

The British Itinerary of Johann Peter Hainzel von Degerstein

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*Introduction**

Eighty nine years ago Hume Brown published his well-known book *Early Travellers in Scotland*¹, in which he brought together all known accounts of Scotland written by travellers who had visited the country before 1700. This collection was confined to printed sources and within these limits Hume Brown spared no effort to make his work exhaustive. Four years later this source material was augmented by the publication of the journal of Lupold von Wedel (1544–1615), a young Pomeranian nobleman who spent much of his life as a restless wanderer and who visited England and Scotland in 1584–1585². Since the appearance of this diary, which contains a detailed description of Wedel's tour of Scotland, nothing of a similar nature for this period by a German traveller has until recently come to light³. Consequently in his authoritative monograph,

* The manuscripts from which the following extracts have been taken were discovered during a visit to the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich, in 1961. I am grateful to the Librarian for permission to print the extracts. I should like to thank Dr. J. B. Bodmer of the Manuscript Department for much kindness. The late Professor C. T. Carr, St. Andrews, read my transcription of the German text. The late Dr. J. Cisar, formerly of the Department of Astronomy in St. Andrews, translated for me the relevant sections of Professor Odložilik's article from Czech.

¹ *Early Travellers in Scotland*, ed. P. Hume Brown, Edinburgh 1891.

² Lupold von Wedels Beschreibung seiner Reisen und Kriegserlebnisse, ed. Max Bär, in: *Baltische Studien*, herausgegeben von der Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte und Alterthumskunde, 45. Jahrgang, Stettin 1895; "Journey through England and Scotland made by Lupold von Wedel in the years 1584 and 1585" translated by *Gottfried von Bülow*, in: *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, 9, 1895, 223–270; *Victor von Klarwill*, *Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners* (translation T. H. Nash, London 1928), gives a good account of Wedel and a translation of the English section only of his itinerary.

³ Sir *Arthur Mitchell* published in "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland", 35, 1901, 431–638, "A list of Travels, Tours and Journeys ... relating to Scotland", which included some thirty narratives still in manuscript. Supplements to this list were printed in subsequent volumes of the Proceedings of the Society, 39, 1905, 500–527, 44, 1910, 390–405.

German Travellers in England 1400–1800 (London 1953), W.D. Robson-Scott has singled it out as “one of the very few German Travel diaries down to the end of the eighteenth century which include Scotland in their itinerary⁴”. Further, Wedel’s visit to Britain, which included nineteen days in Scotland and took him as far north as Perth, and which lasted fifty three weeks in all, has been held to exceed “in both length and scope that of any other German traveller of the period⁵”. A recent discovery, however, has revealed a hitherto unknown diary, or more correctly itinerary of a tour of England, Scotland and Ireland in 1591–1592 made by Jan Peter Hainzel von Degerstein and written by his tutor and companion Caspar Waser⁶. This itinerary, preserved in the Zentralbibliothek, Zürich, records a stay in Scotland much more extensive and of considerably longer duration than that of Wedel, or indeed of any known traveller of the period, until the tour undertaken by Jakob Fetzner († 1634) of Nürenberg in 1618–1620^{6a}.

Unlike Wedel, Hainzel von Degerstein belongs to a distinctive class or type of sixteenth and early seventeenth century traveller, the young man of noble birth who had been sent on travel by his parents or guardian to acquire a knowledge of the world. In the second half of the century a large number of these aristocratic travellers, who were making the Grand Tour, began to visit England and sometimes Scotland.

Amongst those to include Scotland were Louis de Chastaigner, the young lord of La Roche Posay, who, with his celebrated tutor, J.J. Scaliger (1540–1609), visited this country in 1566⁷, Henri, Duc de Rohan (1579–1638), the later Huguenot leader, who arrived in 1600⁸, and Jaroslav Smiricky from Moravia who, along with his tutor, Caspar Dornavius (1577–1623), a learned physician, arrived in 1607⁹. Neither Scaliger

⁴ Pp. 42f.

⁵ P. 46.

⁶ Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. L. 461, Jani Petri Hainzellii a Degerstein Hodoeporica. Germanicum, Belgicum, Anglicum, Scoticum et Hibernicum conscripta a Casparo Wasero Tig. CIO. IO. XCII.

^{6a} Kataloge der Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Die Neue Reiche; Die Blankenburger Handschriften, ed. *Hans Butzmann* (Frankfurt am Main 1966), Nos. 231, 235, pp. 225ff.

⁷ *J. Bernays*, Joseph Justus Scaliger (Berlin 1855), 38f.; *Hume Brown*, xvif.; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Eleventh Edition), 24.284ff.

⁸ *Hume Brown* 91–95; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Eleventh Edition), 23.460f.

⁹ *O. Odložilík*, “Cesty z Čech a Moravy do Velké Británie v letech 1563–1620”, in: *Zvláštní otisk z Časopisu Matice Moravské*, 41, 1935, 292ff.; some of the information in this article is given by *Odložilík* in “Karel of Zerotin and the English Court (1564–1636)”, in: *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 15, 1936–37, 413–425.

nor Dornavius has left behind a diary of their nobleman's visit, but that by Rohan is well-known and was printed by Hume Brown. No German belonging to this type of traveller, however, appears to have visited Scotland before Hainzel. Indeed Hainzel's visit to the British Isles preceded by several months that of the most notorious of all German travellers to England, Frederick, Count of Württemberg; the diary of whose visit in the summer of 1592, written by his secretary Jakob Rathgeb, has hitherto been regarded as the earliest journal of the visit to England of any German traveller of this class¹⁰.

Johann Peter Hainzel von Degerstein (1572–1608) belonged to an old Augsburg family¹¹. In 1586, his brother Johannes Heinrich, one of the magistrates of the city, quarrelled with his fellow "senators" and taking Jan Peter with him left for Zürich¹². Anxious that his brother should receive the broad education of a young man of his social class and of his age, Johannes Heinrich sought in Zürich a tutor who should accompany him to the universities and on a Grand Tour. On the advice of J. G. Stuckius and other leading ministers, he secured the services of Caspar Waser (1565–1625), a young man of twenty one years who was engaged in theological study at the University of Heidelberg¹³.

Caspar Waser's family had a notable record of service to Zürich to its credit and had played a prominent part in the life of that city. Johann Waser, Caspar's father, had been a physician and a friend of the celebrated Conrad Gesner (1516–1565). His grandfather had been Town Clerk in the early days of the Reformation and had been killed at the Battle of Cappel in 1531, the battle which witnessed the death of the Reformer Ulrich Zwingli. Waser received his early education in Zürich until 1584 and in that year went to study at Altdorf where he matriculated on 9th

For Dornavius see Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, 5.351f. Jaroslav Smiricky was not the first Moravian of this period to visit Scotland. Jan Bernard of Prerov, a student at Oxford and friend of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, visited Scotland in 1584–85, and others followed to the end of the first decade of the next century. For further details see the articles mentioned above.

¹⁰ *Robson-Scott* 53.

¹¹ In a letter introducing Hainzel to Justus Lipsius, J. G. Stuckius of Zürich wrote "Heinzelius, patritius Augustanus, cujus pater piaae memoriae in augusta illa civitate consulatum maxima cum laude gessit, et pater patriae, literarumque optimus ac fidelissimus extitit". [*P. Burmannus*, *Sylloges Epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum* (Leiden 1727), 1.492.]

¹² *Jodoco a Kvoson*, *De Vita et Obitu Reverendi et Clarissimi Viri Domini Caspari Waseri, Sacrarum litterarum Professoris in Schola Tigurina, Oratio Historica* (Basel 1616), 9.

¹³ *Kvoson* 9.

July¹⁴. At the end of the following winter he was sent to Heidelberg¹⁵ where some of the best Calvinist theologians of the day were reviving the reputation of that University as the metropolis of Reformed theological learning.

Soon after Waser's recall to Zürich in 1586, the young nobleman and his tutor set out for Geneva and its already illustrious Academy¹⁶. Waser's name is found in *Le Livre du Recteur*, but not that of Hainzel¹⁷. At Geneva, Waser continued his theological studies for eighteen months under Theodore Beza, Antoine de la Faye and Pierre Chevallier, but on the outbreak of plague the two young men withdrew from the city¹⁸ and subsequently moved to the University of Basel where they both matriculated and remained from November 1587 to the end of April 1591¹⁹.

These years in Basel partly coincided with the time spent there by the young Scottish student, Robert Howie (c.1565–c.1645)²⁰, later the first Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen, and successor of the renowned Andrew Melville in St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. Some time during the summer of 1590, Waser and Hainzel also made the acquaintance of John Johnston (c.1565–1611)²¹ who had been a student at Heidelberg and became on his return to Scotland one of Melville's colleagues in St. Andrews. These Scottish friendships, as later events prove, meant much to Hainzel and Waser.

On 1st May, Johannes Heinrich recalled his brother and tutor from Basel to "Elkovia" (Elckau) where he had become the overlord of an estate²², and shortly thereafter they set out on the northern part of a

¹⁴ Die Matrikel der Universität Altdorf, ed. *Elias von Steinmeyer* (Würzburg 1912), 1.25, 2.602.

¹⁵ *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 41.227f.; *Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, 7.426; *E. Dejung* and *W. Wuhrmann*, *Zürcher Pfarrerbuch 1519–1952*, Zurich 1953, 599; *Kvosen*, 5ff.; Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg von 1386–1662, ed. *G. Toepke*, Heidelberg 1884–1893, 2.116.

¹⁶ *Kvosen* 9.

¹⁷ *Le Livre du Recteur de L'Académie de Genève (1559–1878)*, ed. *S. Stelling-Michaud*, Geneva 1959, 1.118. Hainzel was in all probability considered too young to take the oath required from those who matriculate.

¹⁸ *Kvosen* 10.

¹⁹ *Kvosen* 10f.; Die Matrikel der Universität Basel, ed. *H.G. Wackernagel*, Basel 1956, 2.349.

²⁰ Howie matriculated at Basel in May 1588, and remained at Basel until March 1591. *Wackernagel* 2. 361; *James K. Cameron*, *Letters of John Johnston (c. 1565–1611) and Robert Howie (c. 1565–c. 1645)*, St. Andrews University Publications No. 54, Edinburgh 1963, xliiiff.

²¹ *Cameron* xliif.

Grand Tour, a journey that was to take them through Germany, the Low Countries, England, Scotland and Ireland²³.

