popular representation,” Hadfield highlights the public nature of these sources.\textsuperscript{49} Hadfield’s work represents the way in which the text was consumed by readership, highlighting not only the importance of the text itself, but also how it was constructed with public reception in mind. In fact, many argue these texts were structured in a rhetorical manner, asserting the intentionality of the authors that were attempting to elicit a certain reception. The structural and linguistic analysis of the travel text is yet another theoretical approach in the field.

Recently, there have been a number of linguistic studies of early modern travel literature. These works focus on the instrumental use of rhetoric in the texts. In his book, \textit{Rhetoric and Wonder in English Travel Writing 1560-1613}, Jonathan Sell seeks to understand the way in which rhetoric was appropriated to deal with new experiences. Armed with theories of Foucauldian analysis, Sell analyzes the “textual disparity” between readers and writers of travel narratives, citing the importance of rhetoric in “bridging this gap.”\textsuperscript{50} Centering his analysis on the trope of “wonder,” he claims that wonder is invoked in order for both the traveller and the reader to come to terms with


new experiences found in travel. In doing so, he highlights the mutual construction of truth vis-à-vis the writer and the reader. Sell concludes that it is impossible for travellers of this time period to write any other way than rhetorically, as they were “bound to the rhetorical system of linguistic discourse, or the sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, and cognitive premises of which that system was based.” As a result, his work represents not only insights into the rhetorical transcription of new realities, but further allows the drawing of conclusions with regard to early modern cultural practices and habits of mind. Likewise, Mary Baine Campbell examines this trope of wonder. In a similar vein to Sell, Campbell’s work examines the use of wonder as a rhetorical tool in the “creation of new worlds.” Although her work also represents quite a departure, as she explicitly includes a wide arrange of sources, incorporating traditional texts such as travel narratives and ethnographies, but showing no hesitance in considering novels and ‘imaginative journeys’ as well. Thus her work highlights the complexities in using travel narratives as a source, but demonstrates the prevalence of similar tropes in other mediums of text from the period.

Adopting another form of linguistic analysis, Julia Schleck addresses questions that arise of authority and truth claims of early modern travel narratives. Similar to Hadfield, Schleck attempts to place these texts within the “social sphere,” and in doing so, analyzes the way in which they function as a “social document.” Her analysis seeks to problematize the mediation process that transforms the travellers experience to text,

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51 Ibid.
52 Ibid, 15.
the text to publication, and the publication to true knowledge. While this work highlights the importance of print culture and rhetoric, another of her articles extends this analysis by providing a literary criticism on the truth claims in travel writing.55 Likening travel literature to natural philosophy, Schleck studies the establishment of reliable knowledge in early modern English society, focusing on the problems of epistemology and narrative. Schleck’s work ultimately demonstrates that social hierarchy had a large effect on the acceptance of ‘truthful’ accounts, and represents an attempt at the social history of truth.

Given that travelling often involves the crossing of boundaries of nations, cultures, and religions, travel writing provides fruitful analysis in the context of global and transnational history. Sven Trakulhun examines the way in which textual exchange took place between European nations as a result of travel writing. Analyzing the way in which German states of the period appropriated English travel compilations (such as Hakluyt’s), Trakulhun maps the trajectory of travel writing in Germany from the cosmography to the edited collection.56 This approach provides an interesting instance of cross cultural knowledge exchange, and represents one of the ways in which travel writing can be analyzed as extra-national. Even so, there has been a production of much more explicit global histories of travel over the last few years. Sanjay Subrahmanyam’s *Three Ways to Be Alien* epitomizes this new trend. By using three case studies of vastly different individuals who were all “caught between cultures,” Subrahmanyam analyzes

the concepts of displacement and alienation.\textsuperscript{57} This study offers an intriguing application of both micro and macro history, and looks at the tension these travellers have when they remove themselves from their homeland and become cosmopolitans, or “citizens of the world.”\textsuperscript{58} By pitting these individual case studies in the midst of the displacement of identity, the work highlights the tension involved in individuality/agency and larger structural processes. Subrahmanyam demonstrates how profitable travel narratives can be in the examination of global history, and provides a truly inspiring account of where the future of travel history can go.

\textbf{Conclusion}

Upon survey, the historiography of early modern travel writing becomes almost as heterogeneous as travel literature itself. Scholarship in the field has exploded in the last ten to fifteen years, including the use of travel writing as a source in a number of intriguing and profitable ways. After the inception of postcolonialism, scholars have undergone a debate on the use and abuse of travel writing as a critical source. This historiography demonstrates the multitude of studies that stem from its use as such. Perhaps because of the mobile nature of the subjects, the history of travel proves itself as an exceptionally mobile field, as scholars increasingly widen the applicability of travel texts in critical analyses.

\textit{This study draws on a wellspring of recent} studies in the history of travel, and contributes to the field through a rigorous and focused empirical analysis of a primary source. The first chapter explores the malleability of Lithgow’s travel identity. While still adhering to conventional standards of contemporary travel narratives, Lithgow invokes


\textsuperscript{58} Ibid.
aspects of traditional religious travel in his beguiling retelling of a tour for the sake of knowledge, curiosity, and perhaps even existential emancipation. The second chapter builds on this foundation by elucidating Lithgow’s complex understanding of hospitality. By expanding on an established theoretical framework of studying rhetoric in travel narratives, I extend this rhetorical analysis to Lithgow’s experiences of hospitality, which are used to construct a spectrum of hospitality. Finally, the third chapter seeks to situate his work amongst the contemporary context by looking at the publication, circulation, and reception of Lithgow’s writings. As a case study in book history and print culture, this chapter looks at the ways in which readers discerned and reconstituted the meaning of the text.

This study borrows from the critical school of New Historicism. Having its foundations in the critical theory of Foucault, Derrida, and Geertz, New Historicism seeks to readdress a number of issues in historical analysis; most notably, it assesses the relationship between text and context by deconstructing texts in the effort to question linear chronological understandings of the progression of history.59 This method involves a close reading, which primarily analyzes the construction of a text through an evaluation of rhetoric, language, and voice, among a number of other criteria, that combine to constitute its meaning.60 The present study lends itself well to this form of analysis. During a period that witnessed a number of different approaches and attitudes towards travel, and also the establishment of travel writing within the growing print culture of the seventeenth century, I address the way in which text and context interacted to produce The Totall Discourse. This is achieved through exploring the number of different travel

60 Ibid, 26.
practices that influenced Lithgow’s writings, assessing the rhetoric that structured his narrative, and addressing the circulation of his writings across a seventeenth century domestic readership. In doing so, I do not seek to completely revise understandings of the history of early modern travel, but rather demonstrate the forces at work in the construction of a single travel narrative.

There are a large number of studies that fruitfully apply this methodology to historical analysis of the Renaissance and early modern era. In the study of the past, a deconstructive reading of a text provides access and insight into a given historical context. By deconstructing a text, the historian begins to understand the ways in which it is representative of wider cultural forces, and how societal values are encoded within it. For historians, such an analysis provides an opportunity to explore the layers of meaning of a given historical period, and opens the discussion to many pertinent questions of historical inquiry. This study demonstrates the proficiency of a deconstructive reading to historical analysis. It explores the interaction Lithgow’s text has with its wider historical context in the following ways: examining the degree of influence established historical travel practices have over Lithgow’s own approach to travel (chapter one); elucidating the way in which contemporary literary conventions and cultural customs of seventeenth century travel writing played a role in structuring his narrative (chapter two); and concretely assessing the circulation and reception of Lithgow’s work amongst a multitude of seventeenth century sources (chapter three).

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61 Ibid, 27.
Chapter One: Travel Identity

Introduction

Arriving in Jerusalem on Palm Sunday in 1612, William Lithgow spent a couple of weeks in the city and dedicated the entire sixth chapter of *The Totall Discourse* to his stay. While he was in the city, he stayed at a monastery, and the local Friars doubled as guides to the city by taking Lithgow on daily tours. In doing so, these “flattering Friers,” as he calls them, “bring Strangers into a wonderful admiration.”¹ In his retelling of his stay in Jerusalem, Lithgow promises to “rehearse all that [he] saw there,” just before going on to state that he “will not believe all, onely publishing them as things indifferent, some whereof are frivolous, and others somewhat more credible…”; of these discrepancies he “will make no (or very small) distinction in the Relation.”² And he does fulfill his promise, listing the places the Friars took him to see, describing his time as “spending that day in these sights.”³ As Lithgow quickly offers descriptions of the Holy Grave and The Temple of Solomon, amongst numerous others, it is suggestive of an early modern sightseeing tour. The Friar fulfills the role of the guide, discerning what is to be seen. And then there is Lithgow, prattling along the guided trail, listing key sites, so to speak, of Jerusalem in short order. Furthermore, there is Lithgow’s promise: his vow to indifferently record all that he sees, whether or not he deems them frivolous or credible. He even describes his day as being spent “in the sights.”

While the movement of peoples can be described in many different motions—migration, exodus, colonization—travel can be defined as setting itself apart through its

¹ William Lithgow, 222.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid, 224.
self-reflective nature. Travel occurs “when the activity is made to reflect back on itself, when society glimpses itself moving in this way or that across the mirror it holds up to itself.”\textsuperscript{4} These “polished shards of motion” distinguish travel from other types of mobility. But it is also importance to distinguish between travel and tourism. While it is possible to begin speaking of the occurrence of this “polished” and self-reflective travel in the early modern era, it is contentious to describe it as tourism. The accepted standard of the evolution between historical forms of travel and tourism is best described as linear and straightforward.\textsuperscript{5} These linear interpretations result in a frustrating “chicken-and-egg” like discussion of the genesis of tourism—a cut and dry, black and white distinction in which tourism is either entirely present, or it is not tourism at all.\textsuperscript{6} Many scholars agree that the conception of tourism can only be traced as far back to the Grand Tour.\textsuperscript{7} Still, there have been a number of recent attempts to revise, refine, or repudiate this narrative. While some try rather boldly to attest for the presence of tourism in antiquity,\textsuperscript{8} others look to medieval pilgrimage,\textsuperscript{9} or later accounts of Jacobean travellers to see the beginnings of the presence of tourism.\textsuperscript{10} Attitudes and practices towards mobility and travel changed over time, and the birth of tourism is just one way of understanding a

\textsuperscript{6} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{7} See for example Jeremy Black, Italy and the Grand Tour (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).
certain type of mobility. While acknowledging that the inception of tourism is found in
the Grand Tour, and that the establishment of mass tourism did not occur until the
nineteenth century, it is possible to adapt a form of tourism analysis, in certain limited
ways, to established forms of travel in the early modern era. This will be demonstrated
through analyzing Lithgow’s use of guides, and the way in which he approaches certain
travel experiences.

The classification of a “tourist” was not invented until 1878, when the

*Dictionnaire de l’Academie française* referred to it as demarcating “those who love to
travel, who travel for their pleasure and edification.”¹¹ The tourist is etymologically
similar to the earlier term the “Tour,” which was defined as a “movement in space.”¹²

This was then appropriated by the Grand Tour, and then repurposed after the inception of
mass tourism in the post-industrial West.¹³ While there is no single, universal definition
of a tourist or tourism, there are some common features of modern uses of the concept.
The keys to tourism seem to, at the very least, include: 1) moving beyond one’s everyday
and familiar setting; 2) short-term, circuitous journeys; 3) travel undertaken for
recreation, leisure, or cultural interests; 4) the presence of an infrastructure geared
towards hosting travellers in a number of different capacities; 5) following some pre-
established route in which a commoditized and formulaic experience is consumed.¹⁴

*The Totall Discourse* is an excellent source for examining early modern travel
identity in an era of shifting attitudes towards travel for a number of reasons. First,

Lithgow demonstrates a tension in his motivations for travel. While there are many ways

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¹² Verhoeven, *Europe Within Reach*, 4.
¹³ Ibid.
in which he aligns himself with the contemporary explorers of the seventeenth century, justifying the utilitarian nature of this travel, there are aspects of traditional pilgrimage still present throughout the narrative. At the same time, it is profitable to analyze Lithgow’s travel practices in a more touristic mode. Before analyzing the malleability of Lithgow’s travel identity, it is beneficial to establish where and when Lithgow traveled.

