

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

Old Worlds and New Worlds: Renaissance Voyages of Discovery

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ABSTRACT

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by Claire Elaine Jowitt

This study traces the ways in which the New World was incorporated by European - particularly English - fields of knowledge in the generations following Columbus's 'discovery' of America in 1492. Conceptualisations of America rapidly shifted from virtual incomprehension to a recognition and realisation of the continent's commercial potential. While English Western voyage narratives promoted the Protestant ethos of virtuous conversion, in practice, English commercial interests were determined to exploit American natural resources. Focusing on accounts of contemporary travel, exploration, and fantasy voyage narratives, the thesis charts the emergence of commercial competition between England and other European nation states for the possession of New World territories.

Not all English writers, however, responded positively to these expansionist policies. Some writers - such as Phineas Fletcher and Joseph Hall - were concerned about the degenerative influence foreign contact had upon the English nation. Others - such as Richard Hakluyt, Andrew Marvell, John Dryden and Thomas Sprat - confidently asserted the benefits of travel, trade and colonisation. Occupying an uneasy middle ground were a body of writers - including Sir Francis Bacon, Sir John Davies, John Donne, and John Milton - who debated the benefits of exploration and colonisation and formulated strategies to control their influence.

As well as representing a view of 'England' within a concert of powers, voyage narratives voiced a variety of domestic issues. The idea of 'new worlds' captured the imagination of Renaissance writers. In England, the genre of the voyage narrative was a remarkably popular, diverse, and sophisticated literary form. This study demonstrates that Renaissance travel accounts were vehicles to express other social, political, religious, and cultural concerns. From Francis Bacon's empiricism to the proto-feminism of Margaret Cavendish, the thesis details the ways in which concepts of 'new worlds', literal and figurative, were important tropes which allowed English writers to explain, argue and disseminate their ideological positions. Indeed, by 1660, the voyage narrative had become one of the key discourses in which to address, with relative impunity from political repercussions, issues of the recent past.

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EDITORIAL NOTE

Conventions for style and presentation follow, as far as possible, Modern Humanities Research Association Style Book, 4th edn., (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1991). When referencing primary sources I have listed the publisher wherever possible; when this information was unavailable only the place and date of publication have been given.

INTRODUCTION

Though voyage narratives have always to some extent been representative of cultural concerns, in the Renaissance the genre became a much more sophisticated and diverse literary form. The 'discovery' of the New World profoundly affected the post-1492 European imagination. Writers increasingly speculated about still-to-be-discovered terrestrial and celestial 'new worlds'. Such speculations became subject to both national territorial ambitions and the social, political and cultural concerns of individual writers. This thesis demonstrates that English fantasies concerning the nation's past, present and future were expressed concurrently with criticisms of English leaders (such as James I and Cromwell), appraisal of English foreign and domestic policies, doubts about religious certainties, and gender politics. As literal and figurative 'new worlds' were discovered and colonised, English Renaissance writers were increasingly concerned to question, control and modify Old World systems of power. Literal and metaphorical 'New Worlds' both fascinated Renaissance writers and provided an opportunity to reflect on the organising principles - cultural, political, social and religious - which shaped 'England'.

In 1776, in The Wealth of Nations, Adam Smith wrote:

The discovery of America, and that of a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, are the two greatest and most important events recorded in the history of mankind.¹

But what was the 'impact' of the 'discovery' of America on Renaissance Europeans? Using the recent work of Stephen

Greenblatt and Anthony Pagden, this thesis engages with the conceptual problems Europeans experienced as they attempted to describe and assimilate the new peoples and landscapes they encountered in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.² In Chapter One, I argue that in the years after Columbus's 'discovery' in 1492, as Europeans contemplated an alien and radical New World, the Old World appeared to be far more cohesive than it really was. It was in this period that the term 'Europe' superseded 'Christendom' to describe the continent.³ Fractures, most prominently the Reformation of the 1520s which split non-Orthodox Christians into Catholics and Protestants, soon appeared in 'Europe'. As Louis Le Roy mournfully observed in 1559 'Europe is soaked in her own blood'.⁴ To contextualise the difficulties Renaissance Europeans, particularly explorers, experienced when assimilating 'America' into their understandings of the world, the chapter catalogues a history of previous exploration and cartography. The medieval view of the world - flat and Jerusalem-centred - was eroded, then destroyed, through a series of physical discoveries and intellectual shifts.

The ideologies behind Renaissance cartographic practises are examined in Chapter Two. In this period, maps were as much artistic expressions of ideological positions as they were scientific documents. The different motivations expressed by local, national, European, and World maps are explored. Christopher Marlowe's *Tamberlaine* demands 'Give me a Map, then let me see how much is left for me to conquer', a statement which articulates the idea of maps as symbols of power.⁵ Though sixteenth and seventeenth-century maps celebrate

expansion, exploration and trade, they also announce ownership at both individual and national levels. 'England's' competitive determination to possess foreign territory is examined in the work of Richard Hakluyt. Using Richard Helgerson's recent analysis of Hakluyt's The Principal Navigations (1589), the thesis assesses, particularly with regard to representations of 'America', the desire to construct Protestant 'England' as a 'universal voyager'.⁶

The philosophical implications of 'new worlds' are explored in Chapter Three, particularly in the work of Sir Francis Bacon and Sir John Davies. Bacon venerated the achievements of Christopher Columbus and represented the 'discovery' of America as a portent for similarly 'heroic' empiricist achievements. Scientific methodology would, Bacon argued, restore humanity's lost dominion over nature. Davies, as a lawyer and Attorney General in Ireland in the early seventeenth century, developed a system of colonial jurisprudence which justified England's domination of Ireland. The incorporation of Ireland into England's legal systems under Davies was a prototype for subsequent English colonial policies. In Davies's philosophical poem 'Nosce Teipsum' (1599), where Davies argues for a more adequate colonisation of 'Man', we can glimpse the philosophical core of the legalistic colonial policies Davies used in practice to subdue Ireland.

Not all commentators, however, concurred with such triumphant and positivist descriptions of 'new worlds'. Chapter Four focuses on John Donne's prose text Ignatius His Conclave (1609), Joseph Hall's fantastic voyage Mundus Alter

et Idem (1605), as well as John Healy's popularized translation of Hall's scholarly composition, The Discovery of a New World (1607). These writers expressed profound reservations concerning the philosophical and religious uncertainties that 'new worlds' inflicted upon early modern society.

In Chapter Five I look more closely at representations of 'America' in English texts written in the mid-seventeenth century. How were indigenous peoples and New World landscapes described in colonial texts? Was colonial life utopic or dystopic? How should English colonies be organised in order to maximise their stability and to obtain the greatest benefit for the home nation? This chapter focuses on Francis Bacon's utopic text New Atlantis (1627). In this text, echoing his earlier philosophical text The Advancement of Learning (1605), Bacon represents empiricism and, by association, exploration positively. However, Bacon's representation of King Salomona in New Atlantis operates as a cryptographic critique of the domestic and foreign policies of James I of England. Such criticisms of the monarch were made with relative impunity because of the text's New World setting. Bacon's text demonstrates that fantasy voyages, though set in geographically remote New World locations, were just as much concerned with Old World discourses.

The expression of English ambitions for territory in 'New Worlds' is the focus of study in Chapter Six. Competition with Spain for American possessions is reflected in both John Wilkins's A Discovery of a New World in the Moon (1638; republished 1640) and Francis Godwin's The Man in the Moone

(1638). As Spain appeared uncompromising in the belief of its inalienable right to New World, particularly South American, riches, then, these Englishmen speculated, would it not be more profitable for England to seek alternative, even lunar, 'new worlds'? In Thomas Thorowgood's Jewes in America - first published in 1650, but republished in a significantly modified edition in 1660 - English hostility to Spain and cryptographic readings of English leaders (specifically Oliver Cromwell) and events are brought together. In both editions Thorowgood identifies native Americans as Jews. But between the publication of these editions, Thorowgood's representation of native Americans changes from 'primitive' to 'degenerate'. This alteration is read as a reflection of his disappointment with the failure of the English Commonwealth. Similar to Bacon's critique of James I in New Atlantis, Thorowgood's changing descriptions of native Americans was an articulation of dissatisfaction with English foreign and domestic policies. During the Renaissance English descriptions of America can be read as a reflection of Old World politics.

After the Restoration, fantasy voyages about 'new worlds' continued to be vehicles by which writers could voice ideological concerns. Supporters of the recently established Royal Society argued - supporting Bacon's earlier confident prophecy - that empirical science could restore humanity's lost dominion over nature. Royal Society publicists, such as Thomas Sprat in The History of the Royal Society (1667), asserted that science, when allied with 'the present prevailing Genius of the English nation' would confirm England's powerful and imperial position as 'Mistress of the

Ocean'.⁷ England's industry, trade and empire would all expand under such an utopic and scientific manifesto. Support for such policies was tendered by several fantasy voyage writers. However, fantasy voyages were also used as a means to express concern about empiric utopias. John Milton's Paradise Lost (1667) questions the benefits of both empire and empiricism. The work of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle - particularly her utopic text The Blazing World (1667) - challenges the patriarchal assumptions about women held by Royal Society scientists. In her fantasy voyage Cavendish re-figures the traditional hierarchy between the 'real' and the 'imaginary' into a proto-feminist manifesto. Furthermore, with her fantasy character the 'Empress', Cavendish describes the limited nature of women's positions in Renaissance society. For Cavendish voyage literature - usually written by men and, similar to the Royal Society, customarily describing the 'heroic' endeavours of men as they attempted to subdue (female) Nature - was a genre entirely suitable for appropriation in order to script her proto-feminist concerns.

