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The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas 1660-1732

R. W. Frantz

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THE ENGLISH TRAVELLER AND THE MOVEMENT OF IDEAS 1660-1732

By

R. W. FRANTZ

LINCOLN, NEBRASKA

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R. W. F.

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INTRODUCTION

The traveller under scrutiny in the following pages differed from both his Elizabethan forbears and his mid-eighteenth-century successors. By 1660 the heroic age of English exploration and discovery had run its course. The English voyager no longer sailed recklessly into remote waters lured by the strange and the unknown. The repeated failures of his predecessors to find either a north-east or a north-west opening to China and the East Indies overcame any desire which may have remained to venture again and again the danger of northern seas.¹ Ardor for the wholesome conversion of savages had also cooled.² The glitter of gold, though it still allured, was no longer an important factor in determining the course English expansion was to run.³ In the seventeenth

¹ During the period of seventy-two years covered by this study, only one such voyage was attempted. This was made in 1676 by Captain John Wood, who sailed in search of a passage to China and Japan. The journal of his adventure appeared in the first collection of English Voyages to be encountered in this period, *An Account of several Late Voyages and Discoveries . . .*, London, 1694.

² Nowhere in the travel-literature of this period is to be found the missionary zeal manifest in Elizabethan voyage-accounts. Two factors rendered the conversion of savages tedious and difficult. In their relations with the Indians, the English had not acted like angels; and the Indians themselves (a long age of barbarity coming to the fore) proved frequently to be intractable and bloodthirsty. Their irascible disposition and love of combat were such that after years of contact with representatives of the Society for the Promotion of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (and with John Eliot in particular), they seemed to be prompted more often by the devil than by God; and if impelled by God, creatures of His wrath rather than of His mercy. Cf. William Penn, *A Letter . . . to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders . . .* (1683), reprinted in *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania West New Jersey and Delaware* (ed. A. C. Myers, New York, 1912), p. 236; John Miller, *New Yorke Considered and Improved Anno Dñi 1695* (published from the original MS., ed. V. H. Paltsits, Cleveland, 1903), p. 70; Edward Ward, *A Trip to New-England . . .* (London, 1699), p. 16; Gabriel Thomas, *An Historical Description of the Province . . . of West-New-Jersey in America . . .* (1698), reprint (ed. C. T. Brady, Cleveland, 1903), p. 54; Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana . . .* (London, 1702), bk. VII, 109-110; Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia . . .* (1724), Sabin's reprints (New York, 1865), pp. 79, 92; Samuel Penhallow, *The History of the Wars of New-England with the Eastern Indians . . .* (1726), *Coll. of the New-Hampshire Hist. Soc.*, I (1824), 19.

³ This change in point of view is attested by numerous texts. It is illuminating to note that whereas Newport, in a letter dated July 29, 1607, said that a survey of Virginia showed it to be rich in gold and silver (Channing, *History of the United States*, New York, 1917, I, 167, 2 n), Daniel Denton, in his *A Brief Description of New-York* (reprint

century, in short, the English voyager was seized by a great soberness. The Elizabethan adventurer and explorer was replaced by the Restoration buccaneer and scientist. Not until the mid-eighteenth century did strange and undiscovered countries arouse in British seamen something akin to the Elizabethan exploring zeal.⁴

Yet voyage-accounts were never more plentiful and more eagerly read than during the Restoration and early eighteenth century. According to Shaftesbury, writing in 1710, they "are the chief materials to furnish out a library . . . These are in our present days what books of chivalry were in those of our forefathers . . . I must confess I cannot consider it [faith in travellers' reports] without astonishment."⁵ This statement was a literal fact. Of translations there was no end, and native accounts of actual voyages poured from the press in prodigious quantities.

Descriptions of northern Africa were penned by Lancelot Addison,⁶ father of Joseph Addison, John Windus,⁷ historian

of the edition of 1670, Cleveland, 1902, address to the reader), felt it unwise to "feed your [the reader's] expectation with any thing of that nature . . ."

⁴ Only three exploring expeditions left English shores during the Restoration and early eighteenth century: Narbrough's voyage to the South Sea in 1669, Wood's search, in 1676, for a north-east opening to China, and Dampier's voyage to New Holland (Australia) in 1699. A zeal to discover new lands did not manifest itself until the time of Anson and Cook and their successors. Cf. C. R. Beazley's survey in Traill's *Social England* (New York, 1897), V, 223 ff.

⁵ *Advice to an Author*, in *Characteristics* (ed. J. M. Robertson, New York, 1900), I, 222. A knowledge of travel-literature was, in some quarters, thought to be a necessary equipment for all educated men. In the dedication to his translation of de Cieza's travels (1709), John Stevens gave utterance to this point of view, and it was illustrated in the observations of numerous Restoration and early eighteenth-century men of letters and of affairs. Cf. John Evelyn, *Diary and Correspondence* (ed. William Bray, London, 1862), II, 38, 153, 205, 363; III, 137 f, 340; Samuel Pepys, *Private Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers* (ed. J. R. Tanner, London, 1926), I, 17 ff; Thomas Sprat, *Observations on Monsieur Sorbier's Voyage into England* (London, 1665), pp. 59 f; Joseph Glanvill, *Plus Ultra* (London, 1668), p. 74; John Dryden, *The Life of St. Francis Xavier* (1688), *Works* (ed. Sir Walter Scott and George Saintsbury, London, 1892), XVI, 542 f; Richard Steele, *Tatler*, No. 254, November 1710; *Spectator*, No. 11, March 1711; Joseph Addison, *Spectator*, No. 289, January 1712; No. 343, April 1712; *Freeholder*, No. 50, June 1716.

⁶ *An Account of West Barbary*, Oxford, 1671.

⁷ *A Journey to Mequinez, the Residence of the Present Emperor of Fez and Morocco . . .*, London, 1725.

of a mission sent to arrange a treaty of peace with the emperor of Morocco, and John Braithwaite,⁸ whose familiarity with the country and serious purpose made his work an admirable supplement to that of Windus. The Near East was depicted by Paul Rycaut,⁹ the eminent ambassador to Turkey, George Wheler,¹⁰ who, with Dr. Spon of Lyon, journeyed into Greece, Ellis Veryard,¹¹ the enthusiastic chronicler of Europe and the Levant, and Henry Maundrell,¹² chaplain to the English merchants at Aleppo. From Ceylon came Robert Knox with a vivid account of his captivity during nineteen years in that land.¹³ After the abdication of James II, John Ovington, thinking it wise to leave England for a time,¹⁴ sailed for India, where he gathered the data from which he later wrought the most polished travel-book of his age.¹⁵ In the same portion of the globe, John Fryer,¹⁶ surgeon in the service of the East India Company, Daniel Beeckman,¹⁷ a servant of the same company, and Alexander Hamilton,¹⁸ an independent trader, painstakingly kept journals which they published on their return to the British Isles. Less true to fact, possibly, than these, but certainly a more exciting tale than any treating of the East save Knox's alone, was Robert Drury's account of his manifold adventures among the savage, but benevolent, tribes of Madagascar.¹⁹

While these men, who were among the outstanding voyagers to the East, recounted their travels in Africa, the Levant, and the East Indies, numerous other voyagers wrote of the Americas and the South Seas. Promotion pamphlet-

⁸ *The History of the Revolutions in the Empire of Morocco, upon the Death of the late Emperor Muley Ishmael . . .*, London, 1729.

⁹ *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire . . .*, London, 1668.

¹⁰ *A Journey into Greece . . .*, London, 1682.

¹¹ *An Account of Divers Choice Remarks, as well Geographical, as Historical, Political, Mathematical, Physical, and Moral; Taken in a Journey through the Low-Countries . . . as also, a Voyage to the Levant . . .*, Exeter, 1701.

¹² *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem . . .*, Oxford, 1703.

¹³ *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon . . .*, London, 1681.

¹⁴ See the article on Ovington in the *D N B*; also H. G. Rawlinson's introduction to his edition of Ovington's *A Voyage to Surat* (London, 1929), pp. ix-xviii.

¹⁵ *A Voyage to Suratt, in the Year, 1689 . . .*, London, 1696.

¹⁶ *A New Account of East-India and Persia . . .*, London, 1698.

¹⁷ *A Voyage to and from the Island of Borneo . . .*, London, 1718.

¹⁸ *A New Account of the East Indies . . .*, Edinburgh, 1727.

¹⁹ *Madagascar: or, Robert Drury's Journal During Fifteen Years Captivity on that Island . . .*, London, 1729.

eers, notable among whom were George Alsop,²⁰ Daniel Denton,²¹ William Penn,²² Gabriel Thomas,²³ Charles Wolley,²⁴ and Robert Beverly,²⁵ wrote to attract to their favorite colonies a portion of those pioneers who yearly embarked their fortunes in the New World. Scientists at heart, Richard Ligon,²⁶ John Josselyn,²⁷ and John Lawson²⁸ (the first a refugee to Barbadoes, the second a traveller in New England, the third a surveyor in Carolina) reflected the urge to collect and classify, which, under the influence of the Royal Society, became a dominant trait of Restoration and eighteenth-century voyagers. Sea captains such as John Narbrough²⁹ and Nathaniel Uring³⁰ wrote of weathering the Horn and of the attempt to establish a trade there or of the surprising adventures which were daily experiences of those who drove a trade between Europe and the West Indies. And the buccaneers, who swarmed on the West Indian seas, attracted to themselves Englishmen whose tales of reckless daring kindled the imagination of the public as none had done since the days of Davis and Hawkins, Frobisher and Drake.

Foremost among these was the account of twelve years' adventures among the buccaneers published in 1697 by William Dampier.³¹ This voyager, penniless and practically unknown when he returned to England in September of 1691, soon attracted the attention of such notables as Evelyn, Pepys, Sir Hans Sloane, and Charles Montague, president of the Royal Society;³² and when the Royal Navy sent out ships in

²⁰ *A Character of the Province of Mary-Land . . .*, London, 1666.

²¹ *A Brief Description of New-York . . .*, London, 1670.

²² Of the several pamphlets written by Penn, the most important for our purposes is the one entitled *A Letter . . . to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders . . .*, London, 1683.

²³ *An Historical Description of the Province and Country of West-New-Jersey in America . . .*, London, 1698.

²⁴ *A two Years Journal in New-York . . .*, London, 1701.

²⁵ *The History of Virginia . . .*, London, 1705.

²⁶ *A True & Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes . . .*, London, 1657.

²⁷ *New-Englands Rarities Discovered . . .*, London, 1672, and *An Account of Two Voyages to New-England . . .*, London, 1674.

²⁸ *The History of Carolina . . .*, London, 1714.

²⁹ "Voyage to the South-Sea . . .," in *An Account of several Late Voyages and Discoveries . . .*, London, 1694.

³⁰ *A History of . . . Voyages and Travels . . .*, London, 1726.

³¹ *A New Voyage Round the World . . .*, London, 1697.

³² Biographical accounts of Dampier may be had in the *D N B*, in John Masefield's edition of Dampier's *Voyages* (London, 1906), I, 1-13, and in

1698/99 to explore the Terra Australis, it was Dampier who commanded the expedition. Moreover, his popularity, his daring, and his knowledge of Spain's zealously guarded possessions in the South Seas were more or less directly responsible for a series of privateering expeditions launched during the early eighteenth century which, in turn, yielded a series of travel-books notable for their descriptions of voyages entirely around the world. Chief among these were William Funnell's relation of Dampier's poorly managed expedition undertaken in 1703,³³ Edward Cooke's and Woodes Rogers' descriptions of an adventurous and highly successful privateering voyage in 1708-11,³⁴ George Shelvocke's attempted vindication of his piratical actions between 1718 and 1722,³⁵ and William Betagh's version of the same expedition.³⁶

This rapid survey of some of the notable accounts of actual voyages written during the Restoration and early eighteenth century suggests only faintly the exceedingly great interest of the public in the literature of travel. More illuminating evidence is the success of Dampier's initial volume and the frequency with which collections of voyages appeared. His *A New Voyage Round the World*, first printed in 1697, ran through three editions within a year and a fourth before the end of the century. No less than seven collections of voyages and travels were published during the period, the most pretentious of which were Awnsham and John Churchill's *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1704) and John Harris's *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca* (1705).³⁷ In

Clennell Wilkinson's *Dampier: Explorer and Buccaneer*, New York, 1929.

³³ *A Voyage Round the World* . . . , London, 1707.

³⁴ Captain Edward Cooke, *A Voyage to the South Sea, and Round the World* . . . , 2 vols., London, 1712; Captain Woodes Rogers, *A Cruising Voyage Round the World* . . . , London, 1712.

³⁵ *A Voyage Round the World, by the Way of the Great South Sea* . . . , London, 1726.

³⁶ *A Voyage Round the World* . . . , London, 1728.

³⁷ Other collections were: *An Account of several Late Voyages and Discoveries* (1694); *A Collection of Original Voyages*, ed. William Hacke (1699); *Miscellanea Curiosa. Containing a Collection of Curious Travels, Voyages, and Natural Histories of Countries; as they have been delivered to the Royal Society* (1707), III; *A New Collection of Voyages and Travels*, a monthly serial which, according to the British Museum catalogue and the index to the *Term Catalogues*, ran into seven volumes from 1708 to 1710; and *A Collection of Voyages* (1729), which consisted of the outstanding buccaneer accounts that had appeared during the Restoration and early eighteenth century. *The Account of*

1732 Churchill's *Collection*, bearing new title-pages, was reissued in six volumes and marked a temporary lull in the production of travel-literature.³⁸

Various forces played upon the traveller and his public to produce this phenomenon. With the return of Charles II to the throne, Englishmen talked of a new era of intellectual and economic expansion. As the years advanced, they saw in the exploits of buccaneer adventurers an adumbration of the eager Elizabethan epoch and hoped that, after a lapse of generations, there had come about a stirring up of heroic spirits which would make England's name again respected in the remotest corners of the world.³⁹ They were furthermore acutely conscious of a determination in English govern-

several Late Voyages and the New Collection of Voyages were reprinted in 1711. According to the *Term Catalogues*, III, 631-32, a "Second Edition" of the *Miscellanea Curiosa* appeared in 1708. An edition of 1727 was also called the second edition.

³⁸ At most, the lull was temporary. No fine line can be drawn between the *terminus ad quem* of this study and the period immediately following. Forces prominent in Restoration travel-literature projected themselves far into the eighteenth century. It is no exaggeration, however, to say that travel-literature ran at high tide especially during the Restoration and the first and third decades of the eighteenth century and that it did not again receive an impetus of any great power until the appearance of Anson and Cook.

³⁹ Throughout the seventeenth century, the fame of Sir Francis Drake lived after him in such books as *Sir Francis Drake Revived* and *The World Encompassed Being his next Voyage to that to Nombre de Dios, formerly imprinted . . . offered . . . especially for the stirring up of heroick spirits, to benefit their Countrie and eternize their names by like noble attempts*. Antecedent to the Restoration, editions of the former appeared in 1621, 1626, 1628, 1653; of the latter, in 1628, 1635, 1652. After the knighting of Henry Morgan the buccaneer by Charles II in the early eighties, there appeared an English translation of John Exquemelin's *Bucaniers of America . . . Wherein are contained more especially the unparallel'd exploits of Sir Henry Morgan, our English Jamaican Hero . . .* First printed in 1684, this work, enlarged and "corrected," went through several impressions before the end of the year. In 1685 Basil Ringrose, one of the many fortune hunters who joined the ranks of the freebooters, prepared for the press a journal of the activities of the buccaneers around the years 1679/80 and published it in the second volume of the *Bucaniers of America*. In 1687, Nathaniel Crouch edited *The English Hero, or Sir Francis Drake reviv'd . . . Revised, corrected, and very much enlarged: with Pictures*, which he found profitable to reprint time and time again (the *Term Catalogues*, II, 532, take note of a fourth edition; the British Museum catalogue lists *The voyages and travels of that renowned Captain Sir F. Drake*, Stamford, [1690?], another edition, London-Bridge, [1690?]; it notes further the publication of *The Life and dangerous voyages of Sir F. D., with the surprising of Nombre de Dios*, London, [1700?]).

mental halls to plunge into the race for world trade, which if it endured would inevitably result in great wealth for the individual and enormous power for England.⁴⁰ Finally, they were aware of a gigantic scheme, furthered by the Virtuosi, whereby man's intellectual horizon was to be widened and his condition improved.

The last of these forces dominant in the age affords the chief concern of this study. Under the influence of the New Science, the average voyager—whether buccaneer, trader, or scientist—went forth not so much to startle the world as to enlighten it. In so doing, he won the respect of his time and exerted an influence wide in its compass and significant in its results. Since it was the far voyager, rather than the continental traveller, whose works were considered by the age as most important for science, I have directed the reader's attention mainly to him. In the following pages, I shall point out his connections with the Royal Society, note traces of its influence on his work, examine his contribution of "useful Knowledge," and, lastly, attempt to show some of the uses to which his varied observations were put.

In spite of the fact that the travel-literature of the Restoration and early eighteenth century offers to the historian of ideas a field of uncommon interest, no detailed study of it has ever been made. Indeed, there exists no comprehensive examination of English travel-literature for any period.⁴¹ This is not to say, however, that the value of travellers' reports to the student of ideas has passed unnoticed. French *relations de voyages* have been exploited with reasonable thoroughness;⁴² and students of English literature have

⁴⁰ Cf. G. L. Beer, "Cromwell's Policy in its Economic Aspects," *Political Science Quarterly*, XVI (1901), 582-611; also his *The Old Colonial System: 1660-1754* (New York, 1912), I, 3; J. W. Jaudwine, *Studies in Empire and Trade* (London, 1923), p. 303; S. A. Khan, *The East India Trade in the XVIIth Century in its Political and Economic Aspects* (London, 1923), pp. 93 ff and *passim*; Richard Lodge, *The History of England from the Restoration to the Death of William III* (London, 1910), pp. 238, 451.

⁴¹ I do not overlook or minimize the value of such important studies on special topics as William E. Mead's *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston and New York, 1914) and George Bruner Parks' *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages* (New York, 1928).

⁴² M. Lanson was the first, I believe, to stress the importance of travel-books in the clarification of the *mouvement philosophique*. See his series of articles entitled "Formation et développement de l'esprit philosophique du XVIII^e siècle," *Revue des Cours et Conférences* (1908-

searched, rather cursorily to be sure, the mass of world voyage-accounts.⁴³ But a systematic study of the relation of English travel-literature to the trends of thought in any age is nowhere to be had. This investigation of the period 1660 to 1732 is, accordingly, an attempt to open up a field well-nigh untouched. A thorough study of Elizabethan and early Stuart voyage-accounts is greatly needed.⁴⁴ And new light will be thrown on the last half of the eighteenth century when we know the traveller of that age and his public better than we do.⁴⁵

1909), pp. 357-365; 499-508; 721-736. On the heels of these studies came M. Gilbert Chinard's two volumes: *L'exotisme Américain dans la littérature française au XVI^e siècle*, Paris, 1911; and *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1913. The latest investigation of French travel-books as repositories of ideas is Geoffroy Atkinson's *Les relations de voyages de XVII^e siècle et l'évolution des idées: contribution à l'étude de la formation de l'esprit du XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, [1925].

⁴³ See Chauncey B. Tinker, *Nature's Simple Plan: a Phase of Radical Thought in the Mid-Eighteenth Century*, Princeton, 1922; Lois Whitney, "English Primitivistic Theories of Epic Origins," *Modern Philology*, XXI (1923-24), 337-78; Benjamin Bissell, *The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century*, New Haven, 1925; and Hoxie Neale Fairchild, *The Noble Savage: a Study in Romantic Naturalism*, New York, 1928.

⁴⁴ Such a study is forthcoming. Professor G. B. Parks is now at work on the period before 1660.

⁴⁵ The present writer hopes to survey the travel-literature written between 1732 and 1800.

CHAPTER I

THE TRAVELLER AND THE ROYAL SOCIETY

During the span of years reaching from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries, related forces persisted which gave to the voyage-literature of that day a distinctive pattern, both in thought and in form. Between 1660 and 1732 other forces began to act; and the result was an altered pattern. This change was due principally to the impetus which experimental science received during the last half of the seventeenth century. The age which saw the rise of the Royal Society, the publication of Newton's *Principia* and Locke's *Essay*, the age, in other words, which conceived the world of nature and of man as machine-like in its construction, governed by laws discoverable by man and, when known, immeasurably conducive to his advantage,—this age raised the average traveller to an eminence he had never before enjoyed. When the inductive method arose to prominence and "collecting" became the rage, he, beyond the generality of mankind, possessed the advantage of being able to observe natural phenomena wherever they were to be found.

That he was aware of this important rôle is indisputable. The Royal Society, once clear as to its purpose, realized that the English voyager, if educated to the seriousness of his task, would prove a valuable helper. The Society had hardly got under way when there appeared in its *Transactions* a most interesting document. It bore the title "Directions for Seamen, bound for far Voyages." Without preliminary, it stated, for the benefit of travellers on "far Voyages," the aim of the Society, which, it averred, was "to study *Nature* rather than *Books*, and from the Observations, made of the *Phaenomena* and Effects she presents, to compose such a History of Her, as may hereafter serve to build a Solid and Useful Philosophy upon." ¹ It went on to say that

¹ I (January 1665/6), 140-141. Francis Bacon was well aware of the value of travel-books in widening the scope of knowledge: "Nor must it go for nothing," he wrote, "that by the distant voyages and travels which have become frequent in our times, many things in nature have been laid open and discovered which may let in new light upon philosophy" (*Novum Organum in Works*, ed. Spedding, Ellis, and Heath, London, 1858, IV, Aphorism LXXXIV). In "A Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy," Abraham Cowley suggested that "of the twenty Professors four be alwayes travelling beyond Seas

... considering with themselves, how much they may increase their *Philosophical* stock by the advantage, which *England* enjoys [sic] of making Voyages into all parts of the World, they [the members of the Society] ... appointed that Eminent Mathematician and Philosopher Master *Rooke* ... to think upon and set down some *Directions* for *Sea-men* going into the *East & West-Indies*, the better to capacitate them for making such observations abroad, as may be pertinent and suitable for their purpose; of which the said *Sea-men* should be desired to keep an exact *Diary*, delivering at their return a fair Copy thereof to the *Lord High Admiral of England*, his Royal Highness the *Duke of York*, and another to *Trinity-house* to be perused by the *R. Society*.²

After having thus impressed upon the voyager his fine opportunity for increasing the "*Philosophical stock*" and also the necessity of keeping at all times an "exact *Diary*," the "*Directions*" continued as follows:

Which *Catalogue of Directions* having been drawn up accordingly by the said Mr. *Rook* ... it was thought not to be unreasonable at this time to make it publique, the more conveniently to furnish Navigators with Copies thereof.³

Soon after,⁴ the *Transactions* printed a supplementary list of instructions compiled by Robert Boyle, which bore the title "General Heads for a Natural History of a Countrey, Great or small." The opening paragraph runs:

It having been already intimated (*Num. 8 of Phil. Transact.* p. 140. 141.) that divers *Philosophers* aime, among other things, at the Composing of a good Natural History, to superstruct, in time, a *Solid and Useful* Philosophy upon; and it being of no slight importance, to be furnisht with pertinent Heads, for the direction of Inquirers; that lately named *Benefactour to Experimental Philosophy* [i.e. Boyle], has been pleased to communicate, for the ends abovesaid, the following *Articles* ...⁵

Boyle's remarks immediately followed, an analysis of which appears below.⁶ Then, in order to round them off, the editor made the following statement:

... That the four Professors Itinerate be assigned to the four parts of the World ... That at their going abroad they shall take a solemn Oath never to write any thing to the Colledge, but what after very diligent Examination, they shall fully believe to be true, and to confess and recant it as soon as they find themselves in an Error" (included among *Verses written on several Occasions* in *Works*, London, 1669, p. 46).

² *Phil. Trans.*, I (1665/6), 141.

³ *Ibid.* For an analysis of the *Directions*, see below, p. 22.

⁴ April 2, 1666.

⁵ *Phil. Trans.*, I (1666), 186.

⁶ See p. 23.

Thus far our Author, who, as he has been pleased to impart these *General* (but yet very *Comprehensive* and greatly *Directive*) Articles; so, 'tis hoped from his own late intimation, that he will shortly enlarge them with *Particular* and *Subordinate* ones. These, in the mean time, were thought fit to be publisht, that the Inquisitive and Curious, might, by such an Assistance, be invited not to delay their searches of matters, that are so highly conducive to the improvement of *True Philosophy*, and the welfare of *Mankind*.⁷

At the outset, then, of the period of travel-writing under scrutiny, the voyager was drafted into the service of the New Science. Beyond doubt, he learned from various sources of the activities of the Virtuosi, of the intoxication for experimentation which had seized not only the members of the Royal Society but also the public at large.⁸ Under these conditions, he would normally have felt the impact of the movement. But his contribution to it would have resulted more or less from chance; and chance was what the Virtuosi were trying to avoid. Accordingly, they took the voyager aside,⁹ as it were, and explained to him the purpose and significance of the Society, impressed upon him the inestimable value of his observations if accurate, and furnished him with a set of directions "the better to capacitate . . . [him] for such observations abroad, as may be pertinent and suitable for their purpose." It is possible that many a voyager carried in his

⁷ *Phil. Trans.*, I (1666), 189.

⁸ Samuel Pepys tells us (*Diary*, May 30, 1667; Jan. 16, 1668/9) that Charles II equipped a laboratory in Whitehall and performed experiments. The *Transactions* are replete with letters from the various corners of England written by laymen enthusiastic over the New, or Experimental Philosophy.

⁹ See, in addition, Thomas Sprat's fine eulogy of the English merchant-voyager, who, he says, is possessed of a "*noble and inquisitive Genius*," and is more "*capable . . . [than the Hollanders] to promote such an Enterprise, as this of which I am now speaking*," namely, the New Science (*The History of the Royal Society of London, For the Improving of Natural Knowledge* [1667], 3d ed. corrected, London, 1722, p. 88). Indicating the improvement in knowledge of geography, Joseph Glanvill wrote: ". . . our Globes [are] more accurate, our Travels more remote, our Reports more intelligent and sincere . . ." (*Plus Ultra: or, the Progress and Advancement of Knowledge Since the Days of Aristotle . . .*, London, 1668, p. 50). H. Oldenburg, in the dedication of the eleventh volume of the *Transactions*, praised "*those Worthies, who have so happily brought-in their fresh supplies . . .*" and went on to state that "*Here . . . we have the accurate Observations of some judicious and learn'd Travellers: Excellent Instructions for generous Travellers.*"

pocket a copy of these directions and studied them while cruising on the remote rim of the world.

Furthermore, the Royal Society not only informed the Restoration voyager of the rôle assigned him in the drama of widening man's intellectual horizon. It also spurred him to clear-eyed observation by according him favorable mention in the *Transactions* if he performed his work well, and pointing out his errors if he proved slipshod. Richard Ligon's inaccuracies, for example, were pointed out by one who had tested his statements.¹⁰ Other travellers, more fortunate in possessing a clear idea of the end in view and of the methods by which to attain it,¹¹ received high praise. When, in 1694, the collection of voyages appeared of which Narbrough's journal formed the chief part, the *Transactions* took the following notice of it:

The present Collection reaching to the most distant Parts of the *Southern* and *Northern* Regions of the *Globe*, and being performed by *Skilful Navigators*, and *Faithful Observers*, must needs contain many uncommon and useful Things upon most of the Heads of *Natural* and *Mathematical Sciences*, as well as *Trade* and other *Profitable Knowledge*, which contribute to the enlarging of the *Mind* and *Empire of Man*. . . ¹²

Dampier, the far-voyager and faithful observer, evoked a similar commentary:

. . . in his Preface [Dampier] gives an Account, that from the beginning to the end of his Voyages, he kept a constant Journal of what occurred remarkable . . . without being filled with Transcripts out of others, too frequently done by such as would be Voluminous. And as he had the opportunity of visiting many Ports and places, scarce described in any Voyages, and for the most part unknown to English Navigators, to the East or West Indies; so he was the more diligent in his Observations, and the more particular in his Descriptions of their Situations, Soyls, Products, &c. the greatest part of which are made from his own Experience, and the others from particular informations he received from credible and knowing Persons.¹³

Frequently, by reason of his fellowship with members of the Royal Society or because of the novelty of his observations,

¹⁰ Cf. *Phil. Trans.*, III (1669), 702.

¹¹ Ligon's work, *A True & Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes*, first appeared in 1657, nine years before the Royal Society's "Directions" were printed.

¹² XVIII (June, 1694), 167.

¹³ *Phil. Trans.*, XIX (1696/7), 426.

a voyager received permission to print his findings in the *Transactions*,¹⁴ where they stood side by side with Boyle's experiments in gases and Halley's remarks on celestial bodies.

The effect on the traveller was immediate. When John Josselyn, in 1674, prepared for the press *An Account of Two Voyages to New-England*, he dedicated it "To the Right Honourable, and most Illustrious the President & Fellows of the Royal Society . . ."; and it was to the president of the same body that Dampier dedicated the *New Voyage Round the World*. Although these, so far as I know, were the only travel-books dedicated outright to the Society, plentiful evidence exists that shows a widespread interest on the part of Restoration travellers in the activities of the Virtuosi.

The "promotion of Useful Knowledge," a slogan sounded by the Virtuosi time and time again, was echoed repeatedly in the works of the voyagers. Sir George Wheler, lately returned from a journey into Greece, wrote:

*But I . . . having by Gods assistance, had a prosperous Voyage, into those parts of the World, and made a considerable Collection of useful Observations, and other Curiosities, began to think, that both my time and labour spent thereon, would soon be inevitably lost, should I not take care to put them into some convenient method for their preservation.*¹⁵

Nowhere is the traveller's "usefulness" to science, and consequently to the public generally, more clearly recognized and stated than in Nahum Tate's laudatory poem "To Mr. J. Ovington, on his Voyage to Suratt" (1696), which prefaced Ovington's volume. A portion of it runs:

*Hard is our Task to Read with fruitless Pain,
The Dreams of ev'ry Cloyster'd Writers Brain:
Who yet presume that Truth's firm Paths they tread,
When all the while, through wild Utopia's led,
With Faيري-Feasts, instead of Science fed.
As dreaming Wizzards Midnight Journeys take,
And weary with imagin'd Labour wake,
So vain is Speculation's fancy'd Flight:
But search of Nature gives sincere Delight.*

¹⁴ See III (1669), 699-709, 717-722, 792-795, 817-825; XI (1676), 623-636; XVI (1690/1), 462-468; XVII (1694), 760-761, 781-795, 941-948, 978-998; XVIII (1695), 121-135; XIX (1698), 83-110, 129-160, 225-228, 597-619; XX (1699), 167-168; XXI (1700), 113-120, 436-442; XXII (1702), 536-543, 729-738; XXIII (1702), 1201-1209; XXV (1708), 2423-2434.

¹⁵ *A Journey into Greece . . . In Company of Dr Spon of Lyons . . . With variety of Sculptures* (London, 1682), preface.

*Through her vast Book the World, a curious Eye
May Wonders in each pregnant Page descry,
Make new Remarks, which Reason may reduce
To Humane Benefit, and Publick Use.*

*But ah! how few, my Friend, with your Design,
On such Discov'ries bound, have cross'd the Line!*

Aside from the very interesting ideas contained in this passage, its present value as evidence of the voyager's connection with the New Science lies in the fact that Tate recognized, or thought he recognized, in Ovington the ideal type of voyager cherished by the Royal Society in the "*Catalogue of Directions*" and in its reviews of travellers' accounts. He is one whose

*curious Eye
May Wonders in each pregnant Page descry,
Make new Remarks, which Reason may reduce
To Humane Benefit, and Publick Use.*

Ovington himself was not unaware of the use to which his observations might be put. In his dedication to the Earl of Dorset, he says, among other things, "I need not mention, my Lord, with what facility you can employ your Judgment, to penetrate into all that is any where useful, whilst your vigorous Fancy can as readily present to you all that is divertive in its Entertainment." The same concern for promoting "useful Knowledge" comes out strikingly in Dampier's dedication of *A New Voyage Round the World*. "May it please you," he wrote, addressing "the Right Honourable Charles Mountague, Esq. President of the Royal Society . . . ,"

to Pardon the Boldness of a Stranger to your Person, if upon the encouragement of Common Fame, he presumes so much upon your Candor, as to lay before you this Account of his Travels. As the Scene of them is not only Remote, but for the most part little frequented also, so there may be some Things in them New even to you; and some possibly, not altogether unuseful to the Publick. . . I [cannot] think this plain Piece of mine, deserves a place among your more Curious Collections. . . Yet dare I avow, according to my narrow Sphere and poor Abilities, a hearty Zeal for the promoting of useful Knowledge, and of any thing that may never so remotely tend to my Countries Advantage: And I must own an Ambition of transmitting to the Publick through your Hands, these Essays I have made toward those great Ends, of which you are so deservedly esteemed the Patron.

This hath been my design in this Publication, being desirous to bring in my Gleanings here and there in Remote Regions, to that general Magazine, of the Knowledge of Foreign Parts, which the Royal Society thought you most worthy the Custody of, when they chose you for their President . . . ¹⁶

This aim, so clearly outlined in the preceding excerpt, is confined to no group of travellers or period of years. Sir George Wheler and John Ovington were men of substantial education and refined sentiments; Dampier, though Coleridge detected in him an exquisite mind,¹⁷ was a sea-captain and 'a buccaneer. Others, "desirous to bring in . . . [their] Gleanings here and there in Remote Regions," were as numerous and diverse as there existed occupations and stations in life. And they proved diligent in the cause of science not only during the Restoration, while Experimental Philosophy was young and enthusiasm warm, but also throughout the whole period encompassed by this study. Martin Martin, who in 1703 published *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, testified that "Human industry has of late advanced useful and experimental philosophy very much . . . "; and he, like his immediate predecessors, assured the Virtuosi that guides for scientific conduct and other helpful suggestions had not been lost on him: ". . . if I had been so happy as to oblige the republic of learning with any thing that is useful," he wrote, "I have my design."¹⁸ John Stevens, the translator, declared, in 1709, that "Mankind is so well acquainted with the Usefulness of Works of this Nature, I mean of Travels, that it is altogether needless to Endeavour to Convince any one of the Advantages we reap by them . . ."¹⁹ In 1714, John Lawson lamented the fact that "most of our travellers who go to this vast continent in America, are persons of the meaner sort . . . who . . . are . . . incapable of giving any reasonable account of what they met withal in those remote parts; tho' the Country abounds with Curiosities worthy of a nice Observation."²⁰

¹⁶ *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697), *Voyages* (ed. John Masefield, London, 1906), I, 17-18.

¹⁷ *Specimens of Table Talk* (Edinburgh, 1905), p. 161.

¹⁸ Pinkerton's *Voyages* (London, 1809), III, 574.

¹⁹ *A New Collection of Voyages and Travels . . .* (London, 1711), I, dedication of Cieza's travels.

²⁰ *The History of Carolina; Containing the Exact Description and Natural History of that Country: Together with the Present State*

The traveller of this period seems to have been greatly impressed with the high import of his mission and exhilarated by his opportunity to assist in a task which occupied some of the best minds of the age. Had his interest extended no farther than verbal confessions of allegiance, there would be little justification for this detailed study of the phenomenon. But it also impelled him to increase the "*Philosophical stock*." There exists abundant evidence to show that in listing his multifarious observations he tried to comply with the Royal Society's "*Catalogue of Directions*." This catalogue, first published, as previously noted, in the *Transactions* for January 1665/6, was reprinted *in toto* forty years later in "An Introductory Discourse, Containing the whole History of Navigation from its Original to this time," which appeared in the first volume of Churchill's *Collection*. It sought to guide chiefly sea-voyagers and read as follows:

1. To observe the Declination of the *Compass*, or its Variation from the *Meridian* of the place, frequently; marking withal, the *Latitude* and *Longitude* of the place, wherever such Observation is made, as exactly as may be, and setting down the *Method*, by which they made them.

2. To carry *Dipping Needles* with them, and observe the Inclination of the Needle in like manner.

3. To remark carefully the Ebbings and Flowings of the Sea, in as many places as they can, together with all the Accidents, Ordinary and Extraordinary, of the Tides. . .

4. To make Plotts and Draughts of prospect of Coasts, Promontories, Islands and Ports, marking the Bearings and Distances, as neer as they can.

5. To sound and marke the Depths of Coasts and Ports. . .

6. To take notice of the Nature of the Ground at the bottom of the Sea, in all Soundings, whether it be Clay, Sand, Rock, &c.

7. To keep a Register of all changes of Wind and Weather at all houres, by night and by day, shewing the point the Wind blows from, whether strong or weak: The Rains, Hail, Snow and the like, the precise times of their beginnings and continuance, especially *Hurricanes* and *Spouts*; but above all to take exact care to observe the Trade-Wines [*sic*] . . . as near and exact as may be.

8. To observe and record all Extraordinary *Meteors*, Lightnings, Thunders, *Ignes fatui*, Comets, &c. marking still the places and times of their appearing, continuance, &c.

thereof. And a Journal of a Thousand Miles, Travel'd thro' several Nations of Indians. Giving a particular Account of their Customs, Manners, &c. (compiled by Fred A. Olds and reprinted at Charlotte, N. C., 1903), preface.

9. To carry with them good Scales, and Glasse-Violls of a pint or so, with very narrow mouths, which are to be fill'd with Sea-water in different degrees of *Latitude*, as often as they please, and the weight of the Vial full of water taken exactly at every time, and recorded, marking withall the degree of *Latitude*, and the day of the Month: And that as well of water near the Top; as at a greater Depth.²¹

Boyle's instructions, printed in April of the same year, enlarged on the points dealt with above, and, in addition, gave advice to travellers by land. They stressed the importance of noting the natural phenomena and products of particular countries and, furthermore, the appearance and notable characteristics of their inhabitants:

. . . above the ignobler *Productions* of the Earth, there must be a careful account given of the *Inhabitants* themselves, both *Natives* and *Strangers*, that have been long settled there: And in particular, their Stature, Shape, Colour, Features, Strength, Agility, Beauty (or want of it) Complexions, Hair, Dyet, Inclinations, and Customs that seem not due to Education. As to their Women (besides the other things) may be observed their Fruitfulness or Barrenness; their hard or easy Labour, &c. And both in Women and Men must be taken notice of what diseases they are subject to, and, in these whether there be any symptome, or any other Circumstance, that is unusual and remarkable.²²

By way of assisting further the voyager and the traveller who desired to increase the "*Philosophical stock*," the anonymous writer of the "Introductory Discourse," printed in Churchill's *Collection* (1704), "set down some general Rules which may concern all Travellers to observe":

They are in the first place to consider, that they do not go into other Countries to pass through them, and divert themselves with the present sight of such Curiosities as they meet with. . . If they will make an advantage of their Trouble and Cost, they must not pass through a Country as if they carried an Express, but make a reasonable stay at all places where there are Antiquities, or any Rarities to be observ'd; and not think that because others have writ on that Subject, there is no more to be said. . . Let them therefore always have a Table-Book at hand to set down every thing worth remembring, and then at night more methodically transcribe the Notes they have taken in the day. The principal Heads by which to regulate their Observations are these, the Climate, Government, Power, Places of Strength, Cities of note, Religion, Language, Coins, Trade, Manufactures, Wealth,

²¹ *Phil. Trans.*, I (1665/6), 141-143. See also Churchill's *Collection* (London, 1704), I, lxxiii-lxxiv.

²² *Phil. Trans.*, I (1666), 188.

Bishopricks, Universities, Antiquities, Libraries, Collections of Rarities, Arts and Artists, Publick Structures, Roads, Bridges, Woods, Mountains, Customs, Habits, Laws, Privileges, strange Adventures, surprizing Accidents, Rarities both natural and artificial, the Soil, Plants, Animals, and whatsoever may be curious, diverting, or profitable. . . Every Traveller ought to carry about him several sorts of Measures, to take the Dimensions of such things as require it; a Watch by which, and the Pace he travels, he may give some guess at the distances of Places . . . a Prospective-glass, or rather a great one and a less, to take views of Objects at greater and less distances; a small Sea-Compass or Needle, to observe the situation of Places, and a parcel of the best Maps to make curious Remarks of their exactness, and note down where they are faulty. In fine, a Traveller must endeavour to see the Courts of Princes, to keep the best Company, and to converse with the most celebrated Men in all Arts and Sciences.²³

That the Restoration and early eighteenth-century voyager heeded this advice cannot be questioned. Not only did he dedicate his works to the learned and avow "a hearty Zeal for the promoting of useful Knowledge," but he also turned a "curious Eye" on the varied phenomena of remote regions and set about the business of recording the "Rarities" and "surprising Accidents" which so abundantly came under his gaze. The lists of instructions to travellers quoted above furnish, indeed, a pretty adequate index to what one will find on these heads in Restoration and early eighteenth-century travel-literature. With great industry, the voyager of this period equipped himself with the suggested paraphernalia and scoured land and sea to contribute to "that general Magazine, of the Knowledge of Foreign Parts" which the members of the Royal Society were bending every effort to replenish and enlarge. John Clayton, giving an account of Virginia, wrote in 1693: "The Air and Temperature of the Seasons is much govern'd by Winds in *Virginia*, both as to Heat and Cold, Driness and Moisture, whose Variations being very notable, I the more lamented the loss of my Barometers and Thermometers . . ." ²⁴ (They were "cast away in Captain Wins Ship . . .") ²⁵ As regards physical phenomena, voyager after voyager seems always to have had a "Table-Book" at hand in which to jot down every thing worth remembering. John Josselyn tells us that he kept a journal, and he further

²³ Churchill, *Collection* (London, 1704), I, lxxv-lxxvi.