The Itinerary, which has now come to light, covers only the Northern part of the tour and is extant in two forms, one in Latin, the other in German. The Latin version has been carefully drawn up by Waser, possibly with the intention of having it printed. It records the stages of the journey in considerable detail and gives the distances between them according to the system of measurement used by the several countries through which they passed²⁴. The day of the week is marked by the appropriate planetary symbol²⁵ placed after the date and in addition the places where they stopped for meals are indicated²⁶. Unfortunately comment is throughout so meagre that the document cannot be compared with those already known, especially with Wedel's in which there are long descriptions of the people met and the places visited. Waser's *Hodoeporica* is merely a record of the journey, an itinerary in the strict meaning of the word. The German version is similar, but has not been so carefully drawn up. It omits the distances between the various stages of the journey and there are some minor discrepancies in the dates of the two versions. On the other hand, it is, especially in its record of the Scottish part of the tour, much more informative. A number of brief notes have been inserted, which add considerable interest to the account. Neither version can be regarded as the original made during the tour. Both have been drawn up later with the aid of notes taken on the journey. Further, it is impossible to arrive at an exact date of composition during Waser's life-time²⁷.

The extracts which follow cover the itinerary through the British Isles, but in order that this part of the travels may be viewed in proper perspective an account of the whole tour must first be briefly sketched.

The tour began on 24th May. Travelling by way of Schaffhausen and Offenbourg they arrived on the 28th at Strasbourg, where they spent the weekend. The following Monday they set out for Hamburg which was reached after sixteen days of continuous travel by way of Heidelberg, Frankfurt, Giessen, Cassel, Münden and Brunswick. On average four

²² "primo die Maii, cum discipulo Elcoviam est accersitus nobilissimo Heinzelio, illius arcis, praedii et jurisdictionis, circa ea tempora, domino" (*Kvosen* 11).

²³ *Kvosen* 11; Ms. *Hodoeporica*, p. 123.

²⁴ See note on Miles *infra* pp. 273, Note D.

²⁵ See note on symbols for the days of the week *infra* p. 272, Note B.

²⁶ See note on meals *infra* p. 273, Note C.

²⁷ The German version was composed after the accession of James VI to the English throne. See *infra* p. 280.

German miles were traversed every day and the total distance from Elckau reckoned at seventy-five German miles²⁸.

The day following their arrival in Hamburg they embarked on a ship "tormentis et reliquo apparatu bellico instructam" for Amsterdam. After two days in the open sea they entered the Zuider Zee; on 20th June they disembarked at Amsterdam²⁹.

A week was spent in visiting a number of important cities, including Almar and Utrecht³⁰; on 28th they reached Leiden³¹; and on 8th July both Hainzel and Waser matriculated as students at the University³². There they remained until 10th December, apart from 1st to 19th October, during which they continued to explore the Low Countries³³. In all, some twenty three weeks were spent in study and travel which Waser reckoned to have covered one hundred and seventy two "Belgian miles³⁴".

On 10th December they set out from Leiden on that part of their tour which was to include the British Isles³⁵. Travelling by way of the Hague, taking in Delft and Rotterdam, Dortrecht and Middelburg, they reached Flushing on the 17th³⁶, met the Protestant Pastor, Daniel de Dieu³⁷, and the English Governor, Sir Robert Sidney³⁸. That night they embarked for England.

The crossing was uneventful and comparatively short, but most of the 18th had to be spent in the Thames estuary waiting for a favourable tide to take them up the river to Gravesend. About 1.00 p.m. on Sunday they arrived in London, having visited the royal palace at Greenwich en route³⁹.

Ten weeks were then spent in visiting *per licentiam superiorum*⁴⁰ the usual sights, but only the Queen and Westminster Hall were considered worthy of record⁴¹. Kvosén, in his memorial address informs us that

²⁸ Ms. Hodoeporica, pp. 123–125.

²⁹ Ms. Hodoeporica, p. 126.

³⁰ Ms. Hodoeporica, pp. 127–128.

³¹ Ms. Hodoeporica, p. 128.

³² *Kvosén* 11; *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae MDLXXV–MDCCCLXXV*, The Hague 1875, 30.

³³ Ms. Hodoeporica, pp. 128–129.

³⁴ See note on miles, *infra* pp. 273.

³⁵ Ms. Hodoeporica, p. 129.

³⁶ Ms. Hodoeporica, p. 130; German version p. 82.

³⁷ *Infra* p. 274.

³⁸ *Infra* p. 274.

³⁹ *Infra* pp. 274f.

⁴⁰ *Kvosén* 11.

⁴¹ *Infra* p. 274.

Waser saw the Queen “*opportuno loco e sacello egredientem*⁴²”. At this time Waser met in London his friend John Johnston who, along with Howie, had returned from the Continent in the Spring or early Summer, and who had been detained by illness in London⁴³. Howie had already preceded him to Aberdeen.

A visit to Scotland had, it appears, been planned by the German travellers from the beginning, and indeed was intended to form an integral part of their British itinerary. On 2nd March, therefore, they set out, in all probability by post-horses, on their northern journey⁴⁴. Following the usual route through Ware, Huntingdon and Newark they arrived at York on Monday 7th March. At York the travellers turned off the main road to visit the Lake District and taking the road across Stanemoor to Penrith arrived at Keswick on 10th March. A brief note in the German version explains this diversion⁴⁵. It was to visit the family of Hochstetter who had been brought over by Queen Elizabeth to work the rich copper mines in the surrounding district. The Hochstetters had come from Augsburg and had most probably been known to Hainzel’s family. It was therefore to be expected that the young nobleman should wish to visit his fellow burghers. The natural beauty of the Lake District was not, however, ignored; before they left, towards the end of April, they had toured the countryside as far as Cockermouth to the west and Carlisle to the north⁴⁶.

On 24th April the journey was continued across country to Hexham and Newcastle where they spent a week. On 3rd May they crossed the Tweed and entered Berwick. At this point the Latin version records that this was the first city of Scotland—that is, the first to be entered by those travelling from England—and that it was presently occupied by the English⁴⁷. The note is of interest in that it shows that Waser had either been so informed subsequently in Scotland or that he was dependent on Boece and not Camden, the usual authority for travellers⁴⁸.

⁴² *Kvosen* 11.

⁴³ *Cameron* xlix, lvii, 350.

⁴⁴ Foreign travellers commonly rode post-horses, changing mounts at well-known stages, and covering between twenty and thirty miles a day, according to the weather and the state of the roads. (See further *S. and B. Webb*, *English Local Government: The Story of the King’s Highway*, London 1920, 64; *J. Parkes*, *Travel in England in the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford 1925, 52ff.; *Shakespeare’s England*, Oxford 201ff.; *Transactions Royal Historical Society* 9, 1895, 237ff.; *W.D. Robson-Scott* 44.)

⁴⁵ *Infra* p. 276.

⁴⁶ *Infra* p. 278.

⁴⁷ *Infra* p. 278.

⁴⁸ *Infra* p. 280.

From the German version we learn that the visitors carried letters of recommendation to the English Deputy Governor, who provided them, as had been done for Wedel eight years earlier⁴⁹, with an escort of soldiers to take them into Scotland⁵⁰. At this point and until the travellers leave Scotland, as has already been stated, the German version is more informative than for any other period of the tour.

Hainzel and Waser left Berwick on 4th May for Edinburgh, and taking the coastal route passing Fastcastle and through Dunbar and Haddington they came to Seton. At Seton they viewed the palace of Robert Seton, 6th Lord Seton and 1st Earl of Winton, whom Waser described as “a learned nobleman and an admirer of foreign nations⁵¹”. Two days were spent in Edinburgh, no doubt in visiting the sights, and on the third, a Sunday, they went out to Dalkeith Palace to seek an audience of the King. Wedel had been permitted to view the King only from a distance⁵², but Hainzel was more highly honoured. He carried with him a letter of introduction to King James. It was from Waser’s former teacher at Geneva—one from whom King James would at any time have been delighted to receive a letter—the leading Calvinist theologian of the day, Theodore Beza. Unfortunately Waser gives no description of the King and tells us nothing of what took place, except that they were graciously received, that they were granted permission to travel anywhere in the Kingdom, and that the King made an entry in the young nobleman’s *Stammbuch* or *Album amicorum*⁵³.

For the following four days the travellers remained in Edinburgh and there made the acquaintance of a number of people, but in the Itinerary Waser mentions only one, Thomas Seggate (or Seget), an early graduate of Edinburgh University, who was well-known to Justus Lipsius at Louvain and a number of important literary families in Italy⁵⁴. Another acquaintance was Adrian Damman of Ghent, “a gentleman of singular learning” who had, previous to his arrival in Edinburgh about 1589, been a professor at Leiden. He had become a particular literary favourite of King James VI and held the post of Professor of Humanity at the University of Edinburgh from about 1590 to 1593⁵⁵. At the time of Waser’s

⁴⁹ Transactions Royal Historical Society 9, 1895, 241.

⁵⁰ *Infra* p. 278.

⁵¹ *Infra* p. 278.

⁵² Transactions Royal Historical Society 9, 1895, 244f.

⁵³ *Infra* p. 280.

⁵⁴ *Infra* p. 282.

⁵⁵ Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek, 3.273ff.; *J. Ferguson*, The Scots Brigade in the Service of the United Netherlands, Scottish History Society,

visit Damman was engaged in translating into Latin the long religious poem on the creation of the world by the Huguenot poet Du Bartas. Waser was given an opportunity of seeing part of this work and in a letter to Damman, written from Ayr several weeks later he encouraged him to complete and publish it⁵⁶.

On 12th May the journey was continued northward across the Firth of Forth from Leith to Kinghorn and then to St. Andrews—a day's journey. To St. Andrews the visitors took with them an introduction to Andrew Melville⁵⁷, Rector of the University, from William Dundas, the young Baron of Fingask, who is recorded as bachelor of St. Andrews in 1579 and who was active at court during the first half of this decade⁵⁸.

At St. Andrews the travellers received a warm welcome from all in authority in the city and the University. Amongst the members of the University, they were entertained by the Melvilles, Andrew and Patrick⁵⁹, David Moneyppenny⁶⁰, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and John Kennedy, Earl of Cassillis (1567?–1615), a student, then resident in St. Mary's College⁶¹. To all of them Waser subsequently wrote letters, which, however, have not survived, but one from Moneyppenny and another from Cassillis to Waser written in 1594 in reply have been preserved⁶². Amongst those of the town whom they met, David Black⁶³ and Robert Wallace⁶⁴, the ministers, and Captain William Murray⁶⁵, who was elected Provost in 1594, are mentioned in subsequent correspondence.