- 1.Cited by J.H. Elliot, The Old World and the New, (Cambridge: Canto, 1991), p.1.
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- 3.See John Hale, The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance, (London: Fontana, 1994), p.3-50.
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- 6.Richard Helgerson, Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England, (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p.149-192.
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CHAPTER ONE

Renaissance Exploration and Explorers**Introduction**

What did Columbus's 'discovery' of America mean for the Old World in 1492? In the last few years, as the Western world has commemorated the quincentenary of Columbus's first European footfall in the Americas, there has been much scholarly and political debate - and a plethora of publications - concerning the significance of the encounter between Old and New Worlds.¹ During the last five hundred years, Columbus's 'discovery' has frequently been cited as a focal moment in world history.² For example, as Francisco Lopez de Gomara concisely stated in 1552, 'The greatest event since the creation of the world (excluding the incarnation and death of Him who created it) is the discovery of the Indies.'³ By the eighteenth century, Columbus's discovery, according to Abbé Raynal, had revealed 'a new order of things'.⁴ According to this argument, Europeans, as they confronted something so radical and alien - something outside their linguistic and conceptual understanding - were forced to question their own values and limits. Columbus's landfall in America has been described as a vital point in the progressive model of history which Europeans have evolved in the last half-millennium. The modern world emerged because scientists and explorers, like Columbus, Galileo and Copernicus, had refused to accept traditional beliefs about the nature of the world. Together with the recovery of classical scholarship, and the inventions

of printing, gunpowder and the compass, the discovery of America was a momentous event which served to distinguish between ancient and modern beliefs, and indeed Europe from the rest of the world. Louis Le Roy advised his readers: 'Do not believe that there exists anything more honourable to our or the preceding age than the invention of the printing press and the discovery of the new world; two things which I always thought could be compared, not only to Antiquity, but to immortality.'⁵ The discovery of America became incorporated into the idea of an age of progress which was also marked by achievements in the disciplines of astronomy, philosophy, law and economics. These opinions can be seen as a way of accommodating the New World into the Old World. The 'newness' of America - its radical difference from Europe - was appropriated and transformed into an argument which pointed to the inherent superiority of Europe.

But how did this European construction of history evolve? Was America immediately recognised as a 'New World'? How did Columbus describe the lands he encountered to Europe? What rhetorical strategies did he use to report back to his 'domus' or his home nation (in this case, the Spanish monarchs for whom the Genoese explorer was working) the things his voyage 'discovered'?⁶ How does Columbus's 'discovery' compare with the other voyages of exploration that were being undertaken by European countries at this time? And how did voyaging nations conceptualise their own geographical and physical landscape as they were assimilating this 'New World'?

Part I: Old World meets New: An emblematic account of some of the problems of 'discovery'.

It seems likely that Columbus himself did not recognise the implications of his landfall on the islands off the coast of America. Anthony Pagden observes that Columbus only asserted that he had discovered a New World for one fleeting moment: this was while located off the Gulf of Paria when he declared: 'This is a very great continent which until today has been unknown.'⁷ For the rest of his life, as his log-books and letters reveal, he considered that he had discovered a new sea-route to part of the Old world, specifically Marco Polo's Cathay in Asia. When, then, was the larger significance of Columbus's landfall recognised? Peter Martyr has been identified as the first person to describe Columbus as the discoverer of a New World.⁸ In 1493, Martyr declared in a letter that: 'Colonus ille orbis novus repertor', which Pagden translates as 'this Columbus is the discoverer of a New World'.⁹ However, this statement is more correctly translated as 'Columbus, this new discoverer of the world', signalling that Martyr, like Columbus, believed that the Spanish voyage of 1492 had merely increased existing knowledge - the sea-route to Asia - rather than 'discovering' a new continent.¹⁰ This difficulty in recognising the islands off America as part of a new, previously undiscovered continent, was repeated by other contemporary explorers. For example, Columbus's belief that this Asiatic sea-route lay to the West was echoed in John Cabot's 1497 voyage from Bristol across the Atlantic. After

six weeks' open-sea sailing, Cabot landed at a coast which has since been identified as either Newfoundland or Nova Scotia. However, when he reported back to Henry VII, Cabot asserted that he too had sailed to the mainland of Asia.¹¹

Cabot, like Columbus, attempted to replace an established land-route with a new Asiatic sea-route. Both were operating within established frameworks of traditional beliefs. Following the encouraging results of Cabot's voyage, Henry VII issued further patents for expeditions to this area both to Cabot and, after the disappearance of Cabot's expedition without trace, to a syndicate made up of three Azorean seamen and three Bristol merchants.¹² On their return, in 1502, the voyage made by this partnership was described as having explored in 'the New Found Land'. This change in terminology is significant as it recognised the 'newness' of the lands encountered on the syndicate's voyage. After this date, voyages to these Western coasts seemed to be searching for the North-West Passage which would imply that the New Found Land was recognised not to be Asia, but a barrier to be negotiated before reaching Cathay. Moreover, in 1503 Rodrigo Fernandez de Santaella, the editor of the first Spanish version of Marco Polo's Travels, declared, in the introduction to his edition, that the newly discovered islands to the West were not the islands of Asia but distant from them.¹³ From 1503 onwards, following the publication of the voyage narratives of Amerigo Vespucci - who described the lands he encountered as a 'mundus novus' - and Martin Waldseemuller's 1507 map Cosmographie introductio which named the new landmass 'America', it became increasingly commonplace for Renaissance writers to recognise

the existence of a 'New World'.¹⁴

It is not Columbus's achievement, however, which is celebrated by America's nomenclature. At the top of Waldseemuller's sizable map - 2.40 metres wide and constructed from a dozen woodcut sheets - Ptolemy can be seen reflecting on his obsolete three-continent world map while Amerigo Vespucci confidently grasps dividers which separate America from Asia.¹⁵ Indeed, in gentleman-explorer and writer John Rastell's 1519 text, A New Interlude and a Mery of the Nature of the .iiii. Elements, which recognised America as a 'New World', it was Vespucci *whv* was awarded the status of first discoverer:

But this newe landes founde lately
Ben callyd america by cause only
Americus dyd furst them finde.¹⁶

How should we read Columbus's insistence, throughout his life, that he had landed in the 'Indies'? By landing here, Columbus was not venturing beyond the 'pillars of Hercules' - which represented the limits of geographical knowledge in the Renaissance - since his 'discovery' was still located within the boundaries of known world.¹⁷

Columbus's difficulty with conceptualising something outside his understanding of the known world can be traced in both his action of immediately naming the lands he encountered and, more generally, in the descriptions he gave of these places. In his log-books Columbus attempted to describe the lands he encountered for his royal pay-masters. Each island upon which Columbus landed was swiftly renamed according to European convention. His first landfall he called San Salvador, in honour of Christ the Saviour, 'his Holy Majesty

who has miraculously given all this', erasing the native American name 'Guanahani'.¹⁸ Subsequent landfalls were named after his paymasters, the Spanish monarchs - Ferdinand and Isabella - and after Spain.

According to biblical narrative, the naming of an object signals the name-giver's dominion over it. In Genesis 2. 19-20 Adam named all living creatures according to their nature as they were lead before him by God in Eden. Columbus's action of bestowing a name on these islands was an assertion of his own authority, as well as the power of his sponsors and the religion of Spain. Columbus's performance can be seen as an echo of Adam's God-given ability to name the world he confronted. On Friday, 19th October, 1492, he wrote:

The wind was very favourable for sailing to this point where I am now anchored, which I named Cape Hermoso [beautiful], and beautiful it is. And so I did not anchor in that bay, seeing as I did this green and lovely cape in the distance. Everything on all these coasts is so green and lovely that I do not know where to go first, and my eyes never weary of looking on this fine vegetation.¹⁹

Such optimistic language suggested that the Edenic landscape Adam had inhabited was possibly replicated in the natural world Columbus contemplated in 1492. In the seventh century Isidore, Bishop of Seville, had provided an exact location and detailed representation of the earthly paradise which influenced students, priests and mapmakers for hundreds of years.²⁰ 'Paradise', he stated, 'is a place lying in the parts of the Orient whose name is translated out of the Greek into the Latin as Hortus.'²¹ Isidore described the temperate climate, the wide variety of trees, particularly the Tree of Life, and the great spring which divided into the four rivers which flowed from Paradise.²² It was one of these Edenic

rivers which Columbus believed he had stumbled across when, describing the Orinoco River in 1498, he wrote: 'For I do not believe that there is so great and deep a river anywhere in the world.'²³ As Stephen Greenblatt argues, the idea that he had found the terrestrial paradise was more acceptable to Columbus than the possibility that he had discovered a new continent (South America):

I would say that if this river does not spring from the earthly Paradise it comes from a vast land lying to the south, of which we have hitherto had no reports. But I am firmly convinced that the earthly Paradise truly lies here.²⁴

Moreover, Adam and Eve's dominion over Nature had been forfeited by the Fall. Columbus's naming action was one of 'Christian imperialism', as he attempted to regain this lost power.²⁵ This situation also hinted at what was to become a potent theme in later voyage narratives, specifically, that the 'newness' of America and its assimilation by Europeans could be used to regenerate the Old World. Michel de Montaigne's polemical essay 'On Cannibals' (1580) developed this idea. Ostensibly Montaigne bemoaned the degenerative European influence upon native Americans: 'knowledge of this country's corruptions will one day be to their [the Brazilians'] happiness and repose'. But, his description of the arcadian lifestyle of these South American peoples was also designed to foster New World values through Europe.²⁶

The action of naming is an assertion of the name-giver's desire to control the named. It gives the newly named object a position within a European hierarchy of values. However, a problem arose when an object could not be named. When such a situation transpired, Columbus's solution was to describe the

object as a 'wonder'. Stephen Greenblatt has persuasively argued that the 'wonder' to which Columbus so frequently described himself as succumbing was a 'calculated rhetorical strategy designed to construct an aesthetic response in the service of a legitimization process'.²⁷ For Columbus, the evocation of 'wonder' served a dual purpose. Due to the medieval Christian tradition of the marvellous and the prodigious, this invocation located the object arousing 'wonder' within conceptions already familiar to the European Renaissance explorer.²⁸ For example, Marco Polo's Travels frequently described objects the narrator could not explain as 'marvelous': 'The great diversity of birds, quite different from ours, is truly marvelous.'²⁹ 'Wonder' can be seen as an emotion stimulated by the contemplation of something new which had not yet been incorporated into the observer's understanding. When Columbus recounted the variety of fish in the New World he wrote, 'the colours are so marvelous that everybody wondered and took pleasure in the sight.'³⁰ Categories of the 'marvelous' and the 'wondrous' seemed intended to assimilate things which otherwise could not be accommodated by European taxonomies.³¹

'Wonder', then, both belonged to a recognisable conceptual category with which travellers and their home nations could identify and, simultaneously, gestured towards the radical otherness of the object contemplated. The fish in the New World were not just fish, they were 'wonderful fish'. But importantly, Columbus did not confer upon these fish a proper name; they were only partially defined according to European understanding. The establishment of taxonomic

descriptions - with their resonances of understanding and control - became, as we shall see, the project of later explorers and scientists.

