Attending to Early Modern Women,
21-23 June 2012

Workshop Title:
“A voyage infinitly & most zealously desired”: Theorizing Women’s Travel in the Early Modern World

Workshop Summary:
In keeping with the plenary theme of “Exchanges,” this workshop offers primary source readings that trace women’s movements, travels, migrations and displacements both voluntary and involuntary, both documented and obscured. We will place a primary emphasis on the methodological problems women’s travel writing presents. We therefore seek to build a vocabulary, a canon, and a comparative apparatus for discussing writing by women and about travel both in Europe and in the wider world.

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Workshop Description:
This workshop invites participants to assess and suggest new approaches to women’s travel writing from the period 1550 to 1750. This period saw an outpouring of prose writing by and about travelers even as legal and cultural restrictions on travel mounted. Despite the fact that for women these restrictions were even more profound, women did document their travels in print, in manuscript, in letters and diaries, and in collections of objects, artwork, and clothing.

In keeping with the plenary theme of “Exchanges,” this workshop offers primary source readings that trace women’s movements, travels, migrations and displacements — nonvoluntary, involuntary, and voluntary, to adapt the male-oriented schema from Thomas Palmer’s An Essay of the Meanes how to make our Trauailes, into forraine Countries, the more profitable and honorable (1606). Interrogating treatises such as Palmer’s, which presume a male traveler, we propose to place a primary emphasis on the methodological problems women’s travel writing presents. These sources continue to be overlooked or obfuscated whether printed anonymously, documented in lost, unknown, or seldom seen manuscript materials, or appropriated as evidence for the travels of husbands, children, or masters.

We therefore seek to build a vocabulary, a canon, and a comparative apparatus for discussing writing by women and about travel both within borders and overseas, both in
Europe and in the wider world, and both in the traditional “Age of Discovery” of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and in the century that followed, when travel took on new meanings and associations with tourism, science, empire, and exile.

We offer the following questions as a starting point for discussion, which we plan to extend across disciplines: In considering the genre of *ars apodemica* (art of travel) advice books written for men, we ask if there an unspoken or unwritten *ars apodemica* for women and how might it be different? How might the primary sources we consider (travel writing by women) change our reading or understanding of some of the ‘ur-texts’ of travel writing from this period? How might learning more about women’s travel and travel writing contribute to our understanding of involuntary travel (from marriage matches, to service, to slavery, to migration and forced flight) in this period? How can we reconnect popular notions of travel as adventure with the contemporaneous reality of involuntary travel? While we ground our interrogation in English-language texts, we hope to extend this discussion to writing by and about women who traveled across Western Europe and into the Ottoman Empire and environs during the early modern era.

**Reading List:**

*Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice* 16-25 (1910-24). (selections relating to the Countess of Arundel, 6 pages)


Lassels, Richard. “The Voyage of ye Lady Catherine Whetenhall into Italy in ye Holy Year.” ms 7119. Bibliotheque Royale de Belgique, Bruxelles. 33v-34r. (1 page)

*A Memorial of all the Rooms at Tart Hall and an Inventory of All the Household Stufs and Goods there Belonging to the Rt. Hon. The Countess of Arundel, 8th September, 1641* in Cust, Lionel. “Notes on the Collections Formed by Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel and Surrey, K.G.—III.” *Burlington Magazine* 20.106 (1912): 234-5. (2 pages)


**Additional Suggested Readings:**


Alvise Zorzi, Proveditore of Zara, to the Doge and Senate

I must not forget to inform your Serenity that some days ago Viscount Porbeck, brother of the Lord High Admiral Buckingham, his Majesty's favourite, left here to go to the baths of Spa in Flanders, with his wife and some other ladies. The Countess of Arundel has also left for the same place. I hear that the viscount wishes to go on to Italy and to Venice out of curiosity, and the countess to go to Padua to see her sons. It would be advantageous to show appropriate honour to the former, not so much for himself but for the sake of his brother upon whom fair fortune continues to shine so benignantly. The latter is well known to your Excellencies. I will content myself with notifying this much because I have not been able to discover with absolute certainty what were their intentions, and possibly their own minds were not completely made up before their departure.

London, the 6th August, 1620 [Italian.]

Giacomo Vendramin, Venetian Secretary at Milan, to the Doge and Senate

The Countess or Princess of Arundel, an Englishwoman, has passed through Milan on her way to Padua to visit one or two of her sons staying there. As she wished to remain incognito and did not wish his Excellency to know that she was her, she arranged with a merchant, who placed her for a night in the house of one Sig. Ercole Visconti, which happened to be empty, the owner being away at his villa. When his Excellency heard this he wroth, because he desired, so they think, to do her honour. He threw the merchant into a dark prison, with fear of worse, upon the pretext that he had not informed the magistrates of a foreigner staying in the city.

Milan, the 7th October, 1620 [Italian.]

Girolamo Lando, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate

The Countess of Arundel and her sons have been recalled from Venice, a gentleman being sent with orders from his Majesty himself to bring her back. A pamphlet which has appeared in France upon the conversion of the Countess has displeased them, and here they have allowed to appear a poisonous book against the Popes and Cardinals which was kept suppressed for many years.

London, the 11th March, 1622 [Italian.]

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1 "One Boroughs, that was secretary to the late lord chancellor, and hath an office of keeping the records in the Tower, is sent to call home the Countess of Arundel but whether from the king or her lord I cannot say."

Chamberlain to Carleton, the 9th March, 1622. Court and Times of James I, ii, page 297. The gentleman was Sir John Borough.
The English ambassador came into the Cabinet with the Countess of Arundel, whom he held by the right hand. He gave her his usual place on the right hand of his Serenity and himself sat on the left. After the Countess had stated her errand in English, the ambassador standing the while, he sat down and interpreted as follows:

The reason for this unusual appearance is a great and urgent matter, although for an insufficient and unfounded cause. Yesterday this noble lady on returning home found a group of people discussing the fate of that unhappy gentleman who ended his days by the hand of the executioner. They said that common report traced a share in that affair back to her, and it was in discussion to make some intimation to her on the subject. She might be well advised to secure her reputation as people were speaking publicly on the subject. This lady therefore, feeling what was due to her birth and position, as wife of the Earl Marshal of England, and conscious of her own integrity, decided to appear before your Serenity getting me to introduce her to tell you these facts and receive your commands, as far from desiring to escape she wishes to submit herself to them in order to prove her sincerity and vindicate her reputation.