**Lithgow’s Adventures and Peregrinations**

*The Totall Discourse* provides Lithgow’s account of all of his life travels between the years 1609 and 1628. The book is almost entirely centered on three separate voyages, taking place from 1609-1612, 1613-1616, and 1619-1620. He takes a relative hiatus from travelling for most of the 1620s, likely due to his severe injuries he incurred during his imprisonment by the Spanish Inquisition—an event that is detailed in the final chapter of his book, which put an abrupt end to his third voyage. Lithgow made a short circuit around Scotland in 1628, which he recounts in the last few pages of the book. This last short trip reads more like an epilogue that allows him to add the subtitle “Long Nineteene Years Travayle,” to his work.

Beginning in March of 1609, the first voyage was the longest and most detailed of the three; in the initial voyage, Lithgow traveled for over three consecutive years, and his written account takes up seven of the ten chapters of the final publication. Departing from England, his first destination was Paris, where he prepared himself before venturing further south to Italy. In Italy, Lithgow spent most of his time in Rome, but traveled to a number of different cities, including Loreto, Ancona, Venice, and Verona. Rounding out the remainder of 1609, Lithgow navigated through many islands of the Mediterranean and the Adriatic before landing in Athens. From Athens, he headed east, stopping many
times throughout the Aegean before his intended destination of Constantinople. Spending the rest of the year in Constantinople, and dedicating the entire fourth chapter to the city alone, Lithgow traveled throughout Asia Minor in the later parts of 1611 before arriving in Jerusalem in March of 1612. Lithgow set aside the book’s entire sixth chapter for his seventeen-day stay in the holy city. Spending the rest of 1612 in North Africa, he stayed the longest in Cairo and Alexandria. Homeward bound, Lithgow headed north, docking in Naples and traveling up through the south of France. He eventually ended the account of his first voyage in Paris, noting, “whence I first beganne my voyage I also there ended my first, my painefull, and Pedestriall Pilgrimage.”

Back in England, Lithgow wasted little time and departed for his second journey in early 1613. Travelling for three years, the second voyage was barely shorter than the first, but interestingly, only comprises two chapters of The Totall Discourse. This is largely due to the fact that his first two years of these travels were spent in France, the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy—countries that “the description whereof is so amply set downe by modern Authors, that it requireth no more.”

Departing from Italy in 1615, Lithgow traveled through Algeria before spending the rest of the year in Fez. He retreated back to continental Europe after combatting sickness a number of times throughout the voyage, landing in Naples in early 1616. Continuing north, he traveled through Austria and ended his account in Poland, where he notes how he “fell deadly sicke for three weekes space, insomuch that my Grave and Tombe was prepared.”

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15 Lithgow, 298.
16 Ibid, 303.
17 Ibid, 369.
“Fearing the worst,” Lithgow “made hast for England,” ending his second journey prematurely due to his ailment.\textsuperscript{18}

Lithgow waited some time before travelling again, but set off in 1619 with the intentions of exploring Africa further, and the ambition to reach as far as Ethiopia.\textsuperscript{19} Leaving England in September of 1619, he traveled quickly throughout Ireland without leaving many details, and headed south in February of 1620. After landing in Spain, Lithgow detailed his travels throughout a few cities and towns, before going into a lengthy description of his capture by the Spanish government in Malaga, and his eventual imprisonment under the Spanish Inquisition. Weeks later, an English diplomat \href{learned of} learned of Lithgow’s incarceration, and \href{intervening} intervening on behalf of the English \href{Crown} Crown, managed to get Lithgow back to England. After this point, \textit{The Totall Discourse} becomes less of a travel narrative, as he details his attempts for retribution against the Spanish government. His later travels throughout Scotland in 1628 to 1629 comprise the final pages of the text. As Lithgow dedicated the large majority of his book to his first three voyages, this study too will focus in on these.

With this general itinerary in mind, it is possible to begin analyzing the text itself. This analysis will first demonstrate the way in which Lithgow aligns himself with contemporary travellers by explicitly stating his utilitarian motives for undertaking his three voyages. Despite these claims, there are many notions of traditional pilgrimage still present throughout the narrative \href{that} that will be subsequently explored. Finally, the analysis will then turn to explore aspects of his travel practices that are adaptable to a mode of analysis associated with tourism studies.

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid, 372.
A Tension in Intention: Traditional and Reformed Motivations for Travel

In post-Reformation England, as early as 1536, shrines which were popular sites of pilgrimage were formally denounced; clergy were urged to “Extol any images, relics, or miracles,” and not to “allure the people to the pilgrimage of any saint.” As pilgrimage for religious salvation was no longer a justification for travel, a new means of legitimization was necessary. Many scholars point to early modern travellers finding this new justification in the pursuit of education, marking a transition from religious to secular travel. These travellers understood their pursuit as a means of gaining knowledge about statecraft and civility. Whatever their justification, these travellers were on the threshold of a new epistemological paradigm by valuing the acquisition of knowledge through “direct experience…by learning what happens out in the world, not entirely from books.” William Lithgow aligned himself with his contemporaries by explicitly stating the utilitarian motivations for his journey at the outset of his book.

Lithgow’s utilitarian motivations are best exemplified by his calculated treatment of each new city he describes in his narrative. When coming upon a new city, there is a recognizable and repeated structure to his descriptions. Almost always, Lithgow begins his descriptions by situating the city within its geographical context. Next, he typically details a brief history of the country and city, describing famous battles and notable

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rulers. He then goes on to summarize its political structure before turning finally to its prominent resources. This structure can be seen in his “Comments upon Crete,” which describes his visit to the island in 1609. Beginning with the geographical context, he notes Crete has to its “North the Agean sea, to the West the sea Ionian; to the South the Libique sea, and to the East, the Carpathian sea.” After a little more expansion on its geography, he goes on to note its history as a “most famous and auncient Kingdome,” discussing its once prominent position as the “Queene of the Iles Mediterrrene.”

He then turns to the political structure, noting Crete’s position in the Venetian Republic, and describing the hierarchical civil structure of “Governour… and Counsellors, sent from Venice every two yeares.” Turning to its resources, he commends the island for producing “the best Malvasy, Muscadine and Letticke wine…in the whole Universe.” This sequence is repeated upon most large cities he encounters, and demonstrates a calculated approach to the places he visits. This formatting is intentional, as it provides a formulaic framework to assess each city. It is a representation of conventional travel writing in the period, and demonstrates how Lithgow’s writings align with contemporary travel writers. In formatting the text in this manner, his observations are easily digested by readers, who can come to expect the structure that Lithgow will use to describe each new city in the text.

In the most explicit instances of travel in the pursuit of knowledge, Lithgow’s stay in certain cities is based on the sole purpose of deliberate learning. His stay in Padua best exemplifies this. In 1609, he stops in this small Italian city for three months to “learn

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25 Ibid, 70.
26 Ibid, 71.
the Italian tongue.” Of his many stops in Italian cities, this is by far his longest stay. Despite this, his stay in the small city is given almost no detail. Compared to the twenty-seven pages dedicated to “Comments Upon Italy,” there is but one paragraph on his three-month stay in Padua. There is no mention of sites, local customs, or even people he may have met. This educational stay best exemplifies his travels as pursuit of knowledge, and embodies the epistemological shift noted earlier: instead of learning the Italian language from a book back in Scotland, he is learning it by directly experiencing it. The practicality of his travels is at the forefront of his writing, but that is not to say that it is impossible to discern any other motivations for his journeys. While Lithgow is explicitly persistent in maintaining his travels are justified by pursuit of knowledge, he also demonstrates some lingering aspects of travel associated with traditional pilgrimage.

_Painful Peregrinations: Lithgow qua Traditional Pilgrim_

Traditional pilgrimage can be defined as occurring before the Reformation, characterized by travel undertaken to a shrine or holy site strictly for religious purposes. Some of these travels were undertaken in hopes of an interceding miracle while others were strictly penitential. Traditionally, pilgrims traveled to the locations where Christ had lived. From the eleventh century onward, the desire to follow in Christ’s footsteps became the strongest motivation for undertaking a pilgrimage. This era of Medieval Catholic pilgrimage was centered on three sites: Jerusalem, Rome, and Santiago. In this period, to go on pilgrimage represented a “complete break with the world,” which in turn

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27 Lithgow, 38.
31 Jean Verdon, Travel in the Middle Ages (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003), 214.
emphasized the primary motive of travel as simply “setting out,” while the end goal of
the journey became secondary.\textsuperscript{32} There are many common experiences in traditional
pilgrimage \textit{accounts}. Most of these accounts are permeated with danger: the pilgrim
seems to be constantly under threat and recounting vivid descriptions of storms and
shipwrecks often form large parts of the narrative.\textsuperscript{33} Many stress the hardships endured
while traveling on foot, attesting \textit{that} it is a necessary part of the divine journey. Another
characteristic of traditional pilgrimage is the overwhelming experience of a holy site;
pilgrims are often overcome with emotion, or have a profound experience upon finally
reaching the destination of their spiritual quest.\textsuperscript{34} This aspect of emotive experience
derives from the performance of affective piety in traditional Catholicism, and
emphasizes its important role in uniting emotion with the physical body.\textsuperscript{35} While Lithgow
\textit{was} not traveling as a means of penitence or salvation, he demonstrates many of these
common experiences of traditional pilgrimage. While the Levant became
“demagnetized,” it was still a destination for some Early Modern travellers.\textsuperscript{36} Lithgow’s
second journey to the Holy Land \textit{attests} to this fact.

Seeing that Lithgow chose to add the terms \textit{“Painefull Peregrinations”} in the title
of the book, it is no surprise that he \textit{also} emphasizes the \textit{difficult} nature of his travels. In
doing so, he invokes the image of the pilgrim, which describes the journey as more of a
\textit{travail} than a form of \textit{travel}, and acts as a form of authentication by linking the text to
real world struggles.\textsuperscript{37} When preparing for a journey to travel amongst a caravan from

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{33} Norbert Ohler, \textit{The Medieval Traveller} (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1989), xi.
\textsuperscript{35} Susan Karant-Nunn, \textit{The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern
Europe} (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 21.
\textsuperscript{36} Noonan, 9.
\textsuperscript{37} Sell, 73.
Jerusalem to Jordan in 1612, Lithgow is eager to note that “all the Friers and Pilgrimes [were] mounted on Mules, save onely pedestrianl I.” Lithgow insists upon traveling on foot, and continually emphasizes it throughout the narrative. He says that in undertaking his travels he “bequeathed...[his] body to tur moyling paines, [his] hands to the burdon, and [his] feete to the hard brusing way.” Indeed, bipedal travellers often go out of their way to exaggerate hardship, seeing their method of travel as the most authentic.

Lithgow is not infrequent in noting the great stretches of distances he travels on foot. He states that his “paynefull feet traced over...thirty-six thousand and odde miles, which draweth neare to twice the circumference of the whole Earth.” In many instances, Lithgow also refuses the aid of mounts. For example, on his way to Loreto in 1609, Lithgow “overtook a Caroch, wherein were two Gentlemen of Rome,” who after inquiring into why Lithgow was travelling alone entreated him to join them in their carriage. Lithgow refused their offer, thankfully at first, but after their persistence he had to show his “absolute refusal.” By emphasizing the suffering that goes along bipedal travel, Lithgow invokes the image of the traditional pilgrim.

Another aspect of suffering comes from Lithgow’s insistence on solitary travel. Lone travellers tended to have a more flexible approach to their journeys; they were often compelled to join a group who happened to be travelling the same direction, or ask a stranger if they could stay the night. Their itineraries were susceptible to a great deal of change at a moment’s notice, and as a result, they were more likely to be put in danger.

38 Lithgow, 225.
39 Lithgow, 9.
41 Lithgow, 439.
42 Ibid, 24.
43 Ibid.
44 Maczak, Travel in Early Modern Europe, 128.
Indeed, it seems as if Lithgow is incapable of traveling from one town to another without finding himself in some degree of danger. Whether a Turkish galley assailed the ship he had boarded on open water, or he was found shipwrecked and stranded in a cave, bounded to a tree by Hungarian thieves, or (at the most extreme) captured and tortured for months by the Spanish Inquisition, Lithgow seems constantly on the precipice of danger. The narrative is rife with such encounters, and they work to further solidify the trope of suffering in the journey of travel. These dangerous situations sometimes resulted in Lithgow not having a safe place to stay, and there are a number of times the traveller was forced to sleep in a cave, or under the stars. These instances highlight the trope of danger even in his experiences of rest, and posit the importance of hospitality in providing safety for Lithgow. The permeation of danger throughout the narrative emphasizes the importance of the journey itself, as opposed to just the end destination. This emphasis draws a strong parallel to the image of traditional pilgrimage.