The visit to St. Andrews lasted from 12th to 17th May. Thereafter the journey northward was resumed. A night was spent in Dundee and one

Edinburgh 1899, 1.134, 137, 148 n.; The Warrender Papers, ed. *A.I. Cameron*, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh 1932, 2.244; *A. Morgan*, University of Edinburgh Charters, Statutes, and Acts of the Town Council and Senatus, Edinburgh 1937, 82f.; *T. McCrie*, Life of Andrew Melville, Edinburgh 1856, 432.

⁵⁶ Damman printed this letter together with verses in his honour in "Hadriani Dammanis a Bysterveldt Dn. de Fairhill, Bartasias, qui de Mundi Creatione libri septem e Guilielmi Salusti Dn. de Bartas Septimana ... tralati [sic], Edinburgh 1600, xxxv. The manuscript of Waser's letter is in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

⁵⁷ *Infra* p. 282.

⁵⁸ *Infra* p. 282.

⁵⁹ Patrick Melville was Professor of Hebrew in St. Mary's College (see *Cameron* 93).

⁶⁰ David Moneyppenny (fl. c. 1588–c. 1617). See *Cameron* 92.

⁶¹ Kennedy matriculated in St. Salvator's College in 1589, but was resident in St. Mary's College in 1592 and 1593. See *Cameron* 93.

⁶² Printed in *Cameron*, Appendix B, 360ff.

⁶³ *Cameron* 93.

⁶⁴ *Cameron* 121.

⁶⁵ *Cameron* 72.

at Montrose before they reached Aberdeen on 19th May. On the way from Arbroath to Montrose they visited at his home at Easter Seatown, Peter Young⁶⁶, to whom they would have brought greetings from his former teacher in Geneva, Theodore Beza.

At Aberdeen their friendship with Robert Howie was renewed. Something of Howie's pleasure at the unexpected visit is revealed in the letters for his friends at Basel, which he immediately wrote and which he entrusted to Waser to deliver on his return to the Continent⁶⁷. The visitors also met Peter Blackburn⁶⁸, one of the ministers and a former colleague of Andrew Melville in the University of Glasgow, and Thomas Cargill⁶⁹, the master of the Grammar School of New Aberdeen, a distinguished classical scholar. The Itinerary, however, records no details of this visit. In the German version there is merely a note in Latin which states that Aberdeen was the 'patria' of John Jonston and Robert Howie⁷⁰.

The return journey to Edinburgh was by way of Laurencekirk, Forfar, Newtyle, Perth and Kinghorn. At Edinburgh they remained from 25th May until 15th June, apart from an excursion on 9th and 10th June to the Bass Rock. Wedel had been rowed out to the Rock from Tantallon Castle and had included in his journal a lengthy description of the island with its multitudes of birds about which he had been told the tales familiar to travellers of the period⁷¹. No doubt Waser also listened to them, but he does not appear to have considered them worthy of notice. He merely adds in the German version a prosaic remark—they are good to eat⁷².

This second and much longer visit to Edinburgh coincided with the holding of one of the most notable Scottish Parliaments of the decade, that which witnessed the success of the struggles of the Presbyterian party for the political recognition of the form of Church government set out in the *Second Book of Discipline*. The Acts, which have sometimes been regarded as the Golden Charter of Presbyterians, were passed by the Estates on 5th June⁷³. Of all this, however, Waser has nothing to record. He only noted that Hainzel had "paid his respects"⁷⁴ to the Par-

⁶⁶ *Infra* p. 284.

⁶⁷ Printed in *Cameron*, 303ff.

⁶⁸ *Cameron* 159, 161.

⁶⁹ *Cameron* 159, 161.

⁷⁰ *Infra*, p. 284.

⁷¹ Transactions Royal Historical Society 9, 1895, 241f.; *Robson-Scott* 46.

⁷² *Infra* p. 286.

⁷³ The Acts of the Parliament of Scotland (1814), 3.541f.

⁷⁴ *Infra* p. 284.

liament, by which he probably meant that he had been present at the opening of the session.

On 15th June the journey was resumed westwards, slowly at first, for on that day they travelled no further than Linlithgow. The next night was spent at Stirling. The weekend of 17th to 20th June was spent in Glasgow, apart from an excursion on Sunday to the important fortress at Dumbarton⁷⁵. Again, all else that took place is passed over in silence, but we know from Waser's letter to Damman that the travellers made their presence known to the professors of the University⁷⁶.

On 21st June the traveller set out for Ayr, where they spent five days waiting for a ship and suitable weather to take them across to Dublin⁷⁷. By the 28th they decided to make their way to Kirkcudbright, a sea port with a better connection for Ireland. The route taken was by Cumnock and Sanquhar and down the valley of the Nith to Dumfries and Kirkcudbright where they arrived on 30th June. At midnight two days later they sailed for Ireland in the company of a certain Thomas Masson, a citizen of Kirkcudbright, in a ship manned by "two wild seafaring men from Knockfergus"⁷⁸. In the morning the Mull of Galloway was sighted and by mid-day they were passing the Isle of Man. In the afternoon they landed at Carlingford, spent the night at Drogheda and next day reached Dublin where they remained until 8th July. No further information of this brief visit to Ireland has come to light.

During the crossing of the Irish Sea from Dublin to Chester, the usual English port for Ireland, a storm was encountered which, according to Waser, drove the ship towards the coast of Cornwall! The next day they set foot once again on English soil and after a day's rest took the direct route, Watling Street, to London where they arrived on 17th July at the end of six days of continuous travelling⁷⁹.

For the remaining six weeks of their visit London was their headquarters from which they undertook the usual excursions made by foreign travellers to the royal palaces and the universities. Of the visit to the palaces the itinerary is all that is given⁸⁰. It took three days. Of the

⁷⁵ *Infra* pp. 287f.

⁷⁶ *Damman* [xxxv]. Patrick Sharp († 1615), who had previously been Master of the Grammar School, was Principal of the University of Glasgow from 1586 to 1614. [*H.M.B. Reid*, *The Divinity Principals in the University of Glasgow 1545–1654*, Glasgow 1917, 106–114; *J.D. Mackie*, *The University of Glasgow 1954*, 80.]

⁷⁷ *Damman* [xxxv].

⁷⁸ *Infra* p. 289.

⁷⁹ *Infra* pp. 290f.

⁸⁰ *Infra* p. 293.

visit to Oxford and Cambridge there is only the Latin record of the journey and in the German version a brief note which states that they visited the Colleges and at Oxford met, amongst others, the celebrated Italian jurist Alberico Gentili, Regius Professor of Civil Law, and the Aristotelian scholar, John Case, and at Cambridge the highly reputed Puritan divine, William Whitaker⁸¹. A night was spent in both cities.

By 16th August Hainzel and his tutor had returned to London where they remained until 24th. Some time during the tour they visited Theobalds Palace, at that time the home of Lord Burghley, Secretary and Lord High Treasurer⁸². On 24th they sailed from Gravesend and on 26th landed at Flushing⁸³.

From Flushing they travelled through the Low Countries, met Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) at Louvain⁸⁴, and then moved to Cologne where they took a boat up the Rhine as far as Mainz. By 13th October they had reached Augsburg, and with the return of Hainzel to his native city and his home the first part of his Grand Tour with his tutor ended⁸⁵. In the following month they had taken to the road once again on that part of their Grand Tour which took them to Italy and which ended with the return of Hainzel and Waser to Augsburg toward the end of 1593⁸⁶. The Grand Tour had been accomplished, and Waser's appointment as tutor brought to a successful conclusion.

The subsequent career of Hainzel has not been traced. Waser on his return to Zürich was ordained to the ministry and in 1596 appointed a Professor at the *Carolinum*, the theological college of Zürich, where he remained until his death in 1625⁸⁷.

According to the figures given in the Latin manuscript and Waser's calculations his travels from 24th May, 1591, until 13th October, 1592, extended to 718 German miles, of which 391 had been traversed in Britain and of this number just over 100 German miles were over Scottish soil. The visit to the British Isles had lasted thirty five weeks, of which eight had been spent in Scotland.

⁸¹ *Infra* p. 294.

⁸² This information is given at the end of the Ms. Hodoeporica (p. 143), when Waser is computing the number of miles covered.

⁸³ *Infra* p. 295.

⁸⁴ Ms. Hodoeporica (German Version), p. 87. After teaching for eleven years at Leiden, Lipsius had recently been reconciled to the Roman Catholic Church and had settled at Louvain. [Encyclopaedia Britannica (Eleventh Edition), 16.743.] The letter of introduction to Lipsius from J.G. Stuckius is mentioned *supra* note 11.

⁸⁵ Ms. Hodoeporica, 139–142; German version, 87.

⁸⁶ *Kvosen* 12f.

⁸⁷ *Kvosen* 14ff.

It is to be regretted that Waser recorded virtually nothing of his impressions of this country and its people. Of his impressions of England only one remark has been found in a letter written on 1st November, 1593, "O pulchram Angliam prae reliquis. Hanc et tu vidisses vellem, imo ex animo optarem multis de causis⁸⁸." Along with other travellers of this period Waser had undoubtedly been impressed with the richness of England's parks and pastures.

On his settlement in Zürich, Waser did not forget his Scottish friends. As has already been stated, he is known to have written to some of those who had entertained him and his nobleman, in appreciation of their kindness towards them. From 1593 until 1607 he was a regular correspondent of John Johnston⁸⁹. None of Waser's letters to Johnston has, however, come to light, but from the extant autographs of Johnston's letters to him, on which he usually marked the date of receipt and of his reply, we know of Waser's continued interest in this country and its affairs. Further evidence is found in his translation in 1603 into German of the Negative Confession of 1581⁹⁰ in an attempt to allay rumours about King James' lack of constancy in the Protestant faith, which were freely circulating on the Continent. In 1610 he dedicated to King James his edition of Francis Conrad Graser's *Plaga regia, sive commentarius in Apocalypsin B. Johannis*⁹¹. He does not appear to have maintained a correspondence with Robert Howie, but on several occasions Johnston sent greetings from him to Waser.

The extracts taken from both versions of the *Hodoeporica* have been placed on pages facing each other in order that the reader may have both accounts before him at the same time. All contractions have been extended without indication and Waser's arrangement of the page of the Latin

⁸⁸ Cameron 350.

⁸⁹ Twelve letters written by Johnston from St. Andrews to Waser have been discovered and are printed in "Letters of John Johnston (c. 1565–1611) and Robert Howie (c. 1565–c. 1645)".

⁹⁰ Cameron 189, 191, 202; *Kvosen* 17. A copy of this translation has not been traced.