²⁴ *Phil. Trans.*, XVII (1694), 784.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 781.

tried to comply with the instructions to sea-voyagers by taking note of phenomena such as waterspouts and St. Elmo's fire on the mast.²⁶ Ovington, enroute to Surat, tells of seeing a waterspout and describes the various devices seamen use to avoid or break it.²⁷ Sharp, the buccaneer, whose purpose it was to harry the Spaniards in Panama, Chile, and Peru, sat down earnestly to discuss with Don Peralto, a captured Spanish nobleman, noteworthy facts of science on that side of the world. "I had also the Satisfaction," he wrote, "to confer with *Don Peralto* concerning many Things, who among divers other remarkable Passages, as it came in by way of Discourse, told me of two strange Comets that had been seen the Year before, viz. 1679, at *Quito*, which is a great City in the Kingdom of *Peru*, and appear'd in this Form."²⁸ There followed two pen drawings of them.

Patently, these data cropped up in travel-books not by chance. To be sure, curiosity in any age might account for a voyager's taking note of such commonplaces in a seaman's experience as waterspouts and St. Elmo's fire.²⁹ But it would seem strange indeed, were evidence to the contrary lacking, that a leader of a wild and reckless band of men plundering settlements on the western slopes of the Andes should pause to enquire about comets and make record of the exact place and time of year at which they were seen. When one remembers that travellers to far kingdoms had been instructed by the Royal Society "To keep a Register" of "all Extraordinary *Meteors* . . . Comets, &c." and to note the precise "places and times of appearing," one is strongly inclined to ascribe Sharp's register to conscious scientific purpose rather than to mere coincidence.³⁰ Moreover, it was not by chance that William Dampier, while filibustering with these sea-rovers, kept a "Register of all changes of Wind and Weather

²⁶ *An Account of Two Voyages to New-England* . . . (1674), reprint (Boston, 1865), pp. 5, 7, 8.

²⁷ *A Voyage to Suratt, In the Year, 1689* . . . (London, 1696), pp. 62-64.

²⁸ Hacke's *Collection* (London, 1699), p. 13.

²⁹ Cf. Edward Haile, "A report of the voyage . . . attempted in the yeere of our Lord 1583, by sir Humfrey Gilbert . . .," Hakluyt's *Prin. Nav.*, VIII, 74; Robert Fotherby, "A Voyage of Discuerie to Greenland, etc., Anno 1614," *The Voyages of William Baffin*, Hakl. Soc. Pub. (London, 1881), p. 102.

³⁰ Cf. Josselyn, *An Account of Two Voyages*, ed cit., p. 42.

. . . but above all . . . [took] exact care to observe the *Trade-Wines* [*sic*] . . . as near and exact as may be.”³¹ The result was a discourse on trade-winds, “one of the most valuable of all the ‘pre-scientific’ essays on meteorological geography, and . . . now deserving of close study.”³²

Attempting quite consciously to aid in reconstructing the natural history of the world, the voyager and traveller of this age was astronomer, botanist, chemist, geographer, physiologist, and physiologist—all in one. “. . . here [Scarborough, Maine] I resided eight years,” wrote Josselyn, “and made it my business to discover all along the Natural, Physical, and Chyrurgical Rarities of this New-found World.”³³ The interest of all voyagers in plant-life was extremely pronounced. No sooner had Thomas Newe arrived in South Carolina (in the year 1682), than he wrote his father:

I desire you would be pleased by the next opportunity to send me over the best herbalist for Physical Plants in as small a Volume as you can get. There was a new one just came out as I left England, if I mistake not in 8vo. that was much commended, the Author I have forgot. . .³⁴

Sir George Wheler possessed an extraordinary curiosity about every kind of European and Asiatic vegetable growth. Throughout his book are numerous accounts, both pictorial and verbal, of the flora he observed. He tells us that he “*would have added more Cuts, most of them [the plants] which I have described, being either unknown or very rare in our parts; but indeed the Bookseller was very unwilling to be burthened with them, the charge of Graving being too great for his profit.*”³⁵ The contribution of travellers to the science of botany does not by any means end here. Enthusiastic observers of plant-life, they were also industrious collectors and brought home specimens of such things as they could conveniently carry. Back from a voyage to Australia, or New-Holland as it was then called, Dampier placed certain

³¹ See above, p. 22.

³² See the article on Dampier in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

³³ *New-Englands Rarities Discovered* . . . (1672), reprint (ed. Edward Tuckerman, Boston, 1865), p. 35.

³⁴ As A. S. Salley points out (*Narratives of Early Carolina*, New York, 1911, p. 184, 2 n), this was probably John Ray's *Methodus Plantarum nova* (London, 1682, octavo).

³⁵ *A Journey into Greece* . . . (London, 1682), preface.

plants "in the Hands of the Ingenious Dr. Woodward."³⁶ Overcome by the difficulty of his task, a voyager to Darien declared, "This place affords legions of monstrous Plants, enough to confound all the methods of Botany ever hitherto thought upon." Then he added, rather abjectly, "However, I found a shift to make some specimens, and that is all I can do."³⁷

These texts afford only one view of the voyager's numerous scientific activities. When Sir George Wheeler presented a lengthy description of chameleons, as they were found in and about Smyrna, and also supplied a drawing of one,³⁸ he fell in line with dozens of other voyagers intent on adding to man's knowledge of animal life.³⁹ Will Bird, Esq., returning from Virginia, presented to the Royal Society an opossum, the description of which, together with an account of its dissection, filled an entire issue of the *Transactions*.⁴⁰ Certain animals and shells were sent to the Society from Carolina.⁴¹ All that

³⁶ *A Voyage to New-Holland . . .* (1703), *Voyages* (ed. Masefield, London, 1906), II, 343-344. Dr. John Woodward, F.R.S., was a well-known botanist and geologist of the time.

³⁷ "Part of a Journal kept from Scotland to New Caledonia in Darien, with a short account of that Country . . .," *Phil. Trans.*, XXII (1702), 539.

³⁸ *A Journey into Greece . . .* (London, 1682), pp. 247-249.

³⁹ See especially Richard Ligon, *A True & Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes . . .* (1657), reprint (London, 1673), pp. 3-6; Lancelot Addison, *An Account of West Barbary* (1671), Pinkerton's *Voyages* (London, 1814), XV, 406-407; Basil Ringrose, Journal, included in the second volume of the *Buccaneers of America* (1684/5), by Esquemeling (London, 1893?), pp. 396-397; John Clayton, ". . . an Account of several Observables in Virginia . . .," *Phil. Trans.*, XVII (1694), 988-999; John Narbrough, "Voyage to the South Sea," *An Account of several Late Voyages and Discoveries* (1694), London, 1711, pp. 29-30, 31-35, 58-59; John Ovington, *A Voyage to Swratt* (London, 1696), pp. 45 ff; William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697), *Voyages* (ed. Masefield, London, 1906), I, 94-95, 99-100, 116-117, 118; John Fryer, *A New Account of East-India and Persia* (1698), Hakl. Soc. Pub. (London, 1909), I, 35-37, 305-306; Benjamin Bullivant, "Part of a Letter . . . Concerning some Natural Observations he had made in those Parts [New England]," *Phil. Trans.*, XX (1699), 167-168; Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1699), reprint (Cleveland, 1903), pp. 110-129; William Funnell, *A Voyage Round the World . . .* (1707), *A Collection of Voyages* (London, 1729), IV, 4-5 and *passim*; Edward Cooke, *A Voyage to the South Sea* (London, 1712), I, 26 and *passim*; George Shelvocke, *A Voyage Round the World . . .* (1726), London, 1757, pp. 61-62, 260-265.

⁴⁰ "Carigueya, seu Marsupiale Americanum. or, The Anatomy of an Opossum . . .," *Phil. Trans.*, XX (1699), 105-164.

⁴¹ *Phil. Trans.*, XXIV (1706), 1952-1960.

could be observed regarding the various methods in other countries of curing disease likewise received extensive treatment in accounts of voyages.⁴² The antiquary and the historian discovered that English traders in the Levant left their work and trekked across hostile territory to make notes on the ruins of antiquity.⁴³ The social philosopher found himself literally inundated by a mass of observations concerning all that was "unusual and remarkable"⁴⁴ in man in a state of nature. And what is more, this army of auxiliary scientists were not "collectors" only. Travellers infrequently carried on little experiments of their own and indicated results for the improvement of true philosophy and the welfare of mankind.⁴⁵

This relationship between the Royal Society and far-voyagers reveals a new tendency in English travel-literature the importance of which cannot be too strongly emphasized. It produced an attitude toward the world of nature and of man which differed considerably from that of preceding voyagers. The Elizabethan traveller, to be sure, had taken cognizance of natural and social phenomena; but it is no exaggeration to say that he lacked the guiding principle so strikingly

⁴² Cf. Josselyn, *An Account of Two Voyages* (1674), reprint (Boston, 1865), pp. 34, 38, 61; John Covell, "Extracts from the Diaries of . . . , 1670-1679," *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, Hakl. Soc. Pub. (ed. J. T. Bent, London, 1893), pp. 116, 149; Thomas Glover, "An Account of Virginia . . .," *Phil. Trans.*, XI (1676), 624, 630; Thomas Ashe, *Carolina; or a Description of . . . that Country . . .* (1682), *Hist. Coll. of S. C.* (New York, 1836), II, 67; John Clayton, "Account of several Observables in Virginia," *Phil. Trans.*, XVIII (1695), 127-134; Fryer, *A New Account of East-India and Persia* (1698), Hakl. Soc. Pub. (London, 1909), I, 100-101, 179, 285-287; II, 175-177; Charles Wolley, *A two Years Journal in New-York: And part of its Territories in America* (reprinted from the original ed. of 1701, with an introduction and notes by E. G. Bourne, Cleveland, 1902), pp. 51-52; Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1703), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, III, 575, 578, 587, 630; Robert Beverly, *The History of Virginia . . .* (1705), London, 1722, pp. 186-190; John Lawson, *The History of Carolina* (1714), reprint (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), pp. 4, 8-9, 15, 21.

⁴³ "An Extract of the Journals of two several Voyages of the English Merchants of the Factory of Aleppo, to Tadmbr, anciently call'd Palmyra," *Phil. Trans.*, XIX (1698), 129-160.

⁴⁴ Cf. Boyle's "General Heads for a Natural History of a Countrey . . .," *Phil. Trans.*, I (1665-1666), 188. Since a discussion of travellers' ideas regarding the world of man occurs in Chapter II, there would be little point in making reference here to specific texts. See below, pp. 35-38.

⁴⁵ See below, pp. 40-43.

manifest in the works of his Restoration successor.⁴⁶ The latter went forth to aid the Virtuosi by means of experimenting and "collecting." The result was an abundance of detailed information of a type hardly to be found in the travel-literature of the earlier period.⁴⁷ The Restoration voyager himself was, of course, aware of the change. Martin Martin listed the various historians who took account of the Western Islands and then significantly said:

. . . since his [Buchanan's] time, there is a great change in the humour of the world, and by consequence in the way of writing. Natural and experimental philosophy has been much improved since his days; and therefore descriptions of countries, without the natural history of them, are now justly reckoned to be defective.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ I mislead if I give the impression that the year 1660 marks, in this particular, a definite break between the old and the new traveller. Just as scientific interest had existed in England long before this date (Cf. E. A. Burt, *The Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science*, London, 1925, pp. 30, 34, 117-118, 156-157, 159; C. S. Duncan, *The New Science and English Literature in the Classical Period*, Menasha, Wis., 1913, pp. 1-5; F. S. Marvin, *The Living Past*, Oxford, 1920, pp. 168-169, 189; F. M. Stawell and F. S. Marvin, *The Making of the Western Mind*, London [1923], pp. 191-192, 194-195, 196, 203), so the inquisitive voyager of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries recorded all that he considered strange and unusual in the remote kingdoms of the world. It was in the Restoration, however, that experimental science received a new impetus; and it was in this period that English voyagers saw, as never before, the precise use to which their multifarious observations might be put.

⁴⁷ I speak here in general terms. Raleigh noted the medicinal value of a certain herb "called Tupara" ("The discoverie . . . of Guiana . . .," Hakluyt's *Prim. Nav.*, X, 339); Laurence Keymis found the "herbe Wiapassa . . . very medicinable against the flixe and headach" ("A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana . . .," *ibid.*, p. 458); Hawkins's descriptions of deep-sea life are rather detailed (*The Observations of . . . in His Voyage into the South Sea*, Hakl. Soc. Pub., London, 1878, pp. 148, 150, 152); Sandys describes the chameleon with admirable precision. But one need only turn to Josselyn, Wheler, or Dampier to see the change clearly displayed.

⁴⁸ *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1703), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, III, 572. See further the comment on Fryer's *Account of East-India and Persia*, in *Phil. Trans.*, XX (1698), 338, and Ellis Veryard, *An Account of Divers Choice Remarks . . . Taken in a Journey . . . to the Levant* (Oxford, 1701), preface.

CHAPTER II

THE TRAVELLER AND THE SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO PHENOMENA

There had indeed come about a "great change in the humour of the world, and by consequence in the way of writing." As we have seen, the traveller accepted enthusiastically the task assigned him in the work of gathering and recording information about the physical universe and the appearance, the manners, and the customs of men. Not only did he confess his zeal for "collecting," but he also filled his accounts of voyages with a mass of observations and descriptions intended, so he said, for the Virtuosi. All this he could have done without departing radically from the habits of mind and the methods of observation found in his Elizabethan and early Stuart predecessors. Once aware of what was expected of him, he would naturally have courted favor and applause by declaring his interest in the New Science and by assuring the Virtuosi that whatever he wrote was intended principally for their benefit. With this gesture of allegiance, he could, no doubt, have won attention without altering materially the type of thing found in travel-literature from the time of Fro-bisher and Drake on down, for this literature was replete with observations on both physical and social phenomena.

But the Restoration and early eighteenth-century voyager was guilty of no such hypocrisy. His enthusiasm for the New Science was fundamental and enduring. Behind the obvious manifestations of his zeal was the aim soberly to acquire a scientific approach to phenomena, to become an auxiliary scientist worthy of the name. Not content with haphazard observation, he strove to adhere to certain ideals, voiced from time to time by the members of the Royal Society, which were intended to guide the serious promoters of the New Science. Of these, three were outstanding: objectivity, skepticism, and precision. Moreover, the traveller's permanent enthusiasm for the movement toward a rational view of the world and his attempt to make the method of the Virtuosi his method is explained by his knowing quite well the ultimate goal of the Society, which was to build up a true and real philosophy grounded in the immutable laws of nature.

I

Objective fact, shorn of personal bias and prejudice, was an aim fundamental in the thinking of the Restoration voyager. Here as elsewhere, the governing ideal came principally from the promoters of the New Science. Instructions to zealous "collectors" stressed repeatedly the imperious necessity of clear-eyed observation and a passion for truth. The "Directions for Sea-men, bound for far Voyages" warned the voyager "above all to take exact care to observe the Trade-Wines [*sic*] . . . as near and exact as may be."¹ Thomas Sprat declared it the purpose of all prospective scientists

. . . to make faithful *Records* of all the Works of *Nature*, or *Art*, which can come within their Reach; that so the present Age, and Posterity, may be able to put a Mark on the Errors, which have been strengthened by long Prescription; to restore the Truths, that have lain neglected; to push on those, which are already known, to more various Uses; and to make the way more passable, to what remains unreveal'd. . . And to accomplish this, they have endeavour'd, to separate the Knowledge of *Nature*, from the Colours of *Rhetorick*, the Devices of *Fancy*, or the delightful Deceit of *Fables*.²

The *Transactions* praised "some late Travellers, who have made more accurate and faithful reports of the Countries where they have travelled . . . than formerly was done."³

But, it went on to observe,

. . . some Writers are more concern'd for Panegyricks of the amaeinities of the place, than will well sort with the true and modest relations of their Neighbours: As when we read the beginning of the Ingenious Barclay's Euphormio, we are invited to prefer Scotland before any Paradise on Earth; which yet I do not blame or censure in that noble Romance: But in our designed Natural History we have more need of severe, full and punctual Truth, than of Romances or Panegyricks.⁴

The alacrity with which the voyager caught up hints such as these and the faithfulness with which he carried them out must have warmed the hearts of the Virtuosi. He demonstrated the fact that his enthusiasm for experimental science was no passing whim, a garment to be put on or taken off at

¹ *Phil. Trans.*, I (1665/6), 142.

² *The History of the Royal Society* (1667), 3rd ed., corrected, London, 1722, pp. 61-62.

³ General preface to vol. XI (1676/7), 552.

⁴ *Ibid.*

will. He clearly showed in his works that dedications to the Royal Society and expressions of zeal for the advancement of "useful Knowledge" were prompted by an earnest desire to become, in his small way, a scientist, clear of eye and honest of purpose. To this end, he set out to acquire the method prescribed by the Society for the guidance of serious workers so that his descriptions might meet with its approval. And, first of all, he did his best to "make faithful *Records* of all the Works of *Nature*" and to record nothing but "*severe, full and punctual Truth.*"

This change, fundamental in the traveller, is clearly exemplified in Dampier's pronunciamiento against those who "objected . . . that my Accounts and Descriptions of Things are dry and jejune, not filled with variety of pleasant Matter, to divert and gratify the Curious Reader."⁵ There were obviously readers of travel-books who desired entertainment, recitals of wonders and of "Strange Surprizing Adventures." To these Dampier turned a deaf ear and, like all scientists worthy of the name, continued to make faithful records of the manifold works of nature. In his first volume recounting Woodes Rogers's privateering expedition to the South Seas, Edward Cooke gave a plain and short description of the rescue of Alexander Selkirk from the island of Juan Fernandez. Whereupon "some Persons" cried out for additional details. He rebuked them as follows:

In the first Volume there is Mention made of one *Alexander Selkirk*. . . who being left on the Island *John Fernandes*, continu'd there four Years and four Months, without any human Society. That short Hint rais'd the Curiosity of some Persons to expect a more particular Relation of his Manner of living in that tedious Solitude. . . It would be no difficult Matter to embellish a Narrative with many Romantick Incidents, to please the unthinking Part of Mankind, who swallow every Thing an Artful Writer thinks fit to impose upon their Credulity, without any Regard to Truth or Probability. The judicious are not taken with such Trifles; their End in Reading, is Information; and they easily distinguish between Reality and Fiction. We shall therefore give the Reader as much as may satisfy a reasonable Curiosity, concerning this Man, without deviating into Invention.⁶

This proneness not to deviate into invention, to record with scrupulous exactitude, is a characteristic of the majority of

⁵ *A Voyage to New-Holland* (1703), *Voyages* (ed. Masfield, London, 1906), II, 342.

⁶ *A Voyage to the South Sea, and Round the World* (London, 1712), II, xviii-xix.

travel-books in the period. Josselyn's description of New England toads admirably illustrates this fact. "The Toad is of two sorts," he wrote,

one that is speckled with white, and another of a dark earthy colour; there is of them that will climb up into Trees and sit croaking there; but whether it be of a third sort, or one of the other, or both, I am not able to affirm; but this I can testify that there be Toads of the dark coloured kind that are as big as a groat loaf. Which report will not swell into the belief of my sceptique Sirs. . .⁷

Josselyn had no doubt put up with no end of difficulties to get a glimpse of these toads and, if we interpret his last remark correctly, was inclined to be a little irascible with any one who ventured to doubt him. The fact is that he was a diligent and reasonably painstaking observer. But in this he did not differ from the common run of voyagers, who produced scores of accurate descriptions of animal- and plant-life. At the "little Island of St. Andr ," in the Mediterranean, Sir George Wheler "went that Afternoon a Simpling; which was a Curiosity seldom failed to give me satisfaction . . ." and recorded, among other observations, the following:

1. *Scorpoides Limoni  foliis*. This is a small Plant, that hath Leaves much resembling *Limonium*, among which are yellow Flowers, set on the top of a Stalk, like those of wild *Lotus*; after which succeed little Cods with Seed, in shape much resembling Caterpillars, turn'd round together, when touch'd.⁸

Offering an account of bees in Panama, Wafer conjectured that they possessed no stings, but, he hastened to observe, "that's a thing I never examin'd."⁹ Off the coast of France, according to Ellis Veryard, the natives "fish great store of *Soles* . . . when Northerly Winds blow; but at other times few or none: Of which it passes my weak Capacity to assign the Reason."¹⁰

Furthermore, the attempt to render a fair-minded and just report of all remote peoples is almost everywhere apparent.

⁷ *An Account of Two Voyages to New-England* (1674), reprint (Boston, 1865), p. 94.

⁸ *A Journey into Greece* . . . (London, 1682), p. 3.

⁹ *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1699), reprint (ed. G. P. Winship, Cleveland, 1903), p. 125.

¹⁰ *An Account of Divers Choice Remarks* . . . Taken in a Journey through the Low-Countries . . . as also, *A Voyage to the Levant* (London, 1701), p. 271.

Paul Rycaut, in the dedication affixed to *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, published in 1668, tells the world that contrary to the usual practice of seeing nothing in Turkey but barbarity and ignorance he has attempted to set forth its true condition. "This Present [people]," he writes,

. . . may be termed barbarous, as all things are, which are differed from us by diversity of Manners and Custom, and are not dressed in the mode and fashion of our times and Countries; for we contract prejudice from ignorance and want of familiarity. But your Lordship [Henry Lord Arlington, Secretary of State], who exactly ponderates the weight of humane Actions, acknowledges reason in all its habits, and draws not the measures of Oeconomy or Policy from external appearances or effects, but from the fundamental and original Constitutions; so that your Lordship will conclude, that a People, as the Turks are, men of the same composition with us, cannot be so savage and rude as they are generally described. . .¹¹

This account does not, as one might expect, exalt Turkish virtue unduly and gloss over depravity and vice. It is a reasonably fair-minded treatment of a despised people by a rational person. The same striving for objectivity is no less prominent in Narbrough, whom Charles II in 1669 sent on an exploring expedition to the South Seas. Indeed, evidences of the clear vision of the man, of the aim uppermost continually to record "*severe, full and punctual Truth*" shorn of personal bias, greet the reader time and again. Touching Elizabeth's Island in the Straits of Magellan, he found that "nineteen of the Country-people came off the Hills to me . . . " and "would gladly have had every thing they saw; they tried to break the Boats Iron grapnel with stones, and would have carried it away . . . "¹² In his account, Narbrough does not burst out in condemnation of this people; neither did he on this occasion drive them away. With the eye of a Virtuoso, he "let them alone, and observed their actions and behaviour, which was very brutish . . . "¹³ His general description of them affords an admirable example of detailed comment on primitive man, the like of which one runs across constantly in the works of the voyagers. "These People," he says,

¹¹ *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* . . . , London, 1668.

¹² "Voyage to the South-Sea" (1694), *An Account of several Late Voyages and Discoveries* (London, 1711), p. 63.

¹³ *Ibid.*

are of a middle stature, both Men and Women, and well limbed, and roundish Faced, and well shaped, and low Foreheaded; their Noses of a mean size, their Eyes of the mean and black; they are smooth and even toothed and close set and very white; small Ears: their Hair is smooth flag Hair, and very black and harsh on the fore part, even and round; and the Locks of a mean length, both Men and Women alike: they are full Breasted, they are tawny Olive-colour'd, and redded all over their Bodies with red Earth and Grease . . . they have small Heads and short Fingers. . . they are very hardy people to endure cold, for they seldom wear this loose skin when they are stirring, but are all naked of Body from Head to Feet, and do not shrink for the weather. . . they have no Hair on their Bodies nor Faces, nor any thing to cover their Privy Parts, excepting some of the Women which had a Skin before them. . . they are under no Government, but every man doth as he thinks fit; for they had no respect to any one. . . neither did they make any shew of Worshipping any thing, either Sun or Moon, but came directly to us at our first going on Land, making a noise, and every Man his Bow ready strung, and two Arrows a Man in their Hands.¹⁴

What has just been observed of Narbrough likewise applies to Dampier. His scrupulous regard for truth produced a score of bare descriptions of remote peoples. The Indians of the Isthmus of Panama seem to have been intelligent, and they were ever favorably disposed toward the buccaneers. Dampier on several occasions owed them gratitude for their kindness toward him and his companions. Yet when he gave an account of them, he spoke as a scientist observing phenomena. "Having made mention of the Moskito Indians," he writes in *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697),

it may not be amiss to conclude this Chapter with a short account of them. They are tall, well-made, raw-bon'd, lusty, strong, and nimble of Foot, long-visaged, lank black Hair, look stern, hard favour'd, and of a dark Copper-colour Complexion. . . They are very ingenious at throwing the Lance, Fisgig, Harpoon, or any manner of Dart, being bred to it from their Infancy. . . They have extraordinary good Eyes, and will discry a Sail at Sea farther, and see any thing better than we. . . they behave themselves very bold in fight, and never seem to flinch nor hang back . . . I could never perceive any Religion nor any Ceremonies, or superstitious Observations among them, being ready to imitate us in whatsoever they saw us do at any time. Only they seem to fear the Devil, whom they call Wallesaw. . .

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 64-66.

They marry but one Wife, with whom they live till death separates them. . .

Far within Land there are other Indians, with whom they are always at War. . . They have no form of Government among them, but acknowledge the King of England for their Sovereign: They learn our language and take the Governor of Jamaica to be one of the greatest Princes in the world.¹⁵

His frank estimate of the "Mindanayans," natives of the Philippines, runs as follows: "They are indued with good natural Wits, are ingenious, nimble and active, when they are minded; but generally very lazy and thievish . . ."¹⁶

This same regard for truth is found among numerous voyagers less notable than Dampier but hardly less zealous in the promotion of authenticated knowledge. John Lawson, in his book *The History of Carolina* (1714), regrets that

. . . most of our travellers who go to this vast continent in America, are persons of the meaner sort, and generally of a very slender education; who being hired by the Merchants to trade among the Indians [*sic*], in which voyages they often spend several years, are yet at their return, incapable of giving any reasonable account of what they met withal in those remote parts; tho' the Country abounds with Curiosities worthy of a nice Observation.¹⁷

He declares, furthermore, that "I have in the following Sheets given you a faithful Account . . . wherein I have laid down everything with Impartiality, and Truth . . ."¹⁸ The fact of the matter is that this is not for Lawson a conventional statement. He actually tried to render not only trustworthy descriptions of plants and animals, but also a fair, well-rounded account of the natives. He noted their extreme cruelty to prisoners of war,¹⁹ their questionable morals,²⁰ their insatiable appetite for combat;²¹ but he also pronounced them benevolent and kind to one another and happy.²² Whatever Daniel Beeckman could observe to the credit or discredit of the natives of Borneo, he painstakingly recorded. Of their business ethics, he wrote:

¹⁵ Ed. John Masefield, London, 1906, I, 39-42.

¹⁶ *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697), *Voyages* (ed. Masefield, London, 1906), I, 333.

¹⁷ Reprinted Charlotte, N. C., 1903, p. xi.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 109, 114.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106, 138-139.

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They esteem him the best qualified and most ingenious man, that can most overreach and cheat his neighbour by false weights, measures, &c. neither do they reckon it a fault, but glory in it as a masterpiece of wit.²³

He tells us that "mothers do often prostitute their daughters at eight or nine years of age for a small lucre."²⁴ Yet he points out that these natives "are the most peaceable people in the world to one another, quarelling seldom or never among themselves . . ."²⁵ On the return home, he stopped at the Cape of Good Hope and while there scrutinized with great interest the Hottentots. He agrees with other voyagers that they are "filthy animals" and "hardly deserve the name of rational creatures . . ."; but he finds them

so honest, that you may trust them almost with any thing; and they will carry it safely where directed, though nobody follows, or looks after them. This shews the aspersion to be groundless which some authors (particularly Mr. Morden, in his book of Geography Rectified) cast upon them, saying, that they are such great thieves that they will steal with their feet, while they stare in your face: others affirm, (and particularly Dr. Heylin) that they feed upon human carcases: it is true, their diet is very beastly; but upon inquiry, I never could find that to be true.²⁶

It is obvious enough that in portraying remote peoples certain voyagers tried to reveal both sides of the picture. They honestly attempted to set forth the whole truth as they saw it. Yet, as Rycaut pointed out, there existed a conspicuous tendency in British natures to term all things barbarous "which are differenced from us by diversity of Manners and Custom, and are not dressed in the mode and fashion of our times and Countries . . ."²⁷ The voyager's typical outlook on man, whether in America or the South Seas, Persia or East India, was that of a superior being scrutinizing inferiority. Against the standards of civilized society this voyager constantly measured East or West Indians and the tribes of the sea; and he found them inferior to him and his institutions in almost every particular. He presented, on the whole, a rather

²³ *A Voyage to and from the Island of Borneo* (1718), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, XI, 129.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 152-153. See Nathaniel Uring's account of the American Indians, *A History of the Voyages and Travels of . . .* (London, 1726), pp. 114-121.

²⁷ See above. n. 34.

sorry picture of the manners and customs, the government, religion, and morality of all men outside the British Isles or the confines of western Europe.²⁸

Even though this fusion of the "scientific" approach with a well-defined sense of his own superiority as a civilized man and an Englishman produced in the traveller either a dispassionate toleration or a dignified contempt of all remote peoples, it must be admitted that the average voyager strove to see clearly and to record objectively. The result was a mass of material notable not only for the avowed attempt to present undistorted facts, but also for the scarcity of individual speculation or the airing of private theories. This type of thing certainly was thought to merit little space in a Restoration and early eighteenth-century travel-book. Voyagers and travellers considered themselves collectors, not interpreters, of data. In the ranks of the Virtuosi, science was not divorced from philosophy; and these investigators indulged not only in analytical description but also in synthetic interpretation. This last the traveller avoided. The translator of Exquemelin's *The Buccaneers of America* (1684) praised the book when he found it "*hugely void of passion or national reflections.*"²⁹ When Nahum Tate condemns the airy speculation of the cloistered philosopher whose ideas have not their basis in nature,³⁰ one feels that his diatribe might apply with equal force to the theorizing traveller. Tate's ideal traveller makes

*new Remarks, which Reason may reduce
To Humane Benefit, and Publick Use.*³¹

The traveller's task, it would seem, is to furnish the raw material of fact which "Reason" may dominate and reduce to the benefit of mankind. This same point of view finds expression in Charles Wolley's journal of experiences in the province of New York, published in 1701:

. . . as I have read in the *Philosophical Transactions*, the order of the seasons of the year is quite inverted under the torrid

²⁸ See below, pp. 100-103. This type of thing went on, of course, between civilized nations. See Scribière's *Relation d'un voyage en Angleterre* (1664), Cologne, 1669; and Thomas Sprat's reply in his *Observations on Monsieur de Sorbier's Voyage into England . . .*, London, 1665.

²⁹ London: S. Sonnenschein & Co., n. d., p. xxxi.

³⁰ See above, pp. 19-20.

³¹ *Ibid.*

Zone. . . but besides these Observations and Philosophical Solutions, give me leave to offer one Consideration to the Inhabitants of the Northern parts of *England*, viz. Whether they have not taken notice for the several years past of some alteration in the Seasons of the year. . . Now to what reasons shall we impute these, shall we say in the words of that Scribe of the Law, *Esdras*, *The world hath lost his youth, and the times begin to wax old, for look how much the world shall be weaker through age?* Or shall we apologize with Dr. *Hakewell*, in his Power and Providence in the Government of the World? For my part I humbly submit to the Virtuoso's of Natural and Divine Philosophy; rather than embarrass and envelop my self in prying within the Curtains of the Primitive Chaos. . . ³²

Granted that Wolley here parades his learning, the significance of the text lies in its conventional attitude toward what a traveller should and should not do. After noting the change in the manner of writing and the content of travel-books, due to "Natural and experimental philosophy,"³³ Martin Martin announces, in 1703, that "if I had been so happy as to oblige the republic of learning with any thing that is useful, I have my design"; and he adds,

I hold it enough for me to furnish my observations, without accounting for the reason and way that those simples produce them: this I leave to the learned in that faculty; and if they would oblige the world with such theorems from these and the like experiments, as might serve for rules upon occasions of this nature, it would be of great advantage to the public.³⁴

The conviction that a writer of travels should avoid speculation and personal reflections comes out nowhere more plainly perhaps than in Robert Beverly's criticism of Hennepin and La Hontan, which he included in his *History of Virginia*, printed in 1705. "Father *Hennepin*," he writes,

. . . will not allow that the *Indians* have any belief of a Deity, nor that they are capable of the Arguments, and Reasonings that are common to the rest of Mankind. . . Baron *Lahontan*, on the other hand, makes them have such refin'd Notions, as seem almost to confute his own Belief of Christianity.

The first I cannot believe. . . because, to my own Knowledge, all the *Indians* in these Parts [i.e. Virginia] are a superstitious and idolatrous People; and because all other Authors, who have written of the *American Indians*, are against him. As to the

³² *A two Years Journal in New-York . . .* (Cleveland, 1902), pp. 28-29.

³³ *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, Pinkerton's *Voyages*, III, 573.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 574.

other Account of the just Thoughts the *Indians* have of Religion, I must humbly intreat the Baron's pardon; because I am very sure, they have some unworthy Conceptions of God, and another World. Therefore what that Gentleman tells the Public concerning them, is rather to shew his own Opinions, than those of the *Indians*.³⁵

There is no doubt at all that the Restoration voyager actually tried to "make faithful *Records* of all the Works of *Nature* . . ." He was of course subject to human fallibility and his vision, accordingly, was at times obscured by a propensity to regard all things barbarous which were "differenced from . . . [him] by diversity of Manners and Custom . . ." Nevertheless, the aim to state the truth and to present the facts of experience in their true perspective is writ large in practically every travel-book published in this period.

II

That the voyager accepted certain principles intended by the members of the Royal Society to guide all men eager to advance natural philosophy is further evident from his attempt to avoid the "delightful Deceit of *Fables*" and to "put a Mark on the Errors, which have been strengthened by long Prescription."³⁶ In other words, the effect of certain forces prominent in the age was to produce in the traveller not only objectivity of observation, but also something approaching scientific skepticism.

Time and again, the voyagers made it a point to sweep away common superstitions by rational means and "to restore the Truths, that have lain neglected . . ."³⁷ John Covell, who confessed himself "very slow of belief"³⁸ in witches, tells us that he found "The Ragusae Ambassador . . . most strangely superstitious as to storyes of witches and such like. One day, being to visit him with a friend of mine, he fell into such discourse, and at last assur'd us that he had met with a Jew woman, who, for certain, was a witch."³⁹ She is called and does a trick, of the spuriousness of which Covell

³⁵ I refer to the 2d ed., London, 1722, p. 169.

³⁶ See above, p. 31.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ "Extracts from the Diaries of Dr. John Covell, 1670-1679," *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, Hakl. Soc. Pub. (London, 1893), p. 257.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

tries to convince the ambassador; “. . . and, with much ado,” he continues, “we convinct him a little. At last I understood indeed what kind of Conjurers these two women were: they were famous, truely, for raysing (or bringing up) little Devils, but they were all in the shape of pretty wenches.”⁴⁰ In his account of Constantinople (1678), Thomas Smith observed that “The *Turks* look upon Earthquakes as ominous, as the vulgar do upon Eclipses . . .”⁴¹ The traditional opinion of sailors that several leagues from land they could smell the pines of Virginia John Clayton ascribed “to Fancy . . .”⁴² While at Bombay, Fryer saw an unusually large sea-turtle brought to land. Whereupon he “caused it to be opened, and examined its Heart, which (contrary to the Opinion of the Vulgar) is but One, they affirming it to be Three, grounded on this Mistake; the Auricles being larger than in other Creatures . . .”⁴³ Again, he rather contemptuously remarked that for the cure of disease the East Indians “will submit to Spells and Charms, and the Advice of Old Women.”⁴⁴ To right a traditional error, Charles Wolley wrote of the beaver as follows:

As to the Castoreum or parts conceived to be bitten away to escape the Hunter, [*sic*] is a vulgar conceit, more owing to *Juvenal* and other poetical fancies than to any traditional truth . . . but to be short, the bladders containing the Castoreum are distinct from the Testicles or Stones, and are found in both Sexes. . .⁴⁵

Again, he noted that whales “copulate as Land-beasts, as is evident from the female Teats and Male’s Yard, and that they Spawn as other Fishes is a vulgar error . . .”⁴⁶

Henry Maundrell, who travelled to Jerusalem, was ever on the lookout for evidence that would dissipate vulgar errors. On coming to the Dead Sea, he must needs wade in up to his

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

⁴¹ “Historical Observations relating to Constantinople,” *Miscellanea Curiosa* (London, 1727), III, 65.

⁴² “A Letter . . . giving an Account of several Observables in Virginia . . .,” *Phil. Trans.*, XVII (1694), 783.

⁴³ *A New Account of East-India and Persia* (1698), Hakl. Soc. Pub. (London, 1909), I, 305.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 288. See further, pp. 187-188.

⁴⁵ *A two Years Journal in New-York* (1701), reprint (Cleveland, 1902), pp. 48-49.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47. See Edward Ward, *A Trip to New-England* (London, 1699), p. 12.

waist to satisfy an urgent curiosity and test a common belief. But let him speak for himself:

The water of the lake was very limpid, and salt to the highest degree; and not only salt, but also extreme bitter and nauseous. Being willing to make an experiment of its strength, I went into it, and found it bore up my body in swimming with an uncommon force. But as for that relation of some authors, that men wading into it were buoyed up to the top, as soon as they go as deep as the navel; I found it, upon experiment, not true.⁴⁷

He looked for the "apples of Sodom, so much talked of"; but he

neither saw, nor heard of any hereabouts: nor was there any tree to be seen near the lake, from which one might expect such a kind of fruit; which induces me to believe that there may be a greater deceit in this fruit, than that which is usually reported of it; and that its very being as well as its beauty, is a fiction, only kept up, as my lord Bacon observes many other false notions are, because it serves for a good allusion, and helps the poets to a similitude.⁴⁸

While at the same spot, he continued to cast a "curious Eye" about and made the following discoveries:

It is a common tradition, that birds attempting to fly over this sea, drop down dead into it; and that no fish, nor other sort of animal can endure these deadly waters. The former report I saw actually confuted, by several birds flying about and over the sea, without any visible harm; the latter also I have some reason to suspect as false, having observed among the pebbles on the shore, two or three shells of fish resembling oystershells. These were cast up by the waves, at two hours distance from the mouth of Jordan; which I mention, lest it should be suspected that they might be brought into the sea that way.⁴⁹

As a matter of fact, English voyagers rarely slipped an occasion to knock over traditional beliefs, for they delighted in being critical. Funnell, the privateer, observed that "it is a common Error to suppose, that during an Earthquake, it is always calm; for we had a fine fresh Gale at S. S. W. both

⁴⁷ *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* (1703), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, X, 348.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* George Sandys, travelling over the same territory eighty-odd years earlier, remarked, "They say that birds flying ouer [the Dead Sea] fall in as if enchanted. Nor vnlikely, since other lakes, as that of *Auernus*, haue effected the like . . . (*A Relation of a Iourney*, London, 1632, p. 142)." For authority, he quoted Lucretius.