Columbus's difficulty was also experienced by other Renaissance voyagers. The explorer Hernan Cortes appeared acutely concerned about his role as mediator between New and Old worlds. In 'The Second Letter' to Cortes's 'Most Powerful Lord', Charles V of Spain, the explorer confessed:

I cannot describe one hundredth part of all the things which could be mentioned, but, as best I can, I will describe some of those I have seen which, although badly described, will, I well know, be so remarkable as not to be believed, for we who saw them with our own eyes could not grasp them with our understanding.³²

For example, when describing Montezuma's jewels Cortes was forced to admit that 'it is impossible to imagine with what instruments they were cut so perfectly'.³³ The Aztec King's palace presented similar problems for the Spanish explorer since it was 'so marvelous' that 'it seems to me impossible to describe its excellence and grandeur'.³⁴ But, though ostensibly a disavowal, this statement functions as a type of description since it gives the reader information concerning the building Cortes claimed he could not describe.³⁵ Montezuma's palace is conceptually accommodated as 'marvelous' by the Spanish explorer. But Cortes continues: 'Therefore, I shall not attempt to describe it at all, save to say that in Spain there is nothing to compare with it.'³⁶ Here, we can glimpse Cortes's struggle with the incommensurability of the New World, a sense of the new which he seems unable to abridge except by positing the objects contemplated in the convenient category of the 'marvelous'. However, when Cortes describes a Mexican market it appears that the boundaries of his familiar

language were reached. His account begins with an inventory of the materials he recognized - 'There is every sort of vegetable, especially onions, leeks, garlic, common cress and watercress, borage, sorrel, teasels and artichokes' - but the list concludes in a revealing and somewhat breathless apology:

Finally, besides those things which I have already mentioned, they sell in the market everything else to be found in this land, but they are so many and so varied that because of their great number and because I cannot remember many of them nor do I know what they are called I shall not mention them.³⁷

Here, Cortes had reached the limits of his known world. He was unable to describe the items sold as he had neither the cultural or linguistic tools at his disposal to be able to incorporate them into a traveller's report for his home nation.

The descriptive problems experienced by Cortes and Columbus were emblematic of the difficulties the explorer faced in America. America was destabilising to travellers because it revealed the inadequacies of Europe's construction of itself. Columbus's continuous recourse to the evocation of 'wonder' to account for anything he could not explain functioned as a strategy of assimilation as the Old World struggled to incorporate the New. It also marked a deliberate lack of engagement with the New World, as Columbus relied upon earlier European descriptions of peoples from other cultures. Centuries of speculation about mythological and enchanted remote regions, and the fabulous people to be found there, had prepared Columbus to encounter the 'marvelous'. Similarly, centuries of Christian hostility towards non-Christian peoples, particularly towards the successful and expansionist Moslem Moorish Empire of the Middle Ages, prepared European

explorers to be assertive and war-like in their attitude towards new territories.³⁸

At the moment of 'discovery' in 1492, and in the early years of exploration, as these adventurers struggled to conceptualise the size and geography of the enormous landmass they had stumbled across, it was pan-European conceptions that confronted this radically new world. In the conclusion of his letter 'to Various Persons Describing the Results of his First Voyage and Written on the Return Journey' Columbus wrote:

So all Christendom will be delighted that our Redeemer has given victory to our most illustrious King and Queen and their renowned kingdoms, in this great matter. They should hold great celebrations and render solemn thanks to the Holy Trinity with many solemn prayers, for the great triumph which they will have, by the conversion of so many peoples to our holy faith and for the temporal benefits which will follow, for not only Spain, but all Christendom will receive encouragement and profit.³⁹

Columbus might have been specifically an emissary of the Spanish monarchs in the moments of this encounter but he was also a representative of the Old World, or 'Christendom'. In the early reportage of this initial encounter when the New World was so radically alien, the construct that was 'Christendom', in comparison, appeared to be far more cohesive than it really was. Christendom represented all that was already known. As the moment of 'discovery' was followed by further exploration and settlement - as well as intensive national competition and religious differences within Europe - the cohesion of 'Christendom', came under increasing stress.

As John Hale has argued, it was only from the late fifteenth century onwards that the term 'Europe' was commonly used to describe the continent and 'was given a securely map-based frame of reference, a set of images that established its

identity in pictorial terms, and a triumphal ideology that overrode its internal contradictions'.⁴⁰ Previously, the word 'Christendom' had served as the dominant term with which European peoples defined themselves. Peoples living within 'Christendom', as the name implies, were expected to share the same faith. However, increased Muslim invasions into south-western Europe - pushing the boundaries of 'Christendom' steadily back to the West - and the Reformation of the 1520s - which divided non-Orthodox Christians into Catholics and Protestants - signalled the end of the primacy of this pliable term. The continent became commonly described as 'Europe' at the same time as both regional, national, and continental maps were produced, allowing Europeans to imagine the geographical space in which they were living.⁴¹

In 1559, Louis Le Roy voiced the ideological differences between 'Christendom' and 'Europe' when he entreated Christian rulers to cease their hostilities against each other:

Think how far Christendom once extended and how many lands are now lost to the victorious Turk, who holds North Africa and the Balkans and has besieged Vienna. Meanwhile, as though in answer to Mohammedan prayers, Europe is soaked in her own blood. What blindness there is in this! If you will not listen to me, hear the voice of our common mother Europe: 'I who in the past hundred years have made so many discoveries, even of things unknown to the ancients - new seas, new lands, new species of men, new constellations; with Spanish help I have found and conquered what amounts to a New World. But great as these things are, the moment the thought of war arises, the better arts of life fall silent, and I am wrapt in flame and rent asunder. Save me from more of this: honour the arts of peace, letters and industry; and you will be rewarded by the grateful memory of mankind.'⁴²

'Christendom' has become 'Europe'; but, for Le Roy, Europe appears a place full of contradiction and self-destruction as 'she' is 'soaked in her own blood'. Le Roy creates a narrative

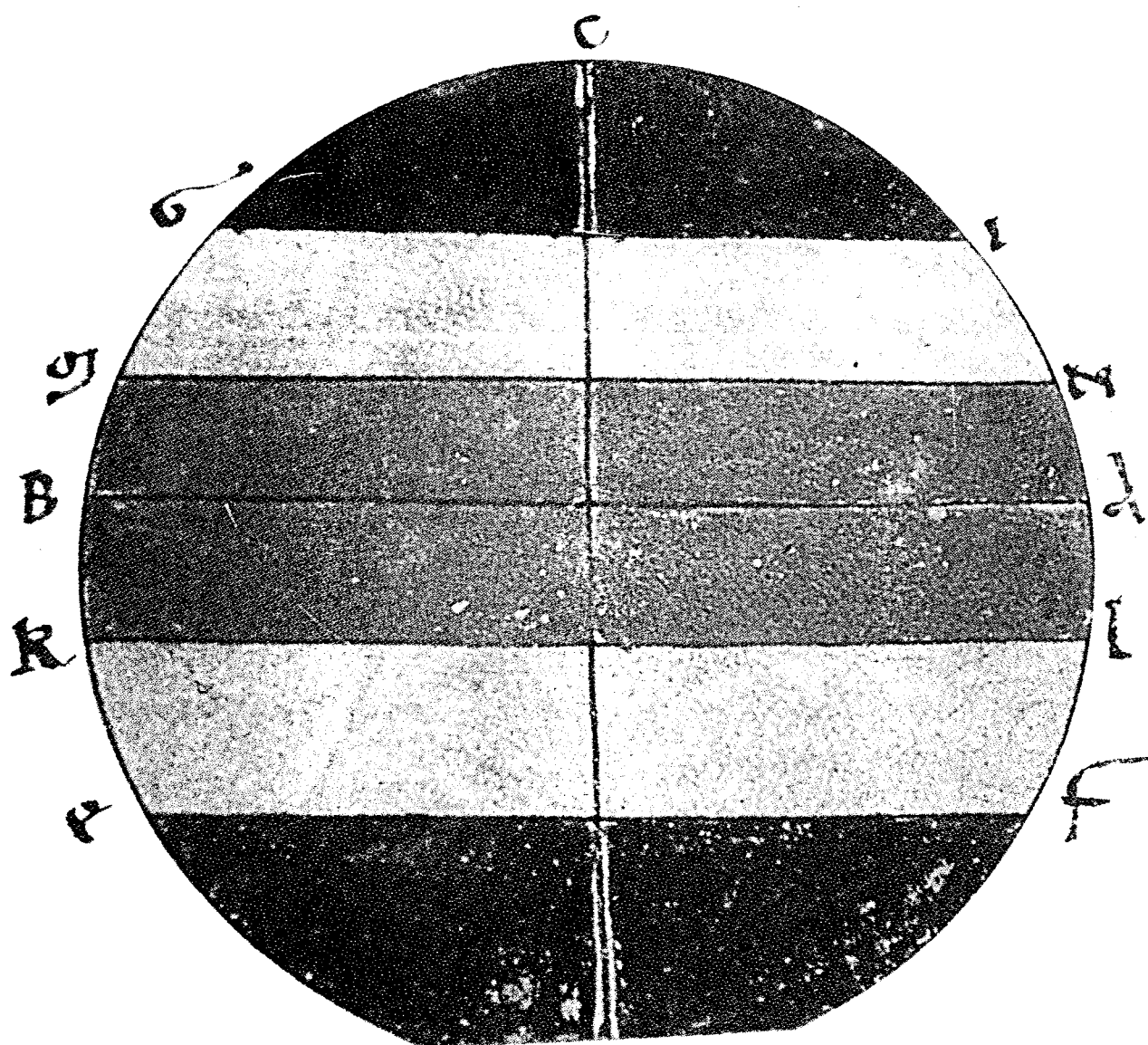
voice for 'our common mother Europe' as she surveys her 'discoveries'. We can detect an important conceptual shift between 'Christendom' and 'Europe' within this text. Where 'Christendom' was constructed in opposition to the Muslim Empire, 'Europe' appears to be distinguished from the 'New World'. These 'new seas, new lands, new species of men, new constellations' have been recently discovered with 'Spanish help'. The continent can no longer be defined by consistency of religion; but it can be defined in opposition to the radical nature of the 'New World'. However, this quotation also foreshadows the danger to European stability inherent within such a construction of 'Europe'. Implicit in this conceptualisation was the idea of separate national identities within 'Europe', revealed by the reference to Spanish leadership in the field of discovery. In 1569 Spanish dominance within the 'New World' appeared acceptable to Le Roy. As we shall see, during the next hundred years, individual nation states within Europe, no longer identifying themselves as sharing a cohesive religious identity, began to compete for territory in this 'New World'.