⁹¹ *Kvosen* 17f. In the letter of dedication, after referring to his audience of the King (see *infra* p. 280), Waser wrote: "Qua in peregrinatione cum ipse D. Junius, tum plurimi alii summi Viri, quorum Dei gratia et Anglia, et Scotia feracissima est, non tantum sua nos dignati sunt amicitia, hodieque exinde dignantur, sed etiam longissime a paterno Lare dissitos liberaliter exceperunt. Quae et ipsa recordatio suavissima et jucundissima, animum addidit, ut dedicatione hac Majestatem Tuam humillime salutare minus sim veritus."

text carefully preserved. The footnotes which refer to both versions have been placed across the bottom of both pages and where necessary continued on the next page. A number of general notes, required for the understanding of the text as a whole, follow this introduction.

GENERAL NOTES

Note A: Waser's note on the text

In a note on the verso of the title page of the Latin version⁹² Waser explained that cities, towns and places of similar size and importance were indicated by capital letters, other places by small letters. In the German version these larger places have not been capitalized but italicized. In the text printed these distinctive features of both versions have been retained.

Note B: Symbols for the days of the week

In order to indicate the day of the week Waser added after the date the symbol employed in manuscripts from the fourteenth century for the planet which had given its name to that day⁹³. As a key to the symbols the following table may be found helpful.

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Latin Name</i>	
☉	Dies Solis	Sunday
☾	Dies Lunae	Monday
♂	Dies Martis	Tuesday
♀	Dies Mercurii	Wednesday
♃	Dies Jovis	Thursday
♀	Dies Veneris	Friday
♄	Dies Saturni	Saturday

⁹² Ms. Hodoeporica, 122. "Nota. Loca praestantiora cujusmodi sunt urbes, opida et similia, majusculis consignata sunt characteribus."

⁹³ In the seven day week, which in its origin is connected with the dogma that every period of time including the day had a planet for its regent, each day was assigned to one of the five planets recognized in ancient Ptolomaic astronomy and of the moon and the sun. Hence the Latin names for the days of the week. [See further *B. Richmond*, *Time Measurement and Calendar Construction*, Leiden 1956, 148, 163; *A. Cappelli*, *Dizionario di Abbreviature Latine ed. Italiane*, Milan 1949, 409ff.]

Note C:

In the Latin version Waser has recorded the places where meals were taken. As far as was practicable the normal sixteenth century pattern of two meals a day, *prandium* (taken about the middle of the day) and *coena* (taken at the end of the afternoon), was followed. On the ride from London to Scotland, however, whenever it was not certain that they would arrive at a suitable stopping place for *prandium*, a lighter meal, *jentaculum*, taken before setting out, was substituted. An exception was made on the day of the longest ride of the tour, that from Berwick to Edinburgh; three meals, *jentaculum*, *prandium* and *coena* are noted.

Note D:

At the extreme right hand side of the page in the Latin version Waser set down the distances between the places mentioned in accordance with the system of measurement used in the country through which they were passing, and at the end of the document compiled a table in which the totals for several countries were converted into German miles to give a grant total for the tour.

Waser defined a German mile as the distance which a man walking swiftly should cover in two hours⁹⁴, and a Belgian mile that which should be covered in one hour⁹⁵. The English mile was much shorter. In the text Waser stated that four or five English miles made one German mile⁹⁶, but in his conversion of English miles into German miles he took four English miles as equivalent to one⁹⁷.

For the distance given in the English part of the itinerary, Waser may have used one of several tables of itineraries currently available to travellers⁹⁸. His distances have been compared with those given in the table of itineraries at the end of *Harrison's Description of England*⁹⁹, and any discrepancies indicated in a footnote. For one part only of the Scottish

⁹⁴ Ms. Hodoeporica, p. 123.

⁹⁵ Ms. Hodoeporica, p. 126.

⁹⁶ *Infra* p. 279.

⁹⁷ Ms. Hodoeporica, p. 143.

⁹⁸ See further *H.G. Fordham*, *The Road-books and Itineraries of Great Britain 1570-1850*, Cambridge 1924; *Robson-Scott* 33f.

⁹⁹ Published originally in *R. Holinshed's "Chronicles"*, in 1577 and 1587, and reprinted in "*Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*", London 1807, 1.415-418, and in *F.J. Furnivall*, *Harrison's Description of England in Shakespeare's Youth*, published for the New Shakespeare Society, London 1877, 2.109-117. In the footnotes to the text references have been given to Furnivall's edition. According to *F. Seebohm*, *Customary Acres and their Historical Importance*, London 1914, 79-93, the distances given in "*Harrison's Description of Eng-*

tour did Waser's route and mileages agree with those given in *Harrison*¹⁰⁰. The distances given for the other parts of the tour were probably based on information obtained at stopping places.

The sea crossings are in all but one instance, which appears to have

land" were based on an old British mile of 1500 paces—the ancient customary itinerary measure of Britain—and not on the statute mile as defined in 1593.

¹⁰⁰ *Infra* pp. 280ff.

TEXT AND NOTES

M.D. XCI

Als wir zuo Vlyssingen¹ Herren Daniel de Dieu² praedicanten daselbst, ur Herren Sidneium³, so im namen der Königin Elisabetha uss Engelland, gube nator war, angeredt, sind wir von dannen uber das Englische hohe meer de 17. und 18. Decembris in Engelland geschiffet, plenis et secundis velis: als dass, da wir den 17. umb 4. uhr zuo abend in das schiff tretten, wir den 1. umb 4 uhr zuo morgen, Engelland albereit gesehen, aber wegen dess aestuare denselben gantzen tag uff dem fluss Tāms bliben müssen. Sind folgendes u Gravesand⁴, von dannen nach dem Königlich hus Grünwitsch⁵, und nach London gefaren: dahin wir, Gott lob, glücklich angelangt den 19. Decembris am sonntag, umb 1. uhr nach mittag. Da wir biss uf den anderen Martii dess folgenden jahrs bliben unnd was daselbst, inn der statt. Zuo Westmünster⁶, die Königh hofhielt, unn anderwärts, zusehen, besichtiget haben.

¹ Flushing, "the key to the navigation of the North Seas", was held and garrisoned by the English as a "cautionary town", from 1585. (*J. L. Motley, The United Netherlands*, London 1904, 1.382ff.)

² Daniel de Dieu (1540–1607), Protestant theologian and pastor at Flushing from 1585 until his death (*Biographie National de Belgique*, 16.63ff.).

³ Sir Robert Sidney (1563–1626), subsequently Viscount Lisle and first Earl of Leicester, was Governor of Flushing from 1588 to 1616 (*D.N.B.* 52.236f.; *Complete Peerage*, 7.553f.)

⁴ Gravesend, the usual haven for those travelling to and from the Continent by the North Sea. Hentzner, in 1598, writes of Gravesend as "a small town, famous for the convenience of its port; the largest Dutch ships usually call here". (Quoted in *W. B. Rye, England as seen by Foreigners in the days of Elizabeth and James the First*, London 1965, 183.)

⁵ The royal palace of Greenwich, where Queen Elizabeth was born. Hentzner's interesting description of his visit to the Palace in 1598 is given in *Rye*, 103–107. See also *R. S. Rait, Royal Palaces of England*, London 1911, 51–60, and *I. Dunlop, Palaces and Progresses of Elizabeth I*, London 1962, 26ff., 44.

been an error, reckoned to have been equivalent to thirty German miles. The distances between Kirkcudbright and Carlingford and between Dublin and Chester are given as one hundred and twenty English miles and converted to thirty German miles. The distance between Flushing and Gravesend is, on p. 138, as one hundred and twenty English miles, and is converted into thirty German miles. A further error has been noted. On p. 130 no figure is given for the distance between Gravesend and London but on p. 138 fourteen miles are added for this part of the journey.

ITER BELGICUM

IO IO XCI.

ense Decembri

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| 17. ♀ | VLUSSINGEN | Coena
Vesperī hora 4. navim
heic summus ingressi. |
| 18. h | ANGLIAE ora mane hora 4. a nobis visa. Inde toto die in
Tamisi, qui Anglorum nobilissimus est fluvius, haesimus propter
reciprocā maris fluxionem. | |
| 19. ○ | GRAVESAND ⁴ . LONDEN. Hora 1. pomeridiam ubi commorati
propter Aulam Vuestmonasterianam ⁶ et Reginam ⁷ , similiaque
visu digna ⁸ ad 2. diem Martii anni sequentis 1592. inde itineri
Scotico nos accinximus et Hibernico. Ad quae itinera, quia ante
Angliae longitudo fuit perambulanda: ideo isthoc prius tibi
Angliae Hodoeporicum, quod sequitur. | |

Summa milliarium Belgicorum: 26.

Adde 30 quae mari confecimus in Angliam, erunt: 56⁹.

⁶ The Great Hall of Westminster Palace, built by William Rufus and altered by Richard II in 1399. In 1512 the palace suffered greatly from fire and thereafter ceased to be used as a royal residence. For a brief description written in 1592 by John Norden see *Rye*, 96f. See also *Rait*, 23ff. and *Dunlop*, 59f. Waser is undoubtedly referring not only to Westminster Hall but to the Palace of Whitehall, situated within the precincts of the old Palace.

⁷ See *supra* p. 264.

⁸ For a list of the sights usually visited by foreign travellers see *Robson-Scott* 44, 49f.

⁹ See note on miles *supra* pp. 273f.

Von Londen sind wir nach Schottland verreisst,
lut diser Reiss.

M. XCII.

Mense Martio

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|
| 2. | ♂ | { | <i>Londen</i> ¹⁰
<i>Waltam</i> ¹¹
<i>Ware</i> |
| 3. | ♀ | { | <i>Royston</i>
<i>Kaytston</i> ¹²
<i>Huntington</i> ¹³ |
| 4. | ♂ | { | <i>Stilton</i>
<i>Stamfford</i> ¹⁴ |
| 5. | ⊙ | { | <i>Gramtan</i> ¹⁵
<i>Newark</i> ¹⁶ |
| 6. | ⋈ | { | <i>Tuxfort</i> ¹⁷
<i>Skrokbye</i> ¹⁸ |
| 7. | ♂ | { | <i>Dancaster</i> ¹⁹
<i>Feribrick</i> ²⁰
<i>Jork</i> ²¹ , Lat. Eboracum |
| 8. | ♀ | | <i>Richmont</i> ²² |
| 9. | ♂ | { | <i>Bowes</i>
<i>Bourgham</i> ²³
<i>Byreth</i> ²⁴ |
| 10. | ♀ | | <i>Keswyk</i> ²⁵ |

Allda die Höchstetter von Aug
purg ein küpferin bergwerck
angericht²⁶. von dannen
gezogen uf

¹⁰ From London to York the route of the Old North Road given in the French "Guide de Chemins", 1571, is followed. See *H.C. Darby*, ed. *An Historical Geography of England before A.D. 1800*, Cambridge 1961, 342. The distances are the same as those given in "Harrison's Description of England", 2.110, except that Royston is said to be thirteen miles, not twelve, from Ware, and Huntingdon sixteen miles, not fifteen, from Royston, and ten, not nine, from Stilton.