Days on which the Earthquake happen'd."⁵⁰ Of his own skepticism Lawson wrote:

Being at that time [an alligator had just roared] amongst nothing but Savages, I began to suspect they were working some piece of Conjuraction under my House, to get away my Goods; not but that, at another time, I have as little Faith in their, or any other working Miracles, by Diabolical Means, as any Person living.⁵¹

Shelvocke the skeptic sought to expose Frezier's naïve belief in Chilean giants. "Monsieur Frezier," he wrote,

gives us an account in his voyage (page 84 of the Engl. Tran.) that the indians [*sic*] inhabiting the continent to the Southward of this island, are called Chonos, and that they go quite naked; that in the inland part, there is a race of men of an extraordinary size, called Cacahues. . . This gentleman, *viz.* monsieur Frezier, tells us, that he was credibly informed by some who had been eye-witnesses of it, that some of these are about nine or ten feet high; but I had a sight of two of them. . . who seemed to me to differ little or not at all from the Chilenians, as to stature and person.⁵²

Nathaniel Uring riddles the story perpetrated by a Portuguese missionary that mermaids are to be found in Africa. "The Missionaries that have been in that Country," writes Uring, "tell us very extravagant Stories of their Travels in that and the adjoining Kingdoms . . ."⁵³ Then he quotes from Father Francis de Pavia, who found "Fish much like Men and Women in Shape . . ."⁵⁴ The *coup de grâce* follows:

Throughout all the River of *Zair*, he [Father Francis] says, the *Mermaid* is found, which from the Middle upwards has some Resemblance of a Woman; it has Breasts, Nipples, Hands, and Arms, but downwards it is altogether Fish. . . This Creature that the good Father speaks of as the *Mermaid*, can be no other than the *Manatee*, it answering exactly to that Description, only he has made the Finns to be Hands and Arms.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ *A Voyage Round the World* (1707), *A Collection of Voyages* . . . (London, 1729), IV, 187-188.

⁵¹ *The History of Carolina* (London, 1714), reprint (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), pp. 74-75.

⁵² *A Voyage Round the World* (London, 1726; 2d ed., 1757), pp. 111-112.

⁵³ *A History of the Voyages and Travels of* . . . (London, 1726), p. 57.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66. This piece of evidence brings up a point which demands elaboration. We note in this passage that Uring considers the French missionaries tellers of "very extravagant Stories." Geoffroy Atkinson, in *Les relations de voyages du XVII^e siècle et l'évolution des*

The aim of English voyagers to look critically at phenomena did not, of course, insure them against a vision distorted by Biblical authority and mediæval tradition. John Josselyn reflects a curious mixture of the old and the new. Careful to test by experiment, zealous to catalogue plants and animals peculiar to the New World, he was nevertheless prepared to make way for inexplicable wonders and to believe extravagant tales if presented on good authority. To vent himself on those he knew would censure parts of his book which he had not the will to exclude, he inveighed against all critical readers of travel who were predisposed not to accept any tale incompatible with general experience. "There be," he declares,

a sort of stagnant stinking spirits, who, like flies, lye sucking at the botches of carnal pleasures, and never travelled so much Sea, as is between *Heth-ferry*, and *Lyon-Key*; yet notwithstanding . . . will desperately censure the relations of the greatest Travellers. It was a good *proviso* of a learned man, never to report wonders, for in so doing, of the greatest he will be sure not to be believed, but laughed at, which certainly bewraies their ignorance and want of discretion. Of Fools and Madmen then I shall take no care, I will not invite these in the least to honour me with a glance from their supercilious eyes; but rather advise them to keep their inspection for their fine-tongu'd Romances, and playes. This homely piece, I protest ingenuously, is prepared for such only who well know how to make use of their charitable construc-

idées . . . (Paris, [1925]), stresses not only the credulity of seventeenth-century France but also the inaccuracy and wilful discrepancy with which French voyagers recorded their observations (see p. 26). After quoting a serious discussion of animated leaves, which appeared in the *Journal des Sçavans* during the year 1677, and an argument that the unicorn is to be found in the forests of Africa, taken from *Recueil de divers voyages faits en Afrique et en l'Amérique* . . . , printed in 1674, he writes, "Ces deux citations, serviront peut-être à nous rappeler la crédulité enthousiaste de ce siècle nourri d'Aristote" (see pp. 26-28). Now I am quite aware of certain manifestations of Restoration and early eighteenth-century English credulity; and, as I shall presently demonstrate, there are rather numerous traces of it in English travel-literature. But a "crédulité enthousiaste" among English voyagers of this age I am unable to concede. If Atkinson's review of the French period be just, then the whole tendency in the two literatures is divergent. If one approaches English voyage-literature biased by rumors of the credulity of its authors and their wilful distortion of truth, one will encounter a surprise, for the majority of them tried to be scientifically honest. They definitely tried to live down their reputation as prevaricators by stressing the fact that it was their intention to purvey useful knowledge and by submitting a mass of descriptions notable for their exact delineation of phenomena.

tions towards works of this nature, to whom I submit my self in all my faculties. . .⁵⁶

There was reason for this outburst. Seven pages above he recorded the following story:

One Mr. *Mittin* related of a *Triton* or *Mereman* which he saw in *Cascobay*, the Gentleman was a great Foulter, and used to goe out with a small Boat or Canow, and fetching a compass about a small Island. . . for the advantage of a shot, was encountered with a *Triton*, who laying his hands upon the side of the Canow, had one of them chopt off with a Hatchet by Mr. *Mittin* which was in all respects like the hand of a man. . . these with many other stories they told me [one of which Josselyn recounts above], the credit whereof I will neither impeach nor inforce, but shall satisfie my self, and I hope the Reader hereof, with the saying of a wise, learned and honourable Knight, *that there are many stranger things in the world, than are to be seen between London and Stanes*.⁵⁷

In a scientific article on a voyage to Virginia, printed in the *Transactions* for the year 1676, Thomas Glover inserted "an account of a very strange Fish or rather a Monster, which I happened to see in *Rapa-han-nock* River about a year before I came out of the Country . . ." ⁵⁸ The account vividly describes what happened when this Restoration voyager-scientist came suddenly face to face with "a most prodigious Creature" for which, by education and experience, he was totally unprepared. Alone in a sloop and reading a "small book," Glover

heard a great rushing and flashing of the water, which caused me suddenly to look up, and about half a stones cast from me appeared a most prodigious Creature, much resembling a man, only somewhat larger, standing right up in the water with his head, neck, shoulders, breast, and waste, to the cubits of his arms, above water; his skin was tawny, much like that of an *Indian*; the figure of his head was pyramidal, and slick, without hair; his eyes large and black, and so were his eye-brows; his mouth very wide, with a broad, black streak on the upper lip, which turned upwards at each end like mustachoes; his countenance was grim and terrible. . . he seemed to stand with his eyes fixed on me for some time, and afterward dived down, and a little after riseth at somewhat a farther distance, and turned

⁵⁶ *An Account of Two Voyages to New-England* (1674), reprint (Boston, 1865), pp. 30-31.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23. See further, pp. 48, 104, 140.

⁵⁸ *Phil. Trans.*, XI (1676), 625.

his head towards me again, and then immediately falleth a little under water, and swimmeth away so near the top of the water, that I could discern him throw out his arms, and gather them in as a man doth when he swimmeth. At last he shoots with his head downwards, by which means he cast his tayl above the water, which exactly resembled the tayl of a fish with a broad fane at the end of it.⁵⁹

The necromantic powers of the American Indian, whom explorers and settlers believed to be in league with the devil, seem to have impressed travellers deeply. Wafer, whose account of the flora and fauna of Panama is admirably precise and exact, describes how the natives "went to work to raise the Devil, to enquire of him at what time a Ship would arrive here . . ." ⁶⁰ After some delay, they got an answer: "That the 10th Day from that time there would arrive two Ships; and that in the Morning of the 10th Day we should hear first one Gun, and sometime after that another: That one of us should die soon after; and that going aboard we should lose one of our Guns: All which fell out exactly according to the Prediction."⁶¹ This book off the press, "several of the most eminent Men of the Nation seem'd very much startled" concerning "some Circumstances in the Relation I have given of the Indian way of Conjuring . . ." ⁶² Whereupon Wafer replied to these skeptics in the second edition of his narrative by way of vindication. John Lawson, though critical of Indian priests and their magic,⁶³ is often convinced of their power in spite of his reason.⁶⁴

Other texts reveal the same tendency among voyagers. Thomas Bowrey discusses whether or not the Rhinoceros "be the Unicorne," and decides that the modern inclination to identify the two results in error, for "I saw a horne of about 13 or 14 inches longe, in the very forme and Shape that wee

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 625-626.

⁶⁰ *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1699), reprint (Cleveland, 1903), p. 60.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁶² This statement occurs in the preface to the second edition, according to Winship, *ibid.*, p. 61, note.

⁶³ *The History of Carolina* (1714) reprint (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), p. 126.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26, 127, 128-129. See further, John Lederer, *The Discoveries of . . . In three several Marches from Virginia, To the West of Carolina, And other parts of the Continent . . .* (1672), reprint (Rochester, N. Y., 1902), p. 21; John Ovington, *A Voyage to Suratt, In the Year, 1689 . . .* (London, 1696), pp. 68-69.

picture or carve a Unicorn's horne . . ."⁶⁵ While the natives of Ceylon were in rebellion, Robert Knox observed "a fearful blazing star . . . right over our heads. And one thing I very much wondered at was, that whereas before this rebellion, the tail stood away towards the westward; from which side the rebellion sprang: the very night after—for I well observed it—the tail turned, and stood away toward the eastward; and by degrees it diminished quite away."⁶⁶ A voice was heard in the sea, Cowley tells us, "crying out, *Come Help, come help, a Man over Board . . .*" A hurried search found not a "Man wanting"; and so the ship's company conjectured "that it was the Spirit of some Man that had been drowned in that Latitude by accident."⁶⁷

That the Restoration and early eighteenth-century voyager could be credulous on occasion is an incontestable fact. But even through certain of these examples of his naiveté there runs a spirit cautious and critical. Josselyn takes great care to support by caustic denunciation and citation of authority the strange story of a "*Triton*" with a hand "in all respects like the hand of a man." And he neither accepts nor rejects the tale. Bowrey's discussion of the unicorn is based on experimental knowledge. Glover's remarkable experience is limned with all the detail and cool reserve that the Royal Society expected from its contributors. Even though unprecedented happenings in a strange environment overcame now and then his better judgment, Lawson aspired to objectivity and skepticism. This fact testifies not only to the rapidity with which the critical spirit penetrated the lay mind, but also to a change in point of view among travellers that determined the very pattern to be woven by their ideas. Josselyn's real purpose was to "discover all along the Natural, Physical, and Chyrurgical Rarities of this New-found World."⁶⁸ And emphasis in both his works falls on this type of thing. As was demonstrated above, Wheler and Ovington,

⁶⁵ *A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679*, Hakl. Soc. Pub. (ed. Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Cambridge, 1905), p. 223.

⁶⁶ *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon . . .* (1681), reprinted in *An English Garner* (ed. C. R. Beazley, Westminster, 1903), II, 348.

⁶⁷ Hacke's *Collection* (London, 1699), pp. 40-41.

⁶⁸ *New-Englands Rarities Discovered . . .* (1672), reprint (Boston, 1865), p. 35.

Martin and Maundrell, Dampier, Shelvocke, and Uring labored to record the true and label the false. These men were collectors of data on observable phenomena wherever they were to be found. Prone as certain voyagers were to accept authority and to color fact with legend, they nevertheless harbored the ideal of truthful and critical observance and attempted, in the main, not to deviate into invention.

III

When Martin Martin declared that a great change had come about in the "humour of the world, and by consequence in the way of writing,"⁶⁹ he seems to have had in mind the fact-content of contemporary voyage-accounts. But his words might just as well have referred to the altered *manner* of writing then prevalent in travel-literature, for the stylistic ideals of a past age had given away to somewhat different views regarding the style suitable for historians of voyages and travels to far kingdoms. Several forces operated to produce this change, not least among which was the stress that precision in observation and simplicity of utterance received from the promoters of the New Science. To trace this development, it will be advantageous to examine in some detail the travel-book style of the earlier period before attempting to point out the distinguishing features of that of the Restoration and early eighteenth century.

In the long age of travel-book writing that extends from the mid-sixteenth century to the first quarter of the eighteenth, there is an unbroken tradition of stylistic simplicity. Compared with the elaborate periods of *Euphues*, the long and involved sentences of the *Arcadia*, the magnificent phrases and noble rhythm of Raleigh's *History of the World*, the style of Elizabethan voyagers must be pronounced plain. Theirs is the direct style of eminently practical men whose daily idiom passed freely into the records of their hazardous undertakings. Yet within the limits of direct and forcible utterance, it varies from the concise brevity of a seaman's diary to the slightly more spacious prose of the typical travel-book.

It was the habit of most sea-voyagers to keep a journal of each day's observations and events. In the hands of an unimaginative or extremely matter-of-fact person, this journal

⁶⁹ See above, p. 29.

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proved to be little more than a bare catalogue, with paragraph after paragraph beginning:

This day, being Wednesday, we weigh'd and set sail . . .

or,

This day the wind at S. E., we sailing N. N. W. . . .

or,

May 1, being Friday, the wind at W. S. W., we sailing to the northward N. W. and by N., being misty and much wind . . .⁷⁰

By far the largest number of early voyagers, however, preferred to hang on the skeleton of bare fact a garment wrought of personal aspirations, delight, and terror. They retained the chronological scheme of development, the unadorned phrase and the simple, direct sentence; but they added a store of material hardly to be found in a ship's dull log. The long voyage, more often than not, afforded half-glimpses of monstrous sea-beasts, personal contact with wild and savage men, dreadful storms and ice-locked ships. To chronicle these things, the old voyager used a style compact of vigor, simplicity, and artless charm.

To certain of his men held captive by Indians, Martin Frobisher penned the following direct and vigorous prose:

I will be glad to seeke by all meanes you can devise, for your deliverance, eyther with force or with any commodities within my shippes, which I will not spare for your sakes, or anything else I can do for you. I have aboard of theyrs a man, a woman, and a childe, which I am contented to deliver for you; but the man I carried away from hence the laste yeare, is dead in England. Moreover, you may declare unto them, that if they deliver you not, I wyll not leave a manne alive in their cuntrye. And thus unto God, whome I trust you do serve, in haste I leave you, and to him we will dayly pray for you.⁷¹

John Davis, describing what he saw in the north Atlantic, wrote:

I departed from the coast [the west side of Greenland], thinking to discover the north parts of America: and after I had sailed towards the west 40 leagues, I fel vpon a great banke of yce: the wind being north and blew much, I was constrained to

⁷⁰ John Gatonbe, "A Voyage into the North-West Passage, undertaken in the Year 1612," *The Voyages of William Baffin, 1612-1622*, Hakl. Soc. Pub. (ed. C. R. Markham, London, 1881), pp. 4-5.

⁷¹ Quoted by George Beste in his *A True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie for Finding of a Passage to Cathaya, by the North-Weast, Under the Conduct of Martin Frobisher General* (1578), Hakl. Soc. Pub. (ed. Rear-Admiral Richard Collinson. London, 1867), p. 147.

coast the same towards the South, not seeing any shore west from me, neither was there any yce towards the north, but a great sea, free, large, very salt and blew, and of an vnsearchable depth.⁷²

Nothing could be more clear and terse than Sir Richard Hawkins's descriptions of deep-sea life. Take, for example, his vivid account of the dolphin:

The dolphin I hold to be one of the swiftest fishes in the sea. He is like unto a breame, but that he is longer and thinner, and his scales very small. He is of the colour of the rayn-bow, and his head different to other fishes; for, from his mouth halfe a spanne, it goeth straight upright, as the head of a wherry, or the cut-water of a ship.⁷³

It is this same vigorous and forcible way of writing that one finds in Captain John Smith's chronicles of the Virginia colony. Concerning the Indian inhabitants, he remarked:

They are inconstant in everie thing, but what feare constraineth them to keepe. Craftie, timerous, quicke of apprehension and very ingenuous. Some are of disposition fearefull, some bold, most cautelous, all *Savage*.⁷⁴

Hawkins's dolphin whose mouth "goeth straight upright, as the head of a wherry, or the cut-water of a ship" reveals a delightful side of voyage-literature. These voyagers, as Professor J. L. Lowes⁷⁵ rightly points out, "carried . . . their known and familiar landscape with them, and they had the trick of catching glimpses of it through the strangest lights."⁷⁶ To quote him further: "The 'great exhalation or whirlwinde of smoake' from a Mexican volcano 'ascends directly up *like to the shot of a Crosse-bow*'; the Sea-Crows on the coast of Panama 'hovering on the Sea . . . seeme to cover the same with a *blacke carpet of cloth or velvet*, going and comming

⁷² *The Worlde's Hydrographical Description* (1595), as quoted in *Narratives of Voyages Towards the Northwest in Search of a Passage to Cathay and India*, Hakl. Soc. Pub. (ed. Thomas Rundall, London, 1849), p. 50.

⁷³ *The Observations of Sir Richard Havvkins Knight, in His Voiage into the South Sea. Anno Domini 1593* (1622), in *The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I*, Hakl. Soc. Pub. (ed. C. R. Markham, London, 1878), p. 148.

⁷⁴ *A Map of Virginia . . .* (1612), *Works* (ed. Edward Arber, Birmingham, 1884), I, 65.

⁷⁵ The most illuminating treatment of travel-book style extant is to be found in his *The Road to Xanadu: A Study in the Ways of the Imagination* (Boston and New York, 1927), pp. 312-323. Throughout this section I am greatly indebted to Professor Lowes.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

with the Sea' . . . venomous serpents of the Congo 'carrie upon the tippe of their tayle, a certaine little roundell like a Bell, which ringeth as they goe' . . . In 'a certaine little lland, to the Southwards of Celebes,' where Sir Francis Drake touched to grave his ships, there are trees 'amongst [which] night by night, through the whole Land, did shew themselves an infinite swarme of fierie Wormes flying in the Ayre, whose bodies being *no bigger then our common English Flyes*, make such a shew and light, as if every Twigge or Tree had beene a burning Candle. In this place breedeth also wonderfull store of Bats, as bigge as large Hennes.'"⁷⁷ Abacuk Prickett, the chronicler of Hudson's fourth voyage, recorded that "When we had layd this [island] we raised another . . . upon it are two hills, but one (above the rest) *like an haycocke* . . ."⁷⁸ Of "cochos" on the island of St. Jago, the historian of Drake's West Indian expedition wrote: "Next within this hard shell is a white rine resembling in shewe very much even as any thing may do, *to the white of an egge when it is hard boyled*."⁷⁹

As Lowes again points out, these early voyagers had, indeed, a way of "clothing the very stuff and substance of romance in the homely, direct, and everyday terms of plain matter of fact."⁸⁰ Therein, for him (and I think for the rest of us), lies the charm of old travel-books. It is patent in the excerpts quoted above, but only half revealed. The old voyagers sailed the seas before strange and unknown things had faded into "the light of common day." And into the very texture of their narratives they wove an awe of terrible shapes and a delight in the strange and the new. In Davis's "great sea, free, large, very salt and blew, and of an vnsearchable depth," one feels that rare sights and amazing accidents might lurk to pop the eye. And so they did: ". . . havinge a fayre and large winde," wrote George Beste,

wee departed from thence towardes Frobyshers Straites, the three and twentieth of June. But fyrste we gave name to a hyghe cliffe in Weast England, the laste that was in oure sight, and for

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 317-318.

⁷⁸ *Henry Hudson the Navigator* . . . , Hakl. Soc. Pub. (ed. G. M. Asher, London, 1860), pp. 104-105.

⁷⁹ "A summarie and true discourse of sir Francis Drakes West Indian voyage, begun in the yeere 1585 . . .," Hakluyt's *Prin. Nav.*, X, 106.

⁸⁰ *The Road to Xanadu*, p. 313.

a certaine similitude we called it Charinge Crosse. Then we bare southerly towards the sea, bycause to the northwardes of this coaste wee mette wyth muche driving ise, whiche by reason of the thicke mistes and weather might have bin some trouble unto us.

On Monday, the laste of June, wee mette with manye greate whales, as they hadde beene porposes.

This same day the *Salamander* being under both hir corses and bonets, hapned to strike a greate whale with hir full stemme, wyth such a blow, that the ship stooode stil and stirred neither forwarder nor backward. The whale thereat made a great and ugly noise, and caste up his body and tayle, and so went under water, and within two dayes after there was founde a greate whale dead, swimming above water, which we supposed was that the *Salamander* stroke.⁸¹

I trust that the length of this passage requires no apology. The normal, workaday prose of the average Elizabethan traveller is perhaps nowhere better exemplified than in this excerpt from Beste's lively narrative of Frobisher's expeditions to the northwest. Through this chronicle the bare skeleton of a ship's journal protrudes. There are references to such routine matters as the strength of the wind, the speed of the ship, the day and the month of the year. But a remarkable happening triumphs over dry, nautical data; and the sudden impact of whale against ship in one of the "unknowne corners of the worlde"⁸² tips askew the whole order of prosaic existence and throws wide the door on startling accidents and grim romance. It may seem that I take liberties with the passage quoted above. Yet, in the light of other texts from the same work, I do not believe I err. The three accounts penned by this narrator breathe the fascination of men who scud through dank fogs that enshroud chimeras and perilous seas. Beyond the "greate mistes that troubled them not a little"⁸³ lay "straunge and unknowne accidents"⁸⁴ for Frobisher and his men. "He saw mightie deere yt seemed to be mankind, which ranne at him, and hardly he escaped with his life in a narrow way . . ."⁸⁵ Again, the crew encountered "many monsterous fishe, and strange fowle . . ."⁸⁶ Upon a small island, they found "a great deade fishe" which "maye

⁸¹ *A True Discourse* (1578), Hakl. Soc. Pub. (London, 1867), pp. 233-234.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

truely be thoughte to be the sea Unicorne.”⁸⁷ In fact, naïve expressions of terror or delight pepper the pages of early voyage-accounts. Looking wide-eyed at the great quantity of grapes on the Virginia coast, Amadas (or Barlowe)⁸⁸ declared, “. . . I thinke in all the world the like abundance is not to be found . . .”⁸⁹ To him “The soile is the most plenti-full, sweete, fruitfull and wholsome of all the worlde . . .”;⁹⁰ and it grew “the highest and reddest Cedars of the world . . .”⁹¹ Battered by “thicke and foule”⁹² weather, Henry Hudson, according to Prickett,⁹³ “stood to the south and to the south-west, through a cleere sea of divers sounding, and came to a sea of two colours, one blacke and the other white . . .” In the land of the headless Ewaipanoma, Raleigh came upon a mountain over which tumbled “a mighty river . . . and falleth to the ground with so terrible a noyse and clamor, as if a thousand great bels were knockt one against another. I thinke there is not in the world so strange an over-fall, nor so wonderfull to behold . . .”⁹⁴

It is now clear that if the reader goes to the travel-literature written during the age of English exploration and discovery expecting to find the highly involved and ponderous prose of Lyly, Sidney, Burton, or Sir Thomas Browne he will be disappointed. Most of this travel-literature was written by practical men for a practical purpose: to impart information. Sometimes it took the form of a bare catalogue of daily observations of the wind, the depth of the sea, and the coast along which the voyager cruised. More often, there were superimposed the workings of a lively imagination in a strange world. Yet in both cases the result was in one respect the same: a prose remarkably of a piece in its matter-of-fact directness and sturdy vigor. Voyager after voyager in the period quite frankly acknowledged that to write

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 134. In addition, see pp. 16, 126, 236 ff, 270.

⁸⁸ We cannot be sure which one of the two chronicled the voyage. Cf. Hakluyt's *Prin. Nav.*, VIII, 297.

⁸⁹ “The first voyage made to the coasts of America . . .,” Hakluyt's *Prin. Nav.*, VIII, 298.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

⁹² *Henry Hudson the Navigator*, Hakl. Soc. Pub. (London, 1860), p. 109.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ “The discoverie of the . . . Empire of Guiana . . .,” Hakluyt's *Prin. Nav.*, X, 418. See also J. L. Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu*, pp. 315-316.

rhetorically was far from his purpose. George Beste openly admitted that what he offered to the world was "a ship-boorde rudely and unorderedly framed . . ." ⁹⁵ When Ralph Lane wrote to Raleigh giving an account of Virginia, he stated, "Thus Sir, I have though simply, yet truely set downe unto you, what my labour . . . could yeeld unto you . . ." ⁹⁶ Dedicating to Raleigh his account of the second voyage to Guiana, Laurence Keymis testified, "I Have here briefly set downe the effect of this your second Discoverie without any enlargement of made wordes: for in this argument, single speech best be-seemeth a simple trueth." ⁹⁷ And Raleigh himself, who on occasion could write the most magnificently sonorous prose of his time, averred that in his report of the discovery of Guiana "I have neither studied phrase, forme nor fashion . . ." ⁹⁸ Captain John Smith stated that if he chanced "to bee too plaine" it was because he wrote "for plaine mens satisfaction." ⁹⁹ Of a certainty the prose of these men was "plaine." It was also pure and nervous. And it was delightfully fresh and lively. Truly not least among the attributes of this style is the artless manner in which the early voyagers captured in their prose the romance of discovery, when their expansive energy beat relentlessly against a savage wilderness or ice-locked sea.

It would not be right, however, to overlook exceptions to the rule. In the main, they take the form of pedantry. We find traces of it in Beste, who, to acquire an air of importance for his work, takes pride in referring to ancient Greek and Latin writers. ¹⁰⁰ It crops up in Robert Fotherby's description of Baffin's second voyage. ¹⁰¹ It runs rampant in such works as *Coryats Crudities*, *Hastilie gobled up in five moneths travells . . . newly digested in the hungrie aire of Odcombe in the County of Somerset* (1611), written by Thomas Coryate; George Sandys' *A Relation of a Iourney . . . Containing a*

⁹⁵ *A True Discourse*, p. 18.

⁹⁶ "An account of the particularities of the imployments of the English men left in Virginia . . .," Hakluyt's *Prin. Nav.*, VIII, 333.

⁹⁷ "A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana . . .," *ibid.*, X, 441.

⁹⁸ "The discoverie of . . . Guiana . . .," Hakluyt's *Prin. Nav.*, X, 343.

⁹⁹ *A Description of New England . . .* (1616), *Works* (ed. Arber, Birmingham, 1884), I, 189.

¹⁰⁰ *A True Discourse*, p. 26.

¹⁰¹ *The Voyages of William Baffin*, Hakl. Soc. Pub. (London, 1881), p. 58.

description of the Turkish Empire, of AEGYPT, of the Holy Land, of the Remote parts of Italy, and Ilands adioyning (1615); and Thomas Herbert's *A Description of the Persian Monarchy now beinge; the Orientall Indyes Iles and other parts of the Greater Asia and Africk* (1634). Aside from Coryate's stylistic eccentricities, there exists abundant evidence of his love of learning for learning's sake; and the same can be said of Herbert and Sandys. The temptation, in describing the remains of antiquity, to reflect on every possible occasion their own erudition proved too great to be resisted; and they consequently strewed their pages with frequent references to ancient writers and with abundant quotation from their works.

The tradition of simple prose extends right down through the period of travel-writing that affords the chief concern of this study. On the head of simplicity and directness all that has been said of travel-book style during the age of discovery applies with equal appropriateness to that of the later period. The mariner's journal, methodical and bare, on occasion comes to light;¹⁰² and though variously disguised, it lends to the majority of travel-accounts terseness and form. The practical voyager with his stock-in-trade of simple, homely words continues to give delight by the fresh incisiveness of his descriptions.¹⁰³ There is, however, one difference, and it is fundamental: namely, a *conscious* striving, even beyond that of predecessors, for clear, exact statement and a superabundance of specialized, detailed fact.

Where the voyager had once been prone to see and to believe anything, he now earnestly tried¹⁰⁴ not only to see clear-eyed, but also to apply the microscope to the entire world of nature and of man. He realized, as never before, the high importance of his rôle as a scientific observer; and he also realized that his first concern was to establish a reputation for truthfulness and sincerity. He knew quite well that for

¹⁰² Cf. "Journal, In His Majesty's Ship the Speedwell, Captain John Wood Commander, bound for the Discovery of a Passage to the East-Indies, by the North East . . ." (1694), *An Account Of several Late Voyages and Discoveries* . . . (London, 1711), pp. 153-166; Thomas Allison, *An Account of a Voyage from Archangel, in Russia, in the Year 1697* . . . (1699), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, I, 491-521.

¹⁰³ A representative list from Dampier occurs in Lowes' *The Road to Xanadu*, pp. 319-320. See below, pp. 62-64.

¹⁰⁴ That he was not always successful in this aim is here beside the point. See above, pp. 44-47.

generations the traveller had been branded a notorious deceiver and a liar.¹⁰⁵ Now that his task was to supply "useful Knowledge," it was preëminently desirable that he shake off the reputation of a weaver of fabulous tales and so write that he be taken seriously. This he consciously set out to do. The writers of books intended to attract immigrants to the American colonies (whose aim was a composite of mercenary interest, patriotism, and scientific zeal) were quite aware of the shadow cast by tradition and time after time attempted to dispel it by assuring the reader that they were eyewitnesses to all they related and spoke nothing but truth.¹⁰⁶ A traveller-scientist like Josselyn censured those who scoffed at anything with which they were unacquainted and labored to give the impression that whatever he recorded was the result of personal experiment or of the testimony of reliable persons.¹⁰⁷ Privateer and trader (whom we have shown to have been zealous auxiliary scientists) assured the reader that they at all times kept a journal of each day's events and consequently their data on winds and ocean currents, the appearance of islands and headlands from the sea, their descriptions of flora and fauna, the manners and customs of distant peoples, were reliable.¹⁰⁸

But makers of voyage-literature seem early to have realized that assuring the reader of their truthfulness was, after all,

¹⁰⁵ Cf. John Dunton, *Letters Written From New-England A. D. 1686* . . . , Pub. of the Prince Soc. (ed. W. H. Whitmore, Boston, 1867), p. 21 [of all, Dunton was probably the greatest liar!]; Nahum Tate's commendatory poem quoted above pp. 19-20; John Stevens, *A New Collection of Voyages and Travels* . . . (London, 1711), I, preface to his tr. of de Cieza; Daniel Beeckman, *A Voyage to and from the Island of Borneo* . . . (1718), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, XI, 97.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. George Alsop's *A Character of the Province of Mary-Land* (1666), reprint (Cleveland, 1902), p. 22; Daniel Denton, *A Brief Description of New-York* (1670), reprint (Cleveland, 1902), p. 37; Gabriel Thomas, *An Historical . . . Account of . . . Pennsylvania* (1698), reprint (Cleveland, 1903), p. 50; John Archdale, *A New Description of . . . Carolina* . . . (1707), *Hist. Coll. of S. C.* (New York, 1836), II, 92.

¹⁰⁷ *An Account of Two Voyages to New-England* (1674), reprint (Boston, 1865), pp. 23, 25-26, 30-31, 73.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. John Narbrough, "Voyage to the South-Sea" (1694), *An Account Of several Late Voyages and Discoveries* (London, 1711), p. 10; Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697), *Voyages* (ed. Masefield, London, 1906), I, 19; Edward Cooke, *A Voyage to the South Sea* (London, 1712), I, introduction; Woodes Rogers, *A Cruising Voyage Round the World* (1712), London, 1726, p. xix.

a feeble way to convince him of their sincerity. They desired so to write that their words should carry conviction.¹⁰⁹ Early in the period, one encounters writers of travel-literature who indulge in all the diffuseness of language and extravagance of hyperbole that characterized the old prose at its worst. Edmund Hickeringill describes the recently acquired island of Jamaica in the following extravagant manner:

The Earth never recalling her lent sap (as she does mock the *Europeans*) by giving and taking again, every Moneth being an *April*; The Trees and Plants being never *disrobed* of their *Phary liveries*, but wear their best clothes every day; in which *prodigality* they are licenc'd and born out, by their *indulgent* Parents, the Sun and Earth; These Regions being their *Darlings*, and (to use Sir Walter Rawleigh's stile) *The Paradise of the World*.¹¹⁰

In the same vein is the following excerpt from George Alsop's *A Character Of the Province of Mary-Land*:

The Trees, Plants, Fruits, Flowers, and Roots that grow here in *Mary-Land*, are the only Emblems or Hieroglyphicks of our Adamitical or Primitive situation, as well for their variety as odoriferous smells, together with their virtues, according to their several effects, kinds and properties, which still bear the Effigies of Innocency according to their original Grafts; which by their dumb vegetable Oratory, each hour speaks to the Inhabitant in silent acts, That they need not look for any other Terrestrial Paradise, to suspend or tyre their curiosity upon, while she is extant.¹¹¹

Now these writers either preferred the pedantry¹¹² of authors such as Sandys and Herbert and the exaggerated language of certain early seventeenth-century promotion pamphleteers or had not yet felt the impact of the movement toward simplicity and precision which became manifest in much of the best prose of the time. As modern scholars have pointed out,¹¹³ a reform in the old prose style (the "disting-

¹⁰⁹ The same desire motivated certain Elizabethan writers of voyage-accounts (see above, p. 54). But the purpose of the two groups of writers is, in this particular, hardly the same. Lane, Raleigh, and Captain John Smith wrote chiefly to promote private schemes; the later voyagers to whom I refer wrote to enhance world knowledge. Both, of course, were alert to the possibilities of simple, direct prose.

¹¹⁰ *Jamaica Viewed* (London, 1661), p. 15.

¹¹¹ 1666, reprint (Cleveland, 1902), p. 33.

¹¹² Possessed of little learning, Alsop lost no opportunity to drag it into the text. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 19-20, 23, 55, 66-67, 85.

¹¹³ Cf. Ferris Greenslet, *Joseph Glanvill: A Study in English Thought and Letters of the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1900), pp. 178-185;

guishing characteristics . . . [of which were] highly Latinized diction . . . slow-evolving, magnificent structure . . . and . . . richly imaginative similitudes, used not so much to give clearness and point as to lend dignity and suggestive beauty")¹¹⁴ began sometime in the early seventeenth century and increased in force until it dominated the writing of such outstanding literary men as Dryden, Temple, Addison, and Swift. The strained language of the clergy was early denounced. As far back as 1640, Thomas Fuller stated that "The Controversial Divine"¹¹⁵ "affects clearness and plainness in all his writings,"¹¹⁶ and that "His similes and illustrations are always familiar, never contemptible."¹¹⁷ In the Restoration, John Eachard stands prominent among those who stressed the vices of contemporary pulpit oratory and urged reform. He inveighs against "the high tossing and swaggering preaching,"¹¹⁸ "Tall Words,"¹¹⁹ the "besprinkling all their sermons with plenty of Greek and Latin,"¹²⁰ and the use of "harsh Metaphors, childish Similitudes, and ill-applied Tales."¹²¹ He censures a certain author who compared "Goodness" to "the Milky Way to Jupiter's Palace."¹²² Criticisms such as these bore fruit in the clear and orderly exposition of clergymen like South, Tillotson, and Stillingfleet.

The relation of members of the Royal Society to the movement is one of the commonplaces of literary history. It is their spokesman Thomas Sprat who perhaps¹²³ best gives expression to the prevailing attitude. According to him, the

J. E. Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1908), I, xxxviff; A. A. Tilley, "The Essay and the Beginning of Modern English Prose," *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.* (New York, 1912), VIII, 421-446; M. W. Croll, "'Attic Prose' in the Seventeenth Century," *Studies in Philology*, XVIII (1921), 79-128.

¹¹⁴ Greenslet, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

¹¹⁵ *The Holy State, and The Profane State* (ed. James Nichols, London, 1841), p. 57.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

¹¹⁸ *The Grounds & Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy* . . . (1670), Edward Arber, *An English Garner* (Birmingham, 1883), VII, 268.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 279. I am indebted to Greenslet throughout this paragraph.

¹²³ See also Glanvill, *Plus Ultra: or, the Progress and Advancement of Knowledge Since the Days of Aristotle* . . . (London, 1668), pp. 84-85.

Society put its stamp of disapproval on "a glorious Pomp of Words"¹²⁴ and expected of its members and contributors "a close, naked, natural way of Speaking; positive Expressions, clear Senses; a native Easiness; bringing all Things as near the mathematical Plainness as they can; and preferring the Language of Artizans, Countrymen, and Merchants, before that of Wits, or Scholars."¹²⁵ These investigators should "reject all the Amplifications, Digressions, and Swellings of Style; to return back to the primitive Purity and Shortness . . ."¹²⁶

It was not long until this formula reappeared with marked regularity in the prefaces of the voyagers. In 1684, the English translator of Exquemelin's *Buccaneers of America* defined the ideal style for a travel-book of that age. "No greater ornament or dignity," he wrote,

*can be added to History, either human or natural, than truth. All other embellishments, if this be failing, are of little or no esteem; if this be delivered, are either needless or superfluous. What concerns this requisite in our Author, his lines everywhere declare the faithfulness and sincerity of his mind. He writes not by hearsay, but was an eye-witness, as he somewhere tells you, to all and every one of the bold and hazardous attempts which he relates. And these he delivers with such candour of style, such ingenuity of mind, such plainness of words, such conciseness of periods, so much divested of rhetorical hyperboles or the least flourishes of eloquence, so hugely void of passion or national reflections, that he strongly persuades all along to the credit of what he says. . .*¹²⁷

Herein is admirably summed up precisely what Restoration and early eighteenth-century travellers were trying to accomplish and the way in which they hoped to accomplish it. As the preceding pages of this study showed, they were definitely linked up with the scientific movement to put "History," both "human" and "natural," on secure foundations. They seem to have followed rather carefully the various instructions which from time to time were given them; and they seriously attempted, even as the Virtuosi, to be exact and clear-eyed in all that they observed. Between purpose and result, however, a gulf was fixed,—widened by the tradition

¹²⁴ *The History of the Royal Society* . . . (London, 1722), p. 62.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ London: S. Sonnenschein & Co., n. d., pp. xxx-xxxi.

that all travellers were distorters of truth: if not willfully so, at least by their very nature so, as they often were untrained and uncultured men. If their findings were to be accepted, it was therefore necessary that they impress upon the world their zeal for the New Science (as they did time and again), their pains to record nothing to which they had not been eye-witnesses or concerning which they lacked reliable testimony, and (most important of all so far as this section goes) their aim in style to bring "all Things as near the mathematical Plainness as they can . . ." Their success in this aim was on two occasions acknowledged by the *Transactions*. The anonymous reviewer of Dampier's *A New Voyage Round the World* testified that "His Style is very Intelligible and Expressive";¹²⁸ and of Fryer's *A New Account of East-India and Persia*, that "His Method of Delivery is not bounded by the narrow Limits of an Historian, nor loosely Extravagant like Poetick Fiction, but suited to Time and Place, so as to manifest his Diligence in observing and collecting, and his Sincerity in compiling what may assist the next Adventurers, and satisfy the present Enquirers."¹²⁹

William Dampier, in many ways the epitome of all that a writer of travels in this period aspired to be, not only declared, in the preface to *A Voyage to New-Holland* (1703), that it is the first duty of the traveller to supply useful knowledge by careful "Descriptions of Things," but also with thinly veiled scorn sneered at "Polite and Rhetorical Narrative" for the purposes of scientific exposition and stressed the fact that it was his aim to give "a Plain and Just Account of the true Nature and State of the Things Described . . ." His words follow:

It has been objected against me by some, that my Accounts and Descriptions of Things are dry and jejune, not filled with variety of pleasant Matter, to divert and gratify the Curious Reader. How far this is true, I must leave to the World to judge. But if I have been exactly and strictly careful to give only True Relations and Descriptions of Things (as I am sure I have;) and if my Descriptions be such as may be of use not only to my self. . . but also to others in future Voyages; and likewise to such Readers at home as are more desirous of a Plain and Just Account of the true Nature and State of the Things Described,

¹²⁸ XIX (February, 1696/7), 426.

¹²⁹ XX (September, 1698), 339.

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than of a Polite and Rhetorical Narrative: I hope all the Defects in my Stile, will meet with an easy and ready Pardon.¹³⁰

In the preface to his *An Account of the Trade in India* (1711), Charles Lockyer wrote:

I confess I have been less solicitous about Words than Things; and if I have written so as to make my Meaning intelligible, the Truths I relate may be some Amends for the Oversights, I may have committed in delivering them.

John Lawson declared, "I have laid down everything with Impartiality, and Truth, which is indeed, the Duty of every Author and preferable to a Smooth Stile, accompany'd with Falsities and Hyperboles."¹³¹ More outspoken yet is Hugh Jones's statement that "I have industriously avoided the ornamental Dress of Rhetorical Flourishes, esteeming them unfit for the naked Truth of historical Relations, and improper for the Purpose of general Propositions."¹³² The preface to John Braithwaite's *The History of the Revolutions in the Empire of Morocco* (1729), written by another hand, ran:

The Reader will observe that it is written in a natural, easy and intelligible Style. . . IF others, who pompously call themselves Historians, had set down in plain Words what daily happen'd in their own Times, instead of affecting a high Style, set Speeches, made by themselves, and partial political Reflections . . . we might now be usefully entertained and improved . . . OUR Author has curiously observed, and faithfully related only what he knew to be Fact. . .