The doge replied: This matter is entirely fresh to us. As the countess understands our tongue we can assure her that there has not been a syllable or shadow of a question upon the matter which the ambassador has pronounced. We rejoiced to see your ladyship this morning and thought that you had come to ask some favour. We regret greatly the reason which has brought you, but assure you that there has not been the slightest idea of any such thing. It was possibly started by some rascals who wished to cover themselves. Foscarini has expiated his previous malpractices; that is the end of him. Your ladyship enjoys the love and esteem of the republic, where all your countrymen are most welcome. We rejoice to communicate our affairs to his Majesty and especially to the present ambassador, whose friendly disposition we know.

The ambassador thanked the doge for the compliment. The lady would depart much relieved at what he had said. The republic had no more sincere friend than herself, no greater well wisher than her husband. As the rumour against her was public she desired public reparation. However, she was entirely satisfied by the doge's reply and placed herself in their hands. The doge added further complimentary remarks and said that if the ambassador could give him any clue to those who had spread such lies he would punish them in an exemplary manner. The countess returned thanks with effusion, and they then departed.

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2 Antonio Foscarini
3 An English translation of this is printed in the Report upon Documents in the Archives and Public Libraries of Venice, by Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, pages 76, 77.
ambassador knew for certain that the Senate had decided to tell her to leave their dominions in a few hours, and advising her to return to her villa and leave before intimation was made. The countess was much astonished, but told the secretary she thanked Wotton for the advice, which however he would not accept but would hasten to Venice.

She arrived there that evening and landed first at the ambassador's where she conversed some time without his mentioning the matter, so she was the first to remark that she wanted to have from his own mouth the confirmation of what the secretary had told her. The ambassador said it was quite true and the decision was because they knew her house had been frequented by the papal nuncio, the secretary of the emperor and the Cavalier Foscarini. He had heard of this fifteen days earlier but did not wish to disturb her by telling her. The countess said she was amazed how such a false report got about and swore to him as the ambassador of her sovereign that she had never set eyes on any one of the three persons named, in her house, in fact no diplomat had been there except himself and the resident of Florence. As this concerned the English name as well as her own reputation she would go to the Cabinet on the following morning to clear it up; if he would assist her she would be glad, if not she would go alone. The ambassador tried hard to dissuade her, but finding her more and more determined he could not help going with her, and your Excellencies know the rest.

She was highly pleased with the doge's gracious reply, and her distress vanished to a great extent, although Wotton told her afterwards that the words were arranged beforehand, trying to leave her with the impression that the matter had been previously debated by the Savii with some discussion about her person. Accordingly she is very angry with Wotton, not only for making her believe as certain what the republic never thought, and by the bad advice to flee and so create an indelible impression of guilt, but because she is not without reasonable suspicion that he had something to do with the origin of this false report, because he objected to her staying in this city, fancying that she watched his proceedings, and was a weight on his arms, preventing him from acting with such freedom in public affairs as he desired.

On Friday she sent a full account to her husband, and will perhaps send a special gentleman to his Majesty trying to be avenged on Wotton, as Vercellini hinted to me, and penetrate to the heart of the matter, and before going she wished Wotton to confirm before his Serenity that he had written and said the above words. She considers the doge's gracious words sufficient, but she would be perfectly consoled if she could obtain something in writing. I told him this was not usual, but he remarked that as the injury was public, not only in Venice but in all the Courts, some public demonstration on the other side would be especially appreciated by her.

As I did not know whether I ought to show any knowledge of this affair, I confined myself to generalities in my conversation with Vercellini, but as he is a Venetian and for other reasons I thought it my duty to report the matter. [Italian.]

To the ambassador in England.
The Countess of Arundel, having come into the College with the Ambassador Wotton, informed us of an injurious accusation laid against her, as you will see by the enclosed copy of her statement. Although in answering her his Serenity made ample amends, we wish to make a
special demonstration, according to the accompanying decree. We charge you to speak to the lady's husband so that he entertain no doubt of the invalidity of the report and remain convinced of the affection and esteem of the republic for him, augmented by the dignified and most open life led here by the countess, who is educating her sons in the sciences, to render them faithful imitators of their father and ancestors. If he wishes you will read to him the aforesaid decree, omitting nothing which may serve to tranquillise his mind upon a matter in which it behoves us to give just satisfaction. Should the earl desire it you will give similar assurances to the king, so that our wish to give the earl entire satisfaction may be manifest. Should you ascertain that any report at variance with the truth is in circulation and has reached the king, we give you leave to make precisely the same statement to his Majesty as that which the countess received from us.

In proof of our good-will we have decided to present the lady with various confections and other refreshments. As certain particulars have been communicated to us upon this affair, which render it more important, opening our eyes and disclosing the motives and ends of those who perhaps aim at avoiding the discovery of their own proceedings here, we send the minutes of this audience so that you may use them as a guide to sift the matter and ascertain what impression it produces in England, so as to give us distinct account thereof.

That the officials of the Razon Vecchie do expend one hundred ducats in confections and wax to be sent in the name of the State to the Countess of Arundel.4


In accordance with the deliberation of the Senate Lionello was sent yesterday evening to tell the English ambassador and the Countess of Arundel to come into the Collegio this morning. Lionello reported that on his doing so the countess welcomed the favour of an audience and the ambassador also, but when told that the countess also was asked he changed colour. He confirmed this by saying that he had no business to treat with that lady before his Serenity, yet he would come and receive the public commands and she would enjoy this very great honour.

Accordingly the countess and the ambassador came into the Collegio together and were seated as before…. After the deliberation had been read, and listened to most attentively by both, though it produced very different effects upon them, the countess spoke first, in English, the ambassador interpreting. He said, This lady thanks you warmly for the great honour accorded to her…. The countess will present a compendium of the affair, and with that she rose and presented the two sheets she held to his Serenity…. They are as follows:

Most Serene Prince,

My devotion towards the republic could no better be expressed than by my coming with my two sons to live here for so long a time, with my king's consent. I shall always preserve and indelible memory of the favours accorded to me and to my sons, especially the last on the 22nd April, concerning my honour and reputation. But as the false rumour against me seems to gather strength I have thought it necessary to procure a relation from the English ambassador which I hand to your Serenity, and which I desire my king to see and the rest of the world, so that the benignity of your Serenity and my innocence may both appear at the same time. But first I

4 A translation is printed in Sir Thomas Hardy's Report, page 78.
thought it my duty to show it to you, begging you to acquaint his Majesty with my innocence, and to provide for the extinction of the false report which is still current against me.