¹¹ Waltham.

¹² Caxton. It is mentioned in the Itinerary given by *Harrison*, 2.110.

¹³ Huntingdon.

¹⁴ Stamford.

¹⁵ Grantham.

¹⁶ Newark.

¹⁷ Tuxford. *Harrison's* "Tutford" (2.110).

¹⁸ Scrobye. "A little town belonging to the Archbishop of York on the very edge of the County." [*W. Camden*, *Britannia*, ed. *E. Gibson*, London 1722, 1.584.] It is not mentioned in the itineraries given by *Harrison* (2.110).

ITER ANGLICUM

IO IO XCII.
ense Martio

			Milliaria
		LONDEN ¹⁰	Prandium
2.	♂	Vualtam ¹¹	12.
		VVARE	{ Coena Jentaculum 8.
		Royston	13.
3.	♀	Kaytston ¹²	9.
		HVNTINGTON ¹³	{ Coena Jentaculum 7.
4.	℥	Stilton	10.
		STAMFORD ¹⁴	Coena 12.
		GRAMTAN ¹⁵	Prandium 16.
5.	○	NEVVARK ¹⁶	{ Coena Jentaculum 10.
		Tuxfort ¹⁷	10.
6.	⋈	Skrokbye ¹⁸	11.
		DANCASTER ¹⁹	Coena 7.
7.	♂	Ferribrik ²⁰	Prandium 10.
		JORK ²¹	{ Coena Jentaculum 15.
8.	♀	RICHMONT ²²	{ Coena Jentaculum 32.
9.	♂	Bowes	12.
		Bourgham ²³	Coena 13.
10.	♀	BYRETH ²⁴	Prandium 16.
		Keswick ²⁵	Coena 12.
			etc.

¹⁹ Doncaster.

²⁰ Ferrybridge; not in *Harrison*.

²¹ York. "The second largest city in England" (*Camden*, 2.876).

²² Richmond. The route to Keswick and Carlisle is not one of those given by *Harrison*, who, however, noted elsewhere an old road following a similar line (2.111, 146f.).

²³ Brough.

²⁴ Penrith. "It is commonly call'd Perith, and is a noted little market town." (*Camden*, 2.1019, who gives an interesting brief description.)

²⁵ Keswick. "A little market town; a place long since noted for mines ... and at present inhabited by miners" (*Camden*, 2.1006).

²⁶ A revival of copper mining operations, which appear to have been begun in the time of Henry III, took place near Keswick in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In 1565 the mines jumped into prominence as the most lucrative veins of copper in

Kokermouth²⁷

*Karlyh*²⁸.

Keswyk.

und wider nach

Von Kesswyck, der breite nach, dess gantzen
Engellands, geraisst, gen

Mense Martio³⁰

24. ♀ { *Lüttelcas*³¹
*Hexam*³²
25. ♂ { *Neufchastel*³³.

Da gebliben biss uff den 2 Maii

Mense Majo

2. ♂ *Anuic*³⁴
3. ♀ { *Baruick*³⁵.

Da gaht Schottland an, von
dannnen uns der Englisch guber-
nator³⁶, an den wir commendie
waren, etlich soldaten, uff
etlich myl wegs geben, umb der
unsicherheit willen.

4. ♀ { *Haymuth*³⁷
*Fauscastel*³⁸
*Dunbarre*³⁹
Haddington.
*Setoun*⁴⁰

Allda Robertus Setonius⁴¹
wohnet, ein sehr gelehrter Edel-
man, unnd ein liebhaber
frömbder Nationen.
Ist die haubstatt in Schottland.
Da wir verbliben, biss uff nech-
sten Sonntag. von dannnen
verreisst gen

Edinbourg.

Kokermouth ²⁷	16.
KARLVH ²⁸ . Hinc reversi	20.
Kesvvic.	20.

Summa milliarium, Anglicorum, quorum quatuor aut quinque unum efficiunt Germanicum²⁹. 291.

ITER SCOTICUM

IO IO XCII.

ense Aprili³⁰

Milliaria

24.	♂	<div> <div> <div>Kesvvic.</div> <div>Luttelcas³¹</div> <div>HEXAM³²</div> </div> <div> <div>Prandium</div> <div>Coena</div> <div>Prandium</div> </div> </div>	16.
25.	♂	NEVCASTEL ³³	16.
26.	♀		etc.

ense Majo

2.	♂	ANVIC ³⁴	<div> <div>Coena</div> <div>Jentaculum</div> </div>	24.
B. prima	3.	♀	<div> <div>BARVVIC³⁵</div> <div>HAIMVTH³⁷</div> <div>Faucastell³⁸</div> <div>DUNBARRE³⁹</div> <div>HADDINGTON</div> <div>SETOVN⁴⁰</div> <div>EDINBOVRG</div> </div> <div> <div>Coena</div> <div>Jentaculum</div> <div></div> <div></div> <div>Prandium</div> <div></div> <div>Coena. etc.</div> </div>	<div>24.</div> <div>5.</div> <div>7.</div> <div>8.</div> <div>8.</div> <div>6.</div> <div>6.</div>

the kingdom. The work was supervised by Daniel "Hechstetter" (1572), from Augsburg, who brought with him from Germany four hundred men. His widow died in 1610. A son, Daniel, was born in 1572 and an Emanuel Hechstetter is mentioned in 1597. The family intermarried and had descendents who played a prominent part in the North of England. [The Victoria History of the County of Cumberland, 2.342ff.; *C.M.L. Bouch* and *G.P. Jones*, A Short Economic and Social History of the Lake Counties 1500–1830, Manchester 1961, 119ff.; *J. Fisher Crosthwaite*, "The German Miners at Keswick", Transactions of the Cumberland Association for the Advancement of Literature and Science 8, 1882–83, 111–126; *Darby* 376.]

²⁷ Cockermouth. The distance from Keswick given by *Harrison* is six miles (2.111).

da wir den König, Jacobum V
damals, jetzund I magnae Bri-
tanniae⁴³, nach dem essen, als
uns herr Colonnell Stuart⁴⁴
anleitung geben, angeredt, und
litteras commendalitis a Do-
mino Beza übergeben: der uns
genedig empfangen, und wol
heissen traitieren in seinem
gantzen land, da er auch meine
junckeren in di stambbouch
geschriben⁴⁵. Sind von dannen
wider zogen gen

²⁸ Carlisle. "Cairluel" in Leland's *Itinerary*, ed. *L. Toulmin Smith*, London 1907, 5.54.

²⁹ See note on miles supra p. 273.

³⁰ In the Introduction, p. 265, I have accepted as correct the reading of the Latin version, as a visit of six weeks at Keswick is more understandable than a stay at Newcastle of about six weeks of which nothing is known.

³¹ Probably Lanercost, where there was in Leland's time an abbey of Black canons, *Itinerary*, 5.54. See also *Camden*, 2.1038.

³² Hexham.

³³ Newcastle, described by *Camden* as "the glory of all the Towns in this Country", and "in a most flourishing state of wealth and commerce" (2.1088). It was originally the strongest fortress in the North of England. The distances from Newcastle to Berwick are the same as those given by *Harrison*, 2.110.

³⁴ Alnwick, "Market towne". *Leyland's Itinerary*, 5.63. See also *Camden*, 2.1094.

³⁵ Berwick, described by *Camden* as "the last town in England and the best fortified in all England", had, according to *Hector Boece*, *Scotorum Historiae Prima Gentis Origine*, Paris 1574, been restored to the Scots in perpetuity by Henry VI, but did not long remain in Scottish hands. In the reign of Elizabeth its fortifications were strengthened, and the Castle, of which little now remains, was garrisoned until the union of the Crowns in 1603. [*Camden*, 2.1099; *J. Scott*, *Berwick upon Tweed*, History of the Town and Guild, London 1888, chapter 10; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, 3.817.]

³⁶ Henry Carey (1617), Baron Hundson, was appointed Governor of Berwick from 1568 but was in the South in 1591–92. The Deputy Governor and Marshal was Sir Henry Widdrington, to whom Waser undoubtedly refers. [Complete Peerage, 6.630; 12.625f.; D.N.B., 9.68f.; Calendar of State Papers, Scotland, 10 (1589–1593), Index under Widdrington; Calendar of Border Papers, 1 (1560–1594), Index under Woddryngton; *Scott*, chapter 10.]

³⁷ Eyemouth. The route followed to Dunbar is not one of those given by *Harrison*.

³⁸ Fast Castle, so called for its strength, but today a ruinous sea-fortress. About 1580 it became the stronghold of "one of the darkest characters of that age, the celebrated Logan of Restalrig", who was connected with the mysterious Gowrie

Conspiracy of 1600. [*Camden*, 2.1079; *F.H. Groome*, Ordinance Gazetteer of Scotland, Edinburgh 1885, 2.11.]

³⁹ Dunbar.

⁴⁰ Seton Palace, built at different periods "excelled in taste and elegance any other mansion of the 16th or 17th century, was esteemed much the most magnificent castle in Scotland. Its gardens and terrace walks, as well as its splendid interior, were the delight of kings". (*Groome*, 3.336.)

⁴¹ Robert, sixth Lord Seton and first Earl of Winton (1552-1603), succeeded in January 1586 his father, George Seton (for long a loyal supporter of Mary Queen of Scots), whom he had sometimes accompanied on missions to France. Robert Seton, a personal friend of James VI, was a member of the Privy Council. "He kept a very hospitable house, where the King and Queen, as well as French and other ambassadors, and strangers of quality, were nobly and frequently entertained." In 1589, when King James went to Denmark to bring back his bride, Seton was appointed one of the Council of Regency. He was elevated to an Earldom, with the title of Earl of Winton in November 1600. [*G. Seton*, History of the Family of Seton, Edinburgh 1896, 1.203ff.; *B.G. Seton*, The House of Seton, Edinburgh 1939, 1.173ff.]