As was stated above,¹³³ the effect of this aim, together with the purpose of augmenting the world's store of knowledge, was twofold: (1) a conscious striving for brief, clear, precise utterance; (2) a superabundance of specialized, detailed fact. Since numerous texts from the mass of travel-literature have been cited in preceding sections of this study on the voyager's relations to the Royal Society, it seems hardly necessary further to adduce evidence of these attributes prominent in his style. There is Sharp's direct, terse, and fairly detailed statement of comets observed in Peru,¹³⁴ Narbrough's bare

¹³⁰ *Voyages* (ed. Masfield, London, 1906), II, 342.

¹³¹ *The History of Carolina . . .* (1714), reprint (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), p. xi.

¹³² *The Present State of Virginia . . .* (1724), Sabin's Reprints (New York, 1865), p. vii.

¹³³ P. 55.

¹³⁴ See above, p. 25.

account of the Indians on Elizabeth's Island,¹³⁵ Maundrell's concise record of personal investigations in the Dead Sea.¹³⁶ Dampier's plain, yet rhythmic, language quoted above deserves in this connection more than passing notice. The various promotion pamphleteers whose chief purpose it was to attract settlers to the American colonies, and secondarily to impart helpful information regarding animal- and plant-life in the New World,¹³⁷ abjured the gaudy manner of Hicker-ingill or Alsop and wrote a plain and unadorned prose as best suited to inspire belief in what they said. Yet, for the sake of clearness, it will not be amiss to scrutinize briefly a few additional examples of the normal prose of Restoration and early eighteenth-century travel-books.

Martin Martin, who confessed that he wrote principally for the benefit of the Virtuosi¹³⁸ and "the intelligent reader, who will always set a higher value upon unadorned truth in such accounts than the utmost borrowings of art . . .,"¹³⁹ described a sea-fowl in the following terse and forcible prose:

The tirma, or sea-pie, by the inhabitants called trilichan, comes in May, goes away in August: if it comes the beginning of May it is a sign of a good summer, if later, the contrary is observed. This fowl is cloven-footed, and consequently swims not.¹⁴⁰

Dampier is too representative of this tendency to be slighted. A confessed devotee of the New Science, his style bears the imprint not only of the Society's advice regarding the necessity of accurate and minute observation, but also of its commendation of "a close, naked, natural way of Speaking . . . clear Senses; a native Easiness; bringing all

¹³⁵ See above, pp. 34-35.

¹³⁶ See above, pp. 41-42.

¹³⁷ To separate the promotion pamphleteer and the voyager-scientist is well nigh impossible. Josselyn's interest lay chiefly in things scientific; yet he thought it not "Impertinent to give the intending planter some Instructions for the furnishing of himself with things necessary, and for undertaking the Transport of his Family, or any others" (*An Account of Two Voyages to New-England*, ed. cit., p. 13). Lawson, whose attitude is objective throughout, nevertheless tried to persuade colonists setting out for the New World to cast their lot in Carolina (*The History of Carolina*, ed. cit., pp. 98-99). On the other hand, scientific data strewed the pages of many a pamphleteer. See especially Robert Beverly, *The History of Virginia* (1705), 2d ed., London, 1722, pp. 186-190.

¹³⁸ *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, Pinkerton's *Voyages*, III, 574.

¹³⁹ *A Voyage to St. Kilda*, *ibid.*, p. 700.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 712.

Things as near the mathematical Plainness as they can . . .” His description of “a sort of guanos” affords a classic example:

[We saw] a Sort of Guano’s, of the same Shape and Size with other Guano’s, describ’d, but differing from them in 3 remarkable Particulars: For these had a larger and uglier Head, and had no Tail: And at the Rump, instead of the Tail there, they had a Stump of a Tail, which appear’d like another Head; but not really such, being without Mouth or Eyes. . . They were speckled black and yellow like Toads, and had Scales or Knobs on their Backs like those of Crocodiles, plated on to the Skin, or stuck into it, as part of the Skin. They are very slow in Motion; and when a Man comes nigh them they will stand still and hiss, not endeavouring to get away. Their livers are also spotted black and yellow: And the Body when opened hath a very unsavory Smell. I did never see such ugly Creatures any where but here.¹⁴¹

The voyager-scientist is patently at work; and Dampier’s “dry conciseness” to which Lowes refers¹⁴² (but which he makes no effort to explain)¹⁴³ is the result (if I do not badly err) not so much of native genius as of conscious restraint. Again, Dampier tells us of his men fishing for sharks:

Among them we caught one which was 11 Foot long. The space between its two Eyes was 20 Inches, and 18 Inches from one Corner of his Mouth to the other. Its Maw was like a Leather Sack, very thick, and so tough that a sharp Knife could scarce cut it. . .¹⁴⁴

Numerous voyagers before the Restoration period had described sharks, and as compared with the old literary prose their style was remarkably simple and direct; but so far as I am aware not one of them ever applied a rule to a shark’s eyes. And if he did, he hardly considered the result worth the telling. On occasion, Dampier’s care for detail resulted in strikingly vivid description. Cruising among volcanic islands in the south Pacific, he saw at close range a waterspout, the account of which follows:

¹⁴¹ *A Voyage to New-Holland* (1703), *Voyages* (ed. Masefield, London, 1906), II, 425-426.

¹⁴² *The Road to Xanadu*, p. 319.

¹⁴³ Such a discussion would, of course, have led him far afield. He notes, in passing, Dampier’s “scrupulous exactitude,” but makes no attempt to trace causes.

¹⁴⁴ *A Voyage to New-Holland*, ed. cit., II, 427.

At Sun-rising, the Sky look'd very red in the East near the Horizon; and there were many black Clouds both to the South and North of it. About a Quarter of an Hour after the Sun was up, there was a Squall to the Windward of us; when on a sudden one of our Men on the Fore-castle called out that he saw something astern, but could not tell what: I look'd out for it, and immediately saw a Spout beginning to work within a Quarter of a Mile of us, exactly in the Wind. We presently put right before it. It came very swiftly, whirling the Water up in a Pillar about 6 or 7 Yards high. As yet I could not see any pendulous Cloud, from whence it might come; and was in Hopes it would soon lose its Force. In 4 or 5 Minutes Time, it came within a Cable's Length of us, and past [*sic*] away to Leeward: and then I saw a long pale Stream, coming down to the whirling Water. This Stream was about the Bigness of a Rainbow: The upper End seem'd vastly high, not descending from any dark Cloud, and therefore the more strange to me; I never having seen the like before. It past about a Mile to Leeward of us, and then broke.¹⁴⁵

Direct comparisons are often illuminating; and perhaps no clearer idea of the change in travel-book prose can be had than by comparing two travellers to the Levant, one who journeyed in the year 1610 and the other "At Easter, A. D. 1697": George Sandys and Henry Maundrell. As was previously noted, Sandys' style does not represent the bulk of travel-literature written during the age of discovery. Sandys was an erudite person; and his fellow voyagers, with certain notable exceptions, were practical, matter-of-fact seamen; and when they were not, their travel-book prose was, for that time,¹⁴⁶ remarkably simple and plain. But in Sandys we see what the cultured traveller of that day to the East considered proper material for a travel-book and in Maundrell the effect which a changed attitude had wrought. Sandys rarely lost an opportunity to weight his text with copious quotation from the classics.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, each new city or tribe of men in the Levant was excuse enough to indulge in long disquisitions on their previous history.¹⁴⁸ He was just as in-

¹⁴⁵ *A Continuation of a Voyage to New-Holland* (1709), ed. cit., II, 547.

¹⁴⁶ I would not give the impression that all Elizabethans wrote ponderously. Notable exceptions are Hooker and Nash and Greene.

¹⁴⁷ *A Relation of a Journey . . .* (London, 1632), pp. 1 ff, and *passim*.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-47, 105-108, 142-145. This type of thing is not wholly lacking in voyage-accounts of the later period. See Edward Cooke, *A Voyage to the South Sea*, ed. cit., I, 35 ff; Woodes Rogers, *A Cruising Voyage Round the World*, ed. cit., pp. 109 ff. Cooke thought to enliven

terested in relating what tradition or authentic history had to tell as he was in facts presented by his senses.¹⁴⁹ Now the chief difference between him and Maundrell lies in the latter's simplicity of utterance, avoidance of any display of erudition,¹⁵⁰ and overwhelming curiosity about everything which by experiment and personal observation he could bring into his ken. The following is typical, a description of one of the "cisterns called Solomon's":

The former is of an octagonal figure, twenty-two yards in diameter. It is elevated above the ground nine yards on the south side, and six on the north; and within, is said to be of an unfathomable deepness; but ten yards of line confuted that opinion. Its wall is of no better a material than gravel and small pebbles; but consolidated with so strong and tenacious a cement, that it seems to be all one entire vessel of rock. Upon the brink of it you have a walk round, eight feet broad. From which, descending by one step on the south side, and by two on the north, you have another walk twenty-one feet broad. All this structure, though so broad at top, is yet made hollow, so that the water comes in underneath the walks; insomuch that I could not, with a long rod, reach the extremity of the cavity.¹⁵¹

Thus far I have presented only the normal in Restoration and early eighteenth-century travel-book prose style: the express concern for brief, precise statement and the penchant for detailed description of observable phenomena. There were times, of course, when the voyager tried his hand at artistic expression. I do not refer to those artless turns of phrase which characterize travel-literature from its beginnings down through the period in question: Hawkins's dolphin with a mouth like the "cut-water of a ship," Josselyn's waterspout that caused the "Sea to boyle like a pot . . .,"¹⁵²

his journal by introducing, from time to time, "Historical Relations," as he called them (*op. cit.*, I, introduction). But he soon realized his mistake, for the public "complained, that the said first Volume is fill'd up with Collections, and some of them the same Things they have read before" (*ibid.*, II, introduction). The Royal Society, it will be remembered, had censured those travel-books "filled with Transcripts out of others, too frequently done by such as would be Voluminous" (see the review of Dampier's first volume, quoted above, p. 18).

¹⁴⁹ *A Relation of a Journey*, pp. 3-4, 20, 106, 141-142, 152, 218.

¹⁵⁰ The recurrent quoting of inscriptions might on first sight appear to be such, but they resulted from "scientific" observation of ancient ruins. These inscriptions were considered "rarities" and intended for the antiquary.

¹⁵¹ *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* (1703), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, X, 331.

¹⁵² *An Account of Two Voyages* (1674), reprint (Boston, 1865), p. 7.

Narborough's strange beast with wool "of the colour of dried Rose leaves"¹⁵³ and penguins that "are blackish, grey on the Backs and Heads, and white about their Necks and down their Bellies . . . short legged like a Goose, and stand upright like little Children in white Aprons, in companies together . . ."¹⁵⁴ I have in mind, rather, those passages in which the voyager attempted to give literary expression to an emotion or objective fact. Of his entertainment at Madeira, Ovington wrote:

Nature here displayed to us a Scene of Joy and Love, and waited on us in all her Pomp, in all the Delights and Beauties of the Field. The Hills were all cover'd with Vines, and the Valleys with ripe Grapes, which yielded us a fragrant smell from the fruitful Vineyards. The Groves and Woods were all sprightly and gay, nothing seem'd to us drooping or languid, but all things smil'd round about the place of our Entertainment. The Air was clear, and made Melodious by the Voices of Birds. The Ships and Ocean were at a convenient distance, whereon we looked, and still new Charms sprung from that admirable variety of Objects, whither soever we turn'd our Eyes, and all things conspir'd to yield together a ravishing satisfaction to our Senses. Thus we spent the day in abundance of delight, happy and retir'd from Melancholy and all disturbance.¹⁵⁵

Somewhat less artificial is the picture of a ship in the Tropics: "At our approaching the *Aequator* the Winds grew calm, the Sails flap to the Mast, and the Face of the Ocean was as smooth as that of a Crystal Mirrour."¹⁵⁶ Fryer's attempts at vivid description also fall short of that air of authenticity so dominant in the artless manner of the generality of travellers. The following is the best he has to offer:

. . . I . . . proceed to acquaint you, that nothing is left here [in Persia] but a sensible Map of Purgatory, if that may please some to be a Road to Paradise; to see how the Fiery Element makes the Mountains gape, the Rocks cleft in sunder, the Waters stagnate, to which the Birds with hanging Wing repair to quench their Thirst; for want of which the Herds do low, the Camels cry, the Sheep do bleat, the barren Earth opens wide for Drink, and all things appear calamitous for want of kindly Moisture; in lieu of which, hot Blasts and Showers of Sand infest the purer Air,

¹⁵³ "Voyage to the South-Sea" (1694), *An Account of several Late Voyages and Discoveries* (London, 1711), p. 32.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹⁵⁵ *A Voyage to Suratt, In the Year, 1689 . . .* (London, 1696), pp. 12-13.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, n. 50.

and drive not only us, but Birds and Beasts to seek remoter dwellings, or else to perish here; for which purpose 'tis familiar to behold the Crows and Sparrows take flight to Upland Countries, as also Dogs and other Vermin to remove, to avoid the Tyranny of this Season.¹⁵⁷

When George Shelvocke sought to round off a lengthy and detailed account of the situation, the air, and the products of the island Juan Fernandez, he wrote:

In short, every thing one sees or hears in this place, is perfectly romantick. The very structure of the island, in all its parts, appears with a certain savage, irregular beauty, not easy to be expressed. The several prospects of lofty inaccessible hills, and the solitariness of the gloomy narrow valleys, which a great part of the day, enjoy but little benefit from the sun, and the fall of waters, which one hears all around, might be agreeable to those who would indulge themselves, for a time, in a pensive melancholy. To conclude, nothing of the kind, can be conceived more dismally solemn, than to have the silence of the still night destroyed by the murmur of the surf of the sea beating on the shore, mixed with the violent roaring of the sea-lyons repeated all around by the echoes of deep vallies, and blended with the incessant howlings of numberless seals.¹⁵⁸

As Edward Cooke pointed out, however, the end of the "judicious . . . in Reading, is Information . . .";¹⁵⁹ and it must be admitted that the majority of Restoration and early eighteenth-century travellers catered to the "judicious." During the last ten years of the period,¹⁶⁰ there came into being a type of voyage-account intended to please as well as to instruct. This was the narrative of authentic adventure, among the outstanding writers of which were Roberts,¹⁶¹ Shelvocke, Uring,¹⁶² and Robert Drury.¹⁶³ It affected travel-

¹⁵⁷ *A New Account of East-India and Persia*, Hakl. Soc. Pub. (ed. William Crooke, London, 1912), II, 173.

¹⁵⁸ *A Voyage round the World . . .* (1726), London, 1757, pp. 265-266.

¹⁵⁹ *A Voyage to the South Sea . . .* (London, 1712), II, p. xix.

¹⁶⁰ This phenomenon is not confined exclusively to this decade. It is present to a remarkable degree in Knox's description of Ceylon and less prominently displayed in accounts of "Barbarian" and Indian captivity.

¹⁶¹ *The Four Years Voyages of . . .*, London, 1726. Concerning the authenticity of this work, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

¹⁶² *A History of the Voyages and Travels of . . .*, London, 1726.

¹⁶³ *Madagascar: or, Robert Drury's Journal During Fifteen Years Captivity on that Island . . .*, London, 1729. This book has been ascribed to Defoe (Cf. Capt. Pasfield Oliver's edition of it, London, 1890, introduction). It is extremely difficult, however, to reconcile the patently deistic views continually cropping up in the work, which came beyond doubt from the hand of the editor, with Defoe's theology.

book style to this degree: whereas Josselyn, Wafer, and Dampier allowed the weight of attention to fall on what they observed, Shelvocke, Uring, and Drury centered it in themselves. With Josselyn, we perform an experiment on the hand of a "*Barbarie-moor*"; with Wafer, we examine meticulously animal- and plant-life on the Isthmus;¹⁶⁴ with Dampier, we measure a shark's mouth or gaze on a waterspout with the "scientific eye." But Shelvocke's quite readable account of a voyage into the South Sea is principally a record of the personal health, narrow escapes, and blasted hopes of George Shelvocke. Uring is the pious middle-class merchant whose fear of privateers and battles with rocky shallows and rough seas afford him unlimited opportunity for solemn meditations and brisk tales of private misfortune. Fifteen years a captive on the island of Madagascar, Robert Drury spun the most vivid narrative of personal adventure since Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. Through these accounts shine the detailed data of nice observation, but they are repeatedly thrust to the background by the imperious authority of "imminent escapes" and "Strange Surprizing Adventures." These voyagers wrote for the delectation as well as for the edification of their readers.

IV

Every one familiar with the rise of experimental science knows that the Virtuosi favored truthful and skeptical observation, precise and simple language, in order not only to throw off the weight of tradition and to see phenomena as they actually exist, but also to discover the fixed and immutable laws which were thought to govern a harmonious universe and to bring to light similar rules which, if employed, would at once render harmonious an obviously chaotic society. That this grand purpose was quite well understood by voyagers and travellers is as certain as the fact that they knew about such guiding principles as stylistic simplicity, critical alertness, and scrupulous exactitude in recording observable phenomena. Boyle's instructions urged the traveller to take note of "Inclinations, and Customs that seem not due to Education."¹⁶⁵ The review of *An Account of several Late Voyages*,

¹⁶⁴ *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America . . .* (1699), reprint (ed. G. P. Winship, Cleveland, 1903). See especially pp. 95-129.

¹⁶⁵ See above, p. 23.

which appeared in the *Transactions* in the year 1694, ran as follows:

The present Collection reaching to the most distant Parts of the *Southern* and *Northern* Regions of the *Globe*, and being performed by *Skilful Navigators*, and *Faithful Observers*, must needs contain many uncommon and useful Things upon most of the Heads of Natural and Mathematical Sciences, as well as Trade and other Profitable Knowledge, which contribute to the enlarging of the Mind and Empire of Man, too much confin'd to the narrow *Spheres* of particular *Countries*, and therefore subject to great Mistakes, and false Conceptions, for want of a large Prospect of *Nature* and *Custom*.¹⁶⁶

Nahum Tate, in his eulogy of Ovington, published in 1696, declared that

*... search of Nature gives sincere Delight.
Through her vast Book the World, a curious Eye
May Wonders in each pregnant Page descry,
Make new Remarks, which Reason may reduce
To Humane Benefit, and Publick Use.*¹⁶⁷

That these excerpts fell into the hands of many voyagers would be expecting too much. That the ideas expressed therein reached them through various channels is an irrefutable fact. The average traveller wrote simply, observed accurately and critically, not solely for the satisfaction to be derived from the gesture, but to aid materially in bringing to view the hitherto secret laws of the universe. A great stage was set upon which the humblest voyager could play a momentous part. He learned that the philosopher's vision had too long been distorted because of data confined "to the narrow *Spheres* of particular *Countries*" and because there was lacking "a large Prospect of *Nature* and *Custom*." To observe the mechanism of the physical universe, it was necessary to map the entire world of nature. To build up a social physics, it was likewise necessary to discover what was common to all human experience, and, by Reason, to separate the natural and the fundamental from the habitual and the customary. This is why the Virtuosi talked constantly about "useful Knowledge," and also why the traveller, who considered himself an auxiliary scientist, so often echoed the same phrase.

¹⁶⁶ *Phil. Trans.*, XVIII (1695), 167.

¹⁶⁷ See above, pp. 19-20.

This consciousness on the part of the traveller of the tremendous results consequent to his investigations clearly emerges, for example, in the fervid words of Ellis Veryard, M. D., who, in 1701, published *An Account of Divers Choice Remarks, as well Geographical, as Historical, Political, Mathematical, Physical, and Moral; Taken in a Journey Through the Low-Countries . . . as also, A Voyage to the Levant*. "The Age we live in," he declared,

has bless'd us with a great variety of new Discoveries, tending to the improvement and perfection of Arts and Sciences; and, indeed, the Learned are still emulously contending who shall bring most to the common Treasury . . . What can be more agreeable to the very *Genius* of human Nature than the satisfactory Pleasure we draw from the bare Contemplation of the stupendous Works of the Divine Wisdom, whilst we employ a profitable as well as pleasing Curiosity about the Causes and Effects of so many *Phaenomena* of Nature, and from thence draw rational Conjectures of things beyond the reach of vulgar Capacities. But Knowledge and Experience are not hereditary, nor purchas'd without toil. They are *bona Castrensia*, and must be won in open Field. To this end Nature has been so wonderfully solicitous of our Good, that she has placed us in this World as on a Theatre, not to be Spectators only, but to act our Parts to the best Advantage both to our selves and the Publick. But alas! these glorious Ends are not to be attain'd within the solitude of an obscure Hermitage, or the Confinement of our own Country . . . We must with *Alexander* covet new Worlds . . . ¹⁶⁸

The "rational Conjectures" mentioned by Veryard, the synthesis which ultimately should grow out of experimental knowledge, were equally well known to another voyager, Martin Martin, who, as we have already seen, expressed himself with great clearness on this point. "I hold it enough for me to furnish my observations," he wrote,

without accounting for the reason and way that those simples produce them: this I leave to the learned in that faculty; and if they would oblige the world with such theorems from these and the like experiments, as might serve for rules upon occasions of this nature, it could be of great advantage to the public.¹⁶⁹

In short, simplicity in style, exactitude and skepticism in observation, were not so much ends in themselves as means to

¹⁶⁸ Cf. the preface.

¹⁶⁹ *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1703), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, III, 574.

an end: the building of a real and true philosophy which had its basis in the unchangeable laws of the universe.

The testimony reviewed above clearly demonstrates the extent to which the New Science exercised a power over the Restoration and early eighteenth-century voyager. Other elements, to be sure, went to his making. The Royal Society was not solely responsible for the great change manifest in the voyager after the mid-seventeenth century. But it is certain that the movement toward a rational view of the world, sponsored by the Virtuosi, had a profound effect upon him. As we have seen, the voyager's zeal for the advancement of knowledge was genuine and sincere. It took fast hold upon him, directed the habitual operations of his mind, determined what the content and the form of his writings should be. For this reason, travel-books, as the following chapters will show, came in time to be considered repositories of fact, valuable mines of information for those who, after having deduced principles, must, according to the new method, found them on experimental knowledge. To this end the voyager provided a mass of "facts" for both orthodox and radical thinkers in the fields of religion, morality, and politics.¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰ As a historian of Restoration and early eighteenth-century "ideas," I make no attempt in this study to weigh the voyager's contribution to the natural sciences. It consists chiefly of precise descriptions of flora and fauna and is comparatively devoid of "ideas." Its value in throwing light on the voyager's approach to phenomena, in throwing into relief the operations of his mind, I have already noted.

CHAPTER III

THE TRAVELLER AND THE RELIGION OF REASON

By the end of the seventeenth century, most intelligent thinkers on religious subjects, dominated by the scientific conception of a perfect and rational world, heartily upheld the religion of reason. They were agreed that in man's search for God reason is superior to authority; and they were also agreed that reason indubitably proves two facts: the existence of God and the certainty of His perennial care for mankind.¹ They split on such questions as the limits of reason in this field, the relative importance in religion of reason and revelation, and the reliability of miracles and prophecy. In one camp were the conservative rationalists; in the other, the Deists.

As to the reliability of reason in matters of religion and, at the same time, of Biblical revelation, miracles, and prophecy the conservative rationalists were pretty much agreed. They differed from the Deists in the limits they placed upon reason and in the importance they attached to revelation and miracles. According to them, reason is a sure guide so far as it goes, but reason cannot reveal all that God desires mankind to know. In consequence, He uses revelation to supplement reason. Revelation is above reason but not contrary to it. Both are essential to an understanding of the divine plan. Miracles are God's method of convincing man of the truth of revelation.²

Now the Deists differed from their opponents in feeling that right reason is the only *sure* guide to the knowledge of divine truth.³ They readily admitted that God may reveal Himself to men, but they pointed out that revelation is not to be trusted because of the likelihood of fraud.⁴ As time went on, from the day of Herbert to the period when Deism

¹ In the following discussion, I am greatly indebted to S. G. Hefelbower's discriminating study entitled *The Relation of John Locke to English Deism*, Chicago, 1918. The references in this case are to pages 84 and 92.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 102-106; 94-95. See, in addition, Samuel Clarke, *A Discourse Concerning the Being and Attributes of God . . .* (1705-6), 8th ed., London, 1732, pp. 306-320; 334-337; 365; 371.

³ Hefelbower, *The Relation of John Locke to English Deism*, pp. 108-111.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 109-110.

was at its height, the tendency more and more was to minimize the value of revelation and to stress the superiority of reason. Tindal, in *Christianity as Old as the Creation* (1730), boldly announced that revelation is not only inferior to reason but unnecessary.⁵ And no less questionable were miracles. The Deists accepted the opinion that miracles are possible, but they believed them to be untrustworthy.⁶ As Hefelbower rightly says: "Their evidential value [as proof of revelation] is at first questioned, then denied, and the fact of the miracles is made to appear less and less probable, and eventually impossible."⁷ Moreover, the Deists differed from their antagonists in the irreverence with which they attacked traditional Christianity. The conservative rationalists, in the attempt to be rational, examined the Bible critically but piously. The Deists were often openly hostile and irreverent.⁸ This hostility was directed not only toward Christianity but also toward all particular religions. Fundamental in Deism was the attempt to discover the universal religion by separating superstition and hypocrisy from the basic essentials of religion first implanted by God in men's minds everywhere.⁹

There was, then, a theological war on. So great at this time were the vogue of experimental science and the good repute of voyagers and travellers that certain religious theorists, as we shall later see,¹⁰ regarded travel-books as repositories of fact and drew on them to substantiate their own ideas. What, precisely, had travel-books to offer? First of all, certain voyagers let it be known that they were quite aware of the problem and that their observations were intended to assist all those zealous in the quest of religious truth. Secondly, all voyagers were especially diligent in collecting data on the status of various religions in the world

⁵ London, 1731, pp. 50, 160.

⁶ Hefelbower, *The Relation of John Locke to English Deism*, pp. 96-100.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 114. See especially Tindal, *Christianity as Old as the Creation* (London, 1731), pp. 56-58, 77-79, 84, 105-107, 220-222.

⁹ See Charles Blount, *The Oracles of Reason*, in *Miscellaneous Works* ([London?] 1695), p. 89; *Great is Diana of the Ephesians*, *ibid.*, preface, and pp. 3-16; A. W., "To Charls [*sic*] Blount Esq; of Natural Religion, as opposed to Divine Revelation," in *The Oracles of Reason*, pp. 198-201; Anthony Collins, *A Discourse of Free-thinking* (London, 1713), pp. 38-42 and *passim*; and Matthew Tindal, *Christianity as Old as the Creation*, *ed. cit.*, pp. 3-4, 10-11, 172, 176-177, 198, 258.

¹⁰ See below, pp. 144-153.

and offered abundant proof of the universality of a belief in God. Thirdly, they were pretty generally critical in spirit; and, consciously or unconsciously, yielded plentiful data which threw into relief the flaws in traditional Christianity.

That certain travellers were conscious of the grave importance of their observations in the field of religion is as evident as the fact that they strove to aid the physical and social scientists. Among his several aims in printing, Fryer, for example, states that one is

The reclaiming of Atheists, by leading them first to behold the Beauty, Order, and admirable Disposition of the Universe, and then to see if they can so far abuse their Reason, to deny the Author; which if they should, the Indians, how barbarous soever esteemed by them, are to be preferred before them for Men of Sense; who out of the very Principles of Nature, keep to that law written on their Minds, That there is a God to be ador'd . . . ¹¹

In short compass, Fryer expresses three ideas current in his time: that evidence of design in nature affords proof of the existence of a God, that man by his reason can find God, and that an idea of God is written on the mind of all men. No less aware of the value of his observations is Martin Martin, who writes:

This [the noting of things hitherto unobserved] may afford the theorist subject of contemplation, since every plant of the field, every fibre of each plant, and the least particle of the smallest insect, carries with it the impress of its Maker; and, if rightly considered, may read us lectures of divinity and morals.¹²

A clearer statement than John Marshal's of the benefit to be derived from an exact observance of the knowledge of God in all lands cannot well be found. "I have always had a profound Veneration for the Dictates of Nature, and the universal Traditions of Nations," he testifies, "for hereby are Infinite Things to be learned, for the establishing of our Glorious Religion against Atheists, and the more easy propagation of the same among Infidels and Heathens."¹³ The conservative

¹¹ *A New Account of East-India and Persia* (1698), Hakl. Soc. Pub. (London, 1909), I, 6.

¹² *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1703), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, III, 573.

¹³ "A Letter from the East Indies," *Phil. Trans.*, XXII (1702), 729.

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voyager-rationalist appears in Alexander Hamilton's *A New Account of the East Indies*, published in 1727. In the preface, he says:

The theogon and moral parts [of his account] may, without doubt, deserve some serious thoughts or attention, because every body is, or ought to be concerned in those speculations, since they shew some parts of their [the East Indians'] religions and customs, and, comparing them with the inestimable blessings that we enjoy by revealed religion and rational laws, may afford us no small satisfaction, when rightly considered, and that their wild notions of a Deity, overclouded with superstition and folly, deserve our pity and charity; and that our duty towards God and our neighbour is, by the Holy Scriptures, set before us in the brightest light, while theirs is to be groped out by the dark glimmerings of a very fallible reason; yet, for all these disadvantages, I have known many of them to practise very much holiness in their lives by the help of morality, so that some animadversion on our advantages, compared with their disadvantages, may be, in some measure, both useful and delightful to all thinking men, except the atheist, whose numbers, I hope, are very few among us, and I never met with one in India.¹⁴

Even though most of the voyagers were less prone than Fryer, Martin, Marshal, and Hamilton to point out precisely how their observations could help to solve the religious problems of the day, they nevertheless were industriously curious about religious customs in out-of-the-way places; and it was indeed rare that a traveller among distant peoples failed to learn all he could about their knowledge of God. Even though the ancients had observed that reverence for a supreme deity was common to all men, it must have been consoling to rational theologians, both conservative and radical, to discover in voyage-accounts that God had implanted in all rational creatures a knowledge of Himself. To this fact travellers almost everywhere testified. Depraved indeed was the savage tribe that entertained no idea of a spirit divine and beneficent. The American Indians, though they sought to propitiate the devil, had certain knowledge of a supreme being, the maker of the universe.¹⁵ Even the Hottentots and the

¹⁴ Pinkerton's *Voyages*, VIII, 261-262.

¹⁵ Cf. John Lederer, *Discoveries . . . In three several Marches from Virginia* (1672), reprint (Rochester, N. Y., 1902), p. 8; John Josselyn, *An Account of Two Voyages* (1674), reprint (Boston, 1865), p. 105; William Penn, *A Letter . . . to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders . . .* (1683), reprinted in *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*

bestial races of the tropic seas aspired to worship something more exalted than themselves.¹⁶ The East Indians, though misled by strange fancies, nevertheless knew of the true God. And just as widespread was the belief in a future life, where good was rewarded and wickedness punished.¹⁷ Moreover, there was an abundance of data testifying to the existence everywhere of a moral law, grounded in the very nature of things, the fundamentals of which were known to all peoples.¹⁸

So long as the voyager produced evidence which seemed to show that God is universally known and revered, he fell in line with the dominant religious thought of the day and, at the same time, reflected only slightly his peculiar prejudices or the bias of any one sect. When, however, he examined the religious creeds throughout the world, he either voiced the conventional religious prejudices of the age or, on occasion, stood against them in favor of toleration and understanding, or denounced superstition and hypocrisy wherever he found them and tried energetically to discover the basic, the fundamental, and the natural in God's original and perfect plan. More often than not, the motives of any one writer are not clearly defined, and he mirrors rather indiscriminately the various currents of religious thought prevalent in his time.

The conventional prejudices of the day are to be found in abundance. Alsop has a sneer for "One great part of the Inhabitants of this Province [Maryland]" who "are desiredly

West New Jersey and Delaware (ed. A. C. Myers, New York, 1912), p. 234; Edward Ward, *A Trip to New England* (London, 1699), p. 15; John Lawson, *The History of Carolina* (1714), reprint (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), p. 125; Edward Cooke, *A Voyage to the South Sea* (London, 1712), I, 92.

¹⁶ Cf. Richard Ligon, *A True & Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes* (1657), reprint (London, 1673), p. 47; John Ovington, *A Voyage to Suratt* (London, 1696), p. 489; William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697), *Voyages* (ed. John Masefield, London, 1906), I, 521; Edward Cooke, *A Voyage to the South Sea* (London, 1712), II, 71; Nathaniel Uring, *A History of . . . Voyages and Travels . . .* (London, 1726), p. 158; Robert Drury, *Madagascar* (1729), ed. Captain Pasfield Oliver, London, 1890, pp. 173-174.

¹⁷ Cf. Daniel Denton, *A Brief Description of New-York* (1670), reprint (Cleveland, 1902), p. 48; Robert Beverly, *The History of Virginia* (1705), 2d ed., London, 1722, pp. 171-172; John Lawson, *The History of Carolina* (1714), reprint (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), p. 107; Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia* (1724), reprint (New York, 1865), p. 16.

¹⁸ See below, pp. 104-115.

Zealous, great pretenders to Holiness,"¹⁹ namely, the Quakers. This hatred of "enthusiasm" crops up frequently. Upon the New Englanders, John Josselyn heaps ridicule and contempt.²⁰ Fryer, employing an epithet of opprobrium, calls the Banyan "Puritannical."²¹ Mohammedanism is branded false and impious and devilish.²² Catholicism is repeatedly vilified and damned.²³

Yet there are exceptions. Somewhat contrary to the whole-hearted condemnation of all sects other than the one faith that the author deems to be right is the spirit of understanding and tolerance which on occasion rises to the surface. Of the friars in Persia, John Fryer says,

. . . I must needs confess some of them are not only Holy Men, but Discreet and Learned, the Chief of whom is Father *Raphael*, a Capuchin, who has lived exemplary among them many Years, and is well acquainted with the Country, from whom I must own I received the best and most Authentick Information: And this I speak knowingly of him, That he is no Intruder on Mens Principles, when about to depart this Life, as most of them are, but recommends them to God with their own Conscience.²⁴

The willingness here revealed to deal justly with a devotee of a hated religion is important. It is only a step from fair-minded appraisal to a rational consideration not only of the defects and excellencies of certain particular religions, but also of all religions. The critical spirit is, on the whole, fairly common. And it entails not only criticism and praise of pagan rites and ceremonies, but also of Christian doctrines and practices. The Guinea negroes brought over as slaves to

¹⁹ *A Character of the Province of Mary-Land* (1666), reprint (Cleveland, 1902), p. 51.

²⁰ *An Account of Two Voyages to New-England* (1674), reprint (Boston, 1865), pp. 138-139. See further Edward Ward, *A Trip to New-England* (London, 1699), pp. 5-8; Nathaniel Uring, *A History of . . . Voyages and Travels* (London, 1726), p. 114.

²¹ *A New Account of East-India and Persia* (1698), Hakl. Soc. Pub. (London, 1912), II, 159.

²² Cf. Lancelot Addison, *An Account of West Barbary* (1671), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, XV, 419; Henry Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* (1703), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, X, 310; John Windus, *A Journey to Mequinez* (1725), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, XV, 457, 472.

²³ Cf. John Ovington, *A Voyage to Suratt* (London, 1696), pp. 23 ff; Nathaniel Uring, *A History of . . . Voyages and Travels* (London, 1726), p. 314; Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies* (1727), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, VIII, 266-267.

²⁴ *A New Account of East-India and Persia* (1698), Hakl. Soc. Pub. (London, 1912), II, 246-247.

Barbadoes fascinated Ligon. Even though they seemed to be not far above beasts and extremely cruel when free to exercise their might on those who had wronged them, they aroused his sympathy and pity. He believed "that there are as honest, faithful, and conscionable people amongst them, as amongst those of *Europe*, or any other part of the world."²⁵ He devoted several paragraphs to a detailed account of negro virtue,—the sensitiveness of these savages to what is right and wrong, exemplified in their refusal to accept a reward for disclosing the identity of several of their fellows who thought to burn the plantation; for, Ligon tells us, "they thought themselves sufficiently rewarded in the Act . . . and this act might have beseem'd the best Christians, though some of them were denyed Christianity, when they earnestly sought it."²⁶ The circumstance of this denial Ligon goes into with fearless detail. Sambo, a slave for whom Ligon seems to have had some affection, declared it his wish to become a Christian. "I promised to do my best endeavour," Ligon says,

and when I came home, spoke to the Master of the Plantation, and told him, that poor *Sambo* desired much to be a Christian. But his answer was, That the people of that Island were governed by the Lawes of *England*, and by those Lawes, we could not make a Christian a Slave. I told him, my request was far different from that, for I desired him to make a Slave a Christian. His answer was, That it was true, there was a great difference in that: But, being once a Christian, he could no more account him a Slave, and so lose the hold they had of them as Slaves, by making them Christians; and by that means should open such a gap, as all the Planters in the Island would curse him. So I was struck mute, and poor *Sambo* kept out of the Church; as ingenious, as honest, and as good a natur'd poor soul, as ever wore black, or eat green.²⁷

A devastating denunciation of Christians at home and abroad, it was only one of many. "Don't abuse them [the Indians]," William Penn advised,

but let them have Justice, and you win them: The worst is, that they are the worse for the Christians, who have propagated their Vices, and yielded them Tradition for ill, and not for good things. But as low an Ebb as they are at, and as glorious as their Condition looks, the Christians have not out-liv'd their sight with all

²⁵ *A True & Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes* (1657), reprint (London, 1673), p. 53.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

their Pretensions to an higher Manifestation: What good then might not a good People graft, where there is so distinct a Knowledge left between Good and Evil? I beseech God to incline the Hearts of all that come into these parts, to out-live the Knowledge of the Natives, by a fixt Obedience to their greater Knowledge of the Will of God, for it were miserable indeed for us to fall under the just censure of the poor Indian Conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending.²⁸

Gabriel Thomas pointed out that the Indians had "learn'd to drink, a little too much Rum of the Christians, to their shame."²⁹ Edward Ward wrote, "The chiefest Vice amongst them [the Indians] is Drunkenness, which (to the Reputation of *Christianity*) they learn'd of the *English* . . ."³⁰ John Lawson never spared the lash when contrasting Indian and Christian virtue. "Most of the Savages," he declared, "are much addicted to Drunkenness and Vice they never were acquainted with, till the Christians came amongst them."³¹ And again,

I believe they are (as to this life) a very Happy People; and were it not for the Feuds amongst themselves, they would enjoy the happiest State, (in this World) of all Mankind. They met with Enemies when we came amongst them; for they are no nearer Christianity now, than they were at the first Discovery, to all appearances. They have learnt several vices of the Europeans, but not one Vertue as I know of.³²

"But what have we *Christians* done to make them better?" asked Cadwallader Colden. "Alas! we have reason to be ashamed, that these *Infidels*, by our Conversation and Neighbourhood, are become worse than they were before they knew us. Instead of *Vertues* we have only taught them *Vices*, that they were entirely free of before that time."³³

This broadside against the Christian who had ever prided himself on possessing the purest religion extant must have

²⁸ A Letter . . . to . . . the Free Society of Traders (1683), *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania West New Jersey and Delaware* (ed. A. C. Myers, New York, 1912), p. 236.

²⁹ *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pensilvania and of West-New-Jersey in America* (1698), reprint (ed. C. T. Brady, Cleveland, 1903), p. 54.

³⁰ *A Trip to New-England* (London, 1699), p. 16.

³¹ *The History of Carolina* (1714), reprint (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), p. 119.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 138-139.

³³ *The History of the Five Indian Nations* . . . (New York, 1727), p. iv.

caused the orthodox some concern and the "libertin" to read with righteous scorn. The general laxness of Christians and the superiority of so-called pagans were pointed out not only by travellers to the Americas. Religious virtues worthy of emulation were noted by those who went into Mohammedan and idolatrous countries. Concerning the benevolence common to the Moors of West Barbary, Lancelot Addison testified:

In some places the incomes [to the church] are very large, in all comfortable; for the Moors exercise a great benevolence to places dedicated to religion: whereby they reproach many styled Christians, who cast aside the least sheaf for the tenth, and who are so far from enlarging the church's patrimony, that they are ready to devour the pitiful remainder that she still enjoys.³⁴

The device so common to critics of the eighteenth century of allowing a foreigner to indicate his impressions of England is also used by Addison. Having just described the admirable deportment of the Moor in church, he wrote:

And by these reverences in their carriage toward holy places and performances, they are taught to upbraid the Christians, whose behaviour at sacred solemnities some of the Moors have observed to be of a far different character. And this I learned from a Moor who had unluckily been in England to make the animadversion, with whom when I discoursed about this point, he told me with anger and indignation in his looks, that it was a shame to see women, dogs, and dirty shoes, brought into a place sacred to God's worship, and that men should walk and discourse in a mosque, as in a public borsa or exchange, and that they should have chairs there to sit in with as much lascivious ease as at home; which with other actions of the like irreverence he zealously repeated to reproach the Christian; and indeed I was not furnished with arguments to (nor could in conscience) excuse any considerable part of his animadversion . . . ³⁵

These criticisms in themselves were not sufficiently virulent to cause consternation in the ranks of either the orthodox of the old school or the conservative exponents of natural religion. All men religiously inclined were ready to admit that even though they possessed the only pure and true faith they fell far short of the expectations of God. Even the praise in travel-books of toleration for all, catholics and protestants

³⁴ *An Account of West Barbary* (1671), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, XV, 419.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 421.

alike,³⁶ was possibly not considered impious by the more advanced of the conservative wing. The main significance of these texts is their tendency to criticise which, carried a degree or two farther, could easily furnish data for the free-thinkers and equip the ordinary person with heretical ideas.