Finally, the most explicit example of traditional pilgrimage in Lithgow’s narrative comes after traveling great lengths through the desert to get to Jerusalem. Having finally come upon the city, he proclaims it “not onely a contentment to my weary body, but also being ravished with a kinde of unwonted rejoicing, the teares gushed from my eyes for too much joy.” Lithgow is overcome at the sight of the Holy Land, and cannot control his “unwonted” joy. This overwhelming experience is physically manifested in his tears, and is a feeling most strongly associated with the experience of sacred sites in traditional pilgrimage. Certainly this image is only strengthened when it is realized Lithgow arrives in Jerusalem on Palm Sunday; as he sings the “103 Psalm all the way” into the city, it

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46 Ibid, 208-209.
cannot be helped to wonder if he is attempting to mirror Jesus’ return to the Holy Land on that same Sunday centuries earlier. Lithgow’s depiction of his outwardly emotive display highlights the relationship between body and feeling, and invoke the importance of external expressions of emotion that were important to pre-Reformed, traditional Christianity.

Exploring the covert tones of pilgrimage throughout Lithgow’s narrative is important for a number of reasons. First, it acts as a balance to the overt notion that his journey is strictly utilitarian. Discerning the presence of a more traditional travellers mindset, that of the pilgrim, allows a more nuanced understanding of the text, and demonstrates the changing shape of the meaning of travel in this time period. While it was no longer an accepted mode of travel, especially amongst Protestants such as Lithgow, the pilgrimage model looms over travellers from the period, informing Lithgow’s attitudes towards and practices of travel. Furthermore, as noted earlier, the pilgrim might have undertaken his travel for penitence or salvation, but no matter the case, pilgrimage emphasized the importance of the painful journey along the way as much as it did the holy site deemed to be the end goal; travel itself was a microcosm of the pilgrimage of life.

This emphasis placed on the journey inherent in this form of travel is important to note. As one aspect in Lithgow’s travel practice, it is beneficially analyzed within the contexts of an “existential mode” of travel, which demonstrate how certain attitudes

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47 Ibid.
48 Karant-Nunn, 22.
towards travel can be classified as “secular pilgrimage.” This work builds off the foundation of earlier theorists seeking to understand the experience of the modern tourist. Most explicitly, this notion can be seen in the distinct type of travel, the “existential mode,” which was first set out by Erik Cohen, and has been refined and applied over the last few decades to studies of authenticity in travel, and more specifically pilgrimage. This existential mode of travel can perhaps be detected in an underlying motivation for Lithgow’s travels, which will be explored in the following section. After comparing this typology to Lithgow, I will explore the extent to which Lithgow’s uses of guides circumspectly demonstrates travel practice in a tourist mode.

A Journey to Avoid “Occular Inspection:” Speculation on a Life Devoted to Travel

Amongst the justifications for travel that are laid out in the introduction of The Totall Discourse, Lithgow discusses how “in the late days of [his] younger yeeres,” he had been “grievously afflicted…” at the hands of “foure blood-shedding wolves.” It is a rather curious passage, which external sources begin to be clarify. In fact, Lithgow had been involved with a woman, presumably out of wedlock, as her brothers—the “four wolves”—mutilated Lithgow’s ears by cutting off his earlobes, giving him the nickname “Cutlugged Willie” or “Lugless Will.” He goes on to discuss how this traumatic event

55 Lithgow, 6.
contributed to his undertaking of a “voluntary wandring, and unonstrayned exyle.”\textsuperscript{57} He states that after failing in seeking redress and reconciliation for the crime as a young man, he finally realized “afterward growing in yeeres, and understanding the nature of such unallowable redresses, and the hainousnesse of the offence; I choosed rather to seclude my selfe from my soyle, and exclude my relenting sorrowes, to be entertained with strangers; then to have a quotidian occular inspection…”\textsuperscript{58} As a result of this entire experience, Lithgow decided it was better to travel perpetually abroad, to leave home and avoid the judgmental eyes and daily “ocular inspection” from people who understood the context of his punishment.

The existential traveller is “attached to an ‘elective’ external centre, life away from it is, as it were, living in ‘exile’; the only meaningful ‘real’ life is at the centre.”\textsuperscript{59} Lithgow fulfilled this perpetual exile by divorcing himself from home, seeing his decision to do so as a “plaine demonstrate cause, and good resolution; for true it is, that the flying from evill, is a flying to grace…”\textsuperscript{60} This flight from evil allows him to be read as one of those most deeply committed to this mode of existential travel, those who commit “to a new ‘spiritual centre’,” by attaching “themselves permanently to it and starting a new life…by ‘submitting’ themselves completely to the culture or society based on an orientation to that centre.”\textsuperscript{61} This centre, for Lithgow, is anywhere but home.

Unlike many of his contemporaries, who undertook a single voyage, Lithgow dedicated most of his adult life to travel. With this possible motivation for his travels, one can draw some interesting comparisons to an existential mode of travel. A personal event

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{58} Lithgow, 7.
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid, 190.
\textsuperscript{60} Lithgow, 7.
\textsuperscript{61} Cohen, 190.
contributed to Lithgow dedicating most of the rest of his life to traveling in a sort of self-imposed exile, and it reveals an underlying motivation for his travels. In escaping home, his fixed centre of meaning, he looked to find meaning abroad, and in doing so, he can be understood as fitting some of the qualifications of the “existential mode of travel.”62 This possible motivation is one way in which Lithgow’s travel practices can benefit from analysis associated with tourism studies. Another example of this can be found in the extent to which Lithgow followed guides throughout his journeys.

**Lithgow’s Guided Adventure**

As discussed above, most definitions of tourism include the presence of a supporting infrastructure. There is a great deal of modern scholarship that analyzes the guide’s position within the infrastructure of travel.63 The guide is recognized as playing an important role in disseminating information, and by extension, mediating travel experience.64 Guides are prevalent throughout the history of travel; their presence stretches back as far as Greek mythology,65 and guides have been recorded performing services to medieval pilgrims in Italy and the Holy Land.66 The role of the guide as mediator begins to become most explicit in the Grand Tour, and scholars argue that the *cicerone* of the Grand Tour is the “direct historic origin” of the modern tourist guide.67 It is possible to begin to draw some comparisons between Lithgow’s reliance on guides and the use of guides on the Grand Tour.

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62 Cohen, 189.
66 R. C. Davis, “Pilgrim Tourism in Late Medieval Venice,” 125.
A guide, or *cicerone*, was an integral aspect of the Grand Tour. This was especially the case for some of the larger cities that contained a number of important sights, like Rome.\footnote{Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Ground Tour: The British in Italy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 101.} The role of the *cicerone* was not only descriptive, but, perhaps more importantly, prescriptive. A number of travel narratives produced by those engaged in a Grand Tour speak to the way in which their *cicerone* informed them of the proper way to experience a given sight.\footnote{See for example, Hester Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy and Germany*, ed. Herbert Barrows (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967), 300; and Patrick Brydone, *A Tour through Sicily and Malta* (London: 1972), 72.} The Grand Tour guide also had an important role in deciding what was to be seen.\footnote{See for example, Mrs. Hugh Wyndham (ed.), *Correspondence of Sarah Spencer* as quoted in *Rosemary Sweet* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 28.} Without a guide, everything in the city can seem to be an important tourist object, and time was considered wasted analyzing “less important” things.\footnote{Rosemary Sweet, 101.} The *cicerone* filtered out what was and what was not important to see. Thus, the *cicerone* not only served a practical purpose, in being efficient with the time allotted to seeing certain objects, but also performed a mediating role in prescribing the consumptive manner for a toured object. Many of Lithgow’s accounts of guides played similar roles.

Lithgow relied heavily on guides throughout his travels. He notes using them numerous times: instances in Arcadia, Lebanon, Jerusalem, Cairo, Fez, Libya, and Naples are a few noteworthy examples.\footnote{Lithgow, 63, 172, 197, 220, 274, 275, 326, 330, 350.} Travelling through the historic grounds of Troy in 1610, Lithgow was provided with a guide and interpreter. “Our Greeke,” as he endearingly calls him, “brought us to many tombs, which were mighty ruinous, and pointed us particularly to the Tombes of Hector, Ajax, Achilles, Troylus, and many other
valiant Champions.” Although, Lithgow does exhibit a moment of apprehension: “I saw infinite old Sepulchers…for their particular names, and nomination of them, I suspend, neither could I believe my Interpreter, sith it is more then three thousand and odde yeares agoe that Troy was destroyed.” In this instance the guide is determining what is to be seen. Furthermore, he is prescribing the details of these ancient tombs to Lithgow, stating that they are the burial places of the ancient Greek heroes. This demonstrates the attempt by the guide to prescribe the experience of the object, but more importantly, highlights Lithgow’s mistrust of these facts. Lithgow demonstrates a discriminatory gaze towards these objects; his gaze is speculative, and questions the authenticity of these tombs; it is reminiscent of the modern tourist’s gaze for authenticity set out in John Urry’s famous work, not to mention it raises the role of the guide and the contention of the tombs’ perhaps “staged-authenticity.”

Throughout The Totall Discourse, Lithgow discriminates between good and bad guides. Traveling through Arcadia in 1609, Lithgow writes, “I beheld many singular Monuments and ruinous Castles, whose names I knew not, because I had an ignorant guide.” Ascending up a mountain in Lebanon, Lithgow notes another “ignorant guide,” who “mistaking the way brought [him] into a Laborinth of dangers.” He even describes one instance in which a “villainous plot” was concocted by a “hired Christian Guide, named Joab.” The guide sent a private messenger ahead of Lithgow’s group “to warne three hundred Arabs…to meete him at such a place as he had appointed; giving them to

73 Lithgow, 109.
74 Ibid.
77 Ibid, 63.
78 Ibid, 170.
know, wee were rich and well provided with Chickens and Sultans of gold.”\textsuperscript{79} Another instance while traveling through the Libyan desert in 1615 occurs when he realizes his guide had led them in the wrong direction: “for five dayes together South-eastward, and almost contrary to our purpose: in the sixth night of our Repose, he stole away, eyther for fear of falsehood, mistaking our journey, or deceiving us from despight, the halfe of his Wages being payed him before.”\textsuperscript{80} Instances of these “ignorant guides” are highlighted likely because they stand out in Lithgow’s experiences of guides. There are a number of instances in which Lithgow merely comments on obtaining a guide in a certain city, but this is all he notes, likely because the guide simply fulfilled his role; it is situations in which the guide displays shortcomings that receive the most detail. This alludes to a standardized conception of what is expected: a similar, formulaic guided experience like those on the Grand Tour received from the cicerone.

Perhaps the most obvious parallel to the cicerone of the Grand Tour comes from Lithgow’s documentation of his travels throughout the Middle East. In this region, Lithgow uses the services of a number of “Dragomen.” Traditionally, a Dragoman was an intermediary figure between East and West.\textsuperscript{81} While not a great deal is documented about them, their largest role was likely as an interpreter in later imperial relations between native and overlord.\textsuperscript{81} While this official role is highly likely, it would seem Lithgow used the term to describe his guides throughout the Middle East. Interestingly, Lithgow seems to hold the Dragoman in higher regard than other guides that he mentions. When describing the Great Pyramids, he notes the eastern pyramid is “the highest, and by our

\textsuperscript{79} Ibid, 196.
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid, 328.
Dragomans skillfull Report, amounted to eleven hundred and twenty sixe foote.”

There is no second-guessing on Lithgow’s part, no sign of speculation; Lithgow simply takes the fact at face value. This highly esteemed image of the Dragoman is reciprocated in the only positive description of a guide found in the *Totall Discourse*. When trekking through the Libyan desert in 1615, Lithgow’s Dragoman brought him “through the most Habitable vallies, and the best cled passages of the Countrey with Tents: where every day once we found Water, Bread, Garlicke and Onions…” This came after a time in which Lithgow was suffering at great lengths during his travel through the desert, after days of surviving off of tobacco alone. The Dragoman not only fulfills the idea of a single source of knowledge: it is highly systematized amongst the conception of a singular type of guide. In this respect, Lithgow’s experience of guides throughout the Middle East is very similar to those under the guidance of the *cicerone* on the Grand Tour.