Alethea, Arundel and Surrey

Volume 17: 1621-1623 pp. 501-514
Letters patent of Antonio Priuli, Doge of Venice, to allow seventy bales of the goods of the Countess of Arundel to be taken to London, to pass freely without hindrance.
Ayes 19. Noes, 0. Neutral, 3. [Italian.]
669. Enclosure.
The Countess of Arundel has ordered the goods which she has used and had in this city for a long time to be sent to England. She has had them packed and sealed with her seal, and they amount to about 70 bales in all, but are all goods of her using. Request for permission to allow them to go as goods that have been used. [Italian.]
670. Enclosure.
Notification that the bales of the Countess of Arundel have been examined in accordance with the orders of the Collegio, and so far as can be seen they are all goods she has used.
The 19th November, 1622.
Ludovico Collini, governor of the Customs. [Italian.]

Volume 17: 1621-1623
The English Ambassador came into the Cabinet and said… I have another office to perform in the name of the Countess of Arundel. She is at Turin where she will remain until severe weather has passed and where she has recently many honours. She has not known how to thank you for the honours shown to her here…. [Italian.]

Volume 17: 1621-1623 pp 574-591
Marc Antonio Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in Savoy, to the Doge and Senate.
The Countess of Arundel left yesterday morning for Genoa. The duke made her various presents and with the princes, his sons, accompanied her part of the way. She declares that she intends to proceed afterwards to Marseilles and thence to the Hague to see the Princess Palatine again. Some, however, do not hesitate to say that she means to proceed to Spain to remain there in attendance upon the Infanta until the completion of the nuptials.
Turin, the 13th March, 1623. [Italian.]

Volume 17: 1621-1623 pp 610-622
Valerio Antelmi, Venetian Secretary at Florence, to the Doge and Senate.
The Countess Arundel was staying at Genoa, whither she went with very favourable letters from the Governor of Milan. They say she will proceed to Spain to serve the Infanta, who is destined for the Prince of England.
Florence, the 1st April, 1623. [Italian.]

Volume 18: 1623-1625 pp 596-613
The English Ambassador came into the Cabinet and said…. I pass from a public to a private matter. The Countess of Arundel arranged with the painter, Titian Titianelo, and paid him to go to England to paint some pictures for her. Not content with deceiving her and taking her money he has gone on to slander her saying he did not go because he feared she would take him to Spain, whither she was going from Genoa. The earl and countess are much incensed and ask your Serenity for justice. I ask you to put him in prison. He is unworthy of the anger of persons of such rank. I will be the first to ask pardon for him.

The doge returned thanks for the news. The ambassador would always be welcome. They regretted the bad behaviour of the painter, Titiano. They would endeavour to make him conscious of his error and satisfy the countess and her husband. According when the ambassador left the Cabinet, the Avogador Vendramino was charged to arrest the painter. [Italian.]

Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.
Last Sunday they performed a masque at Court, consisting of the king himself and fourteen other lords, at which divers ladies countermasked took part, forming a graceful diversion. I was present, invited by the Countess of Arundel who, mindful of the great favours she received at Venice, studies every way to show her gratitude to your Serenity's ministers. At the banquet at her house I found myself next to Vindebanch, the Secretary of State from whom I learned … London, the 22nd of January, 1637 [Italian.]
My dear love salutes you all in one, you have been often in my remembrance since I departed from you, & being now returned into England & many tryallss such as I was never tried with before, yet have I borne my testimony for the Lord before the King unto whom I was set sent, & he was very noble unto me, & so were all that were about him, he & all that were about him received the words of truth without contradiction, they do dread the name of the God many of them & eyss his Messengers, there is a royall seed amongst them, which in time God will raise, th[illegible] more near truth then many Nations, there is a love begot [illegible] towards them which is endlesse, but this is my hope concerning them that he who hath caused me to love them more then many others will also raise his seed in them unto which my love is, Neverthelesse though they be called Turkes the seed in them is near unto God, & their kindnesse hath in some measure been shewn towards his servants after the word of the Lord was declared to them, they would willingly to have me to stay in my country, & when they could not prevail with me they proffered me a man & a horse to go five dayes Journey, that was to Constantinople where but I refused & came safe from thern the English are more bad most of them yet there hath a good word gone thorow them, & some have received it but they are few, so I rest with my dear love to you all.

Your dear sister Mary Fisher from London the 13 day of the 1st month (58)
A TRUE ACCOUNT
OF THE
Great Tryals and Cruel Sufferings
undergone by those two faithful
Servants of God,
KATHERINE EVANS
And
SARAH CHEEVERS,
In the time of their above three
years and a halfs Confinement
in the Island MALTA.
Also, How God at last by his Almighty
Power effected their Deliverance, and
brought them back into the Land of
their Nativity.
John To which is added, Elly
A short RELATION from George
Robinson, of the Sufferings that befel him
in his Journey to Jerusalem; and how
God saved him from the hands of Cruelty when the Sentence of Death was
passed against him. As Book

London, Printed for R. Wilson, 1663.
retta for forty days. And to the King's Agent desired the Captain to carry us as far as he could, till he met the General, and then he would provide a passage for us, if that Ship was commanded back again; for if he should have left us there in Lazaretta, the Agent must take order for us, he said, according to the King's Order. The Merchants shewed us no small kindness, and treated us with much love, and sent us Wine and Bread, and a great many good things for our refreshment: the Sea was high so that they could not conveniently come to us, but they told the Captain they would come; and if we would have money or any thing else whatsoever we would write for, they would send it to us. We had but little money, but being we were coming for our Country, we saw but little freedom to take up money: And the Captain promised, as we should not want any money, nor any thing else; till we came to England; so he should not have taken any money for our passage, because it was the King's Ship, but he received several Dollers which vext him: the Ship; So he hastened thence and came to Tarlone, and there he could get no product, but all the Malta Knights were set

let a-shoar into Lazaretta: so we came to Mulago, and there the Captain had product, but he did not dare to make any long stay there, for fear the Fleet should be before him at Tangier. He was sent before the Fleet out of Turkie, with Letters to Malta, and to Legorn, and other places, and we had some service for the Lord in every Harbour.