One of the fundamentals in Deism was that before the day of particular religions God was revered ingenuously and that cults and dogmas were unheard of. Worship consisted in piety and good deeds. The task of the priests was the simple one of maintaining good morals by their teachings and examples. But there came a time when they were dominated by ambition, the desire for power. To accomplish their ends, they imposed on the common people absurd beliefs and practices, which they said had been revealed of God and must be adhered to on pain of terrible punishment in the after life. Furthermore, only to them was the power given to interpret the mysteries which God had revealed. The result was the enslaving of the masses, the subverting of intelligence, and the ruin of morals.³⁷

Criticism of priestly method is rather common in travel-books. Daniel Denton tells of the ruse employed by Indian priests of the province of New York to extract money from the natives. "When they are all congregated," writes Denton,

their priest tells them if he want money, there [*sic*] God will accept of no other offering, which the people beleieving, every one gives money according to their ability. The priest takes the money, and putting it into some dishes, sets them upon the top of their low flat-roofed houses, and falls to invoking their God to come and receive it, which with a many loud hallows and outcries, knocking the ground with sticks, and beating themselves, is performed by the priest, and seconded by the people.

After they have thus a while wearied themselves, the priest by his Conjuraton brings in a devil amongst them, in the shape

³⁶ Cf. Thomas Bowrey, *A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679*, Hakl. Soc. Pub. (ed. Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Cambridge, 1905), p. 94; Robert Knox, *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon* (1681), in *An English Garner* (Westminster, 1903), II, 429; Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies* (1727), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, VIII, 321, 429; Robert Drury, *Madagascar* (1729), ed. Capt. Pasfield Oliver, London, 1890, pp. 202-203.

³⁷ I paraphrase Villey's lucid summary of the ideas basic in Blount ("L'influence de Montaigne sur Charles Blount et sur les Déistes Anglais," *Revue du seizième siècle*, I (1913), 199). See also Blount's *Great is Diana of the Ephesians* in *Miscellaneous Works* ([London?] 1695), pp. 3-7.

sometimes of a fowl, sometimes of a beast, and sometimes of a man, at which the people being amazed, not daring to stir, he improves the opportunity, steps out, and makes sure of the money, and then returns to lay the spirit . . . but if any English at such times do come amongst them, it puts a period to their proceeding, and they will desire their absence, telling them their God will not come whilst they are there.³⁸

This description, obviously, contained excellent material for those who wished to substantiate their opinion that priests in order to gain power work miracles, intimidate their humble believers, and refuse to court the supernatural in the presence of intelligent observers. Lionel Wafer, describing in all good faith the manner of conjuring among the Darien Indians, says that the native priests could do nothing while he and his companions were in the house.³⁹ How this testimony would strike the skeptic is obvious. Here in America was certain proof of the priestly method which had been employed in all ages and in all places. The naïve remark by Denton that the priests could on occasion bring up the devil and the testimony offered by Wafer that everything turned out just as the Indians predicted were pleasant commentaries, no doubt, on man's perdurable bent to superstition. Wafer's bald statement, indeed, caused somewhat of a furor among certain intelligent thinkers in England, if we take seriously his words prefacing the second edition, which read: I took "this Opportunity of vindicating my self to the World, concerning some Circumstances in the Relation I have given of the Indian way of Conjuring . . . and of the White Indians; at which several of the most eminent Men of the Nation seem'd very much startled. . . ." ⁴⁰

Further evidence of priestly cunning was offered by travellers' comments on Mohammed. "That the Muley Mahumed might the better complease the loose humours of his first secretaries," writes Addison,

he made his religion to contain many carnal indulgencies, denying nothing to believers of his doctrine, that had any sensible com-

³⁸ *A Brief Description of New-York* (1670), reprint (Cleveland, 1902), p. 47.

³⁹ *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1699), reprint (Cleveland, 1903), pp. 61-62.

⁴⁰ Quoted by G. P. Winship in his edition of Wafer, p. 61, note. See further Robert Beverly, *The History of Virginia* (2d ed., London, 1722), p. 182; Woodes Rogers, *A Cruising Voyage Round the World* (2d ed., London, 1726), p. 57.

pliance with their brutal affections. And of this we meet with an example in his concession of polygamy and concubinage. . . . As for polygamy it is looked upon as a divine institute, and when any object against it, the Moors vindicate it by the frequent examples and universal customs thereof, in the patriarchs and worthies of the Hebrew world. And I could meet with none who asserted plurality of wives upon politic considerations, as that it was convenient for the propagation of the empire, increase of people, and enlargement of their religion; but that it proceeded from God, was used by the holiest of his servants, and the economy of the old law.⁴¹

It must have startled the pious to find that the Moors not only practiced the sin of polygamy but also based their practice upon exceedingly good Scriptural authority. To the skeptic, Addison's remarks must have proved a delight, for they seemed to offer admirable testimony of the errors which beleaguer revealed and particular religions. It was strange indeed to the Deists that a practice seemingly ordained by God in the days of the patriarchs should in later times be considered obnoxious by right-thinking Christian people. Is God whimsical and changeable, they asked? Or is He the same in all ages? Their explanation was that it is not God but men who change, that in all ages magignant priests have obscured the light of reason and God's immutable law by superimposing dogma and silly practices.

Additional proof of this fact was to be found in Thomas Bowrey's account of the Hindu sect. "Theire irreligious Religion," he wrote,

is wholly Composed of nothinge Save Idolatry, intermixed neither with Judaisme nor Mahometisme, but quite averse from them both, (Saveinge in their burnt offerings and Sacrifices) more Especially from Christianitie. The[y] neither circumcise, nor baptise, but yet doe believe there is a God in heaven, that Created male and female, and made the Earth, the Seas, and all that therein moveth, and all the reason they give for worshipinge the Devil is, they hold that God Ordained the Devil to Governe this World and to torment all mankind, and that God himselfe resteth in the heavens, wherefore Upon Earth they worship Gods of much deformitie . . . and the Other reason is, they say that theire prayers are to God to Deliver them from such Satyricall Creatures.⁴²

⁴¹ *An Account of West Barbary* (1671), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, XV, 431.

⁴² *A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679*, Hakl. Soc. Pub. (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 14-15.

Whence these differences? The Patriarchs offered sacrifices and practiced circumcision. Moses, a priest, taught men that God made the world in six days and on the seventh day He rested, that man originally was created innocent and learned of evil by eating an apple which a woman gave him, that he lost paradise in so doing and was condemned to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, that the God of heaven was an angry God who required the blood of innocent animals to appease his wrath. According to Bowrey's evidence, the priest had obviously been no less busy in distant India. The Hindu God evidently delighted in tormenting mankind, and He demanded burnt offerings and sacrifices. But, strangely enough, he required of this people neither circumcision nor baptism. In sum, the Deist reading Bowrey could find evidence of two things: first, that unaided human reason inevitably discovers the true God, and, secondly, that all particular religions seem to bear the scars of noisome priestcraft.

Even though Fryer desired to show atheists⁴³ the error of their way (and I have no reason to doubt his sincerity), he played admirably into their hands. "In all the Cities of *Persia*," he wrote,

. . . there are abundance of the *Jewish Nation* . . . *Banyans* also, and *Armenian* Christians, with *Europe Roman* Catholicks; driving a Trade, and exercising the Superstitions of their several Religions with freedom, being disturbed by none unless sometimes by the Bigotted Kindred of *Mahomet*. . . Which sort of Behaviour of theirs, has wrought the most understanding among the *Persians* to a Diffidence of that Doctrine with its Author, they so mightily preach up, yet practise so little.⁴⁴

This denunciation of intolerance, with its supplementary condemnation of Mohammedan bigotry and hypocrisy, furnished such a palpable parallel to conditions in England that one wonders why Fryer failed to see the obvious. As the free-thinkers liked to point out, intolerance results from bigotry and lust for power, and seldom has its basis in anything more stable than the whims of priests. And it was the business of all sincere freethinkers to examine creed and dogma to see

⁴³ The term 'atheist' was used loosely in the Restoration and the eighteenth century. Fryer no doubt had in mind the Deists and all freethinkers in general.

⁴⁴ *A New Account of East-India and Persia* (1698), Hakl. Soc. Pub. (London, 1912); II, 216-217.

what had its roots in the nature of things and what appeared to be mere superstition and delusion. Daniel Beeckman demonstrated to a native of Borneo how a direct knowledge of physical phenomena by reason could momentarily brush aside one of the most revered of priestly notions. Awakened from sleep by his host, a very frightened man, who pointing to the heavens cried out, "Look there, see the devil is eating up the moon," Beeckman saw at once that an eclipse was in process of obliterating the moon and explained the cause and the fact that on the basis of natural laws any intelligent person could foretell the occurrence of this phenomenon. Whereupon the old man "seemed to be doubtful of the truth, but told me, that if what I said should happen true, though not to an hour, but within twenty-four hours of the time I had calculated it to, he would then believe his priests no longer touching that subject."⁴⁵

I am unwilling to say that these voyagers realized the use to which their observations might be put. I am inclined to believe that in the main they were convinced of the essential purity and superiority of the protestant faith and wrote to show how far it excelled all other systems of religion. Of all the travellers, however, to be quoted in this place, one beyond doubt wrote to spread the deistic doctrine. This was Robert Drury, who, with the aid of a collaborator, published in 1729 a work entitled *Madagascar: or, Robert Drury's Journal During Fifteen Years Captivity on that Island*. In the preface to this volume, the editor wrote:

The Notion of the Being of One supreme Author of Nature, arises from natural Reflections on the visible Harmony and Uniformity of the Universe, and seeing Men and Things did not produce themselves. . . .

*It is with the most solemn Delight I consider the Devotion of these People [the natives of Madagascar], who seek God on every Occasion . . . yet have they neither Temple, Tabernacle, Groves, or any other Places of Worship, neither Festival or any Set-Day, or Times, nor Priests to do it for them.*⁴⁶

Within the volume itself, one discovers the following thrust at the hierarchy of priests:

⁴⁵ *A Voyage to and from the Island of Borneo* (1718), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, XI, 129-130.

⁴⁶ Ed. Capt. Pasfield Oliver (London, 1890), p. 36.

I have also known some [natives] who, during a person's sickness, will go and make a sacrifice and prayer here to invoke the help of the spirits of their forefathers; but this is not general. And if any man has some ceremonies of his own which others do not commonly use, no person is offended. . . . The reason is, here are no people who pretend to be greater favourites of the supreme God than other men, and particularly commissioned to interpret and declare His will. No one has yet been hardy enough to attempt this, and if any one should, he would meet with few to credit him; much less would they be brought to make deacons or great men of them.⁴⁷

For Drury and his collaborator, the natives of Madagascar had escaped the deleterious influence of priests; in consequence they served God naturally. Among them one found none of the dogmas which in most religions obscure the few simple truths essential to man's salvation. The majority of voyagers, however, entertained no such ideas. Yet their own naiveté and orthodoxy led them frequently to make statements that must have proved just as acceptable grist for the Deists' mill as the out-and-out Deism of Drury and his editor. The pious voyagers to the American coast saw the hand of God in each day's success or failure. Daniel Denton, for example, believed that God scourged the Indians to make way for the English settlers. ". . . it is to be admired," he wrote,

how strangely they have decreast by the Hand of God, since the English first settling of those parts . . . and it hath been generally observed, that where the English come to settle, a Divine Hand makes way for them, by removing or cutting off the Indians either by Wars one with the other, or by some raging mortal Disease.⁴⁸

In the wars with the "barbarous Heathen," Increase Mather pointed out that God came to the assistance of the New Englanders "by sending the Evil Arrows of Famine, and Mortal Diseases among them [the Indians]."⁴⁹ Samuel Penhallow wrote that "God has made them [the Indians] a terrible scourge for the punishment of our sins."⁵⁰ The pitiful at-

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

⁴⁸ *A Brief Description of New-York* (1670), reprint (Cleveland, 1902), p. 45.

⁴⁹ *A Brief Relation of the State of New England, From the Beginning of that Plantation to this Present Year, 1689* (London, 1689), p. 5.

⁵⁰ *The History of the Wars of New-England with the Eastern Indians* . . . (1726), Coll. of New-Hampshire Hist. Soc. (Concord, 1824), I, 19.

tempts by certain Christians in the East to propitiate an angry God were narrated by Henry Maundrell, who obviously found nothing to criticize and much to praise:

Being informed that here [in Bellulca] were several Christian inhabitants in this place, we went to visit their church, which we found so poor and pitiful a structure, that here christianity seemed to be brought to its humblest state, and Christ to be laid again in a manger. . . . A very mean habitation this for the God of Heaven! But yet held in great esteem and reverence by the poor people; who not only come with all devotion hither themselves, but also deposit here whatever is most valuable to them, in order to derive upon it a blessing. When we were there the whole room was hanged about with bags of silk-worms' eggs; to the end that by remaining in so holy a place, they might attract a benediction, and a virtue of increasing.⁵¹

This, however, was precisely the kind of thing the Deists inveighed against. To any right thinking person, God is beneficent and kind, not subject to the whims and fancies common to mortals who demand to be pampered before dispensing their gifts.

According to some travellers, the God of nature, the God in whom the Indians placed their trust, was quite different from this angry and whimsical deity worshiped by orthodox Christians.

"I ask'd him [an Indian]," Robert Beverly stated,

concerning their God, and what their Notions of him were? He freely told me, they believ'd God was universally beneficent, that his Dwelling was in the Heavens above, and that the Influences of his Goodness reach'd to the Earth beneath: That he was incomprehensible in his Excellence, and enjoy'd all possible Felicity: That his Duration was eternal, his Perfection boundless, and that he possesses everlasting Indolence and Ease.⁵²

John Lawson discovered a tribe of Carolina Indians who "do not believe that God punishes any Person, either in this Life, or that to come; but that he delights in doing good. . . ." ⁵³ Concerning religious beliefs among the natives at Cape Corse in Africa, Nathaniel Uring testified:

The Natives have no Knowledge of Letters, but have a Notion of a God which they call *John Company*: They say he is a good Being,

⁵¹ *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* (1703), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, X, 308.

⁵² *The History of Virginia* (1705), the 2d ed., London, 1722, p. 170.

⁵³ *The History of Carolina* (1714), reprint (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), p. 125.

and hurts no Man, and therefore pay Adoration to the Devil, (who they call *Bone Sam*) to pacify him that he may do them no Harm. They have no Temples, Houses or Places set a-part for their Worship, nor have they any one particular Day appointed for that Occasion; but they all observe the Day of the Week they were born on, keeping it as their Sabbath. . . .⁵⁴

The editor of Drury's journal expatiated on the kind of God the natives of Madagascar reverence and worship. "*But as much haste as I am in,*" he confessed,

*I must not pass over the Observation, That Men in the State of Nature, and considering God as the Author of the Universe, form no other Notions of him, but what are consistent with Justice, Wisdom, and Goodness: They see him to have perfectly finished his Work, and that he wants no Alterations and Amendments, nor repents of his Actions, as some would pretend, as if he did Things like weak, rash Mortals inadvertently; much less can they bear to hear of the worst of Passions attributed to the perfect divine Being, such as Anger, Revenge, and Jealousy. . . .*⁵⁵

This kind of data furnished arms and armor for the free-thinkers and, no doubt, tended to arouse in the general reader impious questionings. With the exception of Drury's journal, the devout, non-speculative Christian could read the majority of voyage-accounts with eminent pleasure and satisfaction. Scores of pages testified to the superiority of the Protestant faith and the shortcomings of all other religions. Given a mind at once inquisitive and critical, however, the most innocuous passages bristled with heretical ideas. It mattered little to the Deist what the personal beliefs of the author might be.⁵⁶ He demanded the *facts* common to all religions, and in travel-books he found them. To compare religions was to discover the fundamental and the necessary and to expose the spurious and the false. Whatever the voyager's bias regarding nakedness among primitive tribes,⁵⁷

⁵⁴ *A History of . . . Voyages and Travels* (London, 1726), p. 158.

⁵⁵ *Madagascar* (1729), ed. Capt. Pasfield Oliver, London, 1890, p. 35.

⁵⁶ Wafer's credulity regarding the conjurations of the Darien Indians in no wise deterred Anthony Collins when he wished to cite the evidence offered by this voyager of priestly cunning. Cf. *A Discourse of Free-Thinking* (London, 1713), p. 20.

⁵⁷ When the voyagers found tribes of men who went naked and were unashamed, they attributed the fact not so much to innocence as to ignorance and depravity. Cf. "Part of a Journal kept from Scotland to New Caledonia in Darien, with a short account of that Country . . .," *Phil. Trans.*, XXII (1702), 540; Edward Cooke, *A Voyage to the South*

the fact remained that in Genesis one read of the fall of man and of the attendant sense of shame, and in travel-books one read of numerous men who seemed never to have come under the curse. Adam was condemned to obtain his food with the sweat of his brow. Yet the travellers, from the time of the earliest explorations down to this date, told of wide expanses of territory where nature supplied all the needs of man. A portion of Fryer's glowing description of the island of Johanna reads:

Here the flourishing Papaw . . . Citrons, Limons, and many more, contend to indulge the Taste; the warbling Birds the Ear; and all things, as if that general Curse were exempted, strive to gratify the Life of Man.⁵⁸

"It is indeed surprising, though delightful," wrote Drury,

to see how plentifully Providence has furnished this country [Madagascar] with everything not only necessary for the subsistence of mankind, but even a delicious variety. If ever any country flowed with milk and honey it is this; and with so much ease are they to be had, that as the natives have no knowledge of the curse of Adam and his posterity, so one would be tempted to think, as well for this reason as from their colour, that they are not of his race, or that the curse never reached them; for they can get their living without the sweat of their brows. . . .⁵⁹

On Eve fell the curse of bringing forth in pain. Yet the Indian women in the New World, according to Josselyn, "are delivered in a trice, not so much as groaning for it. . . ."⁶⁰

Various other disturbing facts were gleaned by voyagers to all parts of the world. ". . . they [the Hindus]," Bowrey wrote,

have a large Chronologie kept in most Pagods . . . which Chronologie makes the World's Age to Exceed our accompt more then one thousand years, accomptinge each yeare to contain 13 Moons.

They Owne Adam to be the first man created, Eva the first of women, Cain, Abel, &c., but nothing of Noah's flood. Now, how

Sea (London, 1712), I, 382-383; II, 30; Woodes Rogers, *A Cruising Voyage Round the World* (1712), 2d ed., corrected, London, 1726, p. 314; John Lawson, *The History of Carolina* (1714), reprint (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), p. 111.

⁵⁸ *A New Account of East-India and Persia* (1698), Hakl. Soc. Pub. (London, 1909), I, 64.

⁵⁹ *Madagascar* (1729), ed. Capt. Pasfield Oliver, London, 1890, pp. 237-238.

⁶⁰ *An Account of Two Voyages to New-England* (1674), reprint (Boston, 1865), pp. 99-100.

those Vast differences happened of ours and theirs is past my apprehension.⁶¹

In his letter from the East Indies, published in 1702, John Marshal declared that according to the Brahmans the flood occurred "21000 years ago."⁶² These observations take on significance when we learn that the Deists were tremendously interested in chronology. Gildon and Bolingbroke, for example, refer to the records kept by the Chinese which make the world much older than the Sacred Book of the Christians;⁶³ and Bolingbroke goes so far as to say that the classical books of the Chinese "come to us upon as good original authority as that of the Jews. . . ."⁶⁴

In his account of a journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, published in 1703, Henry Maundrell clearly showed that the Bible requires historical interpretation and is not above textual criticism. He notes the custom in the East of taking a present when paying a visit. "Even in familiar visits," he writes,

amongst inferior people, you shall seldom have them come without bringing a flower, or an orange, or some other such token of their respect to the person visited: The Turks, in this point, keeping up the ancient oriental custom hinted I Sam. 9, 7: "If we go (says Saul), what shall we bring the man of God? There is not a present," &c; which words are, questionless, to be understood in conformity to this eastern custom, as relating to a token of respect, and not to a price of divination.⁶⁵

Of his attempts at textual criticism, he says:

Upon one of these mountains [Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal] also it was, that God commanded the children of Israel to set up great stones, plaistered over and inscribed with the body of their law; and to erect an altar, and to offer sacrifices, feasting, and rejoicing before the Lord, Deut. 27.4. But now, whether Gerizim or Ebal was the place appointed for this solemnity, there is some cause to doubt. The Hebrew Pentateuch, and ours from it, assigns Mount Ebal for this use, but the Samaritan asserts it to be Gerizim.

⁶¹ *A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679*, Hakl. Soc. Pub. (Cambridge, 1905), p. 26.

⁶² "A Letter from the East Indies . . . giving an account of the Religion, Rites, Notions, Customs, Manners of the . . . Bramines . . .," *Phil. Trans.*, XXII (1702), 733.

⁶³ Cf. Charles Blount, *The Oracles of Reason*, in *Miscellaneous Works* ([London?], 1695), pp. 183 ff; Bolingbroke, *Philosophical Works* (London, 1754), II, 184-185.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁶⁵ *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, Pinkerton's *Voyages*, X, 318.

Our company halting a little while at Naplosa, I had an opportunity to go and visit the chief priest of the Samaritans, in order to discourse with him, about this and some other difficulties occurring in the Pentateuch. . . .

As for the difference between the Hebrew and Samaritan copy . . . the priest pretended the Jews had maliciously altered their text, out of odium to the Samaritans; putting for Gerizim, Ebal. . . . To confirm this, he pleaded that Ebal was the mountain of cursing, Deut. 11.29. and in its own nature an unpleasant place; but on the contrary, Gerizim was the mountain of blessing, by God's own appointment, and also in itself fertile and delightful; from whence he inferred a probability that this latter must have been the true mountain, appointed for those religious festivals, Deut. 27.4, and not (as the Jews have corruptly written it) Hebal. We observed that to be in some measure true, which he pleaded concerning the nature of both mountains. . . . The Samaritan priest could not say that any of those great stones, which God directed Joshua to set up, were now to be seen in Mount Gerizim; which, were they now extant, would determine the question clearly on his side.⁶⁶

If the text of the Scriptures be corrupt, then what can a person with certainty believe? But Maundrell is by no means done. Two pages following occurs this passage:

All along this day's travel from Kane Leban to Beer, and also as far as we could see round, the country discovered quite a different face from what it had before, presenting nothing to the view in most places, but naked rocks, mountains, and precipices. At sight of which, pilgrims are apt to be much astonished and baulked in their expectations; finding that country in such an inhospitable condition, concerning whose pleasantness and plenty they had before formed in their minds such high ideas, from the description given of it in the word of God; insomuch that it almost startles their faith, when they reflect, how it could be possible, for a land like this to supply food for so prodigious a number of inhabitants, as are said to have been polled in the twelve tribes at one time; the sum given in by Joab, 2 Sam. 24, amounting to no less than thirteen hundred thousand fighting men, besides women and children. But it is certain that any man, who is not a little biassed to infidelity before, may see, as he passes along, arguments enough to support his faith against such scruples.

For it is obvious for any one to observe, that these rocks and hills must have been anciently covered with earth, and cultivated, and made to contribute to the maintenance of the inhabitants, no less than if the country had been all plain; nay perhaps much more; forasmuch as such a mountainous and uneven surface affords a larger space of ground for cultivation, than this country would amount to, if it were all reduced to a perfect level.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 335-336.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 338.

Nothing could be more lame than Maundrell's justification for faith in the Biblical text. If it satisfied him, it must certainly have aroused more questionings than it allayed, especially when the critical reader observed that immediately preceding Maundrell was prone to accept evidence offered by the contemporary status of Mounts Gerizim and Ebal on the supposition that neither had changed from ancient times.

However damaging to the infallibility of the Scriptures the excerpts quoted above must have proved, there were other texts to be found in travel-books which, if critically read, struck even more effectively at what the conservatives believed to be necessary and fundamental, namely, revelation and miracles. Charles Wolley, for example, discovered among the New York Indians two traditions: first, that divinity once came down from heaven and lived among them and taught them of the life beyond; secondly, that "one *Meco Nish*, who had lain as dead sixteen days," came to life and "told them he had been in a fine place where he saw all that had been dead." The parallel between these traditions and those recounted in the Scriptures seems to have upset Wolley, and to vindicate the purity of his particular religion he turned to ridicule. "Such Traditions as these," he wrote,

ought to be lookt upon by the Professors of Christianity, as the Epileptick half moon Doctrine of that grand Enthusiast *Mahomet*, beyond whose Tomb hanging in the air his Superstitious *Arabians* are not able to lift their minds to the Kingdom of Heaven: So that the Mahometans Tomb and the Indians Tub [according to Wolley, the Indians believed that the messenger from heaven came down from above upon a barrel's head let down by a rope] may stand upon the same bottom, as to their Credit and Tradition: and the Indians after their rising again to the Southward shall Marry, Eat and Drink, may plead as fair for them as the Mahometans earthly Paradise of Virgins with fairer and larger eyes than ever they beheld in this world, and such like sensual enjoyments, which its even a shame to mention: or the Jews worldly Messiah, who ought all to be the dayly objects of our Christian prayers and endeavours for their Conversion, that they may believe and obtain a better Resurrection . . . when we shall be so wonderfully changed as to be fit Companions for Angels, and reign with our Saviour in his Glory, who only hath the words of eternal life.⁶⁸

A pious statement by a pious young clergyman, it revealed a bigotry which had ever been a characteristic of priest-

⁶⁸ *A two Years Journal in New-York* (1701), reprint (Cleveland, 1902), pp. 61-62.

hood from its earliest to its latest manifestations. Face to face with traditions probably no less authentic than the ones on which he based his faith, and many of them, according to the freethinkers, the idle stories of bigoted and malevolent priests, Wolley used a weapon more apt to embroil than to subdue. Furthermore, an insight which comes of sophistication would have avoided the juxtaposition of comparisons as naïve as they were dangerous.

Utterly unaware of how ridiculous he made the Christian revelation appear, Hugh Jones included the following story in his *The Present State of Virginia*, printed in 1724:

. . . sometimes they [the Indians] will pretend to claim their prior Right to all our Lands, as *Blunt King of the Tuskaroodaus* did, when he told *Colonel Spotswood* that the Country belonged to them before we *English* came thither; so that he thought they had a better Title than we, and ought not to be confined to such narrow Limits for Hunting.

To retort this Argument, the Governor told him that *Mohomny* took the Ground from *them* and gave it to *us*, because *we* did as he bid us, but *they* would not.

Blunt answered, that *they* could not tell what *Mohomny* would have them do; and asked how we knew.

The Governor then told him that *Mohomny* sent his Son to us, who lived a long time with us, and told us and taught us what we should do; and then he went back again to his *Father*.

With this *King Blunt* seemed satisfied and surprised; and after a Pause, he said, he had talked with several Governors and other *English*, but he really never before heard that *Mohomny* had a Son.

I relate this, to shew how by Degrees, after proper Methods, they may be humoured, and brought to have some Notions of the true Religion . . . for we must *give Milk* to such *Babes* in Faith.⁶⁹

To any rationalist, this passage could have been nothing less than a tissue of absurdity, injustice, and lies. The thought that God should reveal himself to the European and not to the Indian becomes in this setting decidedly repugnant. Furthermore, the bald statement that God took land from the Indians and gave it to the English because the latter happened to know His will and obeyed it must have seemed palpably absurd and untrue. Travel-books repeatedly lamented the fact that the English colonists propagated vice instead of virtue and in certain particulars were inferior to this

⁶⁹ New York, 1865, pp. 18-19.

man in a state of nature.⁷⁰ Finally, Jones's attempt at ex-
planation must have appeared extremely weak and inapropos.

Though naïve, Wolley and Jones were indubitably con-
servative and orthodox. If they encouraged freethinking, it
was because they were more pious than sophisticated. Noth-
ing of the kind, however, can be said of Robert Drury, who
consciously wrote to justify the deistic view. Drury tells us
that he discussed religion with Murnanzack, a black prince
of Madagascar. After recounting God's direct intercourse
with man ages ago, His revelation of the creation, the story
of Noah and the flood, Drury was taken somewhat aback by
the skepticism of this prince, who called these traditions
"nothing but old women's stories. . . ."⁷¹ Then the gentle
narrator added:

It was no small trouble to me to find how the truth suffered by
my weakness, but I was in some small hope that Deaan Murnan-
zack, who was a man of great understanding, might consider that
I was but a child when I left England, and therefore not well
acquainted with the things I undertook to inform them of.⁷²

Again he wrote:

Here are laws against adultery, theft, and murder, and they have
such an esteem for their parents that they regard and honour them
even after death. . . . They never swear profanely, but these
things they do, "because, said they, "it is convenient and proper,
and we could not live one by another if there were not such laws,
and therefore there was no occasion for the great God to speak
these things." . . . when I used to tell them that we kept it [the
Sabbath] holy because God rested on it, they said, "This was like
the rest," and asked, "How I could tell what God did before there
was any man?" And, indeed, I found myself sensibly grow into
contempt with them for talking of these things, and was likely to
get the reputation of a common, idle liar, so that I was forced to
desist.

In short, I had no way to prove anything I said . . . and though
I, at first, thought my ill success in the argument was owing to
my own ignorance, yet I have had a great many scrupulous
thoughts arise in my mind since; and sure I am that all was not
owing to my weakness, for our divines have not furnished us with
arguments strong enough: and I don't know but they would be
hard put to it to prove those things themselves to these people,
since miracles are ceased.⁷³

⁷⁰ See above, pp. 77-80.

⁷¹ *Madagascar* (1729), ed. Capt. Pasfield Oliver, London, 1890, p. 150.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 151-152.

According to the Deists' way of thinking, miracles had been employed in all ages by priests who desired to achieve power by playing upon the credulity of the vulgar. In travel-books, as was pointed out above,⁷⁴ there were plentiful examples of this fact. To gain money, Denton's Indian priest amazed the populace by raising the devil. John Lawson, after listening to an harrangue on lightning given by a Carolina priest, pronounced it "the most ridiculous absurd Parcel of Lyes. . . ."⁷⁵ Soon after, Lawson called "an Indian that had liv'd from his youth chiefly in an English house" and "told him what a Parcel of Lyes the Conjuror told, not doubting that he thought so as well as I, but found to the contrary: For he replied that I was much mistaken, for that Old Man . . . did never tell Lyes; and, as for what he said, it was very true, for he knew it himself to be so. Thereupon, seeing the Fellow's Ignorance, I talked no more about it."⁷⁶ Somewhat farther on, Lawson justified his rather lengthy description as follows:

I have been something tedious upon this subject, on purpose to shew what strange ridiculous stories these Wretches [the Indians] are inclinable to believe. I suppose these Doctors [the priests] understand a little better themselves, than to give credit to any such Fooleries; for I reckon them amongst the cunningest Knaves in all the Pack.⁷⁷

Nevertheless, Lawson was repeatedly impressed by their trickeries. "At night as we lay in our beds," he wrote,

there arose the most violent N.W. Wind I ever knew. The first Puff blew down all the Palisadoes that fortified the town, and I thought it would have blown us all into the River, together with the Houses. Our one-eyed King, who pretends much to the Art of Conjuraton, ran out in the most violent Hurry, and in the middle of the Town fell to his Necromantick Practise; tho' I thought he would have been blown away or killed, before the Devil and he could have exchanged half a dozen words; but in two Minutes the Wind had ceased and it became as Great a Calm, as I ever knew in my Life.⁷⁸

Again, he described the methods used by the priests to cure a patient of disease. "Now, I believe a great deal of impos-

⁷⁴ See pp. 81-86.

⁷⁵ *The History of Carolina* (1714) reprint (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), p. 126.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

ture in these fellows," Lawson confessed, "though I have never seen their judgment fail [in predicting whether or not the person would live or die], and I have seen them give their opinion after this Manner several times: Some affirm that there is a smell of Brimstone in the Cabins when they are Conjuring, which I cannot contradict."⁷⁹

Obviously, the miracles the Indians seemed to have worked were thought to be the result of diabolical rather than divine influence, an additional fact for radical theorists. Under the eyes of less credulous travellers, such phenomena as these underwent merciless scrutiny. In recounting the various places in and about Jerusalem which the natives, the various friars, and the pilgrims linked up directly with passages in the Old and New Testaments, Maundrell furnished data that tended to throw an unfavorable light on things sacred and on miracles in particular. "The next place we went to see," he wrote,

was the grot of the blessed Virgin. It is within thirty or forty yards of the convent; and is revered upon the account of a tradition, that the blessed Virgin here hid herself and her divine Babe from the fury of Herod. . . . The grot is hollowed into a chalky rock; but this whiteness they will have to be not natural, but to have been occasioned by some miraculous drops of the blessed Virgin's milk, which fell from her breast while she was suckling the Holy Infant. And so much are they possessed with this opinion, that they believe the chalk of this grotto has a miraculous virtue for encreasing women's milk. And I was assured from many hands, that it is very frequently taken by the women hereabouts . . . for that purpose, and that with very good effect; which perhaps may be true enough, it being well known how much fancy is wont to do in things of this nature.⁸⁰

This passage is only one of many similar ones. Maundrell was shown the locust trees from which John the Baptist got fruit.⁸¹ At another place, he was asked to believe that certain impressions on a rock were the actual prints of the Saviour's feet.⁸² A similar story about the Virgin he narrates as follows:

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁸⁰ *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* (1703), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, X, 351.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 352.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 357.

Near the bottom of the hill is a great stone, upon which, you are told, the blessed Virgin let fall her girdle after her assumption, in order to convince St. Thomas, who, they say, was troubled with a fit of his old incredulity upon this occasion. There is still to be seen a small winding channel upon the stone, which they will have to be the impression made by the girdle when it fell, and to be left for the conviction of all such as shall suspect the truth of their story of the assumption.⁸³

Maundrell's reaction to these accounts was, of course, thoroughly normal. It was the habit of Protestant Christians to despise such Catholic narrations of miracles as these. But Maundrell's apparent skepticism would, no doubt, tend to throw an unfavorable light on all traditional beliefs whether Catholic or Protestant. In the face of this overwhelming testimony as to the credulity of mankind, one at all critically inclined could hardly have escaped him without asking the question, May not men have been so deceived in the beginning?

The choicest morsel of all was presented to the freethinkers when Maundrell laid bare the knaveries of miracle-mongering priests in the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. "We went about mid-day," he wrote,

to see the function of the holy fire. This is a ceremony kept up by the Greeks and Armenians, upon a persuasion that every Easter eve there is a miraculous flame descends from heaven into the Holy Sepulchre, and kindles all the lamps and candles there, as the sacrifice was burnt at the prayers of Elijah, I Kings, 18.

. . . Toward the end of this procession, there was a pigeon came fluttering into the cupola over the Sepulchre; at sight of which, there was a greater shout and clamour than before. This bird, the Latins told us, was purposely let fly by the Greeks, to deceive the people into an opinion that it was a visible descent of the Holy Ghost.

. . . The two miracle-mongers had not been above a minute in the holy sepulchre, when the glimmering of the holy fire was seen, or imagined to appear . . . ; and certainly Bedlam itself never saw such an unruly transport as was produced in the mob at this sight.

. . . It must be owned, that those two within the sepulchre performed their part with great quickness and dexterity; but the behaviour of the rabble without, very much discredited the miracle. The Latins take a great deal of pains to expose this ceremony, as a most shameful imposture, and a scandal to the Christian religion; perhaps out of envy, that others should be masters of so gainful a business; but the Greeks and Armenians pin their faith upon it, and make their pilgrimages chiefly upon this motive; and

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 358.

it is the deplorable unhappiness of their priests, that having acted the cheat so long already, they are forced now to stand to it, for fear of endangering the apostacy of their people.⁸⁴

Less colorful and striking, though none the less important, is the testimony offered by Alexander Hamilton. The "molahs or priests [in Muscat, Arabia]," he averred,

often preach themselves into violent passions, especially if the subject of their sermon be about the verity of their religion; and then they will challenge the priests of any other religion whatever, to confirm theirs with as good evidences as they can; for, being well versed in legerdemain tricks, (which all we christians, except one set of our priests, are ignorant of [i.e. the Catholics]) they will take live coals out of the fire, and seem to eat them . . . which trick the poor deluded auditory takes for a miracle, to confirm the sanctity of their religion.⁸⁵

Eager to condemn catholicism at every opportunity, Hamilton unwittingly (I am sure)⁸⁶ dragged all priests into the maelstrom of doubt and censure. When we find Anthony Collins using the passage from Maundrell cited above,⁸⁷ is it not probable that other freethinkers found nourishment in the pages of Hamilton? Nothing could have been more acceptable than the following contrast between Hindu zealots and Catholics:

The devotees of both [Hinduism and Catholicism] differ not much in point of adoration; for setting aside the divinity of cattle, who till the ground, and nourish them by their milk, which, they say, is more than a dead image can do, they have greater antiquity, and as great authority as Christian idolaters can pretend to. Their books are as numerous, and their traditions and legends as full in relating prophecies uttered by the cow, as well as miracles performed by her, as the others can boast of done by their images; so they laugh at a Papist that calls them idolaters.⁸⁸

Not all voyagers were as opinionated as Hamilton. More often than not, their chronicles reflected the desire to record objectively and the determination not to indulge in private speculation. As Sprat pointed out, however, it was almost impossible to possess complete objectivity in this department

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 353-354.

⁸⁵ *A New Account of the East Indies* (1727), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, VIII, 286.

⁸⁶ Throughout his book, Hamilton is a bigoted observer of all religions differing from his own. To the censure and ridicule of Catholics he devotes many a paragraph; and to him the Hindus are deluded and the Mohammedans vile.

⁸⁷ Cf. *A Discourse of Free-Thinking* (London, 1713), p. 21.

⁸⁸ Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

of knowledge.⁸⁹ And the voyagers were no exception. Into the various parts of the globe they carried their own religious beliefs, which, invariably distorted perspective. In certain writers, this bias was dominated and controlled. In others, it determined the entire approach to religious phenomena. Among these last are to be found ideas interesting for the effect they must have had on radical and skeptical thinkers.⁹⁰ Indeed, Restoration and early eighteenth-century travel-literature deserves a conspicuous place among the various forces which produced in the England of this period an outflowing of rationalist thought.

⁸⁹ *The History of the Royal Society* (1667), 3rd ed., corrected, London, 1722, p. 82.

⁹⁰ See Chapter VI.

CHAPTER IV

THE TRAVELLER AND THE MORALITY OF REASON

So long as the Christian ethic remained unassailable, because revealed of God, men, on the whole, accepted unquestioningly the code of morals outlined in the Bible as perfect rules of conduct. The dominance, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of the idea that God's fixed, immutable, and perfect laws can be understood by unaided human reason produced rational scrutiny not only of revealed religion but also of revealed morality. The aim of all rational persons was, accordingly, to discover the basic and the fundamental in conduct. Just as the physical scientists had shown nature to be governed by fixed laws and the rational theologians had based religion in the very nature of things, so the rational moralists hoped to fix upon a few immutable principles which God in the beginning had established in a perfect and harmonious universe. In consequence, they looked for the universal, the original, and the primitive, —untarnished by education and tradition. Robert Boyle, in the "General Heads for a Natural History of a Countrey, Great or small" (1666), advised the traveller to observe native "Inclinations, and Customs that seem not due to Education."¹ Charles Gildon asserted that the way to happiness, the end of man's endeavor, lay in the continuous use of reason. "*Reason,*" he declared, "*is the Light, that brings Day to those Things, that will contribute to, or oppose our Happiness; without which we should in vain grope in the Dark; and we should owe entirely to Chance what we obtain'd.*"²

According to the moralists, there seemed to be three principles basic in conduct, which involved man's duty to God, to men, and to himself. It seemed certain that man should revere God and practise piety, love men and promote benevolence, esteem himself and preserve health, bridle the passions, and live contentedly and happily.³ Reason, it was

¹ *Phil. Trans.*, I (1665 and 1666), 188.

² *The Oracles of Reason*, in Blount's *Miscellaneous Works* ([London?], 1695), preface.

³ See Benjamin Whichcote, *Moral and Religious Aphorisms* . . . (1703), republished with additions, London, 1753, Century III, Aphorism 211; Samuel Clarke, *A Discourse Concerning the Being and Attributes of God* (1705-6), 8th ed., London, 1732, pp. 199-209; and Joseph Butler, *Sermons* (1729), London, 1844, pp. x, xix, 27, 36, 151, 152.

thought, detected not only the existence of fixed ethical law but also the fundamental elements in that law. And so likewise did experience. The multitudinous observations of voyagers and travellers supported indisputably the deductions of the rational moralists. These far travellers definitely established, to the indubitable satisfaction of the age, the existence of an unchangeable moral law and of a few, simple rules of morality fixed in the immutable scheme of things.

Before reviewing the evidence in detail, however, we must pause to consider a very important fact. Even though many a voyager cited instances of untutored virtue, he rarely overlooked plentiful examples of depravity and vice. Lawson's statement that "We look upon them [the Indians] with Scorn and Disdain and think them little better than Beasts in Human Shape"⁴ is a literal fact. The greater number of voyagers, as was stated above,⁵ presented on the whole a rather sorry picture of the manners and customs, the government, religion, and morality of all men outside the British Isles or the confines of western Europe.

The American Indians inspired both contempt and pity in the average voyager, for they reflected the vices that a civilized society abhors. First of all, they were cowards. Edmund Hickeringill, in his *Jamaica Viewed* (1661), sings out in halting rhyme:

Though in the world no greater Cowards be,
Managing all their Fights with treachery,
Most of their feats by stealth and night are done,
If once it come to handy-gripes they runne.⁶

With nice contempt, Daniel Denton, in *A Brief Description of New-York* (1670), tells us that "In their wars they fight no pitcht fields . . . and it is a great fight where seven or eight is slain."⁷ To John Lederer, whose record of travels in the territory west of Carolina was published in 1672, the "Oenock-Indians" are "of mean stature and courage, covetous and thievish. . . ."⁸ Narbrough observes, in his *Voy-*

⁴ *The History of Carolina* (1714), reprint (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), p. 141.

⁵ Pp. 37-38.

⁶ See the 2d ed. (1661), p. 60.

⁷ Ed. Felix Neumann, Cleveland, 1902, p. 48.

⁸ Reprinted at Rochester, N. Y., p. 18.

age to the South-Sea (1694), that the natives of Elizabeth's Island, in the Straits of Magellan, are "very brutish. . . ."⁹ The New England Indians, according to Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), "are Infamous, especially for Three Scandalous Vices. First, They are *Liars* of the first Magnitude. . . . Secondly, They are *Sluggards* to a Proverb. . . . Thirdly, They are abominably Indulgent unto their *Children*; there is no *Family Government* among them."¹⁰ In the back country of Carolina, John Lawson, according to his *History* (1714), encountered a tribe of people who stole "from us anything they could lay their hands on" and were "a lazy, idle People, a Quality incident to most Indians. . . ."¹¹ Of the Indian women in general, he writes:

They are most of them mercenary, except the married Women, who sometimes bestow their favors also to some or other, in their Husband's absence, For which they never ask any reward. As for the Report that they are never found unconstant, like the Europeans, it is wholly false . . .¹²

Hugh Jones's Virginia Indians, as described in his *The Present State of Virginia* (1724), drink rum until they "make themselves the greatest Beasts. . . ."¹³ Their indolence provokes the following: "I have known, when Cows have been given them, that they let them go dry for Laziness in neglecting to milk them, and die in the Winter for want of Fodder."¹⁴ He continues: "They are treacherous, suspicious, jealous, difficult to be persuaded or imposed upon, and very sharp, hard in Dealing, and ingenious in their Way. . . ."¹⁵

Their cruelty and thirst for revenge, travellers rarely if ever overlook. The following barbarities are found, according to George Alsop's *A Character Of the Province of Maryland* (1666), among the Susquehannas:

The common and usual deaths they put their Prisoners to, is to bind them to stakes, making a fire some distance from them; then one or other of them, whose Genius delights in the

⁹ *An Account Of several Late Voyages and Discoveries* (London, 1711), p. 63.

¹⁰ Bk. VII, 108.

¹¹ *The History of Carolina* (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), p. 16.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 109.

¹³ Sabin's Reprints (New York, 1865), p. 10.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

art of Paganish dissection, with a sharp knife or flint cuts the Cutis or outermost skin of the brow so deep, untill their nails, or rather Talons, can fasten themselves firm and secure in, then (with a most rigid jerk) disrobeth the head of skin and hair at one pull, leaving the skull almost as bare as those Monumental Skelitons at Chyrurgions-Hall; but for fear they should get cold by leaving so warm and customary a Cap off, they immediately apply to the skull a Cataplasme of hot Embers . . . While they are thus acting this cruelty on their heads, several others are preparing pieces of Iron, and barrels of old Guns, which they make red hot, to sear each part and lineament of their bodies, which they perform and act in a most cruel and barbarous manner: And while they are thus in the midst of their torments and execrable usage, some tearing their skin and hair of their head off by violence, others searing their bodies with hot irons, some are cutting their flesh off, and eating it before their eyes raw while they are alive . . .¹⁶

In *A Relation of a Voyage on the Coast of the Province of Carolina* (1666), Robert Sandford, who has just recounted how narrowly he escaped shipwreck, praises God for having saved the company from "naked Exposure amongst Nations whose piety it is to be barbarous and Gallantry to be inhumane."¹⁷ Josselyn, whose account of tortures rivals that of Alsop's for graphic detail, notes, in *An Account of Two Voyages to New-England* (1674), that "These Barbarous Customs were used amongst them more frequently before the *English* came; but since by the great mercy of the Almighty they are in a way to be Civilized and converted to Christianity. . . ."¹⁸ Thomas Newe wrote his father in 1682 that on the western frontier of Carolina dwelt a "tribe of Barbarous Indians being not above 60 in number, but by reason of their great growth and cruelty in feeding on all their neighbours, they are terrible to all other Indians. . . ."¹⁹ Of the fate of certain English captives among the New England Indians, Cotton Mather, in the *Magnalia* (1702), wrote:

. . . that the Reader may understand, *Crimine ab uno*, what it is to be taken by such *Devils Incarnate*, I shall here inform him: They *Stripp'd* these unhappy Prisoners, and caused them to Run the *Gantlet*, and Whipped them after a Cruel and Bloody Manner;

¹⁶ Ed. Newton D. Mereness, Cleveland, 1902, pp. 80-81.

¹⁷ Reprinted in *Narratives of Early Carolina* (ed. A. S. Salley, Jr., New York, 1911), p. 95.

¹⁸ Reprinted Boston, 1865, p. 115.

¹⁹ *Narratives of Early Carolina*, ed. cit., p. 181.

they then threw Hot Ashes upon them, and cutting off Collops of their Flesh, they put *Fire* into their Wounds, and so with Exquisite, Leisurely, Horrible Torments, *Roasted* them out of the World.²⁰

Other primitive peoples fared no better at the hands of the voyagers. All agree, so far as I am aware, that the South Africans, the Hottentots, "are the very Reverse of Human kind. . .,"²¹ the "most Lazy and Ignorant part of Mankind. . .,"²² the "next to Beasts of any People on the Face of the Earth. . .,"²³ the "most filthy beastly People of any yet discover'd. . .,"²⁴ and so on. Robert Knox makes the inhabitants of Ceylon "very grave and stately" in carriage, "quick and apprehensive" in understanding, "naturally inclined to temperance both in meat and drink, but not to chastity; near and provident in their families, commending good husbandry"; yet "In their promises, very unfaithful; approving lying in themselves. . . . delighting in sloth. . . ." ²⁵ Of the East Indians, Fryer says, "The chief Pleasure of the *Gentiles*, or *Banyans*, is to Cheat one another, conceiving therein the highest Felicity, though it be Cuckolding, which they are expert at."²⁶ At the island of Guam, Cowley tried to make friends with the "*Indians*," but "they being treacherous, we trusted them not, for we had always our small Arms ready, and great Guns loaden with round Ball and Cartridges: Sometimes we should have our Deck full with those Infidels. . . ." ²⁷ To Dampier the inhabitants of New Holland were "the miserablest People in the world. . . . And setting aside their Humane Shape, they differ but little from Brutes."²⁸

Yet in spite of these distasteful, and often revolting, qualities all too evident among uncivilized men, certain voy-

²⁰ Bk. VII, 51.

²¹ John Ovington, *A Voyage to Suratt* (London, 1696), p. 489.

²² John Maxwell, "An Account of the Cape of Good Hope," *Phil. Trans.*, XXV (1708), 2425.

²³ William Funnell, *A Voyage round the World* (1707), *A Collection of Voyages* (London, 1729), IV, 198-199.

²⁴ Edward Cooke, *A Voyage to the South Sea* (London, 1712), II, 70.

²⁵ *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon* (1681), *An English Garner* (ed. C. R. Beazley, Westminster, 1903), II, 313.

²⁶ *A New Account of East-India and Persia* (1698), Hakl. Soc. Pub. (London, 1909), I, 281.

²⁷ Hacke's *Collection* (London, 1699), p. 18.

²⁸ *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697), *Voyages* (ed. Masefield, London, 1906), I, 453.

agers discovered, or thought they discovered, traces of a universal and fixed morality and the prevalence of three cardinal virtues—piety, benevolence, and self-control—which seemed to be fundamental in all peoples, whether semi-civilized or totally savage.

Some voyagers were quite outspoken in the belief that the rules of conduct exist independent of religion and are followed by man in the remotest corners of the globe. The study of Indian virtue fascinated Lawson, for example; and when he inquired into the causes of the practice of benevolence and mutual helpfulness, he was told by the Indians that “it is our Duty thus to do; for there are several Works that one Man cannot effect, therefore we must give him our help, otherwise our Society will fall, and we shall be deprived of those urgent Necessities which life requires.”²⁹ Here was evidence for the moralist that untutored savages not only were acquainted with the moral law, but tested it by the criterion of utility. And they discovered that what was good for society was also good for the individual. Lawson further insisted that the Indians far excel in their knowledge of the entire ethical code. “We look upon them with Scorn and Disdain,” he declared, “and think them little better than Beasts in Human Shape, tho’ if well examined, we shall find that for all our Religion and Education, we possess more moral Deformities, and Evils that [*sic*] these Savages do, or are acquainted withal.”³⁰ In the same channel runs a comment by George Shelvocke: “. . . these Californians [Indians],” he wrote, “may be said to act according to the dictates of nature, whilst we often allow ourselves to act contrary to the just remonstrances of our reason.”³¹ Alexander Hamilton considered a revealed morality far superior to that “groped out by the dark glimmerings of a very fallible reason.”³² Yet, he added, “for all these disadvantages, I have known many of them [the Hindus] practise very much holiness in their lives by the help of morality.”³³ Obviously, the fixed

²⁹ *A History of Carolina* (1714), reprint (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), p. 106.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

³¹ *A Voyage Round the World* (1726), 2d ed., London, 1757, pp. 418-419.

³² *A New Account of the East Indies* (1727), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, VIII, 262.

³³ *Ibid.*

and immutable rules of right conduct were thought to be a fact, like the law of gravitation or any other fact in the universe. They depended not on revelation, but were apparent to right reason. As we might expect, the clearest statement of this point of view is to be found in Drury's description of Madagascar. The editor's preface reads:

*A Gentleman of undoubted Integrity and good Sense, having given me Hopes of some curious Remarks he has made in the most Unknown Parts of Africa . . . Where the People have not been corrupted by Europeans, he has found them to be Innocent, Humane, and Moral; as he also confirmed the Account our Author has given of These.*³⁴

Within the Journal, one finds the following: "I attempted to tell them of God's appearing and giving the Ten Commandments, but soon found it signified nothing, for they have the purport and meaning of all of them by nature."³⁵

This belief in the existence of a fixed moral law known to all peoples who remain unspoiled by corrupting traditions led many a voyager painstakingly to record those virtues which he considered to be natural to man. And even though some of the voyagers were, no doubt, unaware of the problem involved and the end in view, they nevertheless contributed a store of evidence which, from the standpoint of the rationalistic moralist, could be interpreted in only one way, namely, that the fundamental principles of right and wrong were universally known and practised.

To many of the voyagers, it seemed that piety is a virtue planted deep in the nature of man. Wherever they went, they found that natural man not only knew the supreme God, a fact noted above,³⁶ but that he was also, by nature, devout. The uncorrupted inhabitants of the Western Islands,³⁷ the Carolinian Indians,³⁸ and the primitive tribes of Madagascar³⁹ either would not or could not swear, for profanity was either unknown to them or, if known, too unnatural to

³⁴ *Madagascar* (1729), ed. Capt. Pasfield Oliver, London, 1890, pp. 34-35.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

³⁶ See pp. 75-76.

³⁷ Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1703), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, III, 666.

³⁸ John Lawson, *The History of Carolina* (1714), reprint (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), p. 139.

³⁹ Robert Drury, *Madagascar* (1729), ed. Capt. Pasfield Oliver, London, 1890, pp. 36, 152.

be tolerated. And the studious piety of the Barbary and East Indian Moors was ever a source of amazement to voyagers and travellers who prided themselves on possessing the only true religion and the most reliable system of morals.⁴⁰

Moreover, the voyagers testified to the universal knowledge and practice of benevolence. Granted that the American Indian harbored a consuming revenge when injured by neighboring tribes, a revenge eased only by revolting brutalities, he manifested, according to actual observation, nothing but benevolence and humanity toward the members of his own group. Daniel Denton, who regarded the New York Indians with dignified contempt, noted that "They are extraordinary charitable one to another, one having nothing to spare, but he freely imparts it to his friends, and whatsoever they get by gaming or any other way, they share one to another, leaving themselves commonly the least share."⁴¹ William Penn stressed the admirable liberality of the Indian kings, who scarcely reserved for themselves "an Equal share with one of their Subjects."⁴² George Shelvocke praised unrestrainedly the Californians, whom, he stated, nature taught to live amicably one with the other and to promote benevolence.⁴³ In the island of St. Kilda,⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Cf. Lancelot Addison, *An Account of West Barbary* (1671), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, XV, 416-417, 421; George Bowrey, *A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679*, Hakl. Soc. Pub. (Cambridge, 1905), p. 94; John Ovington, *A Voyage to Suratt* (London, 1696), p. 244; John Fryer, *A New Account of East-India and Persia* (1698), Hakl. Soc. Pub. (London, 1909), I, 145.

⁴¹ *A Brief Description of New-York* (1670), reprint (Cleveland, 1902), p. 50.

⁴² *A Letter . . . to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders . . .* (1683), in *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania* (ed. A. C. Myers, New York, 1912), p. 233.

⁴³ *A Voyage Round the World* (1726), 2d ed., London, 1757, p. 417. See further Gabriel Thomas, *An Historical Description of the Province . . . of West-New-Jersey in America* (1698), reprint (Cleveland, 1903), p. 66; Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1699), reprint (Cleveland, 1903), p. 40; Charles Wolley, *A two Years Journal in New-York* (1701), reprint (Cleveland, 1902), p. 45; John Lawson, *The History of Carolina* (1714), reprint (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), pp. 105-106; Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations* (New York, 1727), p. xvi; and Daniel Cox, *A Description of the English Province of Carolana, by the Spaniards call'd Florida, and by the French La Louisiane* (London, 1727), pp. 9-10.

⁴⁴ Martin Martin, *A Voyage to St. Kilda* (1698), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, III, 725.

the Cape Verde islands,⁴⁵ Madagascar,⁴⁶ and Persia,⁴⁷ travellers found men who had "no designs upon one another, but such as are purely suggested by justice and benevolence."⁴⁸

As Bishop Joseph Butler pointed out, in his published sermons (1729), the "common virtues, and the common vices of mankind, may be traced up to benevolence, or the want of it."⁴⁹ Guided by benevolence, man inevitably reflected the other virtues ancillary to it. The savage who promoted benevolence was also "extraordinary tender and indulgent" to his children.⁵⁰ The tender heart, so highly prized by the sentimentalists, was found to sway the actions of sensitive men, whether black, red, or white. Self-interest and the public good prompted the native Carolinians to benevolence, according to Lawson's statement cited above.⁵¹ In the treatment of children, however, there was apparent more natural tenderness certainly than either self-love or thought for the socially useful. Drury's collaborator expatiates quite freely on this topic. He takes issue with the school of Hobbes, which painted primitive man nasty, brutish, malicious, and motivated exclusively by self-interest. The Hobbists, as a matter of fact, needed only to examine almost any travel-book of the age to find abundant data in support of their contention.⁵² But not all travellers portrayed all primitive men in these dark colors. Dampier, unimaginative and coldly correct, testified that the inhabitants of the Bashee Isles "are withal the quietest and civilest People that I did ever meet with. I could never perceive them to be angry with one another."⁵³ In

⁴⁵ George Roberts, *The Four Years Voyages of . . .* (London, 1726), p. 228.

⁴⁶ Robert Drury, *Madagascar* (1729), ed. Capt. Pasfield Oliver, London, 1890, p. 151.

⁴⁷ Thomas Smith, *Historical Observations relating to Constantinople* (1678), in *Miscellanea Curiosa* (London, 1727), III, 73.

⁴⁸ Martin Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 725.

⁴⁹ London, 1844, p. 152.

⁵⁰ John Lawson, *The History of Carolina* (1714), reprint (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), p. 118. See further John Josselyn, *An Account of Two Voyages to New-England* (1674), reprint (Boston, 1865), p. 100; Gabriel Thomas, *An Historical and Geographical Account of . . . Pensilvania and West-New-Jersey in America* (1698), reprint (Cleveland, 1903), p. 53; Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1699), reprint (Cleveland, 1903), p. 152.

⁵¹ See p. 105.

⁵² See above, pp. 101-104.

⁵³ *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697), *Voyages* (ed. Masefield, London, 1906), I, 426.

direct opposition to Hobbes's point of view is Lawson's statement that "I have never felt any ill, unsavory Smell in their Cabins, whereas, should we live in our Houses as they do, we should be poisoned with our own Nastiness; which confirms these Indians to be, as they really are, some of the sweetest People in the world."⁵⁴ The editor of Drury's journal wrote as follows:

*If we consider Mankind in his true natural State, we shall not see him as the Hobbists would ridiculously insinuate, who imagine only Men of the Male-kind fighting with one another; on the Contrary, we find Mankind Male and Female, and the most ardent Appetites will then plainly appear to be a Fondness for their Women, and a Tenderness for their Offspring, and this is even common to them with some Brutes; and therefore the true State of Nature: From hence arise benign Dispositions, Softness of Temper and Friendships. . . .*⁵⁵

Drury, the author of the book, drove home this point with great vigor. "We white people have a very contemptible and mean opinion of these blacks, and a great one of ourselves," he declared,

. . .but if an impartial comparison was to be made of their virtue, I think the negro heathens will excel the white Christians. It will be remarked, I dare say, that the best character I could give myself to recommend me to my wife's mother [a native of Madagascar] was, that I had as tender a heart as a black; for they certainly treat one another with more humanity than we do. Here is no one miserable, if it is in the power of his neighbours to help him. Here is love, tenderness, and generosity which might shame us; and moral honesty too. And this is not only just in this one country of Anterndroea, but all over the island; even in other places more than here.⁵⁶

Furthermore, throughout the book both Drury and the savage chiefs are much given to the shedding of tears. When, for example, he recounted to a Madagascar nobleman certain of his own misfortunes, he found that "Sometimes the tears stood in his eyes. . ." ⁵⁷ This chief, in short, was a man of feeling. And Drury was not alone in mentioning the honesty of savages and unlettered peoples. Certain voyagers liked to dwell at length on the integrity of particular tribes

⁵⁴ *The History of Carolina* (1714), ed. cit., p. 105.

⁵⁵ *Madagascar* (1729), ed. Capt. Pasfield Oliver, London, 1890, p. 35.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 172-173.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

of men who, it appeared, were guided by the law of nature.⁵⁸

Benevolence and the concomitant virtues concerned man in his relations to other men. There was, however, another rule of morality which required that he take thought to preserve his own life and health, to control his appetites and passions, and to live contentedly and happily. The universal diffusion of these virtues among undeveloped peoples the voyagers noted with care. The vitality and physical perfection of the American Indians provoked admiration and comment. According to the voyagers they knew how to live so that health was the inevitable result. A lamentable difference between the primitive and the civilized mother was pointed out by Charles Wolley. "In nursing their Children," he stated, "the [Indian] Mother abhors that unnatural and Costly Pride of suckling them with other Breasts, whilst her own are sufficient for that affectionate service. . ." ⁵⁹ Lawson declared that "The Indian Wife never fails of proving so good a Nurse as to bring her child up free from the Rickets and Disasters that proceed from the Teeth, with many other Distempers which attack our Infants in England and other Parts of Europe. They always Nurse their own children themselves, unless Sickness or Death prevents." ⁶⁰ In consequence, this race of men enjoyed a degree of physical perfection that aroused the envy and the admiration of the civilized traveller among them. ". . . I never heard of one single *Indian*," wrote Robert Beverly, "that was either dwarfish, crooked, bandy-leg'd, or otherwise misshapen";⁶¹ and this

⁵⁸ See Richard Ligon, *A True & Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes* (1657), reprint (London, 1673), pp. 53-54; Martin Martin, *A Voyage to St. Kilda* (1698), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, III, 700; Gabriel Thomas, *An Historical and Geographical Account of . . . Pensilvania and West-New-Jersey in America* (1698), reprint (Cleveland, 1903), pp. 67-68; Edward Cook, *A Voyage to the South Sea* (London, 1712), I, 71, 321; Woodes Rogers, *A Cruising Voyage Round the World* (1712), 2d ed., corrected, London, 1726, p. 315; John Lawson, *The History of Carolina* (1714), reprint (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), pp. 106, 114; Daniel Beeckman, *A Voyage to and from the Island of Borneo* (1718), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, XI, 153; Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia* (1724), reprint (New York, 1865), p. 13; and William Betagh, *Observations on the Country of Peru* (1728), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, XIV, 21.

⁵⁹ *A two Years Journal in New-York* (1701), reprint (Cleveland, 1902), p. 32.

⁶⁰ *The History of Carolina* (1714), reprint (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), p. 111.

⁶¹ *The History of Virginia* (1705), 2d ed., London, 1722, p. 137.

was the testimony of one of many.⁶² The civilized European, in other words, could well afford to take lessons in the fundamentals of hygiene from these untutored and natural savages.

It was furthermore to their advantage to heed the examples everywhere of temperance and self-control. "The Indians are very Revengeful," John Lawson admitted,

and never forget an Injury done, till they have received Satisfaction. Yet they are the freest People from Heats and Passions (which possess the Europeans) of any I ever heard of. They never call any Man to an account of what he did when he was Drunk; but say it was the Drink that caused his misbehaviour; therefore he ought to be forgiven. They never frequent a Christian's House that is given to Passion, nor will they ever buy or sell with him, if they can get the same Commodities of any other Person; they say such Men are Mad Wolves and no more Men.⁶³

And the drunkenness here referred to was evidence of contact with a corrupt civilization: ". . . their [the Indians'] drink they fetch from the spring," Josselyn wrote, "and were not acquainted with other, untill the *French* and *English* traded with that cursed liquor called *Rum* . . ."⁶⁴ In the western islands of Scotland, Muscat, and the far East, the voyagers continually met with people notable for their temperance and poise.⁶⁵ And certain voyagers also found that modesty,

⁶² Cf. Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1699), reprint (Cleveland, 1903), pp. 139-140; Charles Wolley, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34; John Lawson, *op. cit.*, p. 17. For comments on dignity of carriage and beauty of form, see Richard Ligon, *A True & Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes* (London, 1673), pp. 12-13; George Alsop, *A Character of the Province of Mary-Land* (1666), reprint (Cleveland, 1902), pp. 75-76; Gabriel Thomas, *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province . . . of Pensilvania and West-New-Jersey in America* (1698), reprint (Cleveland, 1902), p. 51; Lawson, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

⁶³ *The History of Carolina* (1714), *ed. cit.*, p. 118.

⁶⁴ *An Account of Two Voyages to New-England* (1674), reprint (Boston, 1865), p. 108.

⁶⁵ See George Bowrey, *A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679*, Hakl. Soc. Pub. (Cambridge, 1905), p. 9; Robert Knox, *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon* (1681) in *An English Garner [of] Voyages and Travels* (ed. C. R. Beazley, Westminster, 1903), II, 313; John Ovington, *A Voyage to Suratt* (London, 1696), p. 432; John Fryer, *A New Account of East-India and Persia* (1698), Hakl. Soc. Pub. (London, 1909), I, 94; and Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1703), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, III, 573.

chastity, and constancy,⁶⁶ as well as continence and fidelity,⁶⁷ seemed to be concomitants of the savage state.

If the law of nature be fixed in the unalterable scheme of things and instances of man's conformity to this law show in savage piety, benevolence, and self-control, then it inevitably follows that primitive man knows more of happiness and contentment than his civilized and corrupted brother. Ever contemptuous of savages, as were the majority of voyagers, Edmund Hickeringill draws a rather light-hearted comparison between the civilized and the savage state, which, one must admit, is to the credit of neither. When treating topics of this kind, Hickeringill departed prose for doggerel. The lines run:

(In summe to say) they're [the Indians] all simplicity,
Almost like Adam, in's innocency.
Whatever Nature or their Appetite
Does dictate, they do follow with delight;
Not once with conscience check embittered,
Being by the law of Nature only led.
Not coveting large Barns, with hoards to stuffe,
When once their belly's full, they have enough;
For Avarice, here never makes them jarre,
Nor warrants, by religion's varnish, warre.⁶⁸

Regardless of the point of view, the fact that the Indian obeyed the law of nature and reaped contentment is plain. In a rare moment, Dampier speculated on the effect that commerce with civilized nations would have on the free and contented Indian. ". . . Trade," he said,

⁶⁶ See George Alsop, *A Character of the Province of Mary-Land* (1666), reprint (Cleveland, 1902), p. 76; John Josselyn, *An Account of Two Voyages to New-England* (1674), reprint (Boston, 1865), p. 97; Gabriel Thomas, *An Historical and Geographical Account of . . . Pennsylvania and of West-New-Jersey in America* (1698), reprint (Cleveland, 1903), p. 67; Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1699), reprint (Cleveland, 1903), pp. 154, 138-139; and Edward Ward, *A Trip to New-England* (London, 1699), p. 16.

⁶⁷ See Richard Ligon, *A True & Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes* (1657), reprint (London, 1673), p. 47; Gabriel Thomas, *An Historical and Geographical Account*, ed. cit., p. 53; Robert Beverly, *The History of Virginia* (1705), 2d ed., London, 1722, pp. 145-146; Daniel Beeckman, *A Voyage to and from the Island of Borneo* (1718), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, XI, 110; and Robert Drury, *Madagascar* (1729), ed. Capt. Pasfield Oliver, London, 1890, p. 172.

⁶⁸ *Jamaica Viewed* (2d ed., London, 1661), p. 62.

has a strong Influence upon all People, who have found the sweet of it, bringing with it so many of the Conveniences of Life as it does. And I believe that even the poor Americans, who have not yet tasted the Sweetness of it, might be allured to it by an honest and just Commerce . . . That large Continent hath yet Millions of Inhabitants . . . who are still ignorant of Trade: and they would be fond of it, did they once Experience it; though at the present they live happy enough, by enjoying such Fruits of the Earth as Nature hath bestowed on those Places . . . and it may be they are happier now, than they may hereafter be, when more known to the Avaritious World. For with Trade they will be in danger of meeting with Oppression: Men not being content with a free Traffick, and a just and reasonable Gain . . . but they must have the Current run altogether in their own Channel, though to the depriving the poor Natives they deal with, of their natural Liberty: as if all Mankind were to be ruled by their Laws.⁶⁹

John Lawson repeatedly stressed the peace of mind found among the primitive Carolinians, who obediently followed the light of nature. "They naturally possess the Righteous Man's Gift," he announced; "they are Patient under all Afflictions, and have a great many other Natural Vertues. . . ." ⁷⁰ He again wrote:

Festation proceeds from the Devil (says a Learned Doctor) a Passion the Indians seem wholly free of; they determine no Business of Moment, without a great deal of Deliberation and Wariness. None of their Affairs appear to be attended with Impetuosity, or Haste, being more content with the common Accidents incident to Human Nature, as (losses, contrary Winds, bad Weather, and Poverty) than those of more civilized Countries.⁷¹

"They say the Europeans are always wrangling and uneasy," he declared, "and wonder they do not go out of this World, since they are so uneasy and discontented in it." ⁷² After a gruesome account of Indian cruelty, Lawson paused to stress the fact that these barbarians, so-called, have the good sense to distinguish between the basic and the external. ". . . there is one Vice very common everywhere," he pronounced,

⁶⁹ *Voyages and Descriptions* (1699), *Voyages* (ed. Masefield, London, 1906), II, 45-46.

⁷⁰ *The History of Carolina* (1714), reprint (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), p. 141.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 106.

which I never found amongst them, which is envying other Men's Happiness, because their station is not equal to, or above their Neighbours. Of this Sin, I cannot say I ever saw an Example, though they are a People that set as great a Value upon themselves, as any sort of Men in the World; upon which account they find something valuable in themselves above Riches. Thus, he that is a good Warriour, is the proudest Creature living, and he that is an expert Hunter is esteemed by the People and himself; yet all these are Natural Vertues and Gifts, and not Riches, which are as often in possession of a Fool as a Wise Man. Several of the Indians are possessed of a great many Skins, Wampum, Ammunition and what other things are esteemed riches amongst them; yet such an Indian is no more esteemed among them, than any other ordinary Fellow, provided he has no personal endowments, which are the ornaments that must gain him an esteem among them. . . .⁷³

To George Shelvocke, the Indians of California were happy and content because they allowed themselves to be guided by the light of reason and nature and had thus far escaped the unnatural appetites common to a man-made world. "They seem to lead a careless life," he wrote,

and to have every thing in common amongst them, and can be supposed to search for nothing but the bare necessities of life . . . which frees them from the anxieties which disturb the thoughts of nations more civilized, and more refined. Their contentment made them honest, for they never offered to pilfer or steal any of our tools, and other utensils, though they might have been of great service to them. . . . In a word, they seem to pass their lives, according to the notions we have of the purest simplicity of the earliest ages of the world, before discord and contention were heard of amongst men; which must be owing to the great distance of their situation, and their being so much out of the reach of those who might have taught them other things. As yet then these Californians may be said to act according to the dictates of nature, whilst we often allow ourselves to act contrary to the just remonstrances of our reason.⁷⁴

Happiness and contentment were not, of course, confined to primitive man in the New World. The untutored people of St. Kilda inspired Martin Martin to the following:

The inhabitants of St. Kilda are much happier than the generality of mankind, being almost the only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty: what the condition of the people in the golden age is feigned by the poets to be, that

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 115-116.

⁷⁴ *A Voyage Round the World* (1726), 2d ed., London, 1757, pp. 417-419.

theirs really is, I mean, in innocence and simplicity, purity, mutual love and cordial friendship, free from solicitous cares, and anxious covetousness; from envy, deceit, and dissimulation; from ambition and pride, and the consequences that attend them. They are altogether ignorant of the vices of foreigners, and governed by the dictates of reason and Christianity. . . .⁷⁵

He found the inhabitants of the Western Islands of Scotland to

. . . have cows, sheep, barley and oats, and live a harmless life, being perfectly ignorant of most of those vices that abound in the world. They know nothing of money or gold, having no occasion for either . . . they covet no wealth, being fully content and satisfied with food and raiment. . . .⁷⁶

Yet he observed, to the indubitable satisfaction of the English middle-class man, that "at the same time they are very precise in the matter of property among themselves; for none of them will by any means allow his neighbour to fish within his property. . ." ⁷⁷ In the East Indies, John Marshal found the natives

. . . ignorant of all Parts of the World but their own; they wonder much at us, that will take so much Care and Pains, and run thro so many Dangers both by Sea and Land, only, as they say, to uphold and nourish Pride and Luxury. For, say they, every Country in the whole World is sufficiently endow'd by Nature with every thing that is necessary for the Life of Man, and that therefore it is Madness to seek for, or desire, that which is needless and unnecessary.⁷⁸

As the foregoing passages show, it was an easy step from criticism of civilized institutions and practices to downright primitivism, the feeling that man's salvation lay in a return to primitive simplicity. It came of the belief that to perfect society one had only to throw overboard a man-made world and allow Nature to rule uninterruptedly. Thoroughgoing primitivism, however, is difficult to find in the travel-literature of this age. The travellers as a whole entertained no thought of abolishing the present system of things. The majority of them considered the civilized state far superior

⁷⁵ *A Voyage to St. Kilda* (1698), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, III, 724-725.

⁷⁶ *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1703), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, III, 581.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ "A Letter from the East Indies," *Phil Trans.*, XXII (1702), 737.

to a state of nature, and they would not for one moment have exchanged places with primitive man. The typical attitude was that savages and unenlightened orientals would profit greatly by exposure to the best that civilization had to give. The civilized state, however, was by no means perfect. The task of all right thinking men was, accordingly, to see wherein it deviated from the norm and by comparing it with the universal, the original, and the primitive to bring about alteration. In consequence, the voyagers eulogized those virtues in foreign peoples which they considered to be natural, and they condemned those practices of civilized man which they thought to have a basis in nothing more fundamental than tradition and custom. But it must also be remembered that these same voyagers condemned the irrational and the unnatural wherever they found it. Even though they praised savage virtue, they did not hesitate to stress the ignorance, the dishonesty, and the cruelty of man the world over. And condemnation and praise are inextricably woven into the fabric of almost every travel-book thus far cited. Hickeringill recognized evidences of natural morality when he saw them, but he contemned the cowardice and sloth of the aborigines. For one bit of praise in Dampier of barbarian excellence, there are a dozen citations of ignorance and depravity. John Lawson, whom we have quoted at great length, tried to give a true account of the American Indians. He was indignant because of the many misrepresentations of them that had crept into descriptions of the New World written by incompetent observers. And even though he idealized them and lashed civilized self-complacency, he nevertheless lamented their shortcomings and wrote out a plan whereby they might be led to enlightenment and Christianity.⁷⁹

There was, of course, much that a reader primitivistically inclined could use. The American savage—haughty, proud, and free: guided in the main by nature's just laws—must have incited the admiration of many an idealist, even though forced often to break way through narrations of unbelievable bloodthirstiness and through the provincial condescension of the author. This dreamer found the savage possessed of all the virtues of the righteous man. He found

⁷⁹ Cf. *The History of Carolina* (1714), reprint (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), pp. 140-143.

him a slave neither to the appetites common to men nor to the customs of a man-made society, but, as Alsop would have it, of a race

cast into the mould of a most large and Warlike deportment, the men being for the most part seven foot high in latitude, and in magnitude and bulk suitable to so high a pitch; their voyce large and hollow, as ascending out of a Cave, their gate and behavior strait, stately and majestick, treading on the Earth with as much pride, contempt, and disdain to so sordid a Center, as can be imagined from a creature derived from the same mould and Earth.⁸⁰

The Pennsylvania Indians, according to William Penn, "tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty Chin. . ."⁸¹ One thing is to be observed in the Indians of Maryland, wrote Hugh Jones, "tho they are a People very timorous and cowardly in Fight, yet when taken Prisoners and Condemned, they'l dye like Heroes, braving the most Exquisite Tortures that can be invented, and singing all the time they are upon the Rack."⁸² On this same topic, Cadwallader Colden wrote:

The *Five Nations* are a poor Barbarous People, under the darkest Ignorance, and yet a bright and noble Genius shines thro' these black Clouds. None of the greatest Roman Hero's have discovered a greater Love to their Country, or a greater Contempt of Death than these Barbarians have done, when *Life* and *Liberty* came in Competition: Indeed, I think our *Indians* have out-done the *Romans* in this particular; for some of the greatest *Romans* have Murder'd themselves to avoid Shame or Torments, (a) Whereas our *Indians* have refused to Dye meanly with the least Pain, when they thought their Country's Honour [*sic*] would be at stake, by it, but gave their Bodies willingly up to the most cruel Torments of their Enemies, to shew, that the *Five Nations* consisted of Men whose Courage and Resolution could not be shaken. They sully, however, these noble Vertues by that cruel Passion *Revenge*, which they think not only lawful, but Honourable to exert without Mercy on their Country's Enemies, and for this only they deserve the Name of *Barbarians*.⁸³

Given this type of material, together with that furnished by Martin Martin, Shelvocke, and Drury, the idealist could

⁸⁰ *A Character of the Province of Mary-Land* (1666), reprint (Cleveland, 1902), p. 76.

⁸¹ *A Letter . . . to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders* (1683), *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania West New Jersey and Delaware* (ed. A. C. Myers, New York, 1912), p. 230.

⁸² "Letter . . . concerning several Observables in Maryland," *Phil. Trans.*, XXI (1699), 442.

⁸³ *The History of the Five Indian Nations* (New York, 1727), pp. iii-iv.

easily persuade himself that the good and noble life was to be lived not in towns and cities but in the solitude of the American forests or the South Sea isles.

The accounts of the voyagers, furthermore, have never been given the credit due to them for exerting a considerable pressure on crystallized institutions and points of view and breaking down the sturdy European provincialism which measured primitive society and the great civilizations of the East by the standards of European culture. The various forces that produced seventeenth- and eighteenth-century humanitarianism, toleration, and cosmopolitanism were, to be sure, many; but not least among them must have been the influence exerted by travel-books. The texts cited above must have gone far toward establishing the ideal of equal rights for all mankind. They brought all races of men into the English ken and showed irrevocably the relationship that naturally exists between white and red and black. They demonstrated the fact that heretofore despised peoples know more of simple goodness and benevolence and practice more piety in their lives than the most polished races of Europe. If reason be a guide, then it follows that these men are just as human and deserve just as much consideration as those under the banner of a like faith and education. Lawson was very explicit on this point. After recounting the fact that the Indians are intelligent, are never traitors to their nation, are patient under all afflictions, and never allow any one to go from them hungry, he wrote:

We reckon them slaves in comparison to us, and Intruders, as oft as they enter our Houses, or Hunt near our Dwellings. But if we will admit Reason to be our Guide, she will inform us that these Indians are the freest People in the World, and so far from being Intruders among us that we have abandoned our own Native soil, to drive them out, and possess theirs: neither have we any true balance in judging of these Poor Heathens, because we neither give allowance for their Natural Disposition, nor the Sylvian Education, and strange Customs (uncouth to us) they lie under and have ever been trained up to; these are false Measures for Christians to take, and indeed no man can be reckon'd a Moralist only, who will not make choice and use of better Rules to walk and act by.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ *The History of Carolina* (1714), *ed. cit.*, p. 141.

After all, the rational man might well ask, what right have I to superimpose my education and my beliefs on other men? If utility and happiness be the sole tests of all institutions, may not the American Indian and the heathen black man be allowed to retain those which are patently satisfactory? And furthermore, biased as I am by a long age of tradition, how can I be sure that the customs cherished by the orientals are not more desirable than those which I would foist upon them? Reason, shorn of prejudice, offers the only way whereby men may see truth; and reason teaches that all men have equal rights to liberty and to happiness.

Be that as it may, what the traveller undeniably demonstrated to ethical theorists at home was that their ideas regarding morality were, at bottom, sound ones. The store of observations gathered by travellers to the four corners of the world appeared clearly to show that the simple rules of morality—piety, benevolence, the preservation of health and the control of the passions—were virtues universally known and practiced. And wherever practiced—in America and Arabia, Barbary and India—the results appeared to be calculable and invariable. Those peoples least corrupted by civilized culture lived contentedly and happily; for even though they lacked the obvious advantages afforded by civilized environments, they also escaped the vices which render the so-called cultured and refined man impious, grasping, discontented, and infirm. Thus contemplated, the untutored and virtuous savage must have induced the traveller primitivistically inclined to question the validity of a culture of which most men were proud and to yearn for primitive simplicity. But most of the voyagers were of an entirely different stripe. They cherished whatever man through long ages of experience with social institutions had found to be comfortable and beneficial, but they realized that too often the laws which govern society have their basis not in Nature but in despotic custom. To reject the evil and the customary in civilized society and retain the natural was their aim. Even when unaware of this end, many a voyager, by noting the primitive and the universal, helped to establish the notion of a moral order perfect and unchangeable, which, if heeded by civilized man, would bring harmony to a chaotic man-made world.