**Conclusion**

Ultimately, this chapter has sought to demonstrate the malleability of Lithgow’s travel identity. Cosmetically, Lithgow aligns himself with his contemporaries by portraying himself as a utilitarian traveller. He complicates this image by calling himself a pilgrim, and many of his travel practices allude to practices associated with this traditional, pre-Reform mode of travel. Moreover, Lithgow’s life of travels can be read as an attempt to emancipate himself from his home, and in doing so, he in some ways demonstrates an existential mode of travel. Finally, it is possible to draw some parallels between Lithgow’s reliance on guides and the relationship between the Grand Tourist and the *cicerone*. Guides form an important backbone of travel infrastructure, and analyzing

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82 Lithgow, 275.
83 Ibid, 331.
84 Ibid,
the extent to which Lithgow is guided throughout his journeys demonstrates in instance
in which Lithgow perhaps invokes a tourist mode of travel.
Chapter Two: Rhetoric and Hospitality

Navigation hath often united the bodies of Realmes together, but travel hath done much more; for first to the Actor it giveth the impression of understanding, experience, patience, and infinite treasure of inexprimable vertues: secondly, it unfoldeth to the world, the government of States, the authority and disposition of kings and princes; the secrets, manners, customes, and religions of all nations and peoples; and Lastly, bringeth satisfaction to the home-dwelling man, of these things he would have seene and could not attempt.¹

Introduction

Throughout the introduction of The Totall Discourse, William Lithgow provides many justifications for his travels. In the instance above, he contends that travel is intrinsically valuable, giving he who undertakes it “experience, patience, and infinite…vertues.” But Lithgow goes on to explain more utilitarian motives for his journey, stating that it allows an understanding of the governance and politics of foreign nation states and monarchs, and can provide experience of societal values, customs, and cultural practices. Finally, he expands the application of this utility to the readership, which by reading the narrative plays a role in transforming it into a ‘public text.’ This explicit justification of a journey exemplifies attitudes towards travel in the early modern era in a number of ways. First, Lithgow positions himself as the ‘traveller,’ by giving a distinct intentionality to his travels. This mode of travel proves fulfilling not only for the traveller, but also for the reader. Secondly, it positions Lithgow alongside his contemporary travellers who reiterate these types of justifications in their introductions.²

The early modern era was a period that witnessed a substantial shift in the meaning of

travel, and travellers had to be explicit in justifying the utility and seriousness of their journeys.³ This form of justification was one of the many characteristics that most travel texts produced by English travellers shared, and it alludes to the existence of a rhetorical framework that structured them.

In early modern England, there was a stigma surrounding travel narratives.⁴ Travel writers had to defend themselves against the well-known proverb: “travellers lie by authority.”⁴ Because their accounts were of far off lands that few had actually seen, some opportunistic travel writers exaggerated or even made up fanciful tales in order to entertain a reading public. In extreme cases, some ‘travel-writers’ never even left home.⁵ Many sources of the period fell under scrutiny, facilitating an environment that was speculative and concerned with distinguishing fact from fiction when it came to the texts travellers produced.⁶ Lithgow himself responds to these critics, citing the proverb itself: defending himself against the “stinging censure of absurd untrueth, that Travellers and Poets may lye and lye by authority,” by claiming “this laborious worke of mine [The Totall Discourse]…is onely composed of mine owne eye sight and ocular experience; being the perfect mirror, and lively Portraicture of true understanding, excelling far all inventions whatsoever.”⁷ The testimony of direct, first-hand experience is yet another rhetorical strategy that crops up in contemporary travel narratives.⁸

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⁷ Lithgow, 4, xxi.
The sum of these rhetorical strategies contributes to the formulaic and systematized nature of the early modern travel text. Indeed, Lithgow’s *Totall Discourse* employs many of the rhetorical strategies that are characteristic of early modern travel narratives. Elucidating the range of rhetoric in Lithgow’s narrative will be the purpose of this chapter, which also establishes and relates the historical context to Lithgow’s writing. In accounting for the prevalence of the tropes within Lithgow’s travel narrative, such as ‘wonder’ and ‘danger,’ this chapter analyzes rhetoric as a form of mediation in the travel text. Once this conceptual framework has been established, the analysis will be extended to the concept of ‘hospitality,’ providing an additional contribution to the field by outlining a spectrum of early modern hospitality. I explore this spectrum by demonstrating the ways in which Lithgow employs conceptions of hospitality as forms of mediation in his judgment of other cultures. Through unpacking experiences of hospitality within Lithgow’s travel text, this chapter provides primary source evidence that reveals the presence of an established hospitality infrastructure in the early modern era. Upon analysis, it becomes apparent that this hospitality network was complex: it was stratified along religious, commercial, national, and even personal lines.

**Rhetoric in Early Modern Travel Writing: A Theoretical Framework**

Understanding William Lithgow’s narrative demands an explanation of key rhetorical features and tropes in early modern travel writing that illuminate how he was shaped by conventions, and occasionally departed from them. In her engagement with the theme of rhetoric, Anna Suranyi surveys an impressively wide range of travel accounts spanning the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries. Analyzing this diverse
source base, Suranyi finds a great deal of consistency. She contends that most travel narratives produced by Englishmen at this time centered almost entirely on conceptions of political structure and civility. The four case studies she provides demonstrate the perennial topics in the travel literature: foodways, cleanliness, the role of women, and the ascription of gender. The result is the production of a “proto-ethnography” that Suranyi argues were “conduits” for developing insight into the construction of national difference. She extends her analysis in the form of a postcolonial lens, arguing that early modern travel texts manifested an “imperialistic and nationalistic ethos,” which she argues were antecedents to the subsequent “monolithic” orientalist rhetoric.

Julia Schleck provides two studies of value. Her monograph, *Telling True Tales of Islamic Lands: Forms of Mediation in English Travel Writing* looks at the role rhetoric plays in the creation of knowledge. Her work examines the travel text in relation to domestic readership, and analyzes the way in which these narratives function as a social document. Problematizing the meditational processes that take place between the travellers’ initial experience and the final text, Schleck examines the methods travel writers used to establish authority and credibility. Ultimately, she concludes that the meditation between author, text, and readership is entirely rhetorical, and each play an integral part in the epistemological status of the early modern travel narrative. Her subsequent article, “Forming Knowledge: Natural Philosophy and English Travel

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10 Ibid, 37.
12 Ibid, 21.
14 Ibid, 22.
Writing,“*15 builds on this groundwork and extends the analysis by applying a literary criticism on the connections between travel and natural philosophy. Arguing that the connections between these two “genres” are found in their contention to “truth-claims,” Schleck focuses on the problems of epistemology in narrative.16 Both works highlight the central role rhetoric plays in the construction of authorial credibility, and by extension, ‘truth’.

Finally, Jonathan Sell’s *Rhetoric and Wonder in English Travel Writing* seeks to understand the way in which rhetoric was appropriated to deal with ‘new experiences’ faced by the traveller.17 Sell’s work focuses on the “contextual disparity” between readers and writers of travel narratives, and posits that rhetoric is crucial for bridging this epistemological gap.18 Centering on the experience of wonder as a prominent rhetorical tool of the early modern travel-writer, he explores the ways in which it provides a “paradigmatic response” in the “mutual constructions of new realities” viz. a reader and writer.19 He applies two important modes of analysis. First is the concept of an “experiential gestalt of wonder” as the form of rhetoric in achieving “consensual truth.”20 Secondly, Sell analyzes the prevalence of the classical rhetoric of *captatio benevolentiae* (capturing the audience’s good will), finding numerous instances of these conventions throughout English travel narratives of the period.21 Ultimately, by highlighting the

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16 Ibid
18 Ibid, 3.
19 Ibid, 9.
20 Ibid, 58.
21 Ibid, 59.
recurrence of these tropes, his work elucidates the formulaic and systematized nature that evolves in travel writing over the period.

The subsequent analysis applies these concepts to The Totall Discourse, and, in doing so, explores the rhetorical structures present in Lithgow’s travel narrative. The traditional forms of rhetorical mediation that will be explored are the construction of credibility, the device of wonder, and the trope of danger and suffering. After exploring these more traditional rhetorical structures, the study will extend this rhetorical analysis to conceptions of hospitality.

Credibility and Wonder in Lithgow’s Travel Narrative

From its outset, The Totall Discourse uses various rhetorical strategies in order to validate Lithgow’s authority as a traveller. Lithgow’s introduction follows a similar form to his contemporaries in the explicit justifications of his travel and his character, the testimony of its factuality, and his appeals to the reader.\(^{22}\) Lithgow contends that his travels are undertaken for practical purposes, having as their focus the documentation of “laws, religion, manners, policies, and government of Kings, Kingdomes, people, Principalities, and Powers.”\(^{23}\) He asserts that this information will be profitable for the King himself. While he explicitly dedicates the undertaking of his journey to the monarch, Charles I, Lithgow also implicitly dedicates the text itself in the same manner by attributing the usefulness of this information to him. Lithgow also makes sure to demonstrate proper motives for his travel: “neither ambition, too much curiosity, nor any reputation I ever sought…did expose me to such long peregrinations and dangerous

\(^{22}\) Schleck, Telling True Tales of Islamic Lands, 15.

\(^{23}\) Lithgow, xviii.
adventures past.”

Here, Lithgow portrays himself as a humble traveller, building on the theme of utility by disavowing any selfish reasons for his journey. Intriguingly, he refers explicitly to the notion of curiosity, but ensures that this is not the reason for his travels. During the sixteenth century, while travel was moving away from being religiously motivated, many cite “intellectual curiosity” as a new propelling force for travel. By speaking out against this motivation, Lithgow actively brings the utilitarian purpose of his journey to the forefront.

Lithgow also makes a number of claims that contend for the factuality of his account. These claims focus on his first-hand experience of his travels. He states his text is “fensed with experience, and garnished with trueth,” and continually insists that it is based on his own “ocular experience.” Moreover, he cites “sufficient Certificates and infallible approbations” to substantiate his claims. These claims to truth based on first hand experience demonstrate the importance of direct experience in epistemological understanding in the early modern era. Lithgow aligns himself with contemporary travellers by highlighting the sensory and physical aspects of his journey. He takes these claims of credibility to another level by providing an entire section of “testimonies” of his character and travels. Written by poets and prominent Englishmen, the section provides almost a dozen “panegyrick verses upon the author and his book.” These “testimonies,” written in verse, sing high praise of Lithgow. Robert Allen, a clergyman in

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24 Ibid, 4.
26 Lithgow, xxii.
27 Ibid, xxiii.
28 Rose Marie Saun Juan, 6.
29 Lithgow, xxv-xxxi.
the Church of England and religious writer,\textsuperscript{30} tells the reader not to bother in travelling themselves, for “Renowned Lithgow by his brave attempt hath eas’d your bodies of a world of toyle.”\textsuperscript{31} Walter Lyndsay goes as far as providing a comparison between Lithgow and Ulysses and commenting on the “martyr-like” status of the author.\textsuperscript{32} These testimonies demonstrate an attempt at proving authority through external reference, and further play into the rhetoric of the construction of credibility. These explicit claims to factuality, and the reasons and motivations for travel, demonstrate that the early modern traveller must prove his or her worth before beginning the narrative. Furthermore, these aspects of the text allude to the contentious nature of travel narratives of the time, and highlight the use of rhetorical strategies to give the text authority.