So we came to Tangier above two weeks before the Fleet came. The Captain said it was above an hundred pound out of his way, because he made so much haste. The Lord did hasten him for his Work's sake, as it was clearly manifset to us all along. The Captain said we must not go a-shoar till he had spoke with the Governour's Excellency.

So we went a-shoar as we were moved of the Lord, and great was our Work for the Seeds sake. Oh! oh! great are the Abominations of the wicked in that place; none worse than English-men for swearing, lying, pride, drunkenness, whoredoms, and such like, so that our righteous souls were vexed day and night with their unclean conversation, and the pure Spirit of the Lord was grieved, and the Seed of God was pressed, even as a Cart is pressed with sheaves;
We did freely embrace his love, without meat, drink or money.

And he was very courteous to us, and tender over us, so that he gave Commandment to all the Gallies, That none should abuse, in word or action, upon pain of severe punishment. There are many Portuguese, Jews and Irish, which could as freely have burnt us, as they could have burnt wood; but our pure, holy, wise, strong and powerful Lord God, protected us in the midst of them, and took away all fleshly fear from us, so that we were as bold as Lions for God's Truth, against all their Idolatry and Wickedness. The Lord is worthy to have the glory for evermore, Amen.

And in a few days after it was laid upon us of the Lord, to go forth to meet the Men of their Enemies, which laid siege against them, and they were such a bloody savage people, that it seemed a very hard thing to us, but the Lord said unto me, Go forth, fear not, they shall not harm thee, or you. Behold the Sword of the Lord and of Gideon is with you. And so we believed, and were made willing to adventure life and all in obedience. And so we went to the Governor to desire we might...
To his noble Friend Thomas Whetenall Esquire

Sir Haveing (att the entreaty of yore deare and right honorable Lady a little before she fell sicke) written this Relation of her voyage into Italy for to serve her afterward in England as a Nomenclator to put her in minde of those things which she had seen in her journey: I thought (after her death) to have lett it dy too as being noe more usefull to that end for which it was only written. Butt perceiving afterwards the great esteem you made of every little booke and paper that had been hers; I was Induced to thinke that you might perchance upon the same score, cast a valewing eye upon these papers too, because they had been hers, and spoke much of her; for this reason I compiled them together and havein[g] added to the relation of he[r] journey into Italy; that of her sickness; death & funeralls I make bold here to dedicate them all unto you not out of compliment but out of meere obligation & measured justice. For havinge observed in Padua many strangers who had never known yow before busying themselves in offering unto yow the riches of theire witts in Epitaphs Eligies and other ingenious compositions; I who had received as many favours as from yow as I had lived dayes with yow, thought my selfe bound by the strict tyes of gratitude to do something too, and like the Eagle in the hystory seeing all men offer something, offer at least one little Fether, to wit that of my penn in makeing it relate some parte alas to short a part of that life which was soe deare unto yow I am bound alsoe in justice to offer unto yow these papers, not only because they were found among yore Ladyes papers and consequently belong to you immediately, as being heire of all that she was mistress of; but alsoe for to make you an amends in dedicatory for haveing mentioned you soe little in the whole relation of the voyage. I confess those that knew yow both might as much wonder how I could speake soe much of her without speaking of yow as it was a wonder antiently how an Orator could speake much of Hercules without speaking of victories & combatts, And indeed how easy a thing had it been for me who was an Eyewitness from its first birth & upwards of the singuler affection yow mutually bore one another; to have mentioned some passages thereof, which I am sure would have pleased yoreselffe in reading them, as they had donne me in beholding them I could have sett forth the inexpressable regrett with which you departed from Brussels to obtayne my Lord her fathers consent with what impatience (that being obtayned) you suffered the dilatory Treatyes of portion & settlements to retard the immediate possession; For I may safely say it was one of the highest expressions of affection you could possibly or did after make, to your noble Lady, that for her sake you were contented to require a portion at the rate of more than four months depravance from her sight I could have instanced the passion with which at last yow broke all delayes, posting over into Flanders, and intrusting the finall conclusion of business in the hands of friends who had order to ratyfy any thing rather than adventure a Farther procrastination, I could have registred the many protestations made to me by yore lettres, as formerly by word of mouth that you were covetous of nothing in the world but her person and for it would att all tymes forfatt not only a part but yore whole estate I could have enlarged my selfe on yore affectionate meeting at Lovaine & joyfull marriag there I could have even given colours to the conflict of yore thoughts (when yore Lady proposed her earnest desire of undertaking the holy Pilgrimage I here describe) betwixt yore desire of condescending to all her requests; and a feare of what dangers might attend such great attempts I could have shewn each towne or Citty you past through in yore whole Journey; left less remarqueable for what is not boasted of then
for some illustrious testimony of yore love; I could have alleged yore singuler tenderness of her
even in her whole journey suffering no man to lead her or helpe her upp or downe from
horseback in or out of the Coach or boat but yoreself; never being out of her sight (not five
houres together when longest) all the time yow had been married together never dining nor
supping without her upon what Invitations soever. I could have witnessed with what haste yow
used to returne home when any business had detained you longer than ordinary & run upp
the stayers to prevent her, good Lady, from makeing as much hast downe to meet you, which she
ever endeavoured to doe, as soone as ever she heard your voyce, or saw you outh window, to
which purpose she would frequently look out and sett her servants to watch, I could have
deciphered the great sympathy of yore soules too, and how easily her inclinations became
yores; so that if she applied her selfe to musick musick was then yore favorit alsoe, and
appeared now sweeter then before: if to reading you quickly became studious of the French or
Italian tongue as they had the honor to be prefer[r]ed by her one before the other: I could have
mentioned how curious yow were ever in her company of all sights and rarityes, how negligent
with-out her, how fair you preferred the being with her before the rarest entertainments
imaginable of which she made no parte; I could have spoken (and never enough) of your
sollicitude upon her last indisposition becoming yore selfe both her Cooke and doctor and att the
same tyme proscribing preparing and administering what seemed for her health. I could have
commended yore generousness in sparing for nothing that was judged conducible for her health,
yore religion in not omitting to seeke it likewise from an Author of all blessings, by the
meanes of prayers & devotions. with a number of like expressions; I could have paynted forth in
you such a husband as all women wish for but few finde; & have confirmed how much reason
she had pore (pore Lady) to protest as she after did in her last sickness and upon her death bead
to those that visited or attended her, that there was not that thing in the whole world which she
found the least dificulty to parte with; besides such a Husband: but yore modesty (which loved
alwaies to heare speak of her then of yore selfe) hindred mee.  And indeed who could presume
to express suffitiently an affection so great that you yore selfe who were animated by it, wanted
often words for besides, my taske permitted me not to take in all these things for should I have
gonn about to have Comprised all this, of a short narrative I should quickly have found this
discourse swolen into a voluminous History, and to mention you without mentioning those or
some of these things was impossible, I call it therefore her voyage and abstract from you both in
regard it was a Voyage infinitly & most zealously desired by her contrary almost to yore
inclination, and the advise of those few friends she acquainted with it (who were as few as
possible, lest she should not be able to stemme the streme of their diswasions) as alsoe because
you having formerly made it were rather a compaynon & guide to her then the first mover in it.
Haweing thus excused sufficiently (I hope) my not mentioning of you in this subsequent relation
of the voyage, Ile make an end here, haveing mentioned one thing more, to witt that you would be
pleased to keepe this unpolisht and hasty relat
i
on from publick view; seeing it was written only
for the use private use of yore deer Lady, and dedicated unto you as a private testymony unto
you that I am
Yore most obliged & dutyfull Servant Richard Leseells