CHAPTER V

THE TRAVELLER AND THE SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT

The examination that certain voyagers made of man, both in a civilized state and in a state of nature, must have drawn the attention not only of theorists in things divine and moral but also of those in the field of government; for the Great Rebellion and the revolution of 1688-9 forced men again to consider the foundations of government and to ask "What is the true, the natural, state?" The various theories advanced during this period of earnest controversy fell into three main divisions, which, so far as I know, received their clearest definition in *An Essay upon Government: or, the Natural Notions of Government*, written by Thomas Burnet in 1716. "As to the late Civil Wars," he wrote,

'tis pretty well known, what Notions of Government went current in those Days. When Monarchy was to be subverted, we know what was necessary to justify the Fact; and then, because it was convenient for their purpose, it was undoubtedly true in the Nature of Things, *That Government had its Original from the People, and the Prince was only their Trustee, to execute the Office they had put into his hand, which they might resume when they saw fit . . .*

But afterwards, when Monarchy took its Place again, and a new Scene of things appear'd upon the Stage, another Notion of Government came in Fashion, *Then Government had its Original entirely from God, and the Prince was accountable to none but Him; so that let Him do what he would, He was not to be oppos'd, and what Injury soever we might suffer by Him, we must wait for a Redress, till the Day of Judgment . . .*

And now, upon another turn of things, when People have a liberty to speak out, a new Set of notions is advanced; *now Passive Obedience is all a mistake, and instead of being a duty to suffer oppression, 'tis a Glorious Act to resist it; and instead of leaving Injuries to be redress'd by God, we have a natural Right to relieve our selves.*¹

Behind much of the theorizing of the age lay the middle-class desire for power, which raised the time-honored question of sovereignty. Nobles and merchants, Whigs and Tories, wanted to know whether "*Government had its Original from the People, and the Prince was only their Trustee*" or whether

¹ The 2d ed., with additions, London, 1726, pp. 10-11.

it had its "*Original entirely from God, and the Prince was accountable to none but Him.*" The task, obviously, was to seek the origin of government in order to see what supports it had to rest upon. Those who argued that the state was given by God to man went to the Bible for evidence. They maintained that before the Fall man was innocent and rational and lived righteously by nature. Accordingly, he had no need of government. "For 'tis evidently demonstrable from Principles of Reason," Burnet wrote,

That the State of Man's Innocence was a State of Perfection, wherein, as Reason was given us for our Guide, so all our Powers and Faculties, our Rational Will, and Bodily Operations were intirely [*sic*] Subject to its direction . . .

This was undoubtedly the true State of Man's Innocence, and in such a State as this is, all Government would be absolutely useless, and unnecessary, but that in our own bosoms.

For where men are intirely govern'd by Reason, there can be no Covetousness, nor Ambition; no Envy, nor Ill-nature; no Jealousies, nor Fears; no Inclosure, nor Property; no *Meums*, nor *Tuums*, but all things would naturally be common . . . every man's wants would be regulated by Reason; so that as God made enough of every thing for every one's necessities, so right Reason would not admit of any contention, because in the nature of things there could be no Reason for it.²

After the Fall, however, reason was overshadowed by inordinate passions; and man became ambitious and covetous, jealous and contentious. To introduce order, God gave him the institution of government.³ The extremists argued that the kind of government first given to man was absolute monarchy, and for proof of their contention they referred to the Patriarchs, who, they maintained, had supreme dominion over all things.⁴ Thus it was evident that kings ruled by divine sanction and that it was the duty of subjects to obey regardless of oppression.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

³ Cf. John Nalson, *The Common Interest of King and People: Shewing the Original, Antiquity and Excellency of Monarchy* . . . (London, 1678), p. 3; Thomas Burnet, *An Essay upon Government* (1716), 2d ed., pp. 25 ff.

⁴ Cf. John Nalson, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 77; Sir Robert Filmer, *Patriarcha: or the Natural Power of Kings* (London, 1680), pp. 12 ff; Thomas Goddard, *Plato's Demon: Or, the State-Physician Unmaskt; Being a Discourse in Answer to a Book call'd Plato Redivivus* (London, 1684), pp. 76-77, 80, 85; *The Rehearsal* (1705), Nos. 53-62, 64, 66, 73.

The Newtonian view of the world, the religion of reason, and the demand for political equality made by the middle class rendered this type of argument extremely unpopular. It appeared reasonable that the maker of a perfect universe must have provided, in the beginning, all that was necessary for man's happiness. Just as He devised unchangeable laws to govern the physical universe, so He must necessarily have provided rules for the harmonious governance of men. The task was to discover these rules, to pry open a door long sealed by ignorance and tradition, just as Newton had done for the physical world, in order to observe the perfect plan devised by God for the harmonious functioning of men in society. To do this, it seemed convenient and necessary to imagine or observe man in his natural or primitive condition.

Thomas Hobbes, writing to justify absolutism, had declared that men in a state of nature were in a state of war,⁵ that, to protect themselves, they were obliged to herd together,⁶ that they entered into a contract whereby they surrendered certain natural liberties to one man or a group of men in exchange for security,⁷ and that once surrendered these individual liberties or rights could never be recovered.⁸ Now this doctrine met with hearty opposition. Those who believed in the divine right of kings objected to Hobbes's theory of contract on the grounds that men lacked the power to relinquish any of their natural rights. Only God, they argued, can confer sovereignty. Other thinkers accepted Hobbes's idea of contract, but inveighed against his description of man in a state of nature and his insistence on the absolute power of the king. According to some thinkers, men in a natural state obeyed the harmonious laws of nature and lived free and happy. In this primitive condition, they were all equal and every man, sensitive to the promptings of reason, realized that no one ought to injure the person or the property of another; and to insure conformity with the law of nature so that individual liberties might not be invaded, every man had the right to interpret natural law and to punish transgressors of it. The exercising of this right led to con-

⁵ *Leviathan* (1651) in *Opera philosophica* (ed. Sir William Molesworth, London, 1841), III, 99-100, 103.

⁶ *Elementorum philosophiae de cive* in *Opera*, ed. cit., II, 161.

⁷ *Leviathan*, pp. 103-104.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

fusion, especially after population had increased and land had become scarce. Accordingly, men instituted government by entering into a social contract. They agreed to deliver certain individual rights into the hands of a central authority. Since it was the people themselves who originally devised government, they had the right at any time to modify it; and whenever a ruler tyrannized over his subjects, they had the power to remove him.

This theory was set forth with striking simplicity and clarity by John Locke in his *Two Treatises of Government*, published in 1690. "To understand political power right, and derive it from its original," he wrote,

we must consider what state all men are naturally in, and that is, a state of perfect freedom to order their actions and dispose of their possessions and persons, as they think fit, within the bounds of the law of nature; without asking leave, or depending upon the will of any other man.

A state also of equality, wherein all the power and jurisdiction is reciprocal, no one having more than another; there being nothing more evident than that creatures of the same species and rank, promiscuously born to all the same advantages of nature, and the use of the same faculties, should also be equal one amongst another . . .

But though this be a state of liberty, yet it is not a state of licence . . . The state of nature has a law of nature to govern it, which obliges every one: and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind, who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions . . .

And that all men may be restrained from invading others' rights, and from doing hurt to one another, and the law of nature be observed, which willeth the peace and preservation of all mankind, the execution of the law of nature is, in that state, put into every man's hands, whereby every one has a right to punish the transgressors of that law to such a degree as may hinder its violation . . .⁹

This state of perfect freedom cannot long endure, according to Locke, because when all men execute the law of nature confusion inevitably results. Hence it becomes necessary that they should confer upon some common authority the right of interpreting the law of nature and of punishing transgressors of it. In consequence, they enter into a "Social Contract." Locke's statement runs as follows:

⁹ *Works* (London, 1823), V, 339-341.

Men being . . . by nature all free, equal, and independent, no one can be put out of this estate, and subjected to the political power of another, without his own consent. The only way whereby any one divests himself of his natural liberty, and puts on the bonds of civil society, is by agreeing with other men to join and unite into a community, for their comfortable, safe, and peaceable living one amongst another, in a secure enjoyment of their properties, and a greater security against any that are not of it . . . When any number of men have so consented to make one community or government, they are thereby presently incorporated, and make one body politic, wherein the majority have a right to act and conclude the rest.¹⁰

Thus men of their own free will agreed to form the state; and since this was true, they had the power, as a majority, "to act and conclude the rest." In other words, supreme authority resides in the people. They possess the inalienable right of limiting a monarchy and even of dispensing with it if they find it burdensome.¹¹

Throughout this treatise, Locke's method is, in the main, deductive. Like many theorists of his age, he was not so much interested in examining states actually in existence as in deducing, from a few cardinal principles, a scheme of government apparent to right reason and grounded in the immutable laws of nature. Once this scheme was discovered, it would be a relatively easy matter to perceive the flaws in the government of England.

This ideal was also Burnet's. Even though he accepts the Fall as the primary cause of the need of government (Burnet was a clergyman), he argues not on the basis of authority but on that of nature and reason. After sketching the state of nature as it existed during the time of man's innocence and declaring that man's corruption necessitated government, he dismisses this notion with the following gesture:

This I lay down as the Original of Government, and tho' there is no part of this notion, that I do not think I have a substantial Demonstration for, yet I propose it only as a notion, which I shall lay no great stress upon, and whether true or false, it is not very material to my following design.¹²

He designs to show that "the Security of the Rights, and Properties of the Society, is . . . the End of all Govern-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 394.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 469-470.

¹² *An Essay upon Government* (2d ed., London, 1726), p. 19.

ment . . . ,”¹³ that the right of property is founded in the law of nature,¹⁴ that the authority of government comes of God and not of man,¹⁵ that subjects obey God by obeying their ruler so long as he conforms to the divine plan of reason and nature,¹⁶ that society has the right to resist violently its ruler since obedience to an irrational king entails an unnatural society,¹⁷ and that the best of all governments is a limited monarchy.¹⁸

From the preceding, we see that Restoration and early eighteenth-century thinkers were tremendously concerned with searching out the “divine plan of reason and nature” in government. To extreme royalists, fearful lest there might be a recurrence of political enthusiasm similar to that which produced the great Civil War, anything less than absolutism inclined toward anarchy. Extreme royalists, however, were in the minority. The middle class, whose power steadily increased after 1688, insisted on the rights of subjects. The spokesmen of this class, inspired no doubt by the rationalistic thinking prevalent in other fields, urged that the institution of the state should be fearlessly scrutinized so that encumbrances—all political superstitions and injustice of every sort—might be permanently abolished. Right reason and clear-eyed observation, shorn of bias, would inevitably bring forth those unalterable principles which God originally gave to men; and reason, together with experience, seemed to show that men are free and equal and possess the rights to liberty, property, and happiness.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 21 ff.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 28 ff.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59, 65.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105. For other defenses of popular rights, see Henry Neville, *Plato Redivivus*, London, 1680; “The Thoughts of a private Person, about the Justice of the Gentlemen’s undertaking at York, Novemb. 1688, wherein is shewed, that it is neither against Scripture, nor moral Honesty, to defend their just and legal Rights, against the illegal invaders of them . . . ,” *State Tracts* (London, 1692), II, 461-482; Benjamin Hoadly, *The Original and Institution of Civil Government, Discuss’d* . . . , London, 1710; Sir Richard Blackmore, “An Essay upon the Origin of Civil Power,” *Essays upon Several Subjects*, London, 1716.

Now voyagers and travellers found numerous men living in a state of nature, and the majority of them, as was pointed out above,¹⁹ frankly listed those undesirable qualities which seemed to go with the savage state. The filthy Hottentots were depraved beyond compare. The blacks of New Holland appeared to be the "miserablest People in the world" and to "differ but little from Brutes." Certain tribes of men on the North and South American continents had proved themselves to be cruel and contentious, superstitious and ignorant. These facts apart, the voyager-scientist, in the attempt to record everything that might in any way be useful, supplied a rather generous stock of information about primitive man which must have gone far toward shaping the theories of the proponents of limited monarchy. Even though certain tribes of men seemed to have degenerated to a degree not far removed from brutes and, accordingly, lacked the knowledge and conveniences to be found in a polished society, the fact remained that in the remote regions of the world, among groups of untutored men, could be detected evidences of those rights which God had intended that all mankind should enjoy. "As I am fond to think, that the present state of the *Indian Nations* exactly shows the *most Ancient and Original Condition* of almost every Nation," wrote Cadwallader Colden in 1727, "so I believe, here we may with more certainty see the *Original Form of all Government*, than in the most *curious Speculations* of the *Learned*; and that the *Patriarchal*, and other *Schemes in Politicks* are no better than *Hypotheses in Philosophy*, and as prejudicial to real Knowledge."²⁰ Again he declared:

It is necessary to know something of the *Form of Government* of the People whose History one reads. A few words will serve to give the Reader a general Notion of that of the *Five Nations*, because it still remains under Original Simplicity, free from those complicated Contrivances which have become necessary to those Nations where Deceit and Cunning have increased as much as their Knowledge and Wisdom.²¹

Generalizations such as these are not typical of the travel-literature of this period. Voyagers and travellers conceived their task to lie in amassing facts, not in interpreting them. But the facts that certain of them gathered were as unmis-

¹⁹ P.D. 101-104.

²⁰ *The History of the Five Indian Nations* (New York, 1727), p. xvii.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

takably useful to the expounders of natural rights as the outspoken words of Colden. Numerous texts cited above²² stressed not only the existence of the moral law but also primitive man's conformity to it. The American Indians, the natives of Madagascar and of the Western Islands, guided by nature's laws, practiced benevolence and piety, cleanliness and self-control; and they lived happy and in peace one with the other.

This picture of the state of nature is strikingly similar to the one drawn by Locke and by other theorists of his color. And not only did these savages conform to the moral law. They also enjoyed the natural rights of liberty and equality. Concerning the New England Indians, Edward Ward wrote:

There is nothing they Value so much as Liberty and Ease. They will not become Servil upon any Terms whatsoever, or abridge their Native Freedom . . . to gain the Universe: For they neither covet Riches, or dread Poverty: But all seem Content with their own Conditions, which are in a manner equal.²³

John Lawson, who declared the native Carolinians to be the "freest People in the World,"²⁴ furthermore noted that "Their Tongues allow not to say, Sir, I am your servant, because they have no different titles for Man, only King, War-Captain, Old Man or Young Man, which respects the Stations and Circumstances Men are employed in, and arrived to, and not Ceremony."²⁵ Of the Iroquois, "whom we call Subjects of the Crown of *England*," Daniel Coxe wrote, "they only stile themselves Brethren, Friends, Allies, being a People highly tenacious of their Liberty, and very impatient of the least Incroachments thereon."²⁶ Even the Hottentots, according to Alexander Hamilton, were highly tenacious of their liberty. "Notwithstanding that they are so brutal and indocile," he stated, "they know the value of liberty, and will by no means be slaves. . . ." ²⁷

²² See pp. 105-115.

²³ *A Trip to New-England* (London, 1699), p. 15.

²⁴ *The History of Carolina* (1714), reprint (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), p. 141.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

²⁶ *A Description of the English Province of Carolana* (London, 1727), p. 61.

²⁷ *A New Account of the East Indies* (1727), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, VIII, 264.

Other travellers pointed out that men in primitive society hold everything in common and place little emphasis on *meum* and *tuum*. "They [the American Indians] hold all things, except their wives, in common," observed John Lederer, "and their custome in eating is, that every man in his turn feasts all the rest . . ." ²⁸ In Virginia, according to Robert Beverly, the natives "claim no Property in Lands, but they are in Common to a whole Nation." ²⁹ In California, Woodes Rogers noted that the Indians "paid a sort of Respect to one Man . . . in other respects they seem'd to have all things in common . . ." ³⁰ Robert Drury declared that in Madagascar there "is no distinction or property of lands, but every man feeds his beasts and plants where he thinks fit." ³¹

This was not to say, however, that primitive men possessed nothing which they might call their own. The excerpts taken from Lederer and Drury presuppose personal property. The inhabitants of the Western Islands, Martin Martin tells us, "covet no wealth . . . though at the same time they are very precise in the matter of property . . . for none of them will by any means allow his neighbour to fish within his property." ³² Lawson's Indians prized highly their native medium of exchange, namely, wampum. ". . . it being," he goes on to say, "the Mammon (as our Money is to us) that entices and persuades them to do anything, and part with everything they possess, except their Children, for Slaves. As for their Wives they are often sold, and their Daughters Violated for it." ³³ According to Edward Cooke, the Incas esteemed the right of property so highly that they would not even confiscate the "Goods of Criminals, by Way

²⁸ *Discoveries . . . In three several Marches from Virginia, To the West of Carolina . . .* (1672), reprint (Rochester, N. Y., 1902), p. 16.

²⁹ *The History of Virginia* (1705), 2d ed., London, 1722, p. 193.

³⁰ *A Cruising Voyage Round the World* (1712), 2d ed., London, 1726, p. 316.

³¹ *Madagascar* (1729), ed. Capt. Pasfield Oliver, London, 1890, p. 80. See further William Hubbard, *A General History of New England, from the Discovery to MDCLXXX*, Mass. Hist. Soc. Pub. (Cambridge, 1815), p. 30; Thomas Smith, *Observations relating to Constantinople* (1678), in *Miscellanea Curiosa* (London, 1727), III, 72.

³² *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1703), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, III, 581.

³³ *The History of Carolina* (1714), ed. cit., p. 114.

of Penalty, alledging, that to spare their Lives, and take what they had, was rather Covetousness, than Justice . . ." ³⁴

The theorist who aspired to build a science of government founded in the nature of things might well have paused over these observations, for they offered the best evidence which that day afforded of the manners and customs of natural man. Accepting a doctrine such as Locke's, he would inevitably look for data to support it. And he would discover that certain savages, ignorant of civilized traditions, cherished the rights of liberty and equality, benevolently shared their belongings with other men, but at the same time were very precise in the matter of private property.

He furthermore discovered that monarchy, in some form, appeared to be universal and natural.³⁵ "The *Indians* having no Sort of Letters among them . . .," Robert Beverly observed, "they can have no written Laws; nor did the Constitution in which we found them, seem to need many. Nature and their own Convenience having taught them to obey one Chief, who is Arbiter of all Things among them."³⁶ The power of this king was found occasionally to be absolute. "This nation," Lederer wrote, "differs in government from all the other Indians of these parts: for they are slaves, rather than subjects to their king."³⁷ John Lawson averred that "The Santee King . . . is the most absolute Indian Ruler in these Parts . . . He can put any of his people to death that hath committed any fault, which he judges worthy of so great a Punishment. This authority is rarely found amongst these Savages, for they act not (commonly) by a determinative Voice in their Laws . . ."³⁸ In Chile, Shelvocke pointed out, "The Cacique [or chief] assembles them [his people] to war, or upon other occasions, and has an absolute power of executing justice amongst his subjects . . ."³⁹ Nathaniel Uring

³⁴ *A Voyage to the South Sea* (London, 1712), I, 211.

³⁵ Cf. John Lederer, *Discoveries* (1672), ed. cit., p. 16; John Josselyn, *An Account of Two Voyages to New-England* (1674), reprint (Boston, 1865), p. 113; Thomas Glover, "An Account of Virginia," *Phil. Trans.*, XI (1676), 631; Woodes Rogers, *A Cruising Voyage Round the World* (1712), 2d ed., London, 1726, p. 316; George Shelvocke, *A Voyage Round the World* (1726), 2d ed., London, 1757, pp. 423-424.

³⁶ *The History of Virginia* (1705), 2d ed., London, 1722, p. 193.

³⁷ *Discoveries* (1672), reprint (Rochester, N. Y., 1902), p. 19.

³⁸ *The History of Carolina* (1714), reprint (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), p. 9.

³⁹ *A Voyage Round the World* (1726), 2d ed., London, 1757, p. 116.

discovered that in Africa "The Kings are all Absolute Monarchs . . ." ⁴⁰

But arbitrary monarchy was not the type of government most often found among men in a state of nature. The voyagers again and again noted how dependent on the will of his people was the savage king who, in the far-away expanses of America, ruled men jealous of their rights of liberty and equality. John Lederer found Indians whose "government is democrattick; and the sentences of their old men are received as laws, or rather oracles, by them." ⁴¹ A most significant passage occurs in William Penn's *Letter to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders*, printed in 1683. "Every King hath his Council," he wrote,

and that consists of all the Old and Wise men of his Nation, which perhaps is two hundred People: nothing of Moment is undertaken, be it War, Peace, Selling of Land or Traffick, without advising with them; and which is more, with the Young Men too. 'Tis admirable to consider, how Powerful the Kings are, and yet how they move by the Breath of their People.⁴²

Gabriel Thomas, in his *An Historical and Geographical Account of . . . Pensilvania and of West-New-Jersey* (1698), made practically the same observation. "Their [the Indians'] Government in Monarchial," ⁴³ he stated. Then he pointed out that "Their Princes are Powerful, yet do nothing without the Concurrence of their Senate, or Councils, consisting chiefly of Old, but mixt with Young Men . . ." ⁴⁴ No less significant is John Lawson's description of Indian government, which occurred in his *The History of Carolina* (1714). "The King is the Ruler of the Nation," he declared,

and has others under him to assist him, as his War Captains and Counsellors, who are pick'd out and chosen among the ancientest Men of the Nation he is King of. These meet him in all general Councils and Debates, concerning War, Peace, Trade, Hunting and all the Adventures and Accidents of Humane Affairs, which appear within their Verge; where all affairs are discoursed of and argued pro and con, very deliberately, (without making any manner of Parties or Divisions for the Good of the Publick; for, as they meet there to treat, they discharge their

⁴⁰ *A History of . . . Voyages and Travels* (London, 1726), p. 157.

⁴¹ *Discoveries* (1672), reprint (Rochester, N. Y., 1902), p. 18.

⁴² Reprinted in *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania West New Jersey and Delaware* (ed. A. C. Myers, New York, 1912), p. 235.

⁴³ Reprint of the original edition (ed. C. T. Brady, Cleveland, 1903), p. 54.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

duty with all the Integrity imaginable, never looking towards their own interest before the Publick Good. After every Man has given his Opinion, that which has most Voices, or, in Summing up, is found most reasonable, that they make use of without any Jars and Wrangling, and put it in Execution, the first Opportunity that offers.⁴⁵

Here in the forests of America, according to Lawson, living in a state of nature were men whose natural integrity and knowledge of good government ought to be patterned after. No Whigs or Tories wrought dissention and division. No king or favored groups of men considered their own good before that of the general public, for they knew by reason that society and government existed for the happiness of the many and not of the few. In other words, they understood quite well that government is a means to an end: the protection of man's natural rights. Cadwallader Colden, in *The History of the Five Indian Nations* (1727), tells us that he liked "to think, that the present state of the *Indian Nations* exactly shows the most *Ancient* and *Original Condition* of almost every Nation" and to believe that "here we may with more certainty see the *Original Form of all Government*, than in the most *curious Speculations* of the *Learned* . . ." ⁴⁶ He furthermore considers it "necessary to know something of the *Form of Government* of the People whose History one reads," and he goes on to say that the government of this race of savage men "still remains under Original Simplicity, free from those complicated Contrivances which have become necessary to those Nations where Deceit and Cunning have increased as much as their Knowledge and Wisdom." ⁴⁷ What could these aborigines teach civilized politicians? Colden's words follow:

Each Nation is an absolute Republick by its self, govern'd in all Publick Affairs of War and Peace by the *Sachems* or *Old Men*, whose Authority and Power is gain'd by and consists wholly in the Opinion the rest of the Nation have of their *Wisdom* and *Integrity*. They never execute their Resolutions by Compulsion or Force upon any of their People. *Honour* and *Esteem* are their Principal Rewards, as *Shame* & being *Despised* are their Punishments . . .

Their *Generals* and *Captains* obtain their Authority likewise by the general Opinion of their *Courage* and *Conduct*, and loose [*sic*] it by a *Failure* in those *Vertues*.

⁴⁵ Reprint of the original edition (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), p. 114.

⁴⁶ P. xvii.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

Their *Great Men*, both *Sachems* and *Captains*, are generally poorer than the common People, for they affect to give away and distribute all the *Presents* or *Plunder* they get in their Treaties of War. . . . If they should once be suspected of *Selfishness* they would grow mean in the Opinion of their Country-men, and would consequently loose their Authority.⁴⁸

Implicit in these texts is the idea that sovereignty rests with the people. Direct comparisons between the English government and that common to the state of nature rarely occurred in the works of the voyagers. But the most obtuse reader could not turn the pages of Drury's journal without knowing for a certainty the precise relation to English politics of the evidence submitted. "When I saw the manner and form of this assembly [called by Deaan Mevarrow, Drury's master, to decide whether or not the tribe should join forces with Deaan Murnanzack or Deaan Crindo]," Drury declared,

our Parliament in Great Britain run [*sic*] strangely in my head. I thought this very like it, and though I was but a boy when I went from home, yet my father keeping a public-house, I remember often to have heard gentlemen disputing with one another about the power of the prince to command the people to do what he pleased without consulting them, while others said a king had no power without a Parliament. Then they would dispute about the original of parliaments. . . . Now I think this might be decided without reference to authors and histories . . . for I imagine that England and other countries too were once like Madagascar . . . it was then impossible for princes and lords to command people . . . but when any neighbour craved their help, or enemy had offended them, they assembled before the house of their chief, and then they consulted what measures were proper to be taken for their safety and interest. . . . Thus the people are themselves their own army and defence, and the lord could not oblige them to do those things which the greater part did not think convenient to do, because he had no army to force them. This was, without doubt, the condition of all other countries once, and must have remained so if people had not betrayed themselves unwarily into the power of one man, by giving him wealth and authority to raise an army . . . and use it at discretion for their defence, with which he wickedly insulted and abused them. But in the state of nature, and the beginning of men joining in societies, this was the form of government; and with due reverence to the learned, I think we need not turn over many volumes to find the original of British parliaments, for they are earlier than all their histories, or even letters them-

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. xv-xvi.

selves; and as to their power, it is founded on the strongest basis, reason, and nature.⁴⁹

With popular sovereignty grounded in natural law, it is reasonable that a king's authority should prevail just so long as he anticipates the needs and secures the inalienable rights of his subjects. As Colden pointed out, the power of an Indian ruler depends solely on his virtuous conduct. When he violates his trust and ignores the end for which government was devised, then his sovereignty reverts to his subjects, who originally gave it. Other voyagers stated this fact with even greater precision. John Ovington noted that the same right was found among the Chinese,

with whom the liberty of Admonishing their Emperour was established by a Law, which impowred them to use importunate Applications to him upon any failure, and caus'd them instantly to remind him of taking care of his Life and Actions, and that the virtuous Pattern of his Royal Behaviour, was the best and only method for deriving Justice, Integrity, and Loyalty upon his Magistrates and People. They likewise admonished him, that if he deviated from the transcendant Virtues of his Ancestors, his Subjects would inevitably digress from their Duties of Allegiance and Fidelity to him.⁵⁰

Deaan Trongha, a prince of Madagascar, told Drury that "a more than ordinary care is necessary now, for the common people desert us, and go to live under other lords if they don't like our proceedings, though all we aim at is their own good and safety."⁵¹ The Madagascar chiefs made no attempt, however, forcibly to detain their subjects, for every man had a right to choose the government under which he wished to live. When Rer Trimmonongarevo, according to Drury, thirsted for absolute power and became cruel, some of his people deserted him. "And this is a remedy which these people have against arbitrary power," Drury explained, "they making no religious scruples of their kings being their master by Divine authority, nor think themselves obliged by ties of religion to suffer any impositions."⁵² According to the majority of voyagers who discussed this topic,

⁴⁹ *Madagascar* (1729), ed. Capt. Pasfield Oliver, London, 1890, pp. 127-129.

⁵⁰ *A Voyage to Suratt* (London, 1696), p. 181.

⁵¹ *Madagascar* (1729), ed. *cit.*, p. 228.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 275.

arbitrary power had no leg to stand on and deserved the contempt of all rational men.⁵³

Yet popular control, if carried to excess, was no whit more satisfactory than absolute monarchy. The common people too often had neither the wisdom nor the judgment requisite for the harmonious governance of themselves. It was for this reason that men originally founded government. Fryer, even though he inveighs against absolutism,⁵⁴ holds no brief for "the dark Chaos of Popular Community . . ." ⁵⁵ The interlocutor, Deaan Trongha, assures Drury that "It is natural for mean people to abuse their governors, but governors must do good to their country and defend mankind from injuries . . . But, then, we must keep secret those things which we know beforehand; they have not sense to understand nor judge of."⁵⁶

To Englishmen generally, the ideal form of government was their own, namely, constitutional monarchy. Eulogies of English law and liberty, especially after 1688, are very plentiful, and they are fairly common in the travel-books. Even so, the manifest unfairness of certain institutions and traditional opinions provoked the voyagers on occasion to utterance. Several promotion pamphleteers described America as the land of promise, where all men were free and equal, unhampered by the galling inequalities patent in English society. "Is there . . . any younger Brother who is born of Gentile blood, and whose Spirit is elevated above the common sort, and yet the hard usage of our Country hath not allowed suitable fortune," ⁵⁷ queried Robert Horne,⁵⁸ in his

⁵³ Cf. Robert Knox, *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon* (1681), *An English Garner [of] Voyages and Travels* (ed. C. R. Beazley, Westminster, 1903), II, 310; John Ovington, *A Voyage to Suratt* (London, 1696), p. 120; John Fryer, *A New Account of East-India and Persia* (1698), Hakl. Soc. Pub. (London, 1912), II, 216; William Dampier, *Voyages and Descriptions* (1699), *Voyages* (ed. John Masefield, London, 1906), I, 591; Simon Ockley, *An Account of South-West Barbary . . .* (London, 1713), pp. 47-48; John Windus, *A Journey to Mequinez* (1725), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, XV, 470-479; Nathaniel Uring, *A History of . . . Voyages and Travels . . .* (London, 1726), pp. 282-283, 311.

⁵⁴ See above, 53 n.

⁵⁵ *A New Account of East-India and Persia* (1698), Hakl. Soc. Pub. (London, 1909), I, 222.

⁵⁶ *Madagascar* (1729), ed. Capt. Pasfield Oliver, London, 1890, p. 228.

⁵⁷ *Hist. Coll. of South Carolina* (New York, 1836), II, 16.

⁵⁸ The authorship of this tract is not with certainty known.

A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina (1666). This person he invited "to leave his Native Soil to advance his Fortunes equal to his Blood and Spirit . . ." ⁵⁹ Horne furthermore announced that "all Artificers . . . that are willing to advance their fortunes, and live in a most pleasant healthful and fruitful Country, where Artificers are of high esteem, and used with all Civility and Courtesie imaginable, may take notice . . ." ⁶⁰ Gabriel Thomas, offering a description of Pennsylvania, printed in 1698, informed his countrymen that in this territory "There are vast Numbers of other Wild Creatures . . . which . . . are free and common to any Person who can shoot or take them, without any lett, hinderance or Opposition whatsoever." ⁶¹ On this subject, John Lawson, in his *A History of Carolina* (1714), wrote as follows:

Here propriety hath a large Scope, there being no strict law to bind our privileges. A Quest after Game, being as freely and peremptorily enjoyed by the meanest Planter, as he that is in the Highest Dignity, or wealthiest in the Province. Deer and other game that are naturally wild, being not immur'd or preserv'd within boundaries to satisfy the appetite of the rich alone. A poor laborer, that is Master of his Gun, etc., hath as good a claim to have continu'd Coarses of Delicacies crouded upon his Table, as he that is Master of a Greater Purse. ⁶²

Again he declared:

. . . as for the Constitution of this Government, it is so mild and easy in respect to the Properties and Liberties of a Subject, that without rehear[sing] the Particulars, I say once for all, it is the mildest and best established government in the world, and the Place where any Man may peaceably enjoy his own, without being invaded by another, Rank and Superiority ever giving Place to Justice and Equity, which is the golden rule that every country ought to be built on, and regulated by. ⁶³

These privileges, obviously, the subject residing in England lacked.

And besides, the New-World settler enjoyed a religious freedom unheard of in England. "It is to be noted," wrote Thomas Budd in 1685, "that the Government of these Coun-

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁶¹ *An Historical and Geographical Account of . . . Pensilvania and of West-New-Jersey in America* (Cleveland, 1903), p. 32.

⁶² Reprint (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), p. 5.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

tries is so settled by Concessions, and such care taken by the establishment of certain fundamental Laws, by which every Man's Liberty and Property, both as Men and Christians, are preserved; so that none shall be hurt in his Person, Estate or Liberty for his Religious Perswasion or Practice in Worship towards God." ⁶⁴ The spirit of toleration is, indeed, one of the outstanding facts in the travel-books. It is to be found not only in pamphlets promoting the interests of the American colonies but also in accounts of the heathen East. "Although here [in Ceylon] be Protestants and Papists," Robert Knox wrote, "yet here are no differences kept up among them; but they are as good friends as if there were no such parties: and there is no other distinction of religion there, but only heathens and Christians; and we usually say, 'We Christians.'" ⁶⁵ John Ovington pointed out the inhumanity which accompanied intolerance in India. His words are:

Very few of the Gentiles being called to any considerable Trust, or encourag'd any more, than just to follow their several Manual Occupations, or Merchandize. For Religion, which puts a Biass upon the Mind, Intitles them to the Court Favours, when it carries a conformity to that of their Prince. Therefore the Gentiles are little esteem'd of by the *Mogul*, and contemned by the *Moors*, and often treated with Inhumanity and neglect, because of their adhesion to the Principles of a Religion, which is different from that of the State. ⁶⁶

Alexander Hamilton testified that in Surat "There are above an hundred different sects . . . but they never have any hot disputes about their doctrine or way of worship. Every one is free to serve and worship God their own way. And persecutions for religion's sake are not known among them." ⁶⁷ The Pegu clergy, he declared, "hold all religions to be good that teach men to be good, and that the deities are pleased

⁶⁴ *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania & New-Jersey in America* (Cleveland, 1902), p. 23. See further Gabriel Thomas, *An Historical and Geographical Account of . . . Pensilvania . . .* (1698), reprint (Cleveland, 1902), p. 45; Thomas Nairn, *A Letter from South Carolina . . .* (London, 1710), pp. 17-18; John Lawson, *A History of Carolina* (1714), reprint (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), p. xiv.

⁶⁵ *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon* (1681), *An English Garner [of] Voyages and Travels* (ed. C. R. Beazley, Westminster, 1903), II, 429.

⁶⁶ *A Voyage to Suratt* (London, 1696), p. 233.

⁶⁷ *A New Account of the East Indies* (1727), Pinkerton's *Voyages*, VIII, 321.

with variety of worship, but with none that is hurtful to men, because cruelty must be disagreeable to the nature of a deity: so being all agreed in that fundamental, they have but few polemicks, and no persecutions, for they say that our minds are free agents, and ought neither to be forced nor fettered.”⁶⁸ After ridiculing the belief in the “Owley,” common among the natives of Madagascar, Drury wrote: “I had no fear of Deaan Afferrer’s being angry with me; persecution for differing from them in religion is not yet thought of there.”⁶⁹

It is high time to take stock. In an earlier chapter, we found that the majority of Restoration and early eighteenth-century voyagers aspired to be auxiliary scientists and, by making careful observations and records, to furnish the *Virtuosi* with helpful information. Not only did they avow this to be their aim, but they also wrote in such a way as to convince a skeptical public of their honesty of purpose. The average traveller avoided airy speculations and entertaining stories as he avoided the devil, and he prized objective fact above all things. This accounts in the main for the reams of pages devoted to specialized data on phenomena in all their manifestations. The physical scientist found exact descriptions of strange birds and beasts and plants. The theorist in the fields of religion and of the social sciences ran across an abundance of pertinent facts which the various travellers manifestly attempted to render with minimum distortion.

Now even though the ideal was objectivity and impersonality, the voyagers nevertheless carried with them their baggage of private ideas regarding the world and its curiosities. Eager to “collect,” men like Josselyn and Wafer and Lawson described flora and fauna with admirable exactitude. Yet, on occasion, they reflected a credulity hardly compatible with the ideals of scientific investigation. And when the voyagers described man and his institutions, they more often than not presented the bare facts and shunned personal comment. Still, it was impossible for them not to air their own beliefs. They naturally stressed what—in foreign religion, morality, and government—proved to them most interesting

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 425-426.

⁶⁹ *Madagascar* (1729), ed. Capt. Pasfield Oliver, London, 1890, p. 203.

and significant. In the journals of a few voyagers the critical and philosophical spirit lay quite apparent. Martin Martin was a primitivist at heart. John Lawson, sated with a corrupt and proud civilization and galled by the provincial condescension with which the generality of Englishmen approached the American aborigines, tried to give a true picture of these savages and to counteract the smug self-complacency of his countrymen. Robert Drury and his editor wrote frankly to justify freethinking. All in all, the voyage-literature of this age furnished a considerable fund of ideas for theorists in every field of knowledge. That it did influence various writers of the period, I shall now attempt to show.

CHAPTER VI

THE TRAVELLER IN ENGLISH THOUGHT

The extent to which travel-books actually colored Restoration and early eighteenth-century thought is difficult to determine. The average theorist displayed his faith and his erudition by frequent references either to the Bible or to the works of the ancients. And most often authority was derived from both. For generations, however, men had felt that to ignore authority was to take a first step towards the discovery of truth. In the seventeenth century especially, right reason and experimental knowledge were considered to be the proper keys with which to unlock the riddle of the world. The physical scientists enthusiastically plunged into the business of gathering and scrutinizing all the facts in the universe. They not only enlisted into their ranks the keenest minds of the age, but also urged voyagers and travellers of all interests and degrees of education painstakingly to engage in the work of erecting a new and real philosophy. And, as we shall see, they accepted with gratitude and inspected with interest the findings of both the travelling Virtuoso and the honest sea-captain.

Theorists in the social sciences, on the other hand, were very slow to approve the new method. They could not but feel that unerring reason would detect in time all the laws basic in human behaviour. Moreover, the new method forced one frequently to rely on the observations of ignorant voyagers in preference to the deductions of the ancients—a step which a great many theorists were not prepared to take. That Locke took this step was, to many a conservative, lamentable. The third earl of Shaftesbury, far example, in a letter to a student (1709), denounced Locke for relying on “travellers, learned authors! and men of truth! and great philosophers!” when he should have consulted “antient philosophy.”¹ This criticism, however, sheds a flood of light on the effect which experimental science had on English social theorists. The success of the scientific observational method of investigation indubitably brought up the conservatives with

¹ *Letters . . . to a Student at the University. Printed first in the Year MDCCXVI* [no date of publication given], p. 46.

a jerk, so that the more liberal minded swallowed their pride and not only read seriously the journals of humble voyagers but on occasion acknowledged indebtedness to them. Irritated by this condition of things, Shaftesbury, in his *Advice to an Author* (1710), again denounced those who persisted in giving credence to the observations of unlettered travellers. "Monsters and monster-lands were never more in request," he pointed out, "and we may often see a philosopher, or a wit, run a tale-gathering in those idle deserts as familiarly as the silliest woman or merest boy."² Finally, he condemned travel-books for fomenting the flagrant skepticism of the age. "It must certainly be something else than incredulity," he wrote,

which fashions the taste and judgment of many gentlemen whom we hear censured as atheists, for attempting to philosophise after a newer manner than any known of late. For my own part, I have ever thought this sort of men to be in general more credulous, though after another manner, than the mere vulgar. Besides what I have observed in conversation with the men of this character, I can produce many anathematised authors who, if they want a true Israelitish faith, can make amends by a Chinese or Indian one. If they are short in Syria or the Palestine, they have their full measure in America or Japan. Histories of Incas or Iroquois, written by friars and missionaries, pirates and renegades, sea-captains and trusty travellers, pass for authentic records and are canonical with the virtuosi of this sort. Though Christian miracles may not so well satisfy them, they dwell with the highest contentment on the prodigies of Moorish and Pagan countries. They have far more pleasure in hearing the monstrous accounts of monstrous men and manners than the politest and best narrations of the affairs, the governments, and lives of the wisest and most polished people.³

Shaftesbury must not, of course, be taken too seriously. He possibly overemphasized the vogue of travel-literature among wits and philosophers. Even so, there exists sufficient evidence to prove that Shaftesbury's agitation was not entirely without cause. I shall make no attempt to review this evidence exhaustively. My aim here is to show that the facts and the ideas disseminated by the voyagers actually found their way into the works of certain scientists and other theorists and that they must have contributed somewhat to shaping the thought of the age. Thus far, I have confined myself

² *Characteristics* (ed. J. M. Robertson, New York, 1900), I, 225.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

to English voyage-literature exclusively. The theorists observed no such restrictions, and we shall find them roaming at large in the literature of continental as well as of English travellers. This fact, so far as the present study goes, is of little importance. The fact that they regarded travel-books as repositories of reliable data is very significant.

The close relation between travellers and the natural scientists is revealed not only in the call for aid issued by the Virtuosi to far-voyagers and in the ready response of the voyagers to this appeal. The scientists themselves went to travel-books for data and formulated and supported their theories time and again on the basis of travellers' "facts."

The naturalists, for example, seem to have been extremely well read in the literature of travel. They not only used material prevalent in the travel-books of the day, but also acknowledged, very often, the sources of their information. Typical in this respect among the naturalists of his time was Dr. Hans Sloane, an honored member of the Royal Society.⁴ The reviewer of his *Catalogus Plantarum* (1696) extended to Sloane the following high and, as we shall see, legitimate praise: "The Author having with infinite Pains and Patience, read the most part of the Books of Voyages and Travels extant, referred the Plants he met with therein, named or described to their proper Genera . . ." ⁵ Scattered through the *Transactions* of the Restoration and early eighteenth century is plentiful evidence of Sloane's respect for the accounts of the voyagers. Describing the "Silver Pine-Tree," he wrote: "The first Author I have observed that seems to mention this is Captain *Nicholas Downton*, who speaking of things he observed by the *Cape of Good-hope apud Purchas, lib. 3. cap. 12, § 1. p. 276. says . . .*" ⁶ His account of the "true Cortex Winteranus, and the Tree that bears it" tells us that "One of the Ships which went out with Sir *Francis Drake*" brought to England some of the bark of this tree, that the "Writer of the Journal of the *Dutch Ships*, that went to the Straits of *Magellan* about 1599. takes notice of it to grow there . . . (*De Bry. Ind. Occid. p. 9. p. 18.*)," that the voy-

⁴ Sloane was knighted in the early eighteenth century.

⁵ *Phil. Trans.*, XIX (1698), 295.

⁶ *Phil. Trans.*, XVII (1694), 666.

agers "who passed the *Magellanic* Straits with Sir John Narborough about 1669. took notice of this Tree and Bark," and that "no body that I have seen has given so good or full an Account of it as Mr. *George Handisyd*, who came from thence about two or three Years since . . ." ⁷

This reference to Handisyd suggests how intimately Sloane was associated with the voyagers of his own day. His "Account of a prodigiously large Feather of the Bird *Cuntur*" is based on what Captain John Strong told him. "Capt. *John Strong*," Sloane wrote,

Commander of a Ship which went into the South Seas, through the Straights of *Magellan*, and returned after 23 Months Voyage in the Year 1691. gave me this Account, together with a Wing or Quill-Feather of the Bird: That on the Coast of *Chili* they had met with this Bird in about 33°. S. Lat. not far from *Mocha*. . . That his Men were very much amazed at the bigness of it, and that after they had killed it, it was 16 Foot from Wing to Wing extended.⁸

And when Sloane needed an exact description of the wild pine, he went to Dampier.⁹

Although the texts cited above in no wise exhaust the evidence of Sloane's indebtedness to the literature of travel,¹⁰ they clearly reflect the typical attitude not only of Sloane but also of the majority of Restoration and early eighteenth-century scientists toward the observations amassed by the voyagers.¹¹ Naturalists and geologists like John Ray,¹²

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 922-23.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XVIII (1694), 61.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XXI (1700), 117.

¹⁰ See further, *Phil. Trans.*, XVIII (1695), 62; XIX (1698), 299, 676; XX (1699), 78-79.

¹¹ The following is a list of references to naturalists other than Sloane who used data furnished by the voyagers: "A Further Relation of the Whale-Fishing about the Bermudas, and on the Coast of New-England and New-Netherland," unsigned, *Phil. Trans.*, I (1665 and 1666), 133; "Some Observations of swarms of strange Insects, and the Mischiefs done by them," unsigned, *ibid.*, pp. 137-38; James Petiver, review of his own book, *Musei Petiveriani Centuria Prima* (1696), in *Phil. Trans.*, XIX (1698), 399; "An Account of divers rare Plants . . .," *ibid.*, XXVIII (1714), 47; Thomas Molyneux, "A Discourse concerning the Large Horns frequently found under Ground in Ireland, Concluding from them that the great American Deer, call'd a Moose, was formerly common in that Island . . .," *Phil. Trans.*, XIX (1698), 500, 504, 506; Edw. Tyson, "Carigueya, seu Marsupiale Americanum," *Phil. Trans.*, XX (1699), 106.

¹² *Three Physico-Theological Discourses* . . . (1692), 2d ed. corrected, London, 1693, pp. 15, 29, 113, 294.

Dr. Tancred Robinson,¹³ and John Woodward¹⁴ reveal time and again that they industriously searched the pages of the voyagers for data on earthquakes, the floor of the sea, the effect of mountains on the condensation of vapor, and the prevalence throughout the earth of fossilized marine forms of life. Samuel Dale's book on medicine entitled *Pharmacologiae seu Manuductio ad Materiam Medicam* . . . was lauded by a reviewer as follows: ". . . the whole Piece therefore may be justly esteem'd new, and consequently very Useful, being the Result of many Voyages and Iteneraries to the Remote Parts of the World, and the Effect of many Admirable Observations daily made in the *Indian Colonies*." ¹⁵ By far the most interesting example, however, of the scientist's reliance on travel material and his esteem for the accurate observations of voyagers like Dampier and Woodes Rogers occurs in the work of Edmund Halley.

Writing in 1721 on the "Variation of the Magnetical Compass," Halley tells us that "about 40 Years since" he had announced in the *Transactions* a theory regarding the variation of the compass, but that he lacked at that time "Experiments to prove it." ¹⁶ Throughout the years, he seems to have scanned the pages of voyagers who crossed the Pacific in the hope of finding the necessary facts. Dampier, one of the most reliable voyagers of the time, failed him repeatedly. "This [the observation of variations in the compass] might have been long since expected from Capt. *Dampier*," Halley rather petulantly wrote, "who had three times made the *Tour of the World*, and thrice gone this very same Track [from California to Guana]." ¹⁷ But in time, a voyage-account yielded precisely what he wanted. "Having lately had the Opportunity of perusing Capt. *Woods Rogers's* original Journal, who in 1709-10, in eight Weeks time traversed the great *South-Sea*, or *Pacifick Ocean*," Halley wrote, "I was highly pleased to find the Care he had taken to set down the Variations of the *Magnetical Compass* in his Passage from

¹³ See his letters referred to or quoted by Ray, *ibid.*, pp. 28, 110-11, 146.

¹⁴ *An Essay towards a Natural History of the Earth* . . . (1695), 3rd ed., London, 1723, preface and p. 5; also, "Some Thoughts and Experiments Concerning Vegetation," *Phil. Trans.*, XXI (1700), 209.

¹⁵ *Phil. Trans.*, XVII (1694), 926.

¹⁶ *Phil. Trans.*, XXXI (1723), 176.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

the South Cape of *Calefornia* to the Island of *Guana* . . .”¹⁸ From Rogers’s notes, Halley compiled tables which, he felt, clearly demonstrated the truth of his earlier hypothesis. He was not yet, however, satisfied. “It were to be wisht,” he announced,

that the *French*, who have had frequent Opportunities to do it, would bestow upon us an account of the Variations they have lately found in their Voyages from *Peru* and *Chili* to *China*; and that the *Spaniards* would tell us how the Needle varies at this time in the North Part of that great Sea, through which they return from the *Manilla’s* to *New Spain*. With these helps, having three Points in each Curve, we might be enabled with a tolerable certainty to compleat the System of the Magnetick Variations, which I was forced to leave unfinished, as to this part of the Ocean, in my General Chart thereof . . .¹⁹

It is now plain that the physical scientists turned the pages of the voyagers and actually used what they found there. That theorists in religion and the social sciences did the same is likewise easily demonstrable. Unmistakable acquaintance with travel-literature, for example, is to be found early in our period in *The Reasons of the Christian Religion*, written by Richard Baxter. “The *Literati* in *China*,” he says,

excel in many things, but besides abundance of ignorance in Philosophy, they destroy all by denying the immortality of the Soul, and affirming rewards and punishments to be only in this life, or but a little longer . . . The *Siamenses*, who seem the best of all, and nearest to Christians, have many fopperies, and worship the Devil for *fear*, as they do God for love. The *Indian Bramenses*, or *Bannians*, also have the *Pythagorean* errors, and place their piety in redeeming Bruits . . .²⁰

Again he says:

It were endless to speak of the Sects in *Africa* and *America*; to say nothing of the beastly part of them in *Brasil*, the *Cape of good hope*, that is, *Soldania*, and the Islands of Cannibals, who know no God, (nor Government, nor Civility some of them.)²¹

Baxter’s study of comparative religion does not lead him beyond such generalizations as these; and he nowhere refers the reader to specific accounts of voyages. His disinclination to expatiate on the observation that the Cannibals “know no God” and to cite specific texts reflects either his insensi-

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 173-74.

²⁰ London, 1667, p. 200.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

bility to what is involved or his unwillingness to stir up trouble for himself. For citation of travel-book authorities in matters of religious controversy was certain to stir the ire of the learned orthodox churchmen, among whom, of course, Baxter is himself to be numbered. Somewhat later, Richard Burthogge, attempting to prove the orthodox contention that "*all things in the world, are contrived and order'd for the best,*"²² gave examples of God's providence in remote places and cited the voyage-accounts of Sir Thomas Herbert, George Sandys, and Vincent Le Blanc.²³

When, however, John Locke, in the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), tried to upset the doctrine of innate ideas, he did precisely the thing that would irk the traditionalist. Instead of relying solely on accepted authority and on his own rational processes in matters controversial, he, like the physical scientists, made use of the "facts" gathered by modern voyagers and travellers.²⁴ Arguing that there exists no proof of any innate moral rule, Locke wrote:

Have there not been whole nations, and those of the most civilised people, amongst whom the exposing their children, and leaving them in the fields to perish by want or wild beasts, has been the practice, as little condemned or scrupled as the begetting them? Do they not still, in some countries, put them into the same graves with their mothers, if they die in childbirth; or despatch them, if a pretended astrologer declares them to have unhappy stars? And are there not places where, at a certain age, they kill or expose their parents without any remorse at all? In a part of Asia, the sick, when their case comes to be thought desperate, are carried out and laid on the earth, before they are dead; and left there, exposed to wind and weather, to perish without assistance or pity (a). It is familiar among the Mingrelians, a people professing christianity, to bury their children alive without scruple (b). There are places where they eat their own children (c). The Caribbees were wont to geld their children, on purpose to fat and eat them (d). And Garcilasso de la Vega tells us of a people in Peru which were wont to fat and eat the children they got on their female captives . . . (e). The

²² . . . *Divine Goodness Explicated and Vindicated from the Exceptions of the Atheist* . . . (London, 1671), p. 24.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

²⁴ As early as 1683, Locke was busily reading the voyagers and trying to ascertain the truth of their statements. In a very interesting letter to Thomas Cudworth, who in 1679 left for India, he made out a list of things which he desired Cudworth carefully to note. See H. R. F. Bourne's *The Life of John Locke* (New York, 1876), I, 474-76.

virtues whereby the Tououpinambos believed they merited paradise were revenge, and eating abundance of their enemies. They have not so much as a name for God (f), and have no religion, no worship.²⁵

In the footnotes, one finds references to Peter Martyr's *Decades*, Jean de Lery's *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil*, Garcilasso de la Vega's *Royal Commentaries*, and Thevenot's *Relations des divers voyages curieux*. When Locke furthermore announced that even the idea of God cannot be innate, he again showed not only his accurate knowledge of travel-literature but also his willingness to rely upon it implicitly for support of his doctrine. "Besides the atheists taken notice of amongst the ancients, and left branded upon the records of history," he declared, "hath not navigation discovered, in these later ages, whole nations, at the bay of Soldania (a), in Brazil (b), in Boranday (c), and in the Caribbee islands. &c. amongst whom there was to be found no notion of a God, no religion?"²⁶ And again his footnotes are extremely interesting. He refers the reader to Jean de Lery; to Sir Thomas Roe's account of the East, included in Thevenot's collection; to Martiniere's *Voyage des Pais Septentrionaux*; to Terry's *Voyage to the Mogul*; and to Ovington's *Voyage to Suratt*. Not content with letting his case rest here, Locke continued as follows:

And if we will not believe La Loubere, the missionaries of China, even the Jesuits themselves, the great encomiasts of the Chinese, do all to a man agree, and will convince us that the sect of the literati, or learned, keeping to the old religion of China, and the ruling party there, are all of them atheists. Vid. Navarette, in the collection of voyages, vol. the first, and *Historia cultus Sinensium*.²⁷

When Stillingfleet questioned the reliability of these sources,²⁸ Locke replied:

But because you question the credibility of those authors I have quoted, which you say were very ill-chosen; I will crave

²⁵ *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), *Works* (London, 1823), I, 40-41. Montaigne had drawn attention to similar facts in much the same way. Cf. "De la Coustume," *Essais* (ed. H. Motheau and D. Jouaust, Paris, 1886), I, 151, 154-161; see also *Apologie de Raimond Sebond*, *ibid.*, III, 248-49.

²⁶ *Works* (London, 1823), I, 60.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

²⁸ *An Answer to Mr. Locke's Letter . . .* (1697), *Works* (1710), III, 545.

leave to say, that he whom I relied on for his testimony concerning the Hottentots of Soldania, was no less a man than an ambassador from the king of England to the Great Mogul: of whose relation, monsieur Thevenot, no ill judge in the case, had so great an esteem, that he was at the pains to translate into French, and publish it in his . . . collection of travels. But to intercede with your lordship for a little more favourable allowance of credit to Sir Thomas Roe's relation; Coore, an inhabitant of the country, who could speak English, assured Mr. Terry, that they of Soldania had no God. But if he too have the ill luck to find no credit with you, I hope you will be a little more favourable to a divine of the church of England, now living, and admit of his testimony in confirmation of Sir Thomas Roe's. This worthy gentleman, in the relation of his voyage to Surat, printed but two years since, speaking of the same people, has these words [in a footnote, Locke refers him to Ovington]: "They are sunk even below idolatry, are destitute of both priest and temple, and saving a little show of rejoicing, which is made at the full and new moon, have lost all kind of religious devotion . . ." ²⁹

Locke's confidence in his method is patent. A very interesting statement which definitely points out the superiority of travel-book "facts" to theoretical deductions occurs in Richard Bentley's *The Folly of Atheism, and (what is now called) Deism*, one of his eight Boyle lectures delivered in 1692. His words follow:

We need have no recourse to notions and supposition; we have sad experience and convincing example before us, what a rare Constitution of Government may be had in a whole Nation of Atheists. The Natives of *Newfoundland* and new *France* in *America*, as they are said to live without any sense of Religion, so they are known to be destitute of its advantages and blessings . . . ³⁰

In a footnote he refers to the French edition of Champlain's voyage to New France, giving specific page references. Trying to convince the "atheist" that God's ordinances, preserved in the Gospels, are reasonable, Bentley again goes to the literature of travel for illustrative facts. "In the latest Accounts of the Country of *Guiana*," he writes,

we are told that the eating of Humane Flesh is the beloved pleasure of those Savages: two Nations of them by mutual devouring are reduced to two handfulls of men. When the Gospel of our

²⁹ As quoted in *Works* (London, 1823), I, 63-64.

³⁰ *Eight Sermons Preach'd at the Honourable Robert Boyle's Lecture* . . . (5th ed., Cambridge, 1724), p. 39.

Saviour was preached to them, they received it with gladness of heart; they could be brought to forgoe Plurality of Wives; though that be the main impediment to the conversion of the *East Indies*. But the great Stumblingblock with these *Americans* . . . was the forbidding them to eat their *Enemies* . . . What must we impute this to? . . . Is not the same thing practised in other parts of the Continent? Was it not so in *Europe* of old, and is it not now so in *Africa*?³¹

Bentley's point is that an eleventh commandment "*Thou shalt not eat Humane Flesh*" would prove as unreasonable to these savages as certain of the ten commandments now appear to the atheist.

That Bernard Mandeville was well-read in the travel-literature of his and earlier times is obvious to the most casual reader of his *The Fable of the Bees* (1714). He refers to "the *Hottentots* . . . who adorn themselves with the Guts of their dead *Enemies* . . .,"³² shows an exact knowledge of the religion of the Mexicans,³³ and tells us:

It is said by some Men of Reputation, that the *Americans* in *Mexico* and *Peru* have all the Signs of an infant World; because when the *Europeans* first came among them, they wanted a great many things, that seem to be of easy Invention.³⁴

But there is only one reference in his work to a traveller, Sir Paul Rycaut, and it has been shown that Mandeville quotes not Rycaut but Bayle's *Miscellaneous Reflections*.³⁵

There were those, however, aside from Stillingfleet, who, if not critical of the method employed by the writers cited above, viewed with distrust certain remarks taken from the voyagers, especially the observation that nations exist who know no God. "I know not whether the *Idea* of a God be *Innate* or no," wrote Charles Gildon,

but I'm sure that it is very soon imprinted in the minds of Men; and I must beg Mr. *Locke's* pardon, if I very much question those Authorities he quotes from the Travels of some men, who affirm some Nations to have no notions of a Deity; since the same has been said of the Inhabitants of the *Cape of Good Hope*, which the last account of that place proves to be false.³⁶

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37. See also p. 34.

³² Edited by F. B. Kaye (Oxford, 1924), I, 127.

³³ *Ibid.*, II, 277.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 319-20.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 215, note.

³⁶ See a letter "To Dr. R. B.—of a God," included in Blount's *Miscellaneous Works* ([London?], 1695), p. 180.

Edward Synge, in his *A Gentleman's Religion* (1698), simply ignored such references as were pointed out by Locke and Bentley and declared that the "Histories of all Ages, and Travellers into all Countries, do universally concur in this Testimony, That there is no Nation or People, whether learned or unlearned, but what do own the being of a God."³⁷ Like Gildon, however, Sir William Anstruther thought that Locke "hath advanced that Opinion upon too slender Grounds" and pointed out that the "contrary is discovered by a more accurate Enquiry of those who travelled these parts."³⁸

Gildon, he it observed, censured Locke's sources, not his method. To support his own contentions he, together with other Deists,³⁹ drew on travel-books rather freely. In a letter "To Dr. R. B.," he declared:

But since our Correspondence with *China*, we have found they have Records and Histories of four or six thousand years date before our Creation of the World; and who knows but some other Nations may be found out hereafter, that may go farther, and so on.⁴⁰

A letter written to Blount by "A. W." runs, in part, as follows: ". . . no Religion supernatural has been conveyed to all the World; witness the large Continent of *America* . . . where if there were any Revealed Religion, at least it was not the *Christian*."⁴¹ Blount himself repeatedly turned to the travel-books for instances of the particular and the universal in religion: ". . . at this day in the *East-Indies* . . .," he stated,

it is found by our Merchants trading thither, that not only the far greatest number [of the East Indians] are of those which believe no other Rewards or Punishments for the Soul, except what it shall after death meet with, in a new Body upon Earth; but also they find by Commerce with them, that they are the most eminently remarkable for their honesty, above any of the other Sects.⁴²

³⁷ P. 19.

³⁸ *Essays, Moral and Divine* . . . (Edinburgh, 1701), p. 24.

³⁹ At this time, Gildon was quite radical in his religious views. He later joined the conservatives.

⁴⁰ "To Dr. R. B. . . . of a God," Blount's *Miscellaneous Works* ([London?], 1695), p. 184.

⁴¹ "To Charles Blount Esq; Of Natural Religion, as opposed to Divine Revelation," included in Blount's *Miscellaneous Works*, p. 138.

⁴² *Anima Mundi* (1679), *Miscellaneous Works*, p. 104.

Concerning the soul, he wrote: "Monsieur *Bernier*⁴³ likewise gives us, agreeable to *Averroes*, an account of much the same Opinion [that the soul, after death, exists entire and separate until it meets with some other body capable of receiving it] held at this time by some of the *Indians* of *Indostan*, whose Faith he illustrates after this Manner . . ."⁴⁴ He quoted Sir Thomas Browne as follows:

I find the tryal of the Pucillage and Virginity of Women, which God ordained the *Jews*, is very fallible. Experience and History inform me, that not only many particular Women, but likewise whole Nations have escaped the Curse of Childbirth, which God seems to pronounce upon the whole Sex.⁴⁵

And this obvious indebtedness to the literature of travel in no wise ends here. Again and again, Blount used the facts of experience gained by voyagers to far kingdoms.⁴⁶

And so did Anthony Collins, another freethinker. "The whole Affair of *Oracles* among them [the pagans]," he declared, "was nothing else but the Artifice of Priests to impose on the Senses of the People."⁴⁷ To prove this statement, he wrote:

To preserve a right Belief in all these matters among the People, the Priests kept all Unbelievers as much as possible from coming within any distance of them when they began their Show. All *Epicureans* were declar'd incapable of being initiated into any of the *Pagan* Mysteries of Religion; and both *Epicureans* and *Christians* were religiously chas'd away . . . And when the Christians grew so numerous that they were able to stand their ground, and refus'd to retire at the Word of Command; the Priests declar'd there were so many impious Persons present, that the God would not vouchsafe to speak, and that they could do *no Miracles* because of *their* Infidelity, no more than the

⁴³ Francois Bernier's accounts of voyages appeared under the following titles: *Histoire de la révolution des États du Grand Mogol* (Paris, 1671); *Suite des Mémoires du S. Bernier sur l'empire du Grand Mogol* (Paris, 1671); *Voyages de Francois Bernier* (Amsterdam, 1699). English translations of the first two appeared in 1671.

⁴⁴ See his letter "To the most Ingenious Strephon . . . Concerning the Immortality of the Soul" (1679/80), *Miscellaneous Works*, p. 119.

⁴⁵ *The Oracles of Reason* (1693), *ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴⁶ Cf. *Anima Mundi*, pp. 50, 85, 105-106; *The Two First Books, of Philostratus, Concerning the Life of Apollonius Tyaneus* (tr. and ed. by Blount, London, 1680), pp. 20, 27, 40; *Great is Diana of the Ephesians* (1695), *Misc. Works*, p. 31. Concerning Blount's indebtedness to Montaigne, see Villey, "L'influence de Montaigne sur Charles Blount . . .," *Revue du seizième siècle*, I (1913), 403.

⁴⁷ *A Discourse of Freethinking* (London, 1713), p. 19.

Pawawers in America could in the presence of the old Clothes of some Christian Sailors.⁴⁸

In a footnote, Collins referred the reader to Wafer's description of the "Indian way of Conjuring" noted above.⁴⁹ Maundrell's striking account of pseudo miracle-working in the East⁵⁰ was, of course, too germane to pass unnoticed. Collins not only cited Maundrell as proof of the priestly method, but he also quoted and paraphrased him at length.⁵¹ Additional testimony he took from Paul Rycaut's *Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, which appeared first in 1668.⁵²

One of the most interesting adaptations of voyage-material is to be found in John Toland's *A Collection of Several Pieces*, printed in 1726. The excerpt exists in the form of a letter above which is inscribed this legend: "An Account of the Indians at Carolina."⁵³ Toland describes the subject matter of the piece and disavows authorship as follows:

Sir,

The following abstract of a French Letter writ from Carolina, in the year 1688, being fall'n into my hands, I thought the account it gives of the honest Indians of that Country, would not be unacceptable to you.⁵⁴

It is barely possible that Toland actually possessed such a letter. It is far more likely that his inspiration derived from John Lawson rather than from the mysterious Frenchman. Lawson's *History* was not only very well known,⁵⁵ but it also contained precisely the type of material which, as was shown above,⁵⁶ any freethinker would find ready-made to his hand. Indeed (and I am quite aware how easy it is to see parallels where none really exists), the very phrases of Toland remind one strangely of the fervid words of the Carolina surveyor. "Would you imagine, Sir," Toland wrote,

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

⁴⁹ P. 46.

⁵⁰ See above, p. 97.

⁵¹ *A Discourse of Freethinking*, pp. 21-22.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 22. See further, pp. 52-53.

⁵³ Vol. II, 424.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 423.

⁵⁵ Lawson's description seems first to have appeared sometime in 1709 in John Stevens's monthly serial of voyages and travels under the title *A new Account of Carolina*. In 1714, it was again printed as *A History of Carolina* and was reprinted in 1718.

⁵⁶ Pp. 87, 105, 106, 108, 109, 113-114.

that the example [of man as he ought to be] should be seen and found amongst these Indians, of whom you seem so unwilling to believe any such matter? . . . We know our Saviour's precepts without observing them, and they observe them without knowing him: were they to have all the Gospel word by word by heart, they could not practice it with more exactness and strictness than they do it already.

One sees so wonderful an union amongst this People, that you never hear of any disputes or quarrels among them. They are an industrious and laborious Nation; submissive to superior Powers, but without being their slaves . . . never minding their own particular Interests, when the Publick has need of their service or endeavors; never suffering their neighbour to be in want, whilst they have where-withal to make them sharers with them; hospitable, religious observers of their word and promise; never lying, never taking away from another what belongs to him; no ways dissolute, luxurious or debauched; the marry'd women being modest and vertuous . . . as well as the unmarried; civil and obedient to their husbands, according to the advice of St. Paul . . . This is the true Character of the Indians, with whom I conversed most . . . Good God! What sensible difference I found betwixt the happy quietness and repose I enjoy'd amongst them, and the trouble I meet with daily amongst people, a thousand times more savage than they . . . [When he tried to convert the Indians to Christianity, they replied] "that all the Indians that became Christians, were fallen into the same vices and irregularities, that are practic'd amongst us; and that therefore they would not run the hazard of it."⁵⁷

The reliance on travel-literature, whether native or foreign, was, on the whole, quite common among the freethinkers, for travel-literature furnished the best evidence available of the natural, the original, and the universal in religion. Bolingbroke, considering whether or not the Chinese anciently believed in the true God, goes to the Jesuit relations and decides that "On the whole, we may conclude that a Supreme being was known to the ancient Chinese, tho' superstition, idolatry, and atheism have been so prevalent among that people since."⁵⁸ J. Lyons, author of *Fancy-Logy*, published in 1730, argues that belief in immortality is implanted in all men; and to clinch his point, he asks, ". . . how came it in *America*, in the remotest Parts of *India*, among the naked and illiterate *Indians* and Negroes in a most remarkable manner in *Guinea*? on the large Island of *Madagascar*, and

⁵⁷ *A Collection of Several Pieces* (London, 1726), II, 425-428.

⁵⁸ The third of the "Essays addressed to Alexander Pope," *Philosophical Works* (London, 1754), II, 189-190.

others?"⁵⁹ Matthew Tindal, in his *Christianity as Old as the Creation* (1730) observes that Christians have not "arriv'd to any higher state of perfection, than the rest of Mankind . . . Monsieur *Leibnitz* . . . in comparing the Christians at present, with the Infidels of *China*, does not scruple to give the preference to the latter, in relation to all *moral Virtues* . . . *Navarette*, a *Chinese* Missionary, agrees with *Leibnitz* . . ." ⁶⁰ The accompanying footnote refers one to Navarrete's account of China included in Churchill's collection of voyages.

Impelled by the scientific ideal and by the desire to found the institution of government in the nature of things, political theorists, no less than religious controversialists, time and again showed that they had read widely in the literature of travel. More often than not, they accorded this literature only passing notice and referred to it in the vaguest of terms. Even though Sir William Temple, in his *An Essay upon the Original and Nature of Government* (1680), showed an intimate acquaintance with it,⁶¹ he never once definitely acknowledged indebtedness to particular voyagers and their works. His method was the method employed by the majority of those who tried to devise a theory of the state. It involved arguing deductively from axioms which all sensible and rational men would accept at once as true. On occasion, when the writer strained to achieve mathematical certitude in this field, he so arranged the axioms and the deductions from them that they resembled a text in geometry.⁶² Not all theorists, however, were content to rest their case on reasoning alone. They desired to hang their arguments on the pegs of reason and experience. Accordingly, they sought to profit by an examination of particular governments, and so they naturally turned to the multifarious observations in travel-books on the various governments actually to be found in the world.

To prove, in opposition to Hobbes, that men in a state of nature never had the right to enter into a social contract,

⁵⁹ P. 81.

⁶⁰ London, 1731, pp. 371-372.

⁶¹ Cf. *Works* (London, 1814), I, 8, 13. The extent to which Temple was influenced by travel-books has been clearly shown by Miss Clara Marburg in her *Sir William Temple: a Seventeenth Century "Libertin"* (New Haven, 1932), pp. 56-71.

⁶² Cf. Thomas Burnet's *An Essay upon Government*, London, 1716.

the Earl of Clarendon, in his *A Brief View and Survey of the Dangerous and pernicious Errors to Church and State, in Mr. Hobbes's Book, Entitled Leviathan* (1676), wrote:

Nor will the instance he [Hobbes] gives of the Inhabitants in *America*, be more to his purpose then the rest, since as far as we have any knowledg [sic] of them, the savage People there live under a most intire subjection and slavery to their several Princes . . .⁶³

James Tyrrell, in *A Brief Disquisition of the Law of Nature*, printed in 1692, opposed Hobbes's contention that men in a state of nature are in a state of war and declared that

. . . I have added several Nations, Instances and Observations, some of my own, and others out of History, and the Relations of Modern Travellers, concerning the Customs of those West-Indian Nations commonly counted Barbarous, who yet by their amicable living together, without either Civil Magistrates, or written Laws, serve sufficiently to confute Mr. H's extravagant Opinion, That all Men by Nature are in a State of War, which he endeavours to prove, from some evil Customs among those People.⁶⁴

On the same topic, Lyons, the author of *Fancy-Logy* (1730), contributed the following:

War may indeed arise to defend and secure these Enjoyments [friendships, etc.], but Men are naturally rather Good than Evil: And this is not only evident from the Care of Self-preservation, and also that Pleasure and Ease are more naturally chosen than Pain and Trouble, but it is also historically true: And Histories of Voyages and Travels to remote Parts, where the Names of neither Jews, Christians, Mahometans, or any polite Nations were ever heard, will furnish Instances enough of this.⁶⁵

These writers, obviously, believed that one of the most effective ways to silence an opponent was to refer him to "Histories of Voyages and Travels," where the facts touching primitive governments actually in existence were to be had. Numerous other thinkers employed the same kind of evidence in order to trace the growth of the institution of the state from its origins to its present forms. To observe, for example, the civil polity common to the American Indians was, as Cadwallader Colden pointed out,⁶⁶ to see government in the making. After a lengthy description of the natural state, John Locke, in his *Two Treatises of Government* (1690),

⁶³ The second impression, Oxford, 1676, p. 30.

⁶⁴ 2d ed., London, 1701, p. xiv. See further, pp. 328-330. Professor R. S. Crane supplied these references.

⁶⁵ Pp. 73-74.

⁶⁶ See above, p. 131.

raised the question, "where are or ever were there any men in such a state of nature?" And he goes on to tell us that the "promises and bargains for truck, &c. between the two men in the desert island, mentioned by Garcilasso de la Vega, in his history of Peru; or between a Swiss and an Indian, in the woods of America; are binding to them, though they are perfectly in a state of nature, in reference to one another . . ." ⁶⁷ So far as I know, the finest example of extended reliance on travel-books for support of political theories occurs in an anonymous work entitled *Civil Polity. A Treatise Concerning the Nature of Government. Wherein the Reasons of that Great Diversity to be observed in the Customs, Manners, and Usages of Nations, are Historically Explained . . .*, printed in 1703. In the preface the author writes:

In the performing this [showing the nature of government], I have observed a plain and Historical Method, never advancing any Speculative Guesses, or Chimerical Whimsies, nor never supporting my Assertions with any particular Authorities to fill up, where I wanted any other Reasons; but have deduced my Proofs, either from the certain and undeniable Nature of Men, or from evident Fact.

Further to remind the reader that his ideas were not "Notional Chimera's, or . . . idle Day-Dreams dressed out with fictitious Images of supposed Existencies, and shewed as real Resemblances of things; when in Truth they are nothing but the wanton Thoughts of a Sedentary Amusement . . .," ⁶⁸ he declared:

I shall now directly proceed, according to my Intended Method, to prove, that these general Doctrines, that I have laid down as principles of Government, are not merely Notional, but are such as have been always practised (altho' not always observed) by Mankind, in all Ages, and in all Countries, as will Evidently appear, from the Records that are left us by the Ancients; and by the Voyages, Travels, Discoveries, and Observations, of the Moderns. ⁶⁹

References to material taken admittedly from travel-books abound in the *Civil Polity*. The author discusses the origin of the state and tells us that

. . . these petty States, Principalities, or Communities, were not peculiar to the Britains, or indeed the Northern Nations, but seem

⁶⁷ *Two Treatises of Government* (1690), in *Works* (London, 1823), V, 346.

⁶⁸ P. 151.

⁶⁹ P. 193.

to be the first known and earliest State of Men, as may be inferred from what is left us by the Latine Historians, concerning the Governments of the *Italian* People . . . As likewise by all the modern Accounts that have been collected, or discovered by any Voyages, Travels, or Conquests, in *America* . . .⁷⁰

He points out that property entails government and that men in a natural state

being at Liberty, that is, under no Restraint or Force, would Act as they please; and so every one would be desirous to Command, but few to Obey, unless common Danger induced them to it; and then such Subjection would be of no longer durance, than the cause remained; as we find it happen'd among the old *Germans*, and other Northern Nations, who would confederate and submit to a common Leader, when the necessity of their Affairs or common Safety required it; but that once removed, they would resume their former Liberty, and the like hath been done by the *Americans*.⁷¹

To prove that society is natural to man, he declares, "The most Rude and Barbarous Savages that late Voyages give any Account of, are never observed singly to wander the unfrequented Woods; nor to reside alone in the uninhabited Deserts; but are always found to live together in small Septs or Hords . . ."⁷²

Bolingbroke, in certain fragments of essays written about 1730 and printed by Mallet in 1754, was likewise concerned with the theory that man is by nature gregarious and, like the author above, reflected an exact knowledge of the observations of travellers to distant lands. "Joseph Acosta," he stated,

who is cited by Locke, says, 'there was reason to conjecture, that the people of Peru had neither kings nor commonwealths for a long time.' But how did they live during this time? Were they so many individuals scattered about the country without any form or appearance of society? By no means. They lived in troops as they do at this day in Florida: and we know how the people of Florida and North-America live at this day, by a multitude of persons, missionaries and others, who all represent them as tribes or families, that observe the precepts and customs of their ancestors, that have public assemblies for consultation wherein their elders preside, and that give the supreme command,

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 3. His knowledge of travel-literature was as exact as it was seemingly wide. See pp. 196, 207, 213-214, 222, 237, 251.

over them, in time of war at least, to persons they elect, as other savages submit to the more permanent authority of their caciques . . . mankind could not have subsisted, nor have been propagated, if men had been ever out of society . . .⁷³

And political theorists learned from the voyagers that not only was society natural to man, but so was monarchy. After arguing on the authority of Moses and the ancients that monarchy is the oldest form of government, John Nalson, in his *The Common Interest of King and People: Shewing the Original, Antiquity and Excellency of Monarchy* (1678), wrote:

And if with *Columbus* we discover new Worlds . . . if there be humane Inhabitants we shall find *Monarchy* the Government they live under: as is abundantly testified by all the later Discoveries of both the East and Western Regions of the World . . . Besides all that vast and yet in a great measure unknown double Continent of *America*; all which Country . . . is, and ever was, under the Government of Kings and Emperors.⁷⁴

Exercised over the fact that the English people manifestly lacked a profound reverence for their king and a proper regard for the principle of succession by blood, Edward Pettit introduced into his book *The Visions of Government* (1684) the testimony of a "poor Indian Savage," whom a Roman Catholic questioned as follows:

*Well Corëe, (said his Master [the Roman Catholic]) tell me one thing, do you Indians love your King? And do you love his Son for his sake? And when your King dies, and goes to the Green Fields behind the Hills; has his Son his Matts, his Skins, his Canoes, his Feathers, his Bracelets, and all his fine things.—Yes! yes, (said he) All, All.—And if the King (said his Master) has no Sons; do you Indians love his Brother, if he has one?—O yes (said he) and his Brother has all his Whigwhams, his Womans, all, all; and then we go lay our hands on our knees, and he laies his head on his shoulders, and then we sing and dance, and go out to fight for him, and to hunt for him; and indeed, if it were not for our Kings, we should utterly destroy one another. Now although the Massachusetes are several Nations; yet every one takes their Kings part, and do what he commands . . . Nor is it only the Custome of the Massachusetes in New England, but the Paroisti's in Florida are honoured so too.*⁷⁵

⁷³ *Philosophical Works* (London, 1754), IV, 72.

⁷⁴ Pp. 94-96. See further, pp. 32, 152.

⁷⁵ Pp. 210-211.

To Nalson and Pettit, the king ruled by divine right and merited the passive obedience of his subjects.⁷⁶ To Locke, this doctrine was false. Absolute monarchy, far from promoting the welfare of men, always menaced their natural and inalienable rights: ". . . for what the protection of absolute monarchy is . . .," Locke declared, "he that will look into the late relation of Ceylon may easily see."⁷⁷ He referred, no doubt, to Robert Knox's *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon*, which appeared in 1681. To show that men are by nature free and possess the right to choose the kind of government they wish to live under, he again made use of a type of material abundant in voyage-accounts: ". . . we find the people of America . . .," he wrote, "enjoyed their own natural freedom, though, *caeteris paribus*, they commonly prefer the heir of their deceased king; yet if they find him any way weak or incapable, they pass him by, and set up the stoutest and bravest man for their ruler."⁷⁸ Furthermore, according to travel-books, this ruler of men in a state of nature possesses little authority and that which he enjoys comes direct from the people or from their representatives. "Thus we see that the kings of the Indians in America," Locke pointed out,

which is still a pattern of the first ages in Asia and Europe . . . are little more than generals of their armies; and though they command absolutely in war, yet at home and in time of peace they exercise very little dominion . . . the resolutions of peace and war being ordinarily either in the people, or in a council. Though the war itself, which admits not of plurality of governors, naturally devolves the command into the king's sole authority.⁷⁹

That theorists in England relied on travellers' reports for the facts of experience is by now obvious enough. The Restoration and early eighteenth-century voyager's zeal for the promotion of useful knowledge exerted a force as pervasive as it was potent. This voyager, in a measure, convinced his age that diligence in the cause of science, skepticism, and reliability of observation were the ends he strove for and that his chief desire was to

*Make new Remarks, which Reason may reduce
To Humane Benefit, and Publick Use.*

⁷⁶ Cf. Nalson, *The Common Interest of King and People* (London, 1678), pp. 14, 24ff; Pettit, *The Visions of Government* (London, 1684), pp. 75ff.

⁷⁷ *Two Treatises of Government* (1690), *Works* (London, 1823), V, 391.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 400.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing study places the Restoration and early eighteenth-century traveller in a new light. Behind the chronicles of his manifold activities ran the desire to help in the work of mapping the world, so that his own and future ages might enjoy the benefits of "a Solid and Useful Philosophy." To become the auxiliary scientist he aspired to be, he studiously adhered not only to catalogues of directions meant by the Royal Society to guide his jottings but also to the scientific principles of objectivity and skepticism in observation and of precision in writing. And he sincerely hoped that what he contributed would prove of immediate and practical value in revealing the harmony of nature and in rendering harmonious a chaotic man-made world.

This outlook on the physical universe and on the world of man reflects the celerity with which the New Science spread from the *intelligentsia* into the ranks of the bourgeoisie. That Wheler and Ovington and Fryer should have felt the force of the movement is not surprising. That the greatest traveller of the period, William Dampier, a man without university training, was also the greatest traveller-scientist⁸⁰ is a fact of profound import. These voyagers, in turn, were popularizers of the New Science; and a public that possibly never saw a copy of the *Transactions* and certainly neither acquired nor desired to acquire leave to sit in the sessions at Arundel House were nevertheless exposed to the new way of thinking by navigators who repeatedly declared it their aim to furnish useful knowledge for the benefit of mankind. This fact helps us to understand why, between the years 1705 and 1707, the Royal Society published in popular form certain of its discoveries entitled *Miscellanea Curiosa*, and also why the last volume bore the following legend, *Miscellanea Curiosa. Containing a Collection of Curious Travels, Voyages, and Natural Histories of Countries; as they have been delivered to the Royal Society.*

More significant still is the influence exerted by the traveller on the theorists of his day. He soon discovered that the tradition which branded all travellers as liars gave way

⁸⁰ I refer to the rank and file of voyagers, not to men such as Sloane and Halley, Virtuosi who went on expeditions to Jamaica and to the South Sea in the interest of science.

before patent manifestations of his scientific point of view, and that his works were accepted, as he intended them to be accepted, as repositories of fact. His contribution to the religious and social sciences we have reviewed in detail. To recapitulate would prove not only fruitless but tiresome. Suffice it to say that the rationalism dominant in this period received both impetus and direction from the "facts" of experience gleaned by the voyager. Outstanding thinkers of the time not only read but also used his observations. Truly, he helped to deepen and broaden the channels through which ran the scientific thought of his age.

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ICN Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.

ICU University of Chicago Library, Chicago, Illinois.

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I. *Sir John Narbrough's voyage to the south-sea by the command of king Charles the second: and his instructions for settling a commerce in those parts . . .*

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