⁴² Dalkeith. At Dalkeith, James, fourth Earl of Morton and Regent during the minority of King James VI, built in 1575 "a magnificent palace richly adorned with tapestries and pictures, and fitter for a king than a subject" (*Groome*, 1.336). From the end of February 1592 to May 1592 King James appears to have resided frequently at Dalkeith Palace. [Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, ed. *D. Masson*, 4.lxvi.]

⁴³ A clear indication that the German version had been composed after the accession of King James to the English throne in 1603.

⁴⁴ Colonel William Stewart of Houston (fl. 1575-1603), who had served in the Low Countries as a soldier, was in 1582 appointed captain of the King's guard and in 1583 a member of the privy council. For a time he was out of favour but later commanded the six ships commissioned to bring back the King and Queen from Denmark. In the summer of 1590 he was sent as an ambassador to the princes of Germany. On his return he was handsomely rewarded by the King on 12th January, 1591. Subsequently he was sent on several foreign missions. He was knighted in 1594. [D.N.B., 54.362ff.; *J. Ferguson*, The Scots Brigade in the Service of the United Netherlands, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh 1899, 1.115ff.] Stewart had some few years earlier entertained Lupold von Wedel. [Transactions Royal Historical Society, New Series, 9, 1895, 247.] In the letter of dedication of his edition of Conrad Graser's *Plaga Regia* (Zürich 1610), Waser attributed his introduction to King James to Peter Young. He wrote: "Accedit his omnibus singularis Clementia, qua Majestas Tua Serenissima benignissime complexa est Io. Petrum Heinzellium a Degenstein, Equitem Germanum, discipulum quondam meum, et me una cum illo, in peregrinatione nostra litteraria Anglico-Hiberno-Scotica, Anno M.D.XCII. Majestati Tuae commendatos ab insigni Ecclesiae Christi Φωστήρι, Theodoro Beza, sanctae memoriae: aditum ad Majestatem Tuam nobis faciente illo επιστήμονι βουλῆτε νοφτε Petro Junio, Ejusdem Consiliario dignissimo."

⁴⁵ The Album Amicorum or Stammbuch, as it was called in Germany where it originated amongst students in the sixteenth century, consisted of a collection of

12. ♀ *Edinburg:*

*Leth*⁴⁷.

*Kingorne*⁴⁸.

*Sant Andres*⁴⁹.

da wir bey Thoma Segnet⁴⁶ zu
tisch gängen. Von dannen gen

Allda es ein herrlich Vniversite
hat, unnd etlich schöne Colle-
gia⁵⁰, da wir angeredt Den her
Andream Melvinum⁵¹, und
andere gelehrte männer mehr⁵²
denen wir commendiirt worden
durch den freyherren Von
Fingas⁵³. Sind da verbliben bis
uff den 17. diss. von dannen
gereisst gen

blank leaves of paper or vellum bound in the form of a book, and was intended for the signatures and armorial bearings of the owner's friends and acquaintances as he moved from one University or country to another. Many of them contained in addition to signatures, classical or biblical quotations or other literary matter. A large number of examples have survived but that of Hainzel has not been traced. For further information see *Max Rosenheim*, *The Album Amicorum*, *Archaeologia* 62, 1910, 251–308; *Rye* xxi–xxxiii; *M. A. E. Nickson*, *Early Autograph Albums in the British Museum*, London 1970.

⁴⁶ Thomas Seggate (c. 1570–1628), a graduate of the second class of Edinburgh University in 1588. The following year he studied at Leiden under Justus Lipsius and returned to Scotland to become tutor to the children of Lord Seton. Later he left for the Continent where he spent the remainder of his life. His name occurs in the list of Scottish students at Padua for the year 1597–98. On 26th July, 1597, Lipsius sent him a glowing testimonial. He was received into the family of Pinelli, an enlightened and generous patron of literature, and is mentioned as one of the literary friends of Laurentius Pignorius. In 1614 he was at Frankfurt-am-Main. Seggate was known to Dempster, who described him as “antiquarius, Grace Latineque doctissimus”. [A Catalogue of the Graduates of the University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh 1889, 9; *Burmann*, 1.751ff.; *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*, 26; *Justus Lipsius*, *Omnia Opera*, Antwerp 1632, 2.306; *I. A. Andrich*, *De Natione Anglica et Scota Iuristarum Universitatis Patavinae*, Padua 1892, 173; *D. Irving*, *The Lives of the Scottish Poets*, Edinburgh 1804, 113f.; *J. F. Kellas Johnstone*, *The Alba Amicorum of George Strachan, George Craig and Thomas Cumming*, *Aberdeen University Studies* 95, Aberdeen 1924, 42; *T. Dempster*, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh 1829, 2.602; *O. Odložilik*, *Thomas Segget: a Scottish Friend of Szymon Szmonowicz*, *Polish Review* 11, 1966, 3–39.]

⁴⁷ Leith.

⁴⁸ Kinghorn. One of the regular ports from which crossings of the Firth of Forth werde made to Leith. Lupold von Wedel crossed “in a common boat”. [Transactions Royal Historical Society, New Series, 9, 1895, 244.]

12. ♀	{	EDINBOVRG	{	Coena. etc.	4.
		LETH ⁴⁷		Prandium.	
		Kingorne ⁴⁸ .			
		S. ANDRES ⁴⁹		Coena.	16. ⁵⁴
				Heic sumus commorati usque ad 17. diem hujus mensis.	

Summa milliarium Anglicorum et Scotiorum 168.

⁴⁹ St. Andrews.

⁵⁰ The University, founded in 1411, had in 1592 three colleges—St. Salvator's, founded in 1450, St. Leonard's in 1512, and St. Mary's College in 1538. [See further *R. G. Cant*, *The University of St. Andrews*, Edinburgh 1946, 22ff.]

⁵¹ Andrew Melville (1545–1622), Rector of the University, Principal of St. Mary's College from 1580 until 1606. Melville was one of the outstanding Scottish educational and ecclesiastical leaders of his time. He was well-known on the Continent, and had studied at Paris, Poitiers and Geneva, where he had also taught. [*T. McCrie*, *Life of Andrew Melville*, Edinburgh 1856.]

⁵² See supra p. 267.

⁵³ William Dundas (fl. 1580–1600), son of Archibald Dundas of Fingask, graduated at St. Andrews in 1579. His name occurs in the "Register of the Privy Council" as "apparent of Fingask" in 1591. During 1594 he is mentioned frequently as "the young Barron of Fingass" in the "Calendar of State Papers, Scotland", and in "Letters of John Colville". In the same year he accompanied Edward Bruce, Titular Abbot of Kinloss, on a mission to England. Thereafter he appears on the Continent as the friend of Karl von Zerotin, with whom, it has been suggested, he became acquainted at Geneva. Dundas had in all probability gone abroad with John Ruthven, Earl of Gowrie, late in 1594 or early in 1595, for at some time in the middle of the decade he introduced Ruthven to Zerotin. He did not return with Ruthven to Scotland in 1599, and, perhaps, as a result of the events of August 1600, decided to remain abroad. His younger brother Archibald was granted succession to the family estates of Fingask in February 1606. [Reg. P.C. Scot., 4.623; Calendar of State Papers, Scotland, 11.331, 347, 373, 377, 387; Letters of John Colville 1582–1603, ed. *D. Laing*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh 1858, 103, 106, 109f., where he is wrongly identified as Alexander Dundas; H.M.C. Salisbury Mss., 4.547ff., 5.9, 5.17; Early Records of the University of St. Andrews, Scottish History Society, ed. *J. M. Anderson*, Edinburgh 1926, 180; The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland 1580–1593, ed. *J. M. Thomson*, Edinburgh 1888, 1577; *Odložilík*, Casopisu Matice Moravske 41, 1935, 266; *Odložilík*, The Slavonic and East European Review 15, 1936–37, 420; *M. I. Dundas*, Dundas of Fingask, Edinburgh 1891, 33f.]

⁵⁴ We should probably read 26 miles here. *Harrison's* total for the route from Kinghorn to St. Andrews was 27 miles (2.116).

17.	♂	<i>Düindy</i> , Lat. Taiodunum ⁵⁵ .	
		Aberbroth ⁵⁷ .	
18.	♂	Setoun ⁵⁸ .	Da wir angeredt herren Petrun Junium, Consiliarium und altei praeceptorem dess Königs.
		[Montross ⁵⁹]	
		Barweh ⁶⁰ .	
		Cowyk ⁶¹ .	
19.	♀	Dunothrie ⁶² .	
		<i>Aberdin</i> .	Aberdonia, patria Johannis Jonstoni, und Roberti Hovaei ⁶ von dannen wider Vahrt gen
23.	♂	Cowyc ⁶⁴ .	
		Laurentskirch ⁶⁵ .	
		<i>Forfaire</i> ⁶⁶ .	
24.	♀	Northeile ⁶⁷	
		<i>S. Johnston</i> ⁶⁸	
		Kerknes ⁶⁹ .	
		Kingorne ⁷⁰ .	
25.	♂	<i>Edinbourg</i> .	Daselbst dem Parlament dess Reychs aufewartet ⁷¹ , und von dannen ferners gezogen.

⁵⁵ Dundee, in the late sixteenth century the second largest town in Scotland. [See *S.G.E. Lythe*, *Life and Labour in Dundee from the Reformation to the Civil War*, 5; *S.G.E. Lythe*, *The Economy of Scotland 1550–1625*, 117; Cameron 322.]

⁵⁶ The distance from St. Andrews to Taymouth (the modern Tayport or Ferry Port on Craig) given by *Harrison*, 2.116.

⁵⁷ Arbroath. The route to Aberdeen is more detailed than that given by *Harrison*, 2.116.

⁵⁸ Peter Young (1544–1628), nephew of Henry Scrimger, Professor of Law at Geneva, was educated probably at St. Andrews University and at Geneva where his name occurs on the first page of the Matriculation Register of the newly founded Academy in 1559. Ten years later he was appointed joint-instructor of the young James VI along with the celebrated Scottish humanist George Buchanan. In 1580 he purchased the estate of Easter Seatown, near Arbroath, and three years later built a mansion there, of which only one stone with the date and the initials of himself and his first wife is in existence, built into the farmhouse that now occupies its site. From 1586 Young was often employed by King James on foreign embassies. (D.N.B., 63.386ff.; *Stelling-Michaud*, 1.81.)

⁵⁹ Montrose.

⁶⁰ Bervie, or Inverbervie, a small coast town and royal burgh.