Perhaps the critical reception of travel narratives stems from the fact that early modern travellers were traveling to far off locations and attempting to describe things they had never seen before.\textsuperscript{33} Returning with stories of unknown creatures and beasts, these writers found themselves ill equipped to relate these “new realities.”\textsuperscript{34} This linguistic frustration alludes to the existence of a contextual disparity between the traveller and the reader.\textsuperscript{35} Travellers often invoked and adapted the classical tradition of recalling encounters with beasts, demons, and freaks of nature. And while this was mostly permitted, there are examples of authors being singled out for their fanciful tales. This is evident in the reception of George Psalmanazer’s \textit{Historical and Geographical}

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid, xxvii.
\textsuperscript{32} Ibid, xxvi.
\textsuperscript{34} Mary Baine Campbell, \textit{Wonder and Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe} (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 6.
\textsuperscript{35} Sell, 3.
Description of Formosa, which initially claimed to be a faithful account. When it was found out that most of the text was fictionalized, he was ostracized for literary forgery.\footnote{Kristen Sandrock, “Truth and Lying in Early Modern Travel Narratives,” European Journal of English Studies Vol. 19, No. 2 (2015): 191-192.}

Many early modern travellers used rhetoric to bridge the gap created by this contextual disparity, and often employed the trope of wonder to do so.\footnote{Ibid, 4.} It is possible to identify Lithgow mediating his experience with accounts of wonder. This trope of wonder is most overt when Lithgow recounts being shown a “marvellous misshapen creature.”\footnote{Lithgow, 47.} The governor of Venice took Lithgow to a man’s house in the countryside, and after showing him the “creature,” Lithgow “was amazed in that sight, to behold the deformity of Nature.”\footnote{Ibid.} He goes on to describe it: “there was but one body, and above the middle there was two living souls, each one separated from another with severall members.”\footnote{Ibid.} Dedicating about a page and a half to the scrupulous details, it becomes obvious that this “monstrous shapen Monster,” Lithgow is describing is in fact what would today be called a conjoined twin. Lithgow’s detailed account demonstrates his inability to adequately express his experience, and he concludes that it must be a product of “almost incredulous Nativity.”\footnote{Ibid, 48.} He recognizes that it is not in fact a monster, going on to describe that it was born of a human, and that the “mother of them bought dearely that birth with the losse of her own life.”\footnote{Ibid.} But his depiction raises barbaric imagery of the local culture, and thus Lithgow’s account of this experience adheres to the trope of wonder, providing him a means to assess the peoples of the location as well.
After the explicit establishment of credibility, Lithgow communicates his travels to the reader through these instances of wonder. Several studies explore these concepts within the wider literature of rhetoric in early modern travel writing. They form some of the ways in which early modern travellers mediated their experiences in their writing. It is possible to extend this mode of analysis to the concept of hospitality—a concept that is little explored outside the domestic setting of the early modern era.

**Rhetoric of Hospitality**

There was a diverse infrastructure that provided hospitality to the early modern traveller. Lithgow experiences hospitality in a number of ways: as a commodity, as a charity, and as a performance. In the commercial inn, Lithgow experienced a formulaic, commoditized hospitality; monasteries and hospitals opened their doors to him and provided a benevolent and charitable form of accommodation; and Lithgow met people who performed hospitality in any way from ensuring his safety to offering themselves as travel partners. Hospitality is an entity for the early modern traveller: a thing can be given, received, performed, taken away, and stolen; and a unit of measurement by which the traveller forms opinions of peoples, cultures, cities, and even entire countries. The provision of hospitality becomes an important aspect of Lithgow’s narrative, and it can be analyzed as a rhetorical strategy used to describe foreign experiences to a domestic readership.

There is not a great deal of scholarship on the concept of early modern hospitality. Kevin O’Gorman’s *The Origins of Hospitality and Tourism* provides a brief overview of conceptions of hospitality that stems back to the classical world through to the
While useful for a starting point, the vast undertaking in such a wide subject matter causes it to only skim the surface of the concept. Felicity Heal’s work provides one of the only extended analyses of early modern hospitality. By looking at the culture of providing hospitality between 1400 and 1700, Heal is able to track changes in the perspective of this provision as a social activity within English society. Importantly, she detects a change in the public perception, which increasingly understood true hospitality to be “dead” by the beginning of the seventeenth century. This shift, she argues, is linked to the increasingly public and commercial nature of what was once a private and domestic concern. There is yet another subset of scholarship that looks at hospitality within the field of drama. Daryl Palmer’s work epitomizes this mode of analysis by looking at the way in which appropriations of hospitality in drama literature demonstrated a nexus of power in social relations. No matter the starting point, scholarship regarding hospitality in the early modern England agrees on the importance the concept had in defining English life. With an understanding of these sources, it is possible to begin understanding the conception of hospitality Lithgow brought with him abroad.

“The Sixth Part” of The Totall Discourse recounts Lithgow’s stay in Jerusalem. It is the one of only two sections of the book dedicated to a single setting, and it takes up a large portion of the text despite only recounting a mere seventeen days. In the conclusion of the section, Lithgow tallies up the dear cost of his short stay: “I will now justly cast…the charges I defrayed within the Wals of Jerusalem, not reckoning my journal
expenses and tributes else where abroad; arising to eighteen pounds sixteen shilling
starling.”

In doing so, he hopes “to damnifie the blind conceit of many who thinke that
Travellers are at no charges, goe where they will, but are freely maintained every where;
and that is as false, as an hereticall errour.”

This outburst is illuminating for a number of reasons. Lithgow not only points out that, contrary to popular belief, hospitality was not
in fact free, but by explicitly stating these prices in this manner, he suggests that it is in
fact quite expensive. He also alludes to a preconceived notion regarding travellers of this
time period: that they can seemingly wander wherever they like and are put up for free
wherever they arrive. This idea likely stemmed from the institutions in place during the
heyday of medieval pilgrimage, when pilgrims not traveling with the benefit of a great
deal of riches (unlike later, when travel would be an experience mostly limited to the
gentry) were forced to look for charitable lodging.

Lithgow’s denial of this notion suggests that this was perhaps once the case—that travellers could essentially be
peripatetic, relying on the extension of hospitality wherever they chose to repose. But the
anger that comes through in this passage, likening this mistaken idea to heretical error,
demonstrates that this is no longer the case, and that there was a gap between the
conception of hospitality abroad and its reality; by the beginning of the seventeenth
century there had been a substantial shift in the provision of hospitality.

Commercial Hospitality

Whether found as a part of the urban landscape, or dotting the highways between
cities and towns, inns and taverns were common throughout Europe in the early modern
era. Proving to be an important economic institution, after 1500 their numbers swelled

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46 Lithgow, 255.
47 Ibid.
48 Noonan, 9.
across the continent. Providing not only a location for food and refreshment, the inn was a place of rest for travellers; these versatile institutions acted as a point of contact between the local and the outside world. Furthermore, it has been argued that the inn was becoming increasingly standardized during the early modern era. Inns and taverns are ubiquitous throughout Lithgow’s travels. Whether mentioning them in passing, or giving a more detailed account, Lithgow relied heavily on these institutions for shelter. There seems to be no geographical limitations to their presence: Lithgow mentions staying in a number of inns throughout Europe, as he did in Paris, Rome, Venice, Sicily, Malta, within the Middle East in Jerusalem, and Constantinople, and even stayed in North Africa, in Fez. While these are just a few urban examples, commercial hospitality seemed to be present in the countryside as well. Especially in the Middle East, Lithgow notes staying at a number of “canes,” which are likely caravanserais, based on his descriptions. Examining his experiences at these institutions allow for qualitative evidence of early modern hospitality.

Lithgow alludes to the standardized nature of the commercial hospitality upon settling his debts with the innkeeper when departing from a Venetian inn. In total, his stay cost him and his companion “[a] Crowne the dyet for each of us, being ten Julets or

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52 Ibid, 65.
53 Ibid, 301.
54 Ibid, 13.
55 Ibid, 34.
56 Ibid, 338.
57 Ibid, 290.
58 Ibid, 218.
59 Ibid, 122.
60 Ibid, 321.
61 Lithgow, 182, 192, 257.
five shilling starling: Mr. Arthur lookd upon me, and I laughd upon him: In a word our
dinner and supper cost us 40 Juletts twenty shilling English; being foure Crownes,
whereat my companion being discontented, bad the divell be in the Friars ballocks, for
we had payd soundly for his Leachery”.  
Lithgow’s alarm at the substantial cost suggests that this experience was a discrepancy in what had become a ‘standard’ experience,

further alluding to the existence of an expected price. It also suggests that the danger of
gouging was a reality for early modern travellers; hosts of commercial hospitality
could perhaps benefit off of those travellers who were less experienced than Lithgow.

Most importantly, Lithgow uses this transaction in forming and relaying an overall
opinion of Venice. He uses the “grandeur of the Inne” as a sort of synecdoche of Venice
as a “garden of riches and worldly pleasures,” noting the illustrious detail in the cities
architecture.  
He extends this opinion to the peoples of Venice, whom he contends were
once great warriors but are now “more desirous to keepe rather than inlarge their
Dominions,” and do so through “presents and money, rather than by the sword or true
valour.”
Lithgow recounts his travels through Venice by centering his focus the
glamour of the city and painting the Venetian as a superficial, money hungry hoarder.
Thus, he uses his anecdotal experience of the egregious cost of the inn as a rhetorical
medium of synecdoche that structures the rest of his account of Venice. While Venice is
the most overt example of this rhetorical strategy, Lithgow also structures his view of
both Rome and France, to some degree, around his experience of hospitality. In Rome,
where he “found an abundance of all things necessary for life, at so easie and gentle a

61 Ibid, 34.
62 Ibid, 35.
63 Ibid.
rate, that no towne in Europe hitherto could shew me the like."\textsuperscript{64} Or on the other hand, his dismal view of Paris, and France more generally, is apparent in his advice to future travellers: in concluding his “Epitome of France,” he advises “the way-faring man to prevent...the eating of Victuals, and drinking of Wine without price making; least when he hath done for the stridor of his teeth his charges be redoubled. Next to choose his lodging (if it fall out in any way-standing Travene) far from palludiat Ditches, least the vehemency of chircking frogs, vexe the wish’d-for Repose of his fatigated body, and cast him in a vigilant perplexity.”\textsuperscript{65} Here, Lithgow again comments on the susceptibility of the early modern traveller to the avarice of commerce, while also painting a rather grim picture of the state of commercial hospitality throughout France. These instances provide examples of Lithgow relating to his audience via the medium of hospitality, and he uses his experiences in commercial lodgings to construct a certain image of the larger city, country, or culture at hand.

Scrupulously detailing the settling of debts is a common occurrence throughout Lithgow’s narrative, especially when it comes to staying in more frequently visited places like Jerusalem. Interestingly, upon settling his debts for his stay in Jerusalem, Lithgow notes “for 17 dayes diet, being to each man six shillings a day, amounting for my part to 5 pounds two shillings.”\textsuperscript{66} This suggests that the provision of hospitality Lithgow received was on a debt-based system; not every transaction involved money, but rather, it was added up over time and then settled upon departure. Lithgow goes on further to detail he had the “avaricious Baptista our Guide and Intepreter to reward, every one of us propining him with two Chickens of gold: and lastly we gratified the gaping Steward, the

\textsuperscript{64} Ibid, 13.
\textsuperscript{65} Ibid, 382.
\textsuperscript{66} Ibid, 254.
Cerberian Porter, the Cymerian Cooke, and his Aetnean face, with a Chicken of gold the 
man, from each of us.” The language of reward here suggests this is a form of gratuity, 
something that was not agreed upon but tacked on informally at the end of this stay. 
These systems of transaction suggest quite a complex provision of hospitality. As the inn 
was becoming a more standardized form of accommodation, Lithgow relates his
experience of commercial hospitality abroad.

**Religious Hospitality**

No doubt Lithgow was familiar with the practices of monastic hospitality, which 
informed his understanding of other practices. Lithgow stayed at a number of monasteries 
throughout his travels. He often characterizes them as safe havens, and for the most part 
describes them solely for their utilitarian value. For example, stopping over in Chania, a 
city on the island of Crete, in 1609, Lithgow refers to “a place of safeguard,” which he 
says is “called commonly the Monastery of Refuge.” When first arriving in the city, 
Lithgow was pursued by local authorities after taking it upon himself to help a 
Frenchman escape slavery from a Turkish galley. After helping him free from the slave 
masters, Lithgow takes the Frenchman to the monastery, “where he would kindly be 
entertained.” Lithgow notes that this monastery is “a place whereunto Bandits, men 
slayers, and robbers repaire for reliefe.” Lithgow then flees the city, retreating to a 
nearby town, where he stays in the “Monastery Saint Salvator.” Despite his efforts, the 
general of the Turkish galley found Lithgow in hiding, although Lithgow notes that the 
general “could lay nothing to my charge… partly in regard to my shelter,” where

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67 Ibid, 255.
68 Lithgow, 75.
69 Ibid.
70 Ibid.
Lithgow continued to keep himself “under safeguard of the Cloyster, until the Galleys were gone.” This notion of safety in monastic lodgings typifies Lithgow’s experience of religious hospitality. He is superficially capable of overlooking religious divisions based on the provision of safety and hospitality. However, he uses these institutions instrumentally, and is often critical of his non-Protestant hosts.