Part II: A Survey of Contemporary Understanding of Patterns of Exploration in the period prior to the Renaissance

Renaissance explorers in the fifteenth century inherited a geography of the world that was a mixture of knowledge derived from the Ancients, mythological and speculative

sources, and information derived from accounts of previous voyages. The Greeks, in particular, had a strong tradition of geography. By the fifth century B.C. the Pythagorean school had evolved the theory of a spherical earth.⁴³ The Greeks called the known world the oikoumene, in which they included the regions inhabited by Greeks or other 'civilised' people. Encompassed by this term were the areas around the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, as well as sections of the Caspian Sea and Persia and parts of the western coast of Europe.⁴⁴ The limits of the oikoumene were not known, but it was believed to be bounded by an ocean which covered the rest of the globe. Furthermore, the Greeks made a subdivision of the globe into five zones. They envisaged two polar zones, both uninhabitable because of the cold; two temperate zones, a northern (where the oikoumene was situated) and a southern; and, finally, an equatorial zone, generally considered incapable of maintaining life because of the extreme heat. The Greeks believed it was impossible to pass from the northern temperate zone to the southern one because nobody could survive the passage through the equatorial torrid zone (see figure 1).⁴⁵

Alexander the Great's Indian campaign (326-324 B.C.) and his establishment of a Macedonian Empire greatly extended the latitude of the oikoumene as the Greeks marched east of the Indus through northern Persia, what is now Afghanistan, then southward down the Indus and across southern Persia. Alexander founded a city named after him which became a centre of learning, especially for geographical knowledge. By the second century A.D., this school possessed geographical knowledge of the East African coast and through the Indian ocean to the Bay

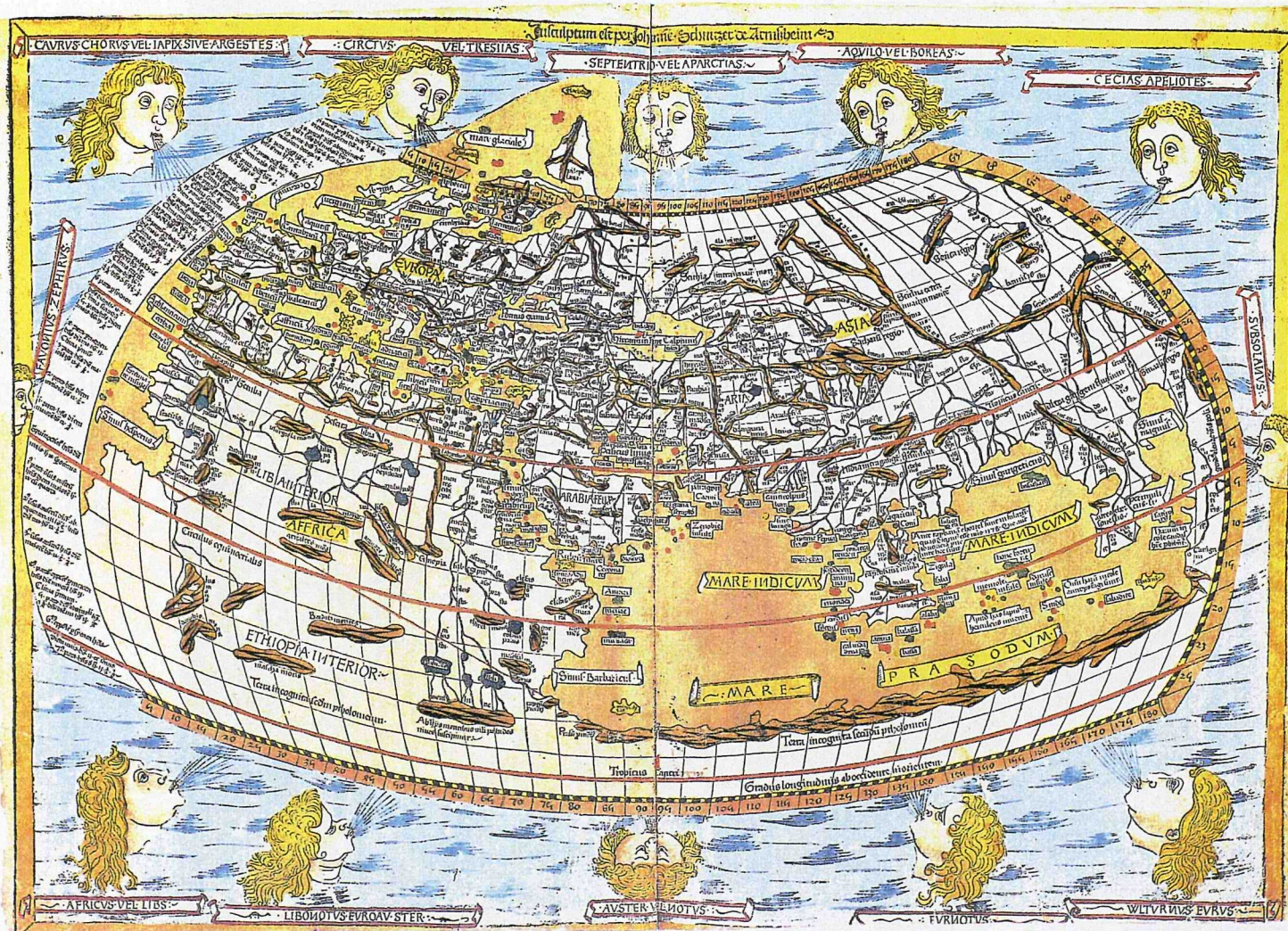


1. The Greek division of the world into climatic zones.
Reprinted from Simon Berthon & Andrew Robinson, The Shape of the World, (London: Guild Publishing, 1991) p.20.