The Voyage of the Lady Catherine Whetenall From Brussells Unto Italy in the holy yeare with
the chief accidents that happened therein written in Padua a little before her Ladyship fell sicke
by one of her trayne 16[50]

For an Ornament or Apendix to the short Narrative of the Right Honorable Lady Catherin Whetenhalls Travails & happy death, I will only add that her husband after the Obsequies were all finished; retired himself for a while to Venice; Cheifly to give order for that hansom monument of white marble with a fair Bordure, or Decoration of fine Marble also, with the Armes & Escutchions of her illustrious family. On which he causd to be engraven the ensuing Epitaph, as an eternall record of his love & greif; causing it also to be farther Registerd in that Mourning Peice of himself at length which was ther drawn by the Famous Renieri to be sent to his own hous in England, wherin sitting in a Melancholy Posture with his Ladies Picture in his hand & before him som Skizzas or draughts after it which he then made his only divertisement, in the other he houlds a pen, & seems composing something to her dear Memory, & tis this.

To the Beloved & Eternall Memory
Of his Incomparably deserving Wife
The Lady Catherin Whetenhall
Sprung from the Illustrious Blood of the Talbots
So venerable to the English Nation so Formidable to the French
Daughter
Of John Earl of Shrewsbury Waterford &tc.
Who disdaining to be confind & as it were separated From the rest of the world by Narrow British Seas. After having with great Courage, greater Piety But above all with a transcendant love to her Husband Traveled thro the Low Countreys, France & Italy In the Jubily Year\(^1\), arrived at Rome,
Wher not content to have only seen the Keys of Heaven\(^2\)
She conceived a Noble ambition of entring heaven it self, & passing thro a more Holy Gate, even to the Holy of Holies:
No longer now prepared to return to the Countrey of England, but to the Region of Angells Nor to repass again the Alpes, or Apenin Hills But the Eternall Mountains.
To the Sacred Memory of this Heroine
Her Loving Mournfull Husband
Thomas Whetenhall
Consecrated this Monument
She dyed at Padua on the 6th of July 1650
In the Flowr of her Youth & Harvest of her Virtue (33v-34r)

\(^1\) *Jubily Year*: The half century, 1650.
\(^2\) *Keys of Heaven*: Whetenhall’s time in Rome included an audience with the Pope.
To his noble kinsman Thomson

Marching all on foot by gait and rattle
Long a little before the sun rose the manner
Of her engagement, busy set to make her appearance
In England as a commoner, to put her in mind of all
The things which she had seen in her journey; thought
After her return, so she should be as being not
More useful. So that she was not, to bring it may be
Written, and containing afterwards a good amount
You made of many little legs and wax that had been
B侔d, and human to make you might comprise
Even if some were not, not a day being as when these
Passed her, because they had been had, and people few
Minds of her, or this season, I was told. When together
And then in the midst of her journey into
Italy, that is the future: Though a number of my
Beloved was wounded then and I was not out of
Remembrance but out of love, I was not in
N Perisort's or was its part, of which
Strange was not known, but being furnished
In offering only her the mind of much
In England. Engaged and other impressions
I made, a second, many believed
From you and I had stood head with you, thought

my self, bound by the next tidy of architecture, not
Something more, but if so, in the latter being all
More and more, still as that is, not, only, not
Written, and containing afterwards a good amount
You made of many little legs and wax that had been
B侔d, and human to make you might comprise
Even if some were not, not a day being as when these
Passed her, because they had been had, and people few
Minds of her, or this season, I was told. When together
And then in the midst of her journey into
Italy, that is the future: Though a number of my
Beloved was wounded then and I was not out of
Remembrance but out of love, I was not in
N Perisort's or was its part, of which
Strange was not known, but being furnished
In offering only her the mind of much
In England. Engaged and other impressions
I made, a second, many believed
From you and I had stood head with you, thought