During the Middle Ages, thousands of pilgrims traveled to the many sacred pilgrim sites dotted across Europe, and some even made it as far as the Holy Land. Monks would often let these travellers rest in their monasteries, but the sheer number of religious travellers resulted in the genesis of institutions whose sole purpose was to provide pilgrims accommodation. These institutions varied regionally and took on many forms, but were known as *xenodochia, fundacos, pandocheion*, hospitals, and hospices. They were established and run by religious orders, and offered accommodation that was provisionally charitable. While many scholars note the decline of these institutions after the Reformation, recent studies have argued for their continuation into the early modern era and beyond. Indeed, in his travels William Lithgow stays at a number of these charitable institutions, even using the terminology of the “Fundaco” on one occasion. The hospitality received in a religious context was not always met with approval. Lithgow at times found it difficult to reconcile his staunch Protestantism with receiving hospitality from a different religious sect. In fact, Lithgow differentiates between non-

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71 Ibid, 76.
76 William Lithgow, 338.
Protestant sects, and a comparison of his treatment of hospitality received from Orthodox and Roman Catholic religious orders provides interesting results. For instance, on his way to Jerusalem in 1612, Lithgow seems to be on his last legs; the long trek through the desert had been grueling, and finally, the site of Jerusalem on the horizon, Lithgow proclaims, brought “not onely a contentment to my weary body, but also being ravished with a kinde of unwonted rejoicing, the teares gushed from my eyes for too much joy.”

Despite his initial excitement, it was too late in the evening and the gates were locked from the inside. The guard took pity on Lithgow, and “sent two Friers to [him] with Bread, Wine, and Fishes, which they let over the Wall.” Certainly this is a kind and charitable act, and Lithgow was indeed appreciative. The next day, Lithgow met the same Friars, who recovered him to their monastery where he would take lodging. Despite their exceedingly accommodating actions, Lithgow still cannot help but note the “foolish ceremony” that took place when they arrived back at the monastery. Lithgow recounts: “they washed my right foote with water, and his Viccar my left: and done, they kissed my feete, so did also all the twelve Friers that stood by.” After which he made sure to make his Protestant identity known: that he “was no Popish Catholicke,” a declaration which “sore repented them of their Labour.” Lithgow made the ritual seem like nonsense, despite having received such kindness and charity from these monks who not only helped him when he was in need, but opened up their monastery for him to lodge in. This highly critical tone is not apparent when Lithgow receives hospitality from other religious orders. Interestingly, he still accepts their hospitality, staying with at the same monastery.

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77 Ibid, 208.
78 Ibid, 209.
80 Ibid.
for his entire stay in Jerusalem. His acceptance of the provision of this religious
hospitality is based on his need for safety and shelter, as his text is quick to paint his
hosts as “foolish papists.”

Another instance when Lithgow accepts religious hospitality takes place when
travelling through the Greek islands in 1612. Due to poor weather, Lithgow was stranded
on the island of “Angusa” for over two weeks, and stayed in “a little Chappell a mile
without the village.” His hosts, Greek Orthodox Priests, instructed him not to enter the
“within the bounds of their Sanctuary; because I was not of their religion.” However, on
“longsome and cold night,” Lithgow was compelled “to creepe in the midst of the
Sanctuary to keepe [him] selfe warme,” While he broke their rules, he was
uncharacteristically sparing in his description of them. *The Totall Discourse* is laden with
slanderous accounts of anyone non-Protestant, but because these priests had provided him
with benevolent hospitality, they were not labelled as “savages,” his usual term for those
of their ilk. Lithgow uses the provision of hospitality as a rhetorical strategy in order to
create distinctions amongst non-Protestant religions.

**Conclusion**

There is a spectrum of hospitality in Lithgow’s travel narrative, ranging from a
commoditized form to religious and performative notions. Lithgow uses the provision of
hospitality largely as a basis for judging peoples, cultures, and cities and nations as a
whole. Hospitality allows Lithgow to bridge a ‘cultural gap’, and, in positive instances,
he overlooks certain differences because of some hospitable performance. Further, these
accounts of hospitality become forms of rhetorical mediation, which aid the domestic

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81 Ibid, 85.
82 Ibid.
reader in forming judgments of these foreign places. While this chapter has analyzed the use of the concept of hospitality as a rhetorical strategy within *The Totall Discourse*, it has also worked to begin delineating the existence of a hospitality infrastructure. Such an infrastructure is integral to the facilitation of travel. As conceptions of hospitality were becoming increasingly complex in the early modern era, so too was this infrastructure, and many cities Lithgow travels to were well suited in accommodating large numbers of travellers. This becomes an important point in the subsequent chapter, which deals with changing attitudes and traveller identities in this time period. An infrastructure that supports travellers is a necessary contingent of more ‘modern’ forms of travel, and these instances of hospitality recounted in Lithgow’s travels become important in pinpointing an overall shift in the nature of and attitude towards travel.
Chapter 3: Circulation, Reception, and Appropriation of The Totall Discourse

Introduction

Chapters one and two have provided an analysis of William Lithgow’s travels, examining the narrative in order to gain insights into his approach and attitude towards travel practices. They provide insight into Lithgow’s intentions, and focus on the possible ways in which Lithgow hoped to represent himself. This does not, however, address how the text was received once it left the printing house. We must move the analysis away from the author and instead shift the focus to the reader. In addressing the reader’s encounter with Lithgow’s text, it is possible to begin to look at the way in which Lithgow’s writings created meaning.¹ As such, this chapter will assess The Totall Discourse within the wider field of ‘book history’ and ‘print culture’.

Scholarship concerning book history and print culture finds its origins in the Annales movement of the 1950s, when Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin developed the field of histoire du livre.² Decades later, Elizabeth Eisenstein took up this concept in her seminal work, The Printing Press as an Agent of Change.³ Arguing that the invention of print allowed for a fixity of information that made possible the progressive improvement of knowledge, she concludes that movements such as the Renaissance and Reformation were successful because of the “permanence of their texts”.⁴ Many scholars

¹ Kevin Sharpe, Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 34.
⁴ Ibid, 90.
have since reworked, refined, and revised her claims, and studies of book history and print culture have combined to form a substantial field of historical analysis. Some pertinent examples include: Walter J. Ong, who contends that the arrival of print culture bequeathed a new ‘noetic world’, resulting in a shift in subjective consciousness facilitated by the transfer of knowledge from “sound to visual space,” ⁵ Adrian Johns, who challenges Eisenstein by claiming her theory privileges a “universal character of print,” and instead looks to understand the ways in which the printed book is a product of a “complex set of social and technological processes”; ⁶ and David Zaret, who analyzes the way in which print culture, and the subsequent network of communication it enabled, gave rise to the creation of the public sphere. ⁷ This chapter will draw on these theories of book history and print culture as a groundwork for assessing the impact of Lithgow’s writings. Before refining this theoretical approach, it is beneficial to look at the historical context of the English book trade in which Lithgow’s writings were released.

**The English Setting**

For at least the first century after the arrival of print, the English book trade lagged behind the Continent, and its market was closed off and insular. ⁸ Over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, print allowed for the dissemination of information in the vernacular, and over time eroded barriers amongst the readership between class, culture, and nation. ⁹ By the mid sixteenth century, print largely subsisted through law books, primers, psalms, sermons, schoolbooks, ballads, and almanacs. The

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⁹ Ibid.
audience grew over this period too. While 5 per cent of women and 15 per cent of men were literate in 1550 England, these numbers increased to 30 per cent and 40 per cent by 1700, respectively.\textsuperscript{10}

Travel literature was produced in both private and public forms. While many volumes of travel literature went to the press, it is important to note that in fact manuscript accounts of travel exceeded printed accounts between 1550 and 1700.\textsuperscript{11} English travel literature grew out of the development of domestic travel in the mid-sixteenth century. As writers traveled further and expanded their observations to include descriptions of lands beyond the Continent, the readership also grew. While a few travel authors were able to finance their publications themselves, others appealed to patronage from monarchs, nobles, or wealthy bourgeoisie.\textsuperscript{12} One of the first major works of travel writing in this period was Thomas Coryat’s \textit{Crudities}, first published in 1611.\textsuperscript{13} Some claim that Coryat’s \textit{Crudities} was the first “self consciously styled work of English travel writing.”\textsuperscript{14} His work describes his travels throughout the Continent, and records his observations of France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany and the Netherlands. After Coryat, a number of travel accounts were published, which established a steadily growing body of travel writing.\textsuperscript{15} There is a great deal of modern scholarship that analyzes early modern travel writing. However, there was also a good deal of contemporary discussion about

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{10} Ibid, 18-19.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid, 247-248.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
\end{flushright}
travellers and travel writings, and the purpose of this chapter will be to gauge and assess the degree of circulation Lithgow’s writings had during the seventeenth century.

**Methodology and Sources**

For the purpose at hand, theories from the fields of book history and print culture will be applied to analyze the publication, circulation, and reception of Lithgow’s writings. By substantiating his work in this manner, this chapter seeks to situate the claims of the previous chapters in the wider historical context of publishing in seventeenth century England, and furthermore, analyze the way in which Lithgow’s text structured meaning. There is a great deal of difficulties in attempting to recover the reception of a given text, as reading “is an event, not an entity.”\textsuperscript{16} In my research I was unable to discover any copies of Lithgow’s writings that contained markings or notes in the margins. This would have been immensely beneficial in discerning the ways in which the text was interacted with, the way in which a reader could have perhaps “entered a dialogue” with Lithgow. Furthermore, there were no *extant* contemporary commentaries or reviews of his work. While these findings would have made gauging the reception of his work markedly easier, it is still possible to provide some analysis on readership and circulation of Lithgow’s work.

In order to attest for the wide circulation of Lithgow’s writings, I will begin by looking at the dissemination of his text among a number of literary domains. Johns introduces this concept in order to analyze the technological, social, and cultural factors that combine to not only create a physical text, but also, understand how meaning and authority is structured around it. For Johns, a domain is a “distinct cultural setting …exhibited and constituted by particular clusters of representations, practices and skills,”

\textsuperscript{16} Sharpe, 37.
within which individuals “could labour to establish or contest issues of all kinds, including those relating to print and its products.” In order to assess these domains, Johns applies Roger Chartier’s theory of object studies, which looks to trace “different appropriations accorded a single book as it traverses a number of distinct social spaces.”

By applying a similar methodology to a source base that cites or mentions Lithgow and his work, it is possible to assess the circulation of his writings. For the purposes of this chapter, we will be concerned with only literary domains. Lithgow’s work traveled through a number of these literary domains, and the reception of the text varied within each. Authors, playwrights, and religious writers highlighted different aspects and accounts from The Totall Discourse, demonstrating the versatile adaptability of not only Lithgow’s text, but also travel writing as a whole.

The sources used in this chapter were found by using keyword searches entered into the Early English Books Online (EEBO) database. Terms such as ‘Lithgow,’ ‘Lithgo,’ ‘Lithgoe,’ ‘The Rare Adventures,’ and ‘The Totall Discourse,’ were used to conduct full text searches, which produced hundreds of results. These results were then refined to include only those works that had been published in the seventeenth century, and to exclude entries concerning the Scottish town of Lithgow (modern day Linlithgow). EEBO provides unprecedented coverage of early modern English language sources. The database includes digital reproductions of almost every work printed in England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and British North America between 1473 and 1700. The final sample

17 Johns, 59.
comprised a number of diverse genres, which have here been reduced to a few representative texts of each.

Lithgow’s texts traveled through a number of distinct literary domains throughout the seventeenth century. His writings are cited in travel writing, religious texts, drama, and instructional texts. The ways in which Lithgow’s writings were appropriated in each of these literary domains, and by extension their wider social spheres, will be dealt with in subsequent order. Lithgow’s work was important in structuring the meaning of travel writing during a period that saw its growth as a distinct body of literature. This is suggested not only by the diverse settings that Lithgow’s writings are mentioned, but more importantly, by the different ways in which his text was appropriated in each. It will be shown that each of these literary domains provide a different insight into the multitude of ways Lithgow’s work was received, digested, and reappropriated.

**Seventeenth-Century Travel Writing**

William Lithgow’s writings are discussed and cited in a number of seventeenth-century travel writings. The compilation of travel narratives in the seventeenth century combined the author’s personal experiences of travel with an “extensive and expected, but often unacknowledged, use of earlier sources.”


with citations of other travellers’ experiences.\textsuperscript{22} In a number of instances, Childrey refers to Lithgow’s writings of the Continent to compare with his domestic experiences. For example, Childrey writes, “the Wool in Galloway (saith Lithgow) is nothing inferior to that of the Biscay in Spain.”\textsuperscript{23} As Childrey had not traveled to the Continent, nor experienced the wool in Spain, he conceded authority to Lithgow. In a domestic case, he describes a place “near Falkirk (saith Lithgow) remain the ruines and marks of a Town, swallowed up into the Earth by an Earthquake…”\textsuperscript{24} In citing Lithgow, Childrey demonstrated his trust that Lithgow’s writings were an authority on something he had not observed for himself. While an author might not have personally traveled to a location they discuss, they are able to cite other established travellers. Doing so redoubles the circulation of travel writing in this period, it further establishes a textual authority that extends beyond individuals first-hand observations. Moreover, it exposes readers of a single text to a wider body of travel literature.

A number of other travellers simply commend Lithgow in the opening pages of their text. This functioned in a similar form to a dedication, and gave the author an opportunity to align his text amongst a body of similar writings.\textsuperscript{25} By commending those who had set out on adventures and journeys before them, these writers were able to categorize their text as a work of travel writing. For example, at the outset of his Newes from the East-Indies, William Burton pays tribute to those who “did never discover all…but still left some gleanings for those that came after to gather.”\textsuperscript{26} Burton was a

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid, 180.
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid, 179.
\textsuperscript{25} Sharpe, 52-56.
\textsuperscript{26} William Burton, Newes from the East-Indies; or, a voyage to Bengella..., (1638), accessed November 30, 2015,
\end{footnotesize}
successful merchant who was later appointed as a naval commissioner in 1653. He thanks “Drake, Cavendish…Mr. Samuel Purchas, and the Learned and Renowned Knight Sir Walter Rawleigh,” for their “tedious Travells…” and their “Descriptions of the whole World.” While he mentions all of these esteemed travellers sequentially, he dedicates an entire line to Lithgow, who “deserves a kind Remembrance of his Nineteen yeeres sore and dangerous Travells of his Feete and Pen, worthy your Observation and Reading.”

As a merchant and naval officer, Burton had travelled extensively, and to recognize Lithgow independently of the number of other famous contemporary travellers demonstrates the respect and authority Lithgow’s text received.

Lithgow was also cited in travel compendiums. In the late sixteenth century, Hakluyt began a tradition by collecting travel writings in order to demonstrate the activeness and proficiency of English travellers, as England was conceived to be lagging behind other European nations in this regard. Samuel Purchas’s famous Purchas His Pilgrims carried on Hakluyt’s practice of compiling the travel writings of his contemporaries. Chapter thirteen of the 1625 publication of Purchas his Pilgrims contains the “Relations of the Travels of W. Lithgow, a Scot, in Candie, Greece, the Holy-Land, Egypt and other parts of the East.” The chapter runs for seventeen pages,
and is a verbatim reproduction of Lithgow’s writings. The inclusion of his text places Lithgow in illustrious company, and demonstrates that already in 1625, shortly after initial publication, Lithgow was recognized among contemporary British travellers. Another intriguing citation of Lithgow comes from Thomas Neale. Neale, who was a barrister, wrote a Treatise of Direction, how to travel safely and profitably in forraigne countries, which served as a kind of general early modern guide for travellers.32 Warning travellers on the dangers of local foods, Neale writes:

For what could be more dangerous then for a stranger to devoure strange and unkowne meates: perhaps although delitious yet in their owne natures poisonous. Such are the beautifull apples grown neere Jerico (of which W. Lithgow) that are in colour and tast most beautiful; and yet in operation most venomous.33

Neale is referring an instance from Lithgow’s account of Jericho, when out of desperation of hunger he wished to eat an apple but was warned against it by his guide, who told him “they were onely pest of Death unto a stranger.”34 Neale’s inclusion of Lithgow in this general guide to travellers demonstrates another layer of travel writing in this period. Not only were fellow travellers citing one another’s experiences, they were being compiled in books that did not provide a specific account of travel, but rather discussed the act of traveling itself.

The many different ways Lithgow’s writings are appropriated within travel writing itself begins to demonstrate the breadth of the circulation of his texts. Furthermore, it speaks to the intertextuality inherent in travel writing of this time period. Travel writers, travel compilers, and guides to travel cite one another and demonstrate the

34 Lithgow, 231-232.
intricate circulation of these types of texts in this period. The circulation of Lithgow’s writing amongst this body of literature establishes him as an authority that was believed to have provided a credible account of travel. Moreover, this intertextuality contributes to the establishment of a wider body of travel writing, during a period in which distinct genres were being established.

**Religious Texts**

While Lithgow was cited numerous times amongst contemporary travel literature, his writings are most often referred to in religious texts. There are a large number of texts published by well-known clergymen who cite Lithgow and his experiences of travel. Some of these citations are just that, a passing note, or a quick reference to his writings in allusion to an authority. For example, when Thomas Grantham, a General Baptist minister,\(^{35}\) discusses baptism in the Holy Land, he writes “Scripture tells you elsewhere, that Jordan overflows her Banks at certain times; and Lithgow, that was at it, will give you an account that it is a River sufficient to dip a bigger man than yourself in.”\(^{36}\) Other examples include: Thomas Reeve, who in describing Rome’s “seven hills, thirty-seven gates,” and “rare spectacles,” cites Lithgow amongst Purchas, Hakluyt and Sandys;\(^ {37}\) and Richard Hayter, who uses Lithgow’s geographical description of Babylon as “Seated near the Sea, and the Merchants of the earth have a great Trade and Traffick with her.”\(^ {38}\)

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\(^{38}\) Richard Hayter, *The Meaning of the Revelation* (1675), 222, accessed November 29, 2015,
Clergymen alluded to Lithgow’s writings for authority, and further substantiate the contemporary credibility of his works. Furthermore, they demonstrate the circulation of travel writing outside of its own intertextuality. In referring to Lithgow’s writings in this manner, these religious writers establish the credibility of travel writing. Indeed, travel writers such as Lithgow had travelled to many holy sites, to locations that the common clergyman would be unable to reach. Alluding to evidence of such places in their sermons makes them tangible. As these sermons were dealing with matters of spirituality, Lithgow’s observations within the real world were used to give credence to their arguments. The inclusion of Lithgow’s work in religious writing demonstrates that travel writing could contribute pertinent knowledge to a literary domain outside its own.

Lithgow is also included in a number of religious writings for a much different purpose: as representing a Protestant martyr. These accounts detail Lithgow’s detainment and torture under the Spanish Inquisition. While Lithgow’s description of the event makes up only a short section of *The Totall Discourse*, it seems to have been one of the most well known aspects of the book. Richard Heyrick recounts Lithgow’s story when preached against the “intolerable, unsefferable persecution…of the monstrous cruelty of the Inquisition,” in 1641.  

Lithgow…passed through the greatest parts of the knowne world, amongst Turkes, Pagans, Infidels, Jewes; He travelled through Forrests, Wildernesses, and deserts, he met with theves, and murderers, Lions, Bears, and Tygers, yet came off safe: But as he passed through Spaine in the Citie of Maligo, he was…violently snatched away… put in a Dungeon… starved…wounded…and yet they [The Inquisition] had nothing against him but suspition of Religion,


39 Richard Heyrick, *Three Sermons Preached at the Collegiate Church in Manchester,* (1641), 142, accessed November 29, 2015,

contrary to the peace then agreed upon, that none should come into the
Inquisition.\textsuperscript{40}

And yet, after all this, “God wonderfully delivered him, hee was brought on his bed to
our King, wounded and broken.”\textsuperscript{41} Lithgow here is framed as a sort of martyr for the
Protestant faith. His steadfastness in not surrendering his faith, even at the threat of death,
was what Heyrick attributes his safe deliverance too. His prominence in such a fiery, anti-
Catholic sermon demonstrates an instance in which Lithgow’s travels were appropriated
to represent a strong religious image. The image of a Protestant martyr was increasingly
pertinent in Early Modern England, especially given the growing popularity of Foxe’s
\textit{Book of Martyrs} in this period.\textsuperscript{42} The martyr was a long and well-established trope of
Christian devotion, and as such is accessible to any member of society – clergy and laity
alike. Heyrick’s sermon reappropriates Lithgow in this widely accessible image. Despite
Lithgow now actually dying for the ‘Protestant cause,’ these accounts portray him as
martyr-like. Such an image extended beyond the confines of his text and was circulated
throughout a vast audience of literate and illiterate alike.

Another iteration of an image within this religious domain comes from a more
practical angle. Richard Baxter, who was a prolific, albeit controversial, theologian of the
seventeenth century, uses Lithgow’s writings in some interesting ways.\textsuperscript{43} In 1659, he
writes in negative response to the call of a general council, which, by his definition

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid, 142-143.
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{42} Foxe’s \textit{Book of Martyrs} went through a number of editions, being published in 1563, 1570, 1576, and
1583, along with dozens of abridgements across the seventeenth century. For more information, see John
\url{http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1734?docPos=1}
“consisteth of all the Pastors or Bishops of the whole world.”\textsuperscript{44} Because of this, when a council would be called, clergymen would have to travel through:

the Countries of other Princes, that are Infidels…And it cannot be expected that in such cases they should allow them passage through their Countries… When poor Lithgow had travailed nineteen yeares, he was tortured, strappado’d and disjointed, and made a cripple at Malaga in the Spanish Inquisition.\textsuperscript{43}

In another writing, Baxter is responding to the question of whether a Christian can still be devout, without being a fixed member of a particular church. Listing those who qualify for this category, he cites travellers amongst those who are not necessarily fixed to a church but still remain devout, and cites Lithgow as an example of someone who fulfills this criteria: “Travellers that go from Country to Countries (as Lythgow did nineteen years).”\textsuperscript{46} These examples speak to Lithgow’s circulation within these religious domains; however, they provide a different image than the more often invoked Protestant martyr. Lithgow here is identified as a devout Christian, despite his travels precluding him from praying at one particular church.

Thus, Lithgow’s writing and his accompanying image were reappropriated in a number of distinct ways within the domain of religious writings alone. Religious writers cite Lithgow in order to make their sermons seem more real. Whether this is through citing his descriptions of holy sites as hard, concrete evidence, or glorifying him as something of a Protestant martyr, whose grave sufferings provide tangible evidence of the wickedness of Roman Catholicism. The allusions to his text within a religious literary

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid, 412.
\textsuperscript{46} Richard Baxter, \textit{A Second True defence of the meer nonconformist against the untrue accusations, reasonings, and history of Dr. Edward Stillingfleet} (1681), 76, accessed November 29, 2015 http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/fulltext?ACTION=ByID&ID=D00000130829280000&SOURCE=var_spell.cfg&WARN=N&FILE=../session/1449072324_29279
domain demonstrate the use travel writing provided in affirming and substantiating knowledge.

**Drama**

Religious writers were not the only ones to appropriate Lithgow as a Protestant martyr. Indeed, Thomas Heywood also alluded to Lithgow’s sufferings at the hands of the Spanish Inquisition. Heywood was a well-known English playwright, actor, and poet. In *The Rat-Trap*, he compares the leniency and mildness of Protestant to the “adversaries,” the Catholics, who are after nothing more than “Christian blood.”

He states that:

> no Lay Protestant Traveller in Rome or Spain, dares so much as hold argument of his own Faith, or shew a booke in his own language, but shall be hurried into the bloudy inquisition…if any would be further satisfied, let them but read the lamentable sufferings of Mr. Lythgow, amply set downe in the book of his Travells.

The tale of Lithgow’s torture in Malaga recurs here, in the separate domain of drama. This demonstrates the strength and adaptability of Lithgow as a martyr, and that these images did not feature solely in the realm of religion.

However, there is another instance in which Lithgow is cited in drama that does not rely on a sensational account of his tortures. In a much more subtle allusion to his travels, William Cartwright, an actor, art collector, and playwright, mentions Lithgow in his comedy *The Ordinary*. In the second scene, one character is describing another:

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49 Ibid.

H’thath fought o’r Strabo, Ptolomy and Strafford; Travell’d as far in arms, as Lithgoe naked. Born weapons whither Coriat durst not Carry a short or shoes. Jack Mandevil Ne’r saild so far as he hath steerd by Land; Using his Colours both for most and saile.51

At first, it might seem as though Cartwright was referring to the Scottish town of Lithgow. But there are two reasons why it must be Lithgow the traveller to which he is referring. First, and most obviously, he mentions Coryat and Mandeville alongside Lithgow, who were both well-known figures in travel writing, even if Mandeville was a fictional character. Secondly, the line that directly references ‘Lithgoe,’ describes Lithgow, armed with a weapon, running naked. And in fact, quite a similar instance takes place in The Totall Discourse. When travelling amongst a caravan outside of Jerusalem, Lithgow stops with some of the others to swim in the river Jordan. After this repose, he looks toward his caravan in the distance, only to see they were under attack by the local Arabs. Lithgow had a decision to make:

not knowing whether to stay intrenched, within the circundating leaves, to approve the events of my auspicious fortunes: Or in prosecuting a reliefe, to be participant of their doubtfull deliverance. In the end, I… leapt downe from the tree, leaving my Turkish cloathes lying upon the ground, tooke onely in my hand the rod and Shasse which I wore on my head; and ranne starke naked above a quarter of a mile amongst thistles, and sharpe, pointed grasse, which pitifully be pricked the soles of my feat…52

As Lithgow runs into battle, armed with his rod, equipped with literally nothing else, we begin to understand Cartwright’s allusion. This is the image that Cartwright is invoking. Such a subtle allusion speaks to the degree to which audiences and readers may have

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52 Lithgow, 230-231.
been familiar with such instances from Lithgow’s writings. Their inclusion within the
domain of drama demonstrates yet another way in which Lithgow’s works were
appropriated. In citing travel literature these authors are looking to make their plays more
relatable. Furthermore, being included and referred to in these plays again extends
Lithgow’s circulation beyond the realm of literacy, as they would be performed on stage.

**Instructional Texts**

Finally, Lithgow is mentioned amongst a number of instructional texts. While
being cited in Neale’s ‘travel guide’ would seem a natural fit for Lithgow’s writings, he
was also cited in a more general guide. Thomas Tyron, who was known to be a polymath
in the popular advice book tradition, produced works on a wide array of topics, including
health, brewing, cookery, education, and manners.\(^{53}\) In one of these advice books,
entitled *A Pocket-Companion, containing the things necessary to be known by all that
values their health and happiness*, Lithgow is cited as providing a contribution to the
whole work. The book consists of diverse entries: “of the occasion of colds and coughs,
and of their cure,” or “an excellent food for all sorts of people especially for children and
sick,” or even “how a many may live for two pence or three pence a day very well.”\(^{54}\)

Lithgow is not cited for any single one of these entries; rather, he receives the only
citation of credit in the whole book. Tyron must have extracted some of Lithgow’s more
practical writings from *The Totall Discourse*, and appropriated them for use in this
general handbook. Such a general source would be read and used by many, and the lone

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citation of Lithgow’s authority alludes to the image of Lithgow as a hearty, well-traveled, survivor, and further demonstrates circulation to yet another literary domain.

Another instance of his inclusion in a more instructional setting is found in two separate sources, published just a few years apart. Both re-tell the same story from Lithgow’s Totall Discourse, detailing in quite similar language Lithgow’s account of the conjoined twin (discussed in chapter two). William Leybourn, a mathematician and teacher who started his career as a bookseller and printer, recounts this story in his Pleasure with Profit, a work that was intended to popularize mathematics, among other educational subjects.55 He writes:

In Lefina…there was born a monster: Below the middle part whereof, there was but one Body; and above the middle there were Two Living Souls… They received their food with an insatiable desire and continually mourn’d with pitiful noise… This was show to Lithgow in his Travels by a Venetian, the Governour of that Island.56

Two years later, William Turner published a very similar account: “Lithgow tells of a Monster, that below the Middle Part there was but one body, and above the Middle there were two living Souls… They eat insatiably and continually mourn’d.”57 Turner, who was a Church of England clergyman and author, wrote A Compleat history for the education of both minister and layperson.58 Both sources use markedly similar language in recounting the story of the “monster,” which is based on Lithgow’s own text. While Turner was a clergymen and Leybourn was a teacher, they both wrote these works with educational pursuits in mind. This demonstrates yet another literary domain that

56 William Leybourn, Pleasure with Profit, consisting of recreation of divers kinds (1695), 7.
57 William Turner, A Compleat history of the most remarkable providence both of judgment and mercy…, (1697).
Lithgow’s text penetrated. Accounts from Lithgow’s writings are alluded to in these instructional manners. As such, it solidifies the use of not only Lithgow’s text, but travel writing more generally, in providing concretizing evidence to these authors’ claims. From this it is possible to infer the important role travel writing played in affirming and substantiating knowledge.

**Conclusion**

As travel writing was diverse in nature, being comprised of a number of different literary styles, the reception and circulation of a travel text could reach a wide array of literary domains. William Lithgow’s *Totall Discourse* is an excellent example of this. Lithgow was recognized by his contemporary travellers, cited amongst the other well-known travel writers of his period such as Coryat, Hakluyt, and Sandys. Furthermore, religious writers often used his plights in Spain under the Spanish Inquisition to demonstrate the importance of devoutness in Protestantism, likening his image to a martyr. In other instances of religious writing, Lithgow’s relative unique status (for the time period) as religious traveller allowed him to be cited as an example in bureaucratic grievances. Lithgow’s works also provided allusions in the realm of drama, with some containing extremely subtle cues to his writings. Finally, Lithgow’s travels were also appropriated in more general sources, whether being cited for his far-flung tales of “monsters” or for his practical tips on survivability. This survey of the circulation of Lithgow’s works suggests that Lithgow enjoyed a high degree of popularity. Readers of many different genres were exposed to his writings, and even non-readers could be exposed through the religious sermons and plays explored above.
It is possible to gauge, to some degree, ways in which Lithgow’s text was received and digested, and then in turn, reappropriated. The diverse types of writings that include Lithgow’s work demonstrate the adaptability of travel writing of the period, and more importantly, attest to its growing establishment as a genre. Travel writing provided early modern writers the ability to point to concrete evidence that substantiated their claims. It raises the question of the importance of readership in deconstructing a text, and asks, “whether the reader writes the text or the text manipulates the reader.” The development of print established the written word as authority in early modern England. This chapter explored the ways in which Lithgow’s writings performed in a number of distinct domains, and situates the text in the conditions of its cultural production. In moving the focus to readership, this analysis extends beyond Lithgow’s own intentions, and begins to look at the way in which Lithgow’s text, and travel writing more generally, created and structured meaning, authority, credibility, and ultimately, established itself as a genre.

59 Sharpe, 36.
Conclusion

To what degree is William Lithgow’s *Totall Discourse* representative of seventeenth century travel narratives and practices? That has been the question driving this study. In order to answer this, this study has examined Lithgow’s writings within the period that saw the increasing establishment of travel writing. A text is a form of representation: something that has been constructed during a given time period, under specific societal values, within a certain cultural setting, and so on. These forces, among a vast multitude of others, influence the ways in which we perceive reality, whether in the past or present. For historians, then, a text becomes a vital piece of evidence in deconstructing the past; by situating the text in “the moment and conditions of its cultural production, and elucidating how it performed in that culture,” the historian is able to analyze the way in which structures of meaning and power are encoded in a given text.\(^1\)

Applying this mode of analysis to Lithgow’s *Totall Discourse* proves fruitful for understanding the history of travel.

This study has provided a deconstructive reading throughout three substantive, thematic chapters. Chapter one analyzed the way in which Lithgow represented himself as a traveller. By looking into the many different travel identities Lithgow displays throughout his writing, it is possible to discern both traditional (pilgrim) and reformed (utilitarian) attitudes and practices of travel that are able to be studied, in some ways, in a tourist mode of travel. Chapter two extended this analysis, exploring the ways rhetoric structured his narrative. This second chapter demonstrated ways in which Lithgow

adhered to contemporary form, and offered an analysis of the ways in which hospitality and rhetoric interacted within *The Totall Discourse*. In exploring the circulation of Lithgow’s writings throughout the seventeenth century, chapter three shifted the focus away from the author. By tracing the reappropriation of Lithgow’s writings within a number of distinct literary domains, it is possible to examine the texts reception amongst a growing domestic readership. Taken together, these chapters represent an effort to understand the symbiotic relationship between Lithgow’s text and the wider society into which it was released. This study demonstrates the numerous ways in which Lithgow’s writings were affected by his cultural context, whether through rhetorical structures of sixteenth and seventeenth century travel writing or contemporary travel practices themselves. In doing so, it appreciates the distinct setting within which *The Totall Discourse* was produced, while providing evidence that disrupts understandings of the history of travel in some present scholarship.

William Lithgow undertook his voyages during an era in which the act and meaning of travel was undergoing a major shift. As traditional practices of pilgrimage, for a number of reasons, waned in popularity, travellers of the early seventeenth century felt compelled to justify their travels in other ways. Lithgow is in many ways representative of travel practices of his period. While he is not identifiable as an explorer, amongst those who traveled West to the New World, Lithgow continually emphasized the utility of his travels, and understood his role in providing knowledge of the wider world to those back home. His writings were largely observations of far-off places, and his scrupulous and systematic descriptions produced a record for a domestic readership that were unable to make the trip themselves.
A rhetorical analysis of Lithgow’s writings solidifies his place amongst contemporary travellers. The Totall Discourse includes a number rhetorical strategies found across early modern travel literature, and more specifically those accounts written by English and Scottish travellers. In using common rhetorical strategies, Lithgow mediates his travels to the reader through established tropes of danger and wonder. But a critical reading of the text demonstrates Lithgow’s extension of this mediation to the realm of hospitality. Indeed, throughout his travels Lithgow referenced accommodation in a diverse number of ways. His text demonstrates a wide spectrum of hospitality that ranged from the commercial inn to religious institutions, and included individuals and their performances of hospitality. Lithgow recounts experiencing hospitality as a commodity, a charity, and as an act; he demonstrates a conception of hospitality as an entity, which he often uses as a basis of judgment for the wider culture that he finds himself in.

While Lithgow was not a unique traveller, his writings display some interesting tensions for early modern travel theory. Lithgow explicitly establishes utilitarian motivations for his journeys, but there are a number of subtler, implicit forces at work. Indeed, the curious and traumatizing episode of violence that occurred early in Lithgow’s life, which resulted in the disfigurement of his ears at the hands of some local disgruntled townsmen, seems to have given Lithgow the impetus to dedicate his life to travel. He cites the desire to divorce himself from his local setting in order to avoid a life of association with the violent event. In this light, his travels begin to look like a self-imposed exile that has a number of parallels in the ‘existential mode’ of travel. Furthermore, Lithgow’s writings benefit from a study that explores the ways in which he
experiences certain practices of travel in a tourist mode. Indeed, while it is readily conceded that tourism *per se* is not present in his narrative, certain aspects of his travels, including his extensive use of guides, are adaptable to study within a tourism framework.

Lithgow’s travel writings circulated extensively throughout England and Scotland over the course of the seventeenth century. During a period that witnessed the transformative effect of printed texts, the book became an increasingly important object in the dissemination of knowledge. Contemporary travellers, religious writers, and playwrights, among many others, cited Lithgow; such diversity speaks to the permeation of Lithgow’s texts into a number of distinct literary domains. Tales from *The Totall Discourse* were appropriated in a multitude of ways, whether as a citation in the allusion to authority, or forming the strong image of a Protestant martyr. Grounding Lithgow’s writings in this receptive setting allows an understanding of its circulation and reception, and more importantly, examines its performance as a text.

Ultimately, *The Totall Discourse* represents the notion of transition. During a period that witnessed the increasing circulation of travel writing, Lithgow’s writings demonstrate a number of different travel identities. Rhetorical structures place Lithgow amongst a suite of contemporary travellers who sought to systematically record the world abroad; a strong imagery of pilgrimage that accompanies Lithgow throughout his journeys demonstrates the lingering presence of this traditional mode of travel; a number of his practices, including sightseeing and extensive reliance on guides, can be understood as instances in which Lithgow engages in a tourist mode of travel. This study does not seek to revise the history of travel, but contributes to scholarship that strives to refine our understanding of the history of travel. Lithgow was a peculiar traveller, and
deconstructing his text and accounting for its reception and performance provides a number of intriguing insights pertinent to the history of travel. However, this thesis offers just one case study in the application of a deconstructive reading. Because of this, these findings are relatively limited, and I am only able to draw conclusions about Lithgow himself. Despite this, a similar methodology could be applied to any one or more of the many travel narratives produced in this period -- an undertaking which has promise to provide further important insights into early modern travel practices, and by extension, lead to a more comprehensive understanding of the history of travel.
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