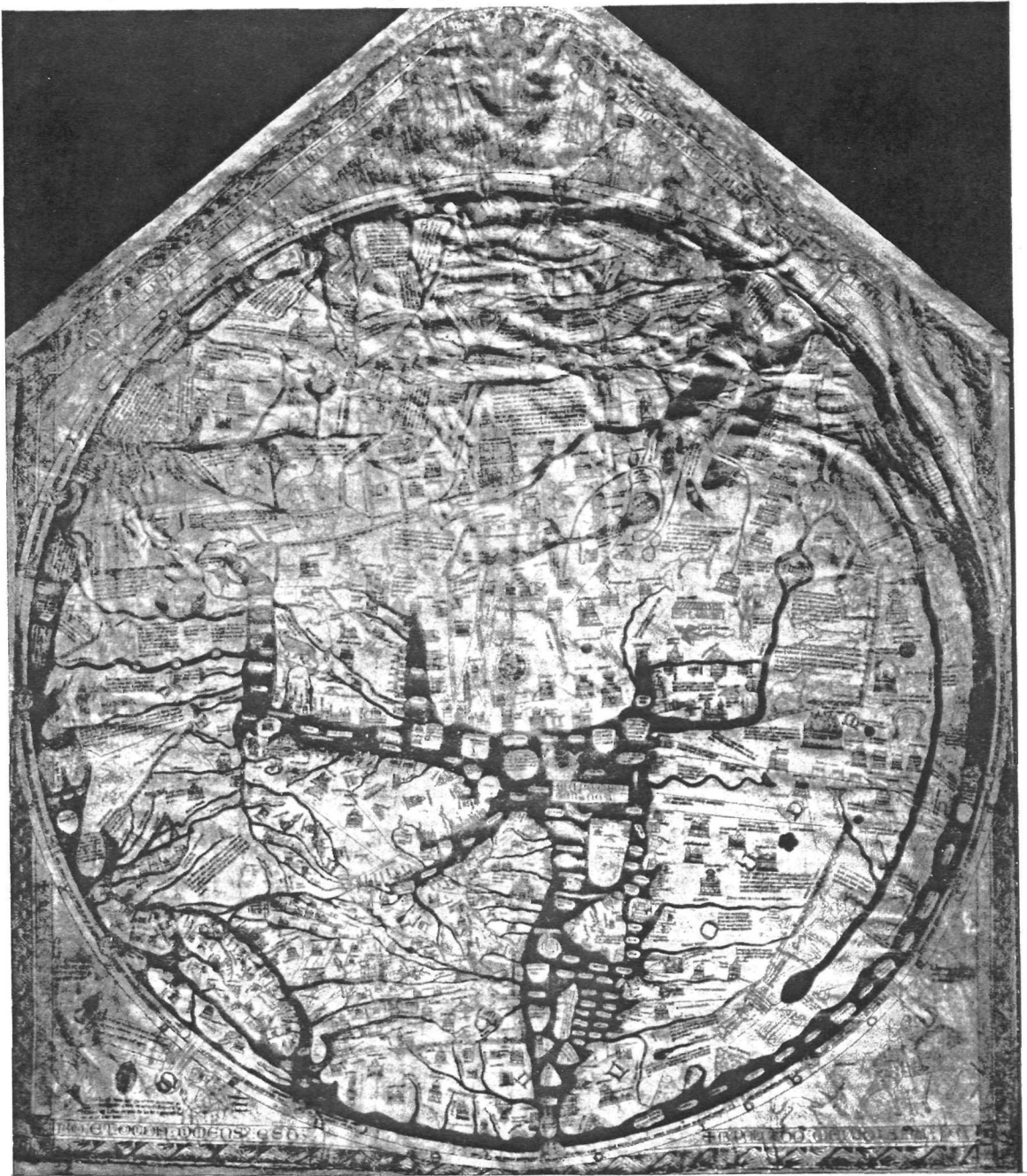
of Bengal.⁴⁶

Claudius Ptolemaeus (active A.D. 127-160) attempted to include the whole of Classical geographical learning in his texts. His Astronomy and Geography were known to Renaissance explorers through Arab editions.⁴⁷ Renaissance editions of Ptolemy's Geography show the transformation of the earlier Greek oikoumene with the surrounding ocean into the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa (see figure 2). The Indian ocean had been changed into a greater Mediterranean, enclosed by a land-bridge which ran from East Africa to southeastern Asia. The Indian peninsula was almost wholly truncated; to the south lay a huge island of Taprobana (Sri Lanka), while beyond to the east was the Golden Chersonese (the Malay Peninsula), beyond this was the Sinus Magnus or Great Gulf, and beyond again was the region where the African land-bridge terminated.⁴⁸ The latter feature gave rise to the portrayal of two Malay peninsulas in early sixteenth-century cartography, while the belief in an enclosed Indian ocean puzzled the Portuguese until Vasco da Gama's 1497 voyage to India. Moreover, Ptolemy's calculations only gave an equatorial degree the length of fifty geographical miles. This had the effect of bestowing on Asia a great eastward extension; it was this extension that lead Columbus to believe in a short western seaway to India.

After the fall of Rome, Christian exegesis redrew the world map as flat, orientated east, and placed Jerusalem at its centre (see figure 3). The 1290 Hereford Mappa Mundi showed the Garden of Eden to be located in the farthest east corner, from which flowed the four rivers of Paradise. It was



2. Claudius Ptolemaeus,
Cosmographia Latine Reddita a Jac. Angelo, World Map
 1482. Coloured woodcut, 56.0 x 43.3 cm. Held at Herzog
 August Library, Wolfenbüttel.



3. Hereford Mappa Mundi, 1280.
Reprinted from R.V. Tooley, Maps and Their Makers, 5th
edn., (London: B.T. Batsford, 1972), p.9.

both a representation of geographical information and a map of ideas and ideology. It showed a land world encircled by the sea. Christianity was the dominant ideology represented by this map as Jerusalem - where Christ walked on earth - was the map's epicentre. Moreover, thrusting as near to Jerusalem as possible was Italy, dominated by Rome, the second ideological centre of the Christian world.⁴⁹

Moslem scholars preserved Classical geography through the Dark and Middle Ages. Muslim maps, unlike their 'flat' Christian counterparts, usually depicted the earth as spherical. They also included the Greek idea concerning the division of the globe into climatic zones. By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there was a steady flow of scholars from Western universities studying the knowledge of Ptolemy and Aristotle at the Moslem cities of Tunis, Toledo and Palermo.⁵⁰ As a result of this contact, Christian scholars and geographers, such as Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon, Pierre d'Ailly and Pope Pius II, began to theorise about the existence of an inhabited equatorial region, a populated antipodes, the circumnavigation of Africa, and generally suggested that there were other, previously unknown, landmasses awaiting discovery.⁵¹ These ideas were inherited by Renaissance explorers: for example, D'Ailly's texts Imago Mundi and Cosmographie Tractatus Duo, which propounded an Aristotelian view of the short westward sea passage to India, were of great influence on Christopher Columbus, who possessed a copy of the 1483 Louvain edition of Imago Mundi.⁵²

Throughout the Renaissance, the geographical knowledge derived from myth, fable and fiction continued to be of

influence to explorers. This mass of mythic texts was often concerned with the Orient which was associated with fantastic wealth, natural wonders, and magic. Though some of the myths may have been derived from Homer's Odyssey, the majority can be traced back to the Greek Ctesias's texts, Persica and Indika, which were written in about 400 B.C., and describe fantastic animals and monsters.⁵³ Alexander the Great's Indian expedition gave rise to similar stories, which grew into the Alexander cycle of romances in the Middle Ages.⁵⁴ Pliny's Natural History and Caius Julius Solinus's Polyhistor were also rich sources of tales about strange animals, monstrous races of men, and fantastic wonders of nature.⁵⁵ In the fourteenth century, there appeared the fantasy text Travels of Sir John Mandeville which conflated Biblical, Gothic and Classical myths.⁵⁶ The authenticity of this text - a testament to its popularity are the 250 surviving manuscript copies - has persistently caused its readers to question its epistemological status as an account of an actual voyage or a travel romance.⁵⁷

The Orient exercised a powerful effect upon the Classical and Medieval European imagination because, until the Tartar peace of the thirteenth century, these eastern lands were impenetrable to the West because of hostile Persian and Moslem Empires which were an effective barrier to explorers.⁵⁸ The fables which described the east were to a considerable degree localised in India.⁵⁹ It was there that pygmies fought with storks, and giants with griffons; there lived men with dog's heads who barked and snarled, men who shaded themselves from the sun by lying on their backs and holding up a single huge

foot, headless men with eyes in their stomachs, jungle folk with hairy bodies and huge teeth (see figure 4). The texts of Mandeville and Ctesias and the legends of Alexander the Great and St. Thomas the Apostle were all located in India.

According to the Mappa Mundi, Paradise was also located in Asia, but the co-ordinates of this place were much more vague. Similarly, the fable of Gog and Magog was based in Asia. They were believed to rule over a fierce and savage people in remote Asia, and Christians awaited their eruption on the Last Day as a herald for the onset of the Apocalypse. This story was combined with the story of Alexander's enclosing the giants and their minions behind great walls. Another Bible-based story was the legend of the fabulous land of Ophir, from which had come the famous jewels and gold of Solomon.⁶⁰ The location of Ophir was especially elusive; it was sought by Columbus in the West Indies, by Cabot in South America, and by the Portuguese in East Africa.

One of the most potent myths for Renaissance explorers was the legend of Prester John.⁶¹ The origin of this figure seems to rest with Otto von Freising who described how, in 1145, he met a Syrian Bishop in Italy who related how there existed a Christian King and Priest in the Far East beyond Persia. He described how Prester John had waged a successful war against the Medes and the Persians, and had then attempted to advance towards Jerusalem. In 1170, a letter, supposedly written by Prester John, appeared in Europe. Addressed to the Byzantine Emperor, the Pope, and the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, this letter recounted the glories and opulence of Prester John's realm. These domains included the three Indias



4. Marvels of the East, from a Spanish edition of Mandeville's Travels, 1547.
Reprinted from Stephen Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989).

and extended across the deserts of Babylon to the Tower of Babel. Within his kingdom there were seventy-two provinces, each of which was ruled by a separate king. Contained within the realm were the lands of the Amazons and the Brahmins, the shrine of St. Thomas the Apostle, the Fountain of Youth, and rivers of gold, silver, and jewels. It was claimed that Prester John was descended from the Three Wise Men, and was himself the embodiment of Christian virtue. Not surprisingly, the incredible wealth of this kingdom, Prester John's Christianity, and his commitment to the suppression of non-Christians, by force if necessary, were very attractive to Renaissance explorers and their respective monarchs. In Marco Polo's time, Prester John was associated with a Christian Nestorian King of Kerait in Central Asia. By the early fourteenth century, Odoric of Pordenone situated Prester John's kingdom fifty days' journey west of Cathay. In 1340, Jordan of Severac placed him definitely in Ethiopia.

Fables also circulated concerning the River of Gold and the lost continent of Atlantis through the Renaissance.⁶² The first was associated with the elusive El Dorado of the Middle Ages, and the River of Gold, or Rio Doro, was believed to be run through remotest Africa. The river's mouth was supposed to be somewhere south of Cape Bojador; and it was believed to flow through the region of Bilad Ghana (or Guinea), a land of enormous wealth. Similarly, the legend of the lost continent of Atlantis was derived from Plato. In early Christian times, it was revived as the story of St. Brandon, who travelled amongst enchanted islands to the west and northwest of Ireland. Similar to the St. Brandon myth was the story of the

seven bishops who, forced to flee from Moorish Spain, sailed into the Atlantis and discovered a wonderful island on which they constructed seven cities.⁶³ Through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the islands of St. Brendan and the seven cities, as well as those of Brazil and Atillia continued to be drawn on maps and expeditions continued to be financed to discover their exact location.