[Page 2]
her brother had left her at home from her house, not out of love of book but got sorts, not being out of his sight (not five hours together when longest) all the time you had been married together, never sitting not supping without her upon what Supper we seared (should have) set myself with what haste you your unpardolable wound when any business had delayed any longer than ordinary. I have the honor to prevent him, good lady, from making no more haste down to meet you, which the most attended to, and, being at first, she should go worse; or, far you out of his window, to which purpose she would frequently look out and left her servants to watch, should have enriched the great sympathy of yet favored hoo, and how greatly her misadventure began to go? so that if she approved her father then unsounded, and appeared new troubles there before, he not seeing you quietly become inadmissible of the first, did institute to teach them, that they had the honor to be showed by her one before the other: I should have minded how soon you were sent in the company of all sights and tastes, how negligent without her, how fast you observed the company with her before the worst entertainment — unimaginable of which she made no part.
I would have spoken (and never enough) of your good & virtuous inclinations, &c. but I thought it more fitting, &c. I wish you well &c. in safety, for nothing that unde &c. would not be for your &c. I would have recommended you to be cautious in forking &c. the means of securing &c. to secure, &c. I would not have you take the pains to seek &c. for the benefit &c. with a number of her acquaintances; I could have wished that in your &c. a husband; &c. an aunt or sister for their &c. I have confirmed to you, &c. reason to go to him &c. He to protest al for the be the &c. head to those that were &c. that these were not that thing in &c. world, which we found the craft to work with; bespok with a devoutness; but yet modesty is always to be joined to these &c. be done. And indeed, who could I desire to speak sufficiently on a subject so great that you &c. who were confounded by it, would often need for believing. I would not &c. in all these things &c. hang them about to have come in all the &c. short narrative, I should quickly have found the &c. a sound into a record of history. and.

To mention you without mentioning Lady, &c. of these things would be impossible; I tell it therefore &c. for voyages and abstract from you both, in regard, &c. a voyage infinitely &c. most on the other side by her &c. amount of a thing of this kind of a thing; &c. as you have been informed, I was acquainted with it. We were at a time, &c. little &c. able to know any thing of it; there's a very good &c. because you have formally made it, &c. another a companion's &c. to see the &c. first move in it; allowing that excused (as indeed &c. not mentioning of it and the inlet &c. to the progress, &c. let her have mentioned one thing more, that you would &c. learned the truth and easily learned from your think &c. written only for the &c. private be known to you &c. written, but not to you &c. Richard Lefells.

Yor most obliged, 
Servant 
Richard Lefells
In English thus

To the Beloved & Eternall Memory
Of his incomparable deserving Wife,
The Lady Katherine Whetstone
Springing from illustrious Blood of Gallow
So admirable by English Nation so formidable to

Daughter
Of John East of Shrewsbury, Master and
Who obtaining a be content was as he went separated
From a-host of y. Heath by famous British Sea
After labour with great fortune greats Dey
Yet alone all with a transcendent love his, Tho' height
Travelled through New Countries, France & Italy
By tender Yere, arrived at Rome,
Where not content to have only seen if Keys
Of Heaven
She conceived a keele ambition of passing hence
It self, y. passing thire a more Holy gate, even 6
Of Holy of Holies.
No longer now prepared to return by Country
Of England but to Region of Heavens
Now to reposity, if Phen, or inven Hills
But in Eternall Mountains.

To y. Sacred Memory of y. Sternine
Her loving, meanest, husband
Thomas Whetstone
Consecrated this Monument.
She dyed at Padua on the 6th of July 1650.
To Praise of her Youth, & Honors of his Virtue.
Notes on the Arundel Collections

Another of the same 4 yards & a quarter long and 2 yards & 3 quarters broad. Another 4 yards 3 quarters long & 2 yards & a quarter broad. Another 4 yards 3 quarters long & 2 yards & a half broad. A great fine Turkey Carpet: 10 yards & a half long, & 3 yards & a quarter broad. Another large one: 16: yards & a half long, & 4 yards & a half broad, wanting a nayle. Another four yards & a quarter long & 2 yards & a half broad wanting a nayle. Another six yards & a quarter long, & 2 yards & a half, & 4 a quarter broad. Another 4 yards three quarters long & 2 yards & a half broad. Another 3 yards 3 quarters long & 2 yards & quarter & half broad. Another 2 yards & half long & a yard & 3 quarters broad. Another 3 yards long, & a yard & half broad. Little Turkey Carpets. 7.
The First. 2 yards long & a yard & a quarter broad
The second. 2 yards long, & a quarter & half broad
The third. 2 yards long & a yard & quarter broad.
The fourth 2 yards long & a yard & quarter, & half quarter broad.
The Fifth. 2. yards long, & a yard & quarter broad
The sixth, 2 yards long, and a yard & quarter & half quarter broad.
The seventeenth. 2 yards long, & a yard & a quarter broad.
A blew Bayes Screene, of Eight Poudles lined of blew Sarge. A Freece Couch Bed, & a square Canopie of Freece for the same.
Four Backe Armed Chayres covered with Freece & Edged about with a broad Embroidered lace of gold.
Four little Backe Chayres, made up in the same manner & stuffe.
A Dzen & Seuen Backe Chayres of the same Freece furnisht with guilt Brass Nayles.
A great Armed Chaye of Cloth of silver Blacke & white, fringed of the same Color.
Three little Backe Chayres of the same stuffe.
and.
and one square stove of the same stuffe.
Two Armed Chayres of Turky Worke & four stove of the same.
Three little lowe guldted Chayres, the bottome Covered with blackish Leather.
A Red Leather Chayre with Armes.
An olden wooden Chayre with a Tike Seate but no Coner.
Two little lowe old stools.
Nyne stove Frames giltte upon ple of ye setts.
Two old Bedsteads which came from Greenes painted blewe & guilt, but doe Bedding nor Furniture thereunto.
A greene Bedstred guilt.
Three plain wooden Bedsteds
A Bedsted of Iron, which as Conceyued must be sent to my lady of Arundell: And. 8. Figures belonging to the Tops of the Bedstead soure guilt and lower not.
A great guilt demy Ball for a Canopie.
A little greene falling Table hangynge upon a Frame.
The Coorer of a Freece Bed lynd wth Networes placed on a Frame: A Roll:
A Roll of Indian Mats, consisting of 14 pieces.
Twelve Picture Frames greete & little:
Foure straing Frames.
Eight Cages for birds & a great Dutch Chest coved with Lether & Iron Barres brought from my lady Alexander.
An Iron for a Flower pot to stand in:
An Indian Couch Bedsted
memorand a strong Pad lock hanght to this particlo:
In the next Partition of this Gallerie;
Two drawing Winescott Tables wth feet Carved.
In the third Partition. A wooden Chist painted on the side and a great Table.
The Chimney a great Bowing Iron to, keeps up the Coales.
And here is all that remayneth in this Gallerie.