ITER SCOTICUM

IO XCII.

ense Majo

			Milliaria
17.	♂	{ S. ANDRES. DVNDY ⁵⁵	Prandium. 6. ⁵⁶
18.	♂	{ ABERBROTH ⁵⁷ Setoun ⁵⁸ MONTROSS ⁵⁹ Barweh ⁶⁰ Cowyc ⁶¹ Dunothrie ⁶²	Coena. 12. Prandium 1. 7. Coena 8. Prandium 8.
19.	♀	{ ABERDIN {	Coena 12. Vsque ad Prandium 22 diem hu- etc. jus mensis.
22.	♂	{ Cowyc ⁶⁴ Laurenskircs ⁶⁵ FORFAIRE ⁶⁶ Novthyle ⁶⁷ S. JOHNSTONE Kerknes ⁶⁹ Kingorne ⁷⁰ EDINBOVRG {	Coena 12. Prandium 10. Coena 16. Prandium 8. Coena 16. Prandium 12. 10. Coena 4. Prandium

⁶¹ Cowie. "A free burgh", now part of Stonehaven, standing on the north side of the bay. Waser, along with *Camden* (2.1257), was mistaken in placing Cowie south of Dunnottar.

⁶² Dunnottar. Waser is referring to Dunnottar Castle, now a ruined fortress on the coast of the parish of Dunnottar 1½ miles south by east of Stonehaven, and regarded by Groome as "one of the most majestic ruins in the kingdom". During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was the chief seat of the Earls Marischal (*Camden*, 2.1257; *Groome*, 1.442).

⁶³ See Introduction, *supra* pp. 262, 288.

⁶⁴ The route from Cowie to Perth and Kinghorn is not given by *Harrison*.

⁶⁵ Laurencekirk.

⁶⁶ Forfar.

⁶⁷ Newtyle, a village and parish in which Hatton Castle had been built in 1575 by Lawrence, fourth Lord Oliphant (*Groome*, 2.249; 3.114).

⁶⁸ The modern Perth.

⁶⁹ Kirkness, an old road junction south east of the south-eastern extremity of Loch Leven, Kinross-shire.

⁷⁰ Kinghorn.

⁷¹ See Introduction p. 268.

Mense junio

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|---|
| 9. | ♀ | Northbarwyc ⁷² .
Baas ⁷³ . | Ist ein insel mitten im mittell
einem sehafen, da vil 1000 gros
sen vögel instend, die zuo esser
gar guot sind, etc. von dannen
wider gen
von hinnen gen |
| 10. | | <i>Edinbourg.</i> | |
| 16. | ♀ | { Kirklyston ⁷⁴ .
<i>Lithko</i> ⁷⁵
Falkirch ⁷⁶
<i>Sterling</i> ⁷⁷ . | Ist ein Königlich statt, da die
jungen Printzen anzogen werde
Hat ein schöne schuol da.
wider gen |
| 17. | ♂ | <i>Glasquo</i> ⁷⁸ | |
| 18. | ○ | Dumbritoun ⁷⁹ , Britannodum. | |
| 19. | ⋈ | <i>Glasquo</i> . | |
| 20. | ♂ | { Vrwing ⁸⁰ . | |
| 21. | ♀ | <i>Air</i> ⁸¹ . | |
| 22. | ♂ | { Cumineck ⁸² . | |
| 23. | ♀ | { Sangar ⁸³ .
Tornhell ⁸⁴ | |
| 29. | ♂ | { Dumfriso ⁸⁵ . | |
| 30. | ♀ | | |

⁷² North Berwick.

⁷³ The Bass Rock, "a stupendous rocky islet off the north coast of Haddingtonshire", stands in the mouth of the Firth of Forth, 3 miles from North Berwick. Taylor, the Water poet, who travelled in Scotland in 1618, in his description of the Bass, made special mention of "the soleand goose, a most delicate fowle, which breeds in great abundance ... it is very good flesh". Waser was in all probability acquainted with the detailed description and drawing of the Solan goose of the Bass in Conrad Gesner's "Historiae Animalium", Zürich 1555, 3.158. [*P. Hume Brown*, Early Travellers in Scotland, Edinburgh 1891, 126f.; see also *T. McCrie*, The Bass Rock, its Civil and Ecclesiastical History, Geology, Martyrology, Zoology and Botany, Edinburgh 1848.

⁷⁴ Kirkliston. The route to Stirling, with the same mileages, was given by *Harrison*, 2.115, as part of his route to Dumbarton.

⁷⁵ Linlithgow, popularly Lithgow.

ense Junio

9.	♀	Nortbarwic ⁷²	{	Coena	16.
10.	♂	Baas ⁷³ . Hinc reversi	{	Prandium	1.
		EDINBOVRG		Coena. Etc. 17–Vsque ad 15. diem mensis junii.	

Summa milliarium Scoticorum 176

ITER SCOTICUM

IO IO XCII.

ense junio

Milliaria.

15.	♂	{	EDINBOVRG	Prandium	
		{	Kirklyston ⁷⁴		6.
		{	LITHGVO ⁷⁵	{	Coena
				{	Jentaculum
					6.
16.	♀	{	Falkirk ⁷⁶		6.
		{	STERLING ⁷⁷	{	Coena
				{	Prandium
					6.
17.	♂	{	GLASGVO ⁷⁸	{	Coena
				{	Prandium
					18.
18.	○	{	DVMBRITOVN ⁷⁹ . Hinc reversi	{	Coena
				{	Prandium
					10.
19.	☽	{		{	Coena
20.	♂		GLASGVO	{	Prandium
21.	♀			{	Coena
				{	Prandium
					10.
22.	♂	{	VRVING ⁸⁰	{	Coena
				{	Prandium
				{	Coena
				{	Prandium
					16.
23.	♀	{	AIR ⁸¹	{	Coena
				{	Prandium. Etc.
					8.
28.	♀		Cumineck ⁸²		Coena
					12.
29.	♂		Sangar ⁸³		Prandium
					12.
			Thornhell ⁸⁴		Coena
					10.
30.	♀		DVNFRISE ⁸⁵		Prandium
					10.

⁷⁶ Falkirk, made a burgh of barony in 1600 (*Groome*, 2.2ff.).

⁷⁷ Stirling, a royal burgh. From the thirteenth century its Castle was a favourite

[Mense Julio]

1. *h* *Kirkobri*⁸⁶

M. DXCII

Mense Julio

- | | | |
|-------------|---|--|
| 2. | Gefaren uss Schottland uber das Irländisch meer in Irland oder Hibernien. | |
| | <i>Kirkobri.</i> | von dannen mit 2. wilden schiffleuten, von Knokfergus ⁸⁷ gebürtig, gefaren. |
| | <i>Galloway</i> ⁸⁸ . | Ein insel, vor zeiten der Novanten Chersonesus, und darinn. |
| 2. <i>o</i> | <i>Coswell</i> ⁸⁹ . | |
| | <i>Man.</i> | Ein insel uff 24 meil lang, vor zeiten der Drüiden. Ist heutigs-tags ein königreich, deren könig ein blyene Cron tregt ⁹⁰ . |

royal residence. Prince Henry (1594–1612) received his education until 1603 at Stirling Castle, where King James VI had been brought up and educated. [*D.H. Willson*, King James VI and I, London 1956, 18ff.; *W.W. Seton*, The Early Years of Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, and Charles, Duke of Albany [Charles I] 1593–1605, *Scottish Historical Review* 13, 1915–16, 366–379.]

⁷⁸ Glasgow was, at this time the most important city of the West, but not so large as the cities of the east coast (*Lythe*, The Economy of Scotland, 70, 251f.). Its university, founded in 1450, had during the years 1575–1579 been revived by Andrew Melville. Neither Glasgow nor the route to Kirkcudbright is mentioned by *Harrison*. [*J. Durkan* and *J. Kirk*, The University of Glasgow 1451–1577, Glasgow 1977; *J.D. Mackie*, University of Glasgow, 63ff.]

⁷⁹ Dumbarton. A royal burgh. Its Castle, situated upon a high rock was reckoned at the end of the sixteenth century one of the three great national fortresses (*Groome*, 1.384ff.). *Camden* (2.1218) described it as “both by nature and situation the strongest Castle in all Scotland”.

⁸⁰ Irvine.

⁸¹ Ayr.

⁸² Cumnock.

ense julio 1. ñ	KIRKOBRI ⁸⁶	Coena	24.
		Prandium	
		Coena	

Summa milliarium Scotieorum 154.

ITER HIBERNICUM

IO. IO. XCII

ense julio

2. ○ KIRKOBRI.

Navem hinc ad millia su-
mum ingressi 12. hora noctis,
nautas nacti ex Hiberniae
septentrionalis oppido, quod
Knokfergus⁸⁷ dicitur, comi-
tante nos Scoto, cive Kirko-
brio, Thoma Massonio.

GALLOVVIDIA⁸⁸.

Mane a nobis visa, quondam
Novantum Chersonesus, et in
hac Metropolis.

COSVELLA⁸⁹.

Post meridiem Insula
famosissima

MAN⁹⁰

quam Druidam insulam qui-
dam volunt fuisse cujus lon-
gitudine ad 24. millia fere
extendi.

⁸³ Sanquhar.

⁸⁴ Thornhill.

⁸⁵ Dumfries, a royal burgh the name of which was formerly written Dunfres (*Groome*, 1.390ff.).

⁸⁶ Kirkcudbright. According to *Camden* (2.1199), "the most convenient harbour of this Coast".

⁸⁷ Knockfergus. Carrickfergus in Northern Ireland. According to *Camden* (2.1403), who described it as "more famous than many other upon the coast, by reason of a commodious harbour and for its fortifications", the English called it "Knocfergus" but the Irish "Carigfergus". For interesting descriptions by seven-teenth century travellers see *C. L. Falkiner*, *Illustrations of Irish History and Topog-raphy*, London 1904, 368ff., 423ff.

⁸⁸ The Mull of Galloway—not an island but a peninsula as the name "Chersonesus" states (see *Camden*, 2.1201).

⁸⁹ Corsewall.

⁹⁰ The length of the island is the same as that given by *Buchanan*, *Rerum Sco-*

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 3. | Carlingfort gesehen ⁹¹ .
<i>Drodah</i> ⁹² . | Nach mittag angefahren zu
Ein statt. |
| 4. | Dublin. | Die haubstatt in Irland. |

Uss irrland wider in Engelland gefaren.