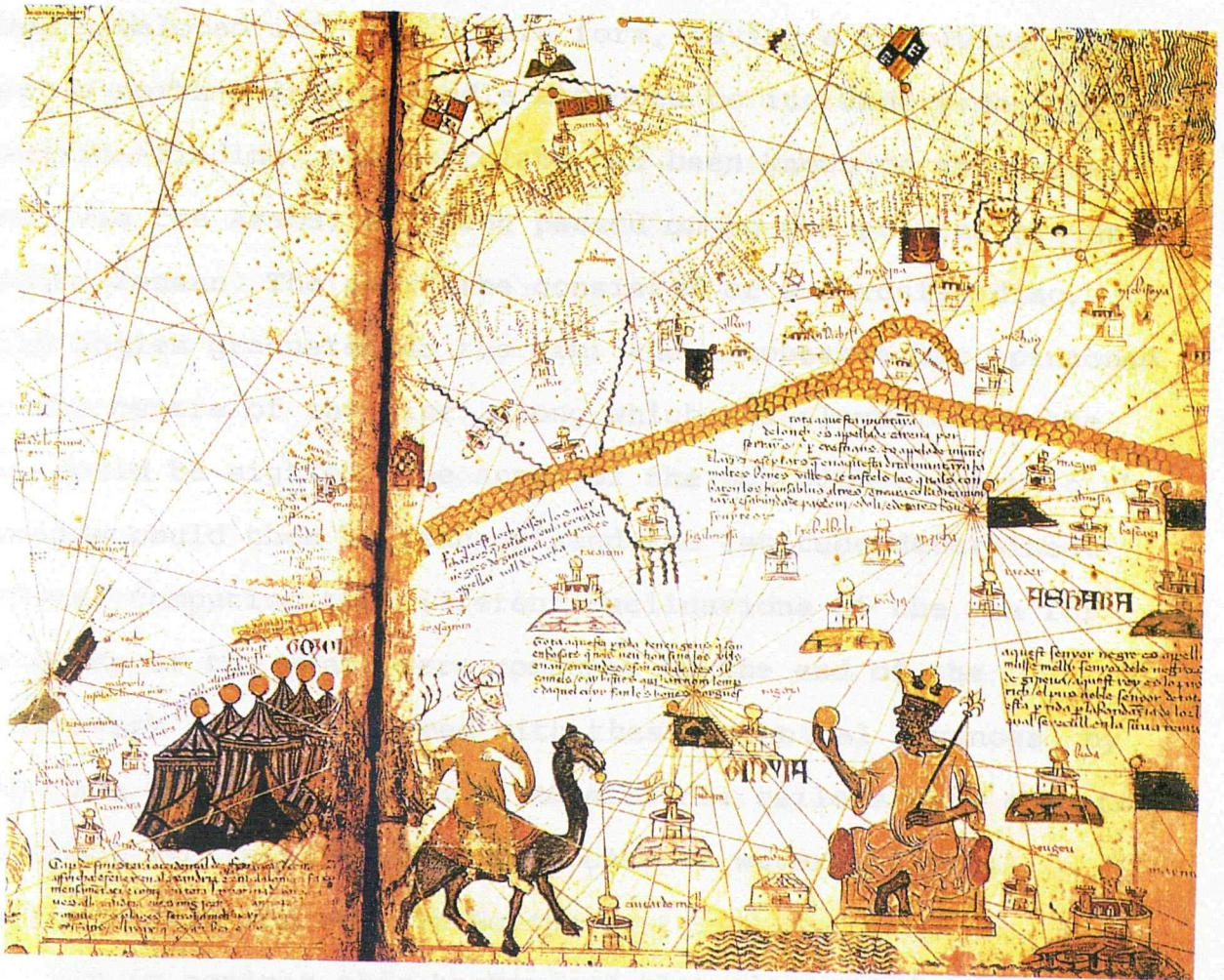
Until the mid-thirteenth century, the inhabitants of Christendom rarely travelled east of Baghdad. The Crusades had lead to Europe possessing knowledge of Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor, while there had always been a certain amount of pilgrimage travel to Jerusalem. But the farther Orient remained mysterious until the Khan established his control over the Mongols in Central Asia and, after annexing China, began a series of conquests through the West which took him as far as Poland. In the aftermath of this expansion, the Khan created a peaceful Empire which tolerated Christians in its territory and encouraged European trade connections.⁶⁴ Both missionaries and merchants took advantage of this situation. In 1245, Giovanni de Plano Carpini, a Franciscan monk, was sent on a mission by the Pope on a mission to Khan's court at Karakorum. The first commercial travellers to travel through the Mongol Empire were the Venetian merchants, the Polo brothers. They travelled overland to Kublai Khan's capital, Cambaluc (Peking) first in about 1256, and remained there fourteen years, and then again in the early 1270s. Out of this latter journey emerged Marco Polo's Travels.⁶⁵ In the mid-fourteenth century these contacts between West and East declined as the Black Death swept through Europe in 1348-9. In

roughly the same period, the rise of the Ottoman Turks interposed a barrier between Christendom and Central Asia, whilst the benign Tartar Empire was deposed in 1368.

In the Mediterranean, trade with the Orient was mostly controlled by Venetians and Genoese merchants, whose prosperity had increased greatly during the Crusades. Venice backed the Latins when they captured Constantinople on the Fourth Crusade in 1204, and profited greatly during the period of the Latin Emperors. Genoa supported the Byzantines, and became much more powerful after 1261, when the Palaeologi were restored. These trading Empires had networks which extended around the Black Sea, the Caspian Sea, northern Persia, the Middle East, Central Asia, North Africa and Egypt.⁶⁶

The most complete picture of geographical knowledge in the later Middle Ages is shown by the Catalan Atlas (see figure 5).⁶⁷ This series of maps, made in 1375 by Abraham Cresques, a Jew of Majorca, incorporated geographical knowledge derived from the travels of Marco Polo and his missionary successors in Cathay, as well as the Venetian and Genoese merchants in the Near and Middle East and North Africa. These maps accurately represented Northern Europe, the Mediterranean, Northern Africa, central Asia, India, and China. Mythical geography also appeared. Between China and India the land of the pygmies was situated. Similarly, a peninsula north of China was depicted as the realm of Gog and Magog: beyond were the islands of griffons.

By 1400 European navigators possessed the essential tools to enable them to navigate on the open sea. These included a chart to determine the course, a compass to determine the



5. A page from the Catalan Atlas, 1375.
 Reprinted from Simon Berthon & Andrew Robinson, The Shape of the World, (London: Guild Publishing, 1991), p.69.

position of North, and an instrument and tables to determine the latitude by fixing the position of the sun or moon. The portolan charts, which date back to about 1300, enabled the navigator to determine the course.⁶⁸ By 1380 the compass had been developed into its modern form, having a revolving card with a north-pointing needle attached to its underside. For position-finding, the astrolabe had been known to the Greeks and, via the Arabs, had been passed on to the peoples of the Mediterranean. The astrolabe consisted of a circular disc, with angles graduated on the rim, and a moveable bar, pinioned at the centre of the disc, along which the elevation of the sun could be sighted. The angle of the sun with respect to the horizon could then be read off and the latitude determined. Tables, computing the different declinations of the sun for each day of the year, were composed by the end of the thirteenth century.⁶⁹ Armed with these technical advances, by the late fourteenth century, Renaissance sailors were able to navigate accurately in the well-charted waters of the Mediterranean and Western Europe.

It is against this background that the activities of Renaissance explorers were located. By the fifteenth century, the increasingly prosperous Christian West - especially the Portuguese - sought direct access by sea and land to the spice and luxury-rich East and Middle East.⁷⁰ These trade routes were controlled by Islamic peoples. Muslim merchants had an effective monopoly of the sea routes of the Indian ocean. Muslim colonies in the ports of the west coast of India controlled the trade in spices and Chinese wares coming by sea, as well as the less luxurious goods from India and Sri

Lanka. Similar colonies of Muslim merchants in the east African ports down to Mozambique controlled the gold, ivory, slave and bulk trades of that continent. However, like Europe, Islam was not a united region. There were competing land routes and contending sea routes, and thus rival ports and regions within the Islamic sphere. Westerners, from the Portuguese onwards, allied with one or another group against competitors, usually tipping the balance in favour of the side they supported. The Portuguese success in capturing the trade of the Indian ocean through the sixteenth century, rested upon their technical superiority and the alliance value this awarded them for individual Muslim trading communities. The Portuguese had stouter ships and more powerful guns. Moreover, their ships were also mobile enough to be able to command narrow straits, ports and capes around which sea trade revolved.⁷¹ In comparison the Muslim warships - which were slim, light, oar-propelled craft known as galleys - were not suited to the kind of sea battle the Portuguese engaged in.⁷²

Vasco da Gama's 1497 departure from Lisbon was the climax of the Portuguese campaign to open a sea route to the Indian ocean.⁷³ The wind system, as it touched the western shores of the Iberian peninsula, was a great help to the Portuguese as it carried their ships in a south-westerly direction towards Africa. Though other peoples - Spaniards from the Atlantic provinces immediately North and South of Portugal, Muslims from the Atlantic coast of Morocco, and the French on the Bay of Biscay - had similar opportunities, the united nature of Portugal's kingdom in a time when other countries were either factionalised or preoccupied with territorial disputes, the

large and sheltered port at Lisbon, and the fertile and industrious surrounding hinterland, all enabled Portugal to establish vital bases for discovery at the beginning of the fifteenth century.⁷⁴ From the early fifteenth century until 1460, these Portuguese missions were financed by Lisbon merchants with Genoese or Florentine monetary backing, and set out under the royal patronage of Henry the Navigator, third son of King John I. After the death of Prince Henry, little exploratory progress was made until, in 1469, the Portuguese crown leased the right of exploration to an entrepreneur, Gomes, on a concessionary basis.⁷⁵

Through the fifteenth century the Portuguese steadily navigated down the Guinea coast of West Africa, discovering the Azores and the Canaries, and establishing trade networks and colonies. The revenue from trade between Lisbon and West Africa was sufficient for the Portuguese, in 1447, to mint their first coinage since their expulsion of Muslim peoples from the Algarve in the thirteenth century.⁷⁶ This trade also lead to interest from other nations, most prominently the Spaniards who were also settling the Canaries. The Portuguese, as pioneers, considered that they were entitled to a monopoly and fought the Spaniards, whilst, at the same time they applied to the Pope for a ruling. A series of bulls were subsequently issued, in 1455, which decreed that since the Portuguese king had acquired extensive maritime dominions which advanced the boundaries of Christendom and the work of God, he should be allowed to enjoy the benefits undisturbed. Therefore, he was granted sole and absolute dominion over the areas already opened, and those still to be discovered between