The Next Roome to the North Gallerie therein.
A walnut Tree Spanish Table thereon.
A pair of Ordinrille Tables, with Blacke and White Table Men.

Four Indian Chayres. Over the Chimney a Frame a Picture of a Man with a woman.
A Child in her Armes.
And on the top of this Roome a Picture of Aurora.

In a Closett on the West Side of the sayde Roome.
First the Floore Covered with a Carpett of yellow leather, thereon.
A yellow Armed Chayre, covered with yellow satin Embroidered with silver, thereon a long Cushion of the same stuffe.
Two little lowe back Chayres & two Buffett stove of the sayd stuffe.
On the Walles Eight Pictures weren.
Over the Jambe of the Chimney a night piece of the Nativety of our Savor, done by. Monument and sent by a Freind.
The second a Picture of the Barrell of our Saviour.
The third, Jerome.
The fourth of Christ in the Garden.
The Fifth of the same History.
The Sixth, St. Pector in the Prison.
The seventh Blacke & white of Christ and the Samaritan.
The Eighth the preaching of S. Paul a drawing.

In the Roome between the foresaid Roomes & ye South long Gallerie.
A Spanish Table of Walnut Tree.
Three Backe Chayres of Crimson Damask Embroidered with Satin, being parcel of the Nyne that are belowe.
At the backe of the Chimney hangth a Picture of Diana & Acon done by Titian.
Over the head thereon a long Drawing of the Historie of Niobe.
On the Roofe of this Roome a picture of the fall of Phaeton.

The Closet on the West side of the last Roome.
The Floore Covered with white Leather.
A Table of Friez Covered with a little Carpett, of the like Leather, Thereon lying a long Cushion Embroidered of the Armes of King Philip & Queen Mary.
The Armed Chayres of walnut Tree. The Backes & seats Covered with Red lether Furnisht with guilt Nayles & tops of Brasse guilt.

In the Chimney a payre of great Iron Andirons, the upper partes thereof of Cast Brass pl guilt.
A pertuming Panne of Brass with Figures.
An iron fire shoell & tonges with Brassee Figures on the tops Two triangulr old fashioned Chaising dishes, of brasso, the Coers hauing Figures thereon & brassee Feet.
On the Mantlepiece of the Chimney standeth Eight Brass Peeces.
The First a Woman, standing on a Pedestall.
The 2d a woman sitting on a Pedestall.
The 3d. a Man without Armes, or legs.
The 4th a Lascoon, & his two Children stang to death wth serpents standing on a Pedestall.
The 5th a Figure of a Man without Armes or legs sitting on a Pedestall.
The 6th a Man on Horsebacke on a Pedestall.
The 7th a woman at large.
The 8th a little Bell Cast with Figures.
Over the Chimney a great Picture made by Bassant, de Gloria.
In Excelsis,
Alsoe standing on a ledge of the Freece.

five Pictures:
The First of them an Angell done by Lucas Cranierck.
The 2d an Angell playing upon a violl.
The 3d done by Bosaeo being the Angells appearing to the Sheppards.
The 4th a Flying Angell.
The 5th of ye 12. both made by Passa Rota.
In the upper partes of the Roome a Picture of Justice.
Notes on the Arundel Collections

In the South Gallerie:
Nyone streamed Tafata Curtaines hanging at the Windowes
without any lyning.
Seaven Chists (whereof six painted) without Lockes or Hinges
Eighteen Italian Wooden Churches gilt.
Two Chestboards

On the one. End of ye South Gallery 4.
Pictures viz.:
A great Peace painted uppon wood of Pilate, washing his hands
A Peace belonging unto the first. St Peter, denying our sauiour.
Two Peacees made by Paolo Fiamengho being parte of the
4 seasons.

On the North Side 16; Pictures viz.:
A great Landskippe presented to my Lady by a Freind.
A Woeman with a Childre in her Armes of Luca Cangiagi
The Birth of our Sauior.
A little Landskippe of Monper.
A great Landskippe done by Monper, representing the Castle
of Radicofano with a great Inne.
Lott being led out by the Angell.
A great Landskippe done by Monper.
A little Landskippe done by Monperc.
A little Peace of the Angell sitting ye Shepards
A Peace with Grapes and Birds.
A Landskippe.
Over the Chimney the last Judgment.
Over the Door a woeman with a Childre
A great Landskippe presented unto my Lady.
A Landeskippe.
A Landskippe.

On the other End of this Gallerie; Peacees; viz.:
A Picture of a Woeman with a Childre Copia Leo duvchi
The same Historie done after Raphael.
Two Peacees belonging to the fourse Seasons.

On the South side of ye South Gallery;
16 pictures videlt.
A great Landskippe presented to my lady by a Freind.
Two little Landskippe.
A double Peace of Adam & Eve present to my lord by the
Queso of Bohemia.
A little Landskippe.
A great Landskippe.
A great Landskippe.
Jacob travelling done by Bassano,
Christ taken downe from the Cross.
A Peace with Shippes.
A great Landskippe presented unto my Lady by a Freind:
A Peace with St George & the Dragon.
Three Cartons hung up in the place of villa Hadrina,

The First of Pierino del dago.
The second Jupiter & Semele, Julio Romano.
The third Pallas with the Gods.
Two Peacees of Basso releuie in white Marble standing over the
Chimney.
Two vass skallets of orientall Abastro standing under ye
Chimney.

In the Wardrobe over the Dutch Pranketing
Roome & next to ye afores South Gallerie; are these Goods following:

First a suite of Freeze Hangings for the great Chamber, laced
with two gold galowes laces in each space & in the like Manner
about the top Bordure.
Also a suite of Freeze hangings for the wdd drawing Roome,
lated with a greatte Parchment lace of Gold, & on the top
thereof; a Bordure of the same lace spangled.
There is also for that Roome Freeze for a Canopyle to hang over
the Couch, & on the spaces of the Curtaines thereof a broad
gold lace: And the forward & out ward valence that goes round
the top lace, with great bone lace of gold:
A suite also of Freeze hangings for the Closet next to the with
drawing Roome, laced in each space with gold lace, & ye like as
forwardly above the Bordure one halfe a yard wanting before
... with a Picture used to hang
A Freeze Carpeti also for ye Table with the like suitable lace.
Each space with two little Embroidered holes.