- | | | |
|----------|--|---|
| 8. ħ | <i>Dublin.</i> | |
| 9. ○ | Engelland gesehen umb mittag, da wir wegen eines sturmwinds
uff dem meer bleiben müssen. | |
| 10. ∩ | <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle; margin-right: 5px;">{</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <i>Kirkipri</i>⁹⁴.
 <i>Westcester</i>⁹⁵. </div> </div> | Da wir uss dem schiff treten,
und zulang gereisst, gen |
| 12. ♀ | <i>Wytsch</i> ⁹⁶ . | |
| 13. ʒ | <i>Ston</i> ⁹⁷ | |

ticarum Historiae, Frankfurt am Main 1594, 26. Neither *Buchanan* nor *Camden* (2.1439f.) mention the Druids in connection with the Isle of Man, but Waser may have been dependent on Boece (*Scotorum Historiae prima gentis origine*, 22), who does, and who was followed by Spottiswoode. [History of the Church of Scotland, Spottiswoode Society, Edinburgh 1851, 1.4ff.] The title “King of Man” was given up by Thomas III (1504–1521), of the House of Stanley, but the island continued to regard itself as a Kingdom. (*A. W. Moore*, History of the Isle of Man; *E. H. Stenning*, Isle of Man, 37.) “The right of being crowned with a golden crowne” is mentioned in 1393. [*J. Train*, Historical and Statistical Account of the Isle of Man, 1845, 1.153.]

3.	Д	CARLINGFORDIA ⁹¹	Hoc mane. Post meridiem portus quinque ab urbe milliaribus ubi navem egressi pervenimus,	Milliaria.
		DRODAH ⁹²	Coena	5.
			Prandium	
4.	♂	DVBLIN	Coena	20. Heic commorati summus usque ad 8. diem hujus mensis. Excurrit autem summa mil- liarium, quae in Hibernia confecimus ad 25. quibus additis milliaribus 120. quae mari confecimus ex Scotia in eam, erunt 145.

Summa milliarium Hibernicorum, quae eadem sunt cum Anglicanis 145.

REDITVS in ANGLIAM

IO. IO. XCH

ense jul.

8.	h	DVBLIN.	Vesperī navim heic conscen- dimus hora IV.	
9.	○	ANGLIAE	pars visa sub meridiem, quae CORNVALLA ⁹³ dicitur, in cujus littore cum nonnihil tempestatis esset, ea nocte nobis haerendum fuit.	
10.	Д	{ Kirkipri ⁹⁴ . Portus.	Hinc iter ingressi summus versus	Milliaria
		{ LONDINVM, ut sequitur.		
		{ VVESTCHESTER ⁹⁵	{ Prandium Coena Prandium, Etc.	10.
12.	♀	VVYCHE ⁹⁶	Coena	15.
13.	♂	STONE ⁹⁷	{ Prandium Coena	15.

14. ♀ { *Litschfeld*⁹⁸.
 { *Colesyl*⁹⁹.
 15. ♂ *Coventri*¹⁰⁰.
 *Dentri*¹⁰¹

⁹¹ Carlingford. The distance between Carlingford and Drogheda was, according to *Camden*, fifteen miles (2.1393).

⁹² Drogheda.

⁹³ This is hardly possible; Waser had probably mistaken the north of Wales for Cornwall.

⁹⁴ West Kirby on the north side of the Dee estuary.

⁹⁵ Chester (or Westchester) was in the sixteenth century the "post town for Ireland" but in *Camden*'s day "its doom was sealed" and Liverpool had become "the most convenient and usual place for setting sail for Ireland" (*Darby*, 372ff.). The route from Chester to London is that given in the French "Guide de Chemins" of 1571, and in *Harrison*, 2.111 (see Map in *Darby*, 342, Fig. 64). Apart from the distance between Westchester and Wyche, where there is one mile of difference, the mileage is the same as in *Harrison*.

⁹⁶ Nantwich.

⁹⁷ Stone.

⁹⁸ Lichfield.

⁹⁹ Coleshill.

¹⁰⁰ Coventry.

¹⁰¹ Daventry. The route, in the German version, ends at this point and is followed by the note printed below, p. 294.

¹⁰² Towcester.

¹⁰³ Stony Stratford.

¹⁰⁴ Little Brickhill or Brickhill Bow.

¹⁰⁵ St. Albans.

¹⁰⁶ Visits to the royal palaces in the counties surrounding London and to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were considered essential parts of most visits to England by foreigners in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. [*Robson-Scott* 61; *J. Parkes*, *Travel in England in the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford 1925, 281; *Shakespeare's England*, 1.208f.; An Itinerary, *Fynes Moryson*, Glasgow 1907, 2.116; *Rye*, 17ff., 132ff., 172f.

¹⁰⁷ Nonsuch Palace, near Cheam, Surrey. [See *J. Dent*, *The Quest for Nonsuch*, London 1962; *Rait* 72ff.; *Dunlop* 35f., 102ff.

¹⁰⁸ Hampton Court Palace (see *Rait* 167ff.; *Dunlop* 28f., 87ff.).

¹⁰⁹ Windsor Castle (see *Rait* 78ff.).

¹¹⁰ Richmond Palace (see *Rait* 60ff.; *Dunlop* 28, 74ff.).

¹¹¹ Perhaps Lambeth.

¹¹² See *supra* note 106.

¹¹³ Uxbridge.

¹¹⁴ The route from London to Oxford is that given by *Harrison*. The distances are the same except that Wheatley is given as six miles from Tetsford and four from Oxford (2.114).

¹¹⁵ Beaconsfield.

¹¹⁶ High Wycombe.

14.	♀	LYCHFELD ⁹⁸	Prandium	16.
		COLESYL ⁹⁹	Coena	12.
15.	℥	COVENTRI ¹⁰⁰	Prandium	8.
		DENTRI ¹⁰¹	Coena	14.
16.	○	TOCHESTER ¹⁰²		10.
		STONISTRATFORD ¹⁰³	Prandium	6.
		Birkyl ¹⁰⁴		7.
17.	⋈	DVNSTABLE	Coena	7.
		S. ALBONS ¹⁰⁵		10.
		BARNET	Prandium	10.
		LONDEN	Coena	10.

Summa milliarium Anglicorum 150.

Adde 120. per fretum Hibernicum: erunt 270.

ITER ANGLICUM

IO. IO. XCII
ense Augusto.

I. Ad palatia Reginae¹⁰⁶

				Milliaria.
4.	♀	{ LONDEN.		
		{ Nonsuch ¹⁰⁷	Prandium	7.
		{ KINGSTON	Coena	3.
5.	℥	{ Hamtoncourt ¹⁰⁸		1.
		{ VVINSOR ¹⁰⁹ Hinc reversi.	Prandium	20.
		{ KINGSTON		20.
6.	○	{ RICHMONT ¹¹⁰		10.
		{ Lamburie ¹¹¹		4.
		{ LONDEN	Coena. Etc.	2.

II. Ad Academias Angliae¹¹²

11.	♀	{ LONDEN.		
		{ Oxbridge ¹¹³		15. ¹¹⁴
		{ Beconsfelde ¹¹⁵	Prandium	7.
		{ Vuickam ¹¹⁶		5.
		{ Stockinkirshe ¹¹⁷		5.
		{ Tutswort ¹¹⁸	Coena	5.

Nota. haben auf diser reiss auch die zwo weitberümtten Englischen Vniuersiteten Oxfurt vnd Cantabrigiam, uund darinnen uff die 30 stattlicher, ja fürlicher Collegia¹²³, samt Witakero¹²⁴, Caso¹²⁵, Alberico Gentili¹²⁶, unn ander gesehen und angereedt.

¹¹⁷ Stokenchurch.

¹¹⁸ Tetsworth.

¹¹⁹ Wheatley Bridge.

¹²⁰ Oxford.

¹²¹ Bedford.

¹²² St. Neots.

¹²³ According to *Camden* (1.307ff., 481ff.), there were sixteen colleges at both Oxford and Cambridge.

¹²⁴ William Whitaker (1548–1595), Master of St. John's College, Cambridge 1586–95, and a highly respected Puritan and Calvinist. [D.N.B., 61.21; *Cross*, Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, London 1957, 1454.]

¹²⁵ John Case (1600), Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, theologian, philosopher and musician. His fame was made as a commentator on Aristotle. One of his books, published in 1585, was the first book printed in Oxford by the University Press, and was so highly valued that in 1590 every Bachelor of Arts was ordered to buy one on taking his degree. He is remembered as one who gave his College fame in its early years. [D.N.B., 9.262; *W.H. Hutton*, S. John Baptist College, Oxford University College Histories, London 1898, 64ff.]

¹²⁶ Alberico Gentili (1552–1608), Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford from 1587, was one of the earliest systematic writers on international law. He settled in England as a religious refugee in 1580 and began teaching at Oxford in the following year. In 1586 he accompanied the embassy of Sir Horatio Pallavicino to Germany but returned to Oxford to become Professor of Civil Law. (D.N.B., 21.124ff.)

¹²⁷ The route from Cambridge to London is given in the reverse order with the same distances by *Harrison*, 2.114f.

¹²⁸ Fowlmere.

¹²⁹ Barkway.

¹³⁰ Waltham.

¹³¹ Theobalds Palace in 1592 home of Lord Burghley, Secretary and Lord High Treasurer of England (see *Dunlop* 123f., 166ff.). A visit to this Palace, apart from that one indicated here, is mentioned p. 143 of the Ms. Hodoeporica

¹³² Greenwich.

¹³³ Gravesend.

¹³⁴ Flushing.

¹³⁵ See note on miles supra p. 273.

12.	ℏ	{	Vueatlebridg ¹¹⁹ .		5.
		{	OXFORT ¹²⁰	{ Prandium	
				Coena	5.
13.	○		BEDFORT ¹²¹	Prandium	
14.	⋈		S. Nides ¹²²	Coena	24.
			CAMBRIDGE.	Prandium	10.
				Coena. Etc.	10.

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ITER ANGLICUM

D. IO. XCII
ense Augusto

				Milliaria
15.	♂	{	CAMBRIDGE ¹²⁷	
		{	Fulmire ¹²⁸	6.
		{	Barkeway ¹²⁹	6.
		{	WARE	Coena 12.
16.	♀	{	Vualtam ¹³⁰	8.
		{	Diebolt ¹³¹ .	
		{	LONDEN	{ Prandium 12. Vsque ad
				Coena. Etc. 23. diem
				Aug.
24.	♂	{	GRONVICHE ¹³²	4.
		{	GRAVESAND ¹³³	Prandium 10.
25.	♀		OCEANUS germanicus	
26.	ℏ		VLVSSINGEN ¹³⁴ .	

Summa milliaria Anglicorum. 58.

Adde 30. Germanica per mare, quae 120

circiter Anglica conficiunt¹³⁵ erunt 178.