Morocco and the Indies.⁷⁷

In the history of Portuguese exploration of West Africa and the Indian ocean in the fifteenth century, the establishment of a code of practice to manage exploration and discoveries can be seen. As Gomes's five-year concessionary lease reveals, exploratory missions were controlled by the monarchy, even though they may have been predominantly financed by the merchant classes. Moreover, Alfonso V's appeal to the Pope Nicholas V in 1455 to legitimize his claim to the territories his vassals had discovered, became an increasingly commonplace occurrence through the fifteenth century. For example, in 1493, Pope Alexander VI issued to Ferdinand and Isabel of Spain similar bulls of donation over all the new found lands which had not already been occupied by any other Christian prince. The 1493 bulls were intended to balance the power between Spain and Portugal. The Pope conceded to Spain all the 'graces, privileges, exemptions, liberties, facilities and immunities' previously granted to the King of Portugal.⁷⁸ A monarch's appeal to the Pope to ratify his/her country's discovery can be seen as a strategy of legitimation designed to award a godly sanction to that specific nation's territorial ambitions. The Papal bulls carved the newly-known and the yet-to-be-discovered world into spheres of influence for particular Catholic monarchies and their countries.

Through the sixteenth century there was a steady escalation in the number of these missions to discover and annex new territories in regions as disparate as the Caribbean, North America, the East Indies, the West Indies, South America and Africa.⁷⁹ During the Renaissance, royal

support was essential for any expedition. Columbus spent ten years hawking around the courts of Europe his idea of sailing to the East via the West before the Spanish monarchy agreed to finance his plan.⁸⁰ Most monarchs responded to petitions for voyages that were placed before them rather than themselves seeking explorers to undertake a particular voyage. If the monarch was interested in the project, as it was likely either to increase their territory or provide economic benefit from trade or natural resources, then a Royal charter was issued to the petitioners authorising them to undertake the venture. As Richard Grenville's abortive 1574 expedition to South America reveals, a Royal charter was essential before any voyage could begin. Queen Elizabeth I initially granted Grenville's petition only, subsequently, to revoke it. The monarch's vacillation forced Grenville and his ships to wait at the docks until, with supplies and money running short, he disbanded his crew. Moreover, the monarch would often provide part of the money needed to finance the expedition in return for a share of the profits. This sort of support was often extremely useful to the petitioners since, because of its prestige value, it could be employed to attract other financial interest. Because the cost of these voyages was large - as ships needed to be acquired and fitted, provisions for the journey bought, and a crew employed - often a large number of investors were needed to finance the endeavour. Merchants and noblemen - one group providing the majority of the necessary funds, the other contributing some capital, but also awarding the venture with prestige and access to the ear of the monarch - were normally the main sponsors. For example,

John Cabot's 1498 exploratory mission across the Atlantic sailed with five ships. Only one of these was supplied by King Henry VII; the other four were financed by a consortium of Bristol merchants.⁸¹

By the mid-sixteenth century these piecemeal alliances between merchants and noblemen for specific exploratory and trading projects were becoming much more organised. For example, in 1553 the Merchant Adventurers' Company financed Sir Hugh Willoughby in a voyage to investigate the trading potential of places on the way to Cathay and to set up links with Russia.⁸² Backed by the merchants of the City of London, the success of this mission inspired the establishment, in 1555, of the Muscovy Company and resulted in the Northern sea-route becoming a commercial highway.⁸³ Increasingly, the establishment of companies, made up of a considerable number of investors who would each take a share in the expenses for, and profits from, a specific voyage, became the principal method under which voyages were organised. Under this company-based system a member traded with their own money and goods at their own risk, but with privileges conferred by membership. Members were subject to the Company's rules and regulations. A Royal Charter allowed the Company to enforce these rules on its members legally, whilst also enabling the Company to take preventive or penal action against non-members. Membership of the Company was open to all duly qualified traders who chose to pay the authorised fees. The Government, by taking a certain percentage of the profits through import and export duties, made a considerably increased revenue from this system as the volume of trade expanded. This system immensely

facilitated and simplified the process of collecting import and export duties for the Crown.⁸⁴

By the turn of the century, there was a proliferation of these companies. Following the success of the Dutch East India Company, in England in 1599 a group of 101 merchants - principally those who had trading interests in the Levant and felt threatened by the Dutch trade - banded together to form the East India Company.⁸⁵ They raised subscriptions in excess of £30,000 'to venter into the pretended voiage to the East Indies'.⁸⁶ In 1600, after the peace with Spain had been agreed, Queen Elizabeth I granted them a monopoly of English trade to countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Magellan Straits for fifteen years. They were also allowed to export silver to the value of £30,000 per year. Each voyage was financed by separate and terminable stocks.⁸⁷

Furthermore, this Charter shows the Crown's attitude to foreign powers. The Company was authorised to trade in lands that were not occupied by any other Christian Prince with whom England maintained cordial relations. Consequently, the Charter explicitly assumed that papal assignments of the lands and seas eastward from the Cape of Good Hope as far as the Straits of Magellan to Spain and Portugal were not valid. It also assumed that only effective occupation conferred the right of possession. Moreover, according to the Charter, actual possession carried with it, as in European countries, the right of barring foreign commercial activities.⁸⁸

By the beginning of the seventeenth century administrative, technical and commercial apparatus had all sufficiently evolved to allow the countries of Europe, most

significantly, Spain, England, France and Holland, to be competitively determined to acquire newly 'discovered' regions to increase their own national wealth and status. It was a competitive determination that was to affect both the rhetoric explorers used to describe their missions and the ways in which new terrains were represented.

1. Tzvetan Todorov, The Conquest of America, trans. by Richard Howard (New York: HarperPerrenial, 1984); Stephen Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); Anthony Pagden, European Encounters with the New World (New Haven: Yale University Press 1993); Zia Sardar, Ashis Nandy and Merryl Wyn Davies, Barbaric Others: A Manifesto on Western Racism (London: Pluto Press, 1993).

2. For a fuller analysis of the evolution and construction of this European progressive history in which the 'impact' of the New World signalled the dawn of the 'modern' era - and some of the disturbing implications of such schools of thought - see Anthony Pagden, '"The Impact of the New World on the Old": The History of an Idea', Renaissance and Modern Studies, 30 (1986), 1-12.

3. Cited by J.H. Elliott, The Old World and the New, 1492-1650, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p.10.

4. Cited by Anthony Pagden, '"The Impact of the New World on the Old"', p.7.

5. Quoted by J.H. Elliott, The Old World and the New, p.9-10.

6. 'Domus' in Latin, or 'oikos' in Greek, means 'the household'. As a concept, it represents the normative behaviour, in other words the home values, of a particular society. For further details see Anthony Pagden, European Encounters with the New World, p.2-3.

7. Samuel Eliot Morison, Admiral of the Ocean Sea, 2 vols., (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1942), II, p. 278-279. Cited by Pagden, '"The Impact of the New World on the Old"', p.1.

8. Pagden, '"The Impact of the New World on the Old"', p.1.

9. Anthony Pagden, European Encounters with the New World, p.23; see also Pagden, 'The Impact of the New World on the Old', p.1.

10. I am indebted to Dr Bella Millett and Mr Anthony Archdeacon for this translation.

11. James A. Williamson, The Ocean in English History (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), p.15.

12. This syndicate comprised Jaoa Fernandes, Francisco Fernandes, Jaoa Gonsalves, Richard Ward, John Thomas, and Richard Asshehurst. They were empowered, by Royal patent, to explore 'eastern, western and southern arctic and north seas,...to occupy, govern, and trade'. For further details see, Kenneth R. Andrews, Trade, Plunder and Settlement (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p.48.

13. Marco Polo, The Most Notable and Famous Travels of Marco Polo, ed. by N.M. Penzer, (London: Argonaut Press, 1929), p.5-9.

14. Amerigo Vespucci claimed to have been on four voyages to the New World. This Florentine businessman was a fluent writer and a polished diplomat. His letters earned him a reputation as an

expert geographer and, in 1508 he was appointed Spain's Pilot Major. Vespucci claimed that he, not Columbus, had first set foot on the main landmass of the New World as distinct from the islands of the Caribbean and that he first realised that it was a new, fourth continent. His claims were taken up by the circle of scholars based at the German town of Saint-Die. In 1507 one of this group, Martin Waldseemuller, working from a copy of the latest Portuguese map made by the Genoese cartographer Nicolaus Caverio which had been smuggled out of Lisbon in 1505, decided that his edition should honour Vespucci. It was from Waldseemuller's map that the nomenclature of 'America' was derived. For further details, see Simon Berthon & Andrew Robinson, The Shape of the World, (London: Guild Publishing, 1991), p.81-82.

15. John Hale, The Civilisation of Europe in the Renaissance, (London: Fontana, 1993), p.48.

16. John Rastell, A New Interlude and a Mery of the Nature of the .iiii. Elements, (London, 1519), Sig. Ci^r.

17. For a discussion of the Pillars of Hercules, see John Steadman, 'Beyond Hercules: Francis Bacon and the Scientist as Hero', Studies in the Literary Imagination, 4 (1971), 3-47, (p.4).

18. Cited in Pagden, European Encounters with the New World, p.35.

19. 'Digest of Columbus's Log-Book on his First Voyage made by Bartolome de la Casas', The Four Voyages of Christopher Columbus, ed. J.M. Cohen, (London: Penguin, 1969), p.69. All references are to this edition.

20. For further details see Berthon & Robinson, The Shape of the World, p.54-56.

21. Cited in Berthon & Robinson, The Shape of the World, p.55.

22. For a fuller analysis of descriptions of earthly paradises before 1492, see George Boas, Essays on Primitivism and Related Ideas in the Middle Ages, (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1948), p.154-174.

23. Columbus, The Four Voyages, p.222.

24. Columbus, The Four Voyages, p.224; see Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions, p.79.

25. 'Christening then is the culminating instance of the marvelous speech act: in the wonder of the proper name, the movement from ignorance to knowledge, the taking of possession, the conferral of identity are fused in a moment of pure linguistic formalism', Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions, p.82.

26. Michel de Montaigne, 'On Cannibals', from Essays, trans. J.M. Cohen, (Penguin: Harmondsworth, 1958), p.118.

27. Columbus uses the concept of the 'marvel' as: 'the agent of conversion: a fluid mediator between outside and inside, spiritual and carnal, the realm of objects and the subjective impressions made by those objects, the recalcitrant otherness of a new world and the emotional effect aroused by that otherness'. See Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions, p.73-74.

28. For a more detailed analysis of the categories and traditions of the 'marvelous' see Lorraine Datson, 'Marvelous Facts and Miraculous Evidence in Early Modern Europe', Critical Inquiry, 18 (1991), 93-124.

29. Marco Polo, The Travels, ed. and trans. Ronald Latham, (London: Penguin, 1958), p.299.

30. Columbus, The Four Voyages, p.65.

31. For a fuller explication see Pagden, European Encounters with the New World, p.10-11.

32. Hernan Cortes, Letters from Mexico, ed. and trans. A.R. Pagden (New York: Grossman Pub., 1971), p.101-102. All subsequent references are to this edition.

33. Hernan Cortes, Letters from Mexico, p.108.

34. Hernan Cortes, Letters from Mexico, p.109.

35. See Wayne Franklin, Discovers, Explorers, Settlers? The Diligent Writers of Early America, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), p.6-7

36. Hernan Cortes, Letters from Mexico, p.109.

37. Cortes, Letters from Mexico, p.103-104. For a more detailed reading of Cortes's descriptive problems see, Wayne Franklin, Discovers, Explorers, Settlers?, p.7-8.

38. The Iberian military struggle, which started in 711, was not concluded until 1492 when the Moors were finally expelled from Spain.

39. Columbus, The Four Voyages, p.123.

40. Hale, The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance, p.3.

41. For further details concerning the production of regional, national and continental maps in Europe, see Richard Helgerson, Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p.105-148.

42. Quotation taken from Hale, The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance, p.6-7.

43. For details of the influence of Pythagoras on geographical knowledge see Berthon & Robinson, The Shape of the World, p.15-18.

44. For further details see Lloyd A. Brown, The Story of Maps, (London: Cresset Press, 1951), p.35-57.

45. Berthon & Robinson, The Story of Maps, p.20.

46. For a description of the Alexander's campaign and the importance of Alexandria see Berthon & Robinson, The Story of Maps, p.21-22.

47. Ptolemy's Geography was translated into Arabic in the eighth century, probably from Syrian texts. For a more detailed history of the additions and developments made by Arab cartographers to Ptolemy's work see R.V. Tooley, Maps and Map-Makers, 5th edn, (London: B.T. Batsford, 1972), p.9; Berthon and Robinson, The Story of Maps, p.60-61; see also Claudius Ptolemaeus, Cosmography: Maps from Ptolemy's Geography, ed. Lelei Pagani, trans. Simon Knight, (Wigston, Leicester: Magna Books, 1990).

48. For further details of Ptolemy's influence on Renaissance cartography and geography see R.V. Tooley, Maps and Map-Makers, p.5.

49. For further details of these Christian maps see Leo Bagrow and R.A. Skelton, History of Cartography, 2nd edn., (London: C.A. Watts, 1964), p.41-50.

50. Boies Penrose, Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1955), p.7.

51. D'Ailly demonstrated that the eastward length of the habitable world was even greater than that envisaged by Ptolemy and the Orient started close to the Pillars of Hercules. He also believed in an open Indian Ocean, an insular Africa and a habitable tropical zone. D'Ailly's Cosmographie incorporated theories expressed by Ptolemy's Geography, which was translated by Jacobus Angelus for the first time in 1406-1410. Pope Pius II wrote a critical digest of Ptolemy's Geographie, Historia Rerum Ubique Gestarum. He believed in the possibility of the circumnavigation of Africa. He also incorporated information about eastern Asia and China taken from Marco Polo and Odoric of Pordenone. Columbus possessed a copy of Pope Pius II's text. For further details see, Penrose, Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, p.9-11.

52. Penrose, Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, p.11.

53. For further details see Neil J.S. Rennie, 'Fact and Fiction in the Literature of Travel, Real and Imaginary, with particular Reference to the South Seas', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1986), p.9-10.

54. For information about the writings of Ctesias and his influence on Alexander the Great, as well as the medieval Alexandrine romances see Mary B. Campbell, The Witness and the Other World, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), p.48-49.

55. See Rudolf Wittkower, 'Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 5 (1942), 159-197.

56. John Mandeville, Mandeville's Travels, ed. M.C. Seymour, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967).

57. For further details see Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions, p.26-51; also see Campbell, The Witness and the Other World, p.122-162.

58. There were two brief breaks in this barrier. The first was Alexander the Great's defeat of the Persians in pitched battle. The second was the Romans' circumvention as they sailed round Persian territory and thus gained access to the east.

59. For a thorough sampling of figures and images characteristic of this literary and fabulous locale, see George Boas, Essays on Primitivism and Related Ideas in the Middle Ages, p.154-174; see also Wittkower, 'Marvels of the East', p.159-197.

60. For further details about "Ophir" and the fantastic wealth alleged to be found there, see Rennie, 'Fact and Fiction in the Literature of Travel', p.5.

61. For further details of Prester John, see Berthon and Robinson, The Shape of the World, p.63-64. See also, Robert Silverberg, The Realm of Prester John. (New York; Pomegranate Press, 1972).

62. For further details of these mythical and fabulous lands, see Mary W. Helms, Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge and Geographical Distance, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p.211-220.

63. Penrose, Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, p.13.

64. See Campbell, The Witness and Other Worlds, p.87-121; see also, Penrose, Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, p.14-15.

65. For an analysis of Marco Polo's Travels, see Campbell, The Witness and Other Worlds, p.92-111.

66. For more details of the different networks these city-states established and the competition between them, see Penrose, Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, p.16-17.

67. For further details of The Catalan Atlas, which was presented to Charles V of France by the King of Aragon, see Berthon & Robinson, The Shape of the World, p.70-72.

68. The portolanos were charts made by seamen for seamen. They were practical and utilitarian. The typical portolano had no graduation, but instead a network of loxodromes or rhumb lines, that is, straight lines in the direction of different winds, their points of intersection being formed into compass roses. These rhumb lines bore no relation to the actual construction of the map itself, being added after the drawing of the chart and varying from one portolan to another. These charts were outlined in hand and precisely mapped coastlines from the evidence of first-hand experience and navigational drawings. They illustrated the main ports and coastal features. For further details see Tooley, Maps and Map-Makers, p.15-16; see also Berthon and

Robinson, The Shape of the World, p.68-70.

69. For a history of technical development in navigation, see Dorothy Burwash, 'The Science and Practice of Navigation', from English Merchant Shipping, 1460-1540, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), p.1-15.

70. For a history of Portuguese exploration see Archibald R. Lewis and Timothy J. Runyan, 'The Rise of Iberian Sea Power and a New Atlantic Destiny, 1377-1498', from European Naval and Maritime History, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), p.144-163; see also Peter Padfield, Tide of Empires: Decisive Naval Campaigns in the Rise of the West, 1481-1654, 2 vols., (London: Routledge, 1979), I, p.20-43.

71. For details of the different types of ship used in the Renaissance and their different functions, see Richard W. Unger, 'The Great Invention: 1400-1550', from The Ship in the Medieval Economy, 600-1600, (London: Croom Helm, 1980), p.201-250.

72. For a history of the decisive role of naval power in the age of expansion see Peter Padfield, Tide of Empires: Decisive Naval Campaigns in the Rise of the West, I, p.44-88.

73. For a history of Vasco da Gama's expedition see Padfield, Tide of Empires, I, p.20-22.

74. For more details of these and other advantages, see Padfield, Tide of Empires, I, p.19-23.

75. During the five years of the concession, the whole of the Gulf of Guinea into the Bight of Biafra and down to the Equator, including the off-lying islands of Sao Tome and Fernando Po, were sailed, charted and opened to trade and colonists. For more information see Padfield, Tide of Empires, I, p.23.

76. Padfield, Tide of Empires, I, p.25.

77. See Padfield, Tide of Empires, I, p.24.

78. Anthony Pagden, The Fall of Natural Man, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p.29.

79. For a history of the voyages to specific regions see Andrews, Trade, Plunder and Settlement, p.56.

80. J.M. Cohen, 'Introduction', from The Four Voyages of Christopher Columbus, p.14-15.

81. For further details of Cabot's voyages, see J.A. Williamson, The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery under Henry VII, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962); see also, Patrick McGrath, 'Bristol and America', from The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America 1480-1650, ed. K.R. Andrews and others, p.81-102 (p.87-91).

82. For a history of joint-stock companies, see William Robert Scott, The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720, 3 vols., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), I, p.14-165.

83. Scott, The Constitution... of Joint Stock Companies, I, p.18-20.

84. For further details of the development of these Companies see, A.D. Innes, The Maritime and Colonial Expansion of England under the Stuarts, 1603-1714, (London: Sampson Low, 1931), p.44-50.

85. Scott, The Constitution... of Joint Stock Companies, I, p.146-147.

86. Cited by Scott, The Constitution... of Joint Stock Companies, I, p.147.

87. It was not until 1613 that the first joint-stock companies began trading with investors who were committed to economic projects which lasted for more than one venture.

88. A.D. Innes, The Maritime and Colonial Expansion of England, p.48.

CHAPTER TWO