A suite of Freeze Hangings for ye Palais Chamber, & Curtaines
& Counterpoint for bed of ye same.
The Curtaines are lynned with Networke, & edged about with a
Silke & gold Fringe, Bottoms & loopes, & each side of ye Hang-
inges there in like Manner embossed.
For the Chamber called Mr Thomas Howards Chamber in like
Manner a suite of Freeze Hangings, laced downe each space
with two little Laces Embroidered with gold:
For my Lords Chamber a suite of Freeze Hangings laced
downe on eache space, with one lace embroidered with gold.
A suite of Freeze Hangings for my Ladies Chamber with 3
little silver Laces in each saune & 3 round the top:
One Peace of Tafatry Hangings of Solomon building the
Temple, 3 yards & a halfe deep & four yards & a halfe
broad.
Another peace of ye same suite of the same, depth two yards
and a halfe broad.
Another Peace of the same suite & depth three yards & a halfe
in breadth.
Another Peace of the same suite & depth 3 yards broad: Three
of these pieces are lynned with Canvass, & the 4th unlyned.

Seaven Peacees of Indian Twill hangings stitcht, with Orange
Colo's silke, & Edged about with ye yellow Fringe, for my Ladies
Closet next to her Bed-Chamber.
A suite of Hangings Consisting of foure Peacees of Indian
Fandacos, & Curtaynes of the same suite for the same Roome.
A Canopy of the same suite with a valence thereunto.
And four little Indian Fantadoe Curtaynes for the same Roome.
Foure Peacees of silke striped Hanginges lynned with yellow saue,
And Fringed with Greene silke & silver Fringe.
A streamed silke Curtaine lyned with. blew Hayes, belonging to
the same.
A Valence Wooven with gold Flowers, with a Greene silke &
silver Fringe theron belonging to the said suite.
A Border of foure Peacees of ye same Stiifo theronunto belonging.
Eleven little Table Carpetes of red Leather whereof two lyned
with red Buckram.

One.
One Cover of a Couch of the same lether.
A large Carpett for a square table with broad Basis of gilt
leather.
Eight Anteporses to hang over doores of severali sorts of letter
gilt & red.
An old little suite of Hangings, of satinisco striped blew &
yellow, consisting of 18 peacees, most of them vetric little.
An other little suite of Hangings of satinisco paneed of Ash
Colo's & red being very old, with the same three peacees of old
striped stuffe of another sort.
Furniture for a Bed of red Cloth, the head peacee & valence
lyned with Buckram, Fringed, with a deep red silke fringe &
six Curtaines of the same Cloth lyned: A Counterpoint of the
same lyned with red Hayes, but noe other Furniture herentunto
belonging.
Furniture for a Bed of Saracenett, paneed yellow & Greene viz.
A head peacee lyned wdd Canvass two double valence with long
fringe greene & yellow, lyned with Buckram. Four Curtaines
Countercourt. foure Balls: two Cases for the Poasts of ye Bed.
& loose fringe to putt upon the Counterpoint, about twelve
yards, yeares and a Bedsted belonging unto it, But noe Bed.
This is suiteable to the Greene and yellowe Tafata Hangings, now
in my Lords Roome.
Furniture of Greene and yellow Damase, for a Bed viz.
a double valence longe Fringe lyned with yellow Buckramone:
A Basis of the same lyned with Greene Buckrom, a Counter-
point and six Curtaines of the same unlyned
And a Fester of an other sorte of stuffe mixte red greene and
yellow, & a Bedsted only now therento.
An other little old Bed furniture of red and yellow Damase
consisting of seaven Peacees & a Counterpoint. to ye Bed of
Indian Twill, lyned of yellow.
An old Greene say furniture for a Bed lyned. with Buckram:
viz: A Tester Valence, & these Curtaines without lynings, noe
other thing belonging therunto her Bed-Chamber.
Furniture belonging to a bed of striped silken stuffe of several
colours, Inner Valence out ward valence, Basis Counterpoint, &
six Curtaines & Two Cushion Cases of ye same with a fringe
and Tassels suitable.
LETTER XXVI.

To the Lady—

Adrianople, April 1, O. S. 1777.

I am now got into a new world, where every thing I see, appears to me a change of scene; and I write to your ladyship with some content of mind, hoping, at least, that you will find the charm of novelty in my letters, and no longer reproach me, that I tell you nothing extraordinary. I won't trouble you with a relation of our tedious journey; but I must not omit what I saw remarkable at Sophia one of the most beautiful towns in the Turkish Empire, and famous for its hot baths, that are resorted to both for diversion and health. I stopped here one day, on purpose to see them; and designing to go incognito, I hired a Turkish coach. These voitures are not at all like ours, but much more convenient for this country, the heat being so great; that glasses would be very troublesome. They are made a good deal in the manner of the Dutch stage coaches, having wooden lattices painted and gilded; the inside being all painted with baskets and nosegays of flowers, intermixed commonly with little poetical mottoes. They are covered all over with scarlet cloth, lined with silk, and very often richly embroidered.

In one of these covered waggons, I went to the Bagnio about ten at night. It was already full of women. It is built of stone, in the shape of a dome, with no windows but in the roof, which gives light enough. There were five of these domes joined together, the utmost being less than the rest, and serving only as a hall, where the Portrels stood at the door. Ladies of quality generally give this woman a crown or ten shillings, and I did not forget that ceremony. The next room is a very large one, paved with marble, and all round it are two railed Sofas of marble, one above another. There were four fountains of cold water in this room, falling first into marble basins, and then running on the floor in little channels made for that purpose, which carried the streams into the next room, something less than this, with the same sort of marble Sofas, but so hot with streams of sulphur proceeding from the baths joining to it, it was impossible to stay there with one's cloaths on. The two other domes were the hotbaths, one of which had cocks of cold water, turning into it, to
A chart illustrating various travelers and their aims from Thomas Palmer. An Essay of the means how to make our travels into foreign countries, the more profitable and honourable. (London: 1666). Reproduced courtesy of Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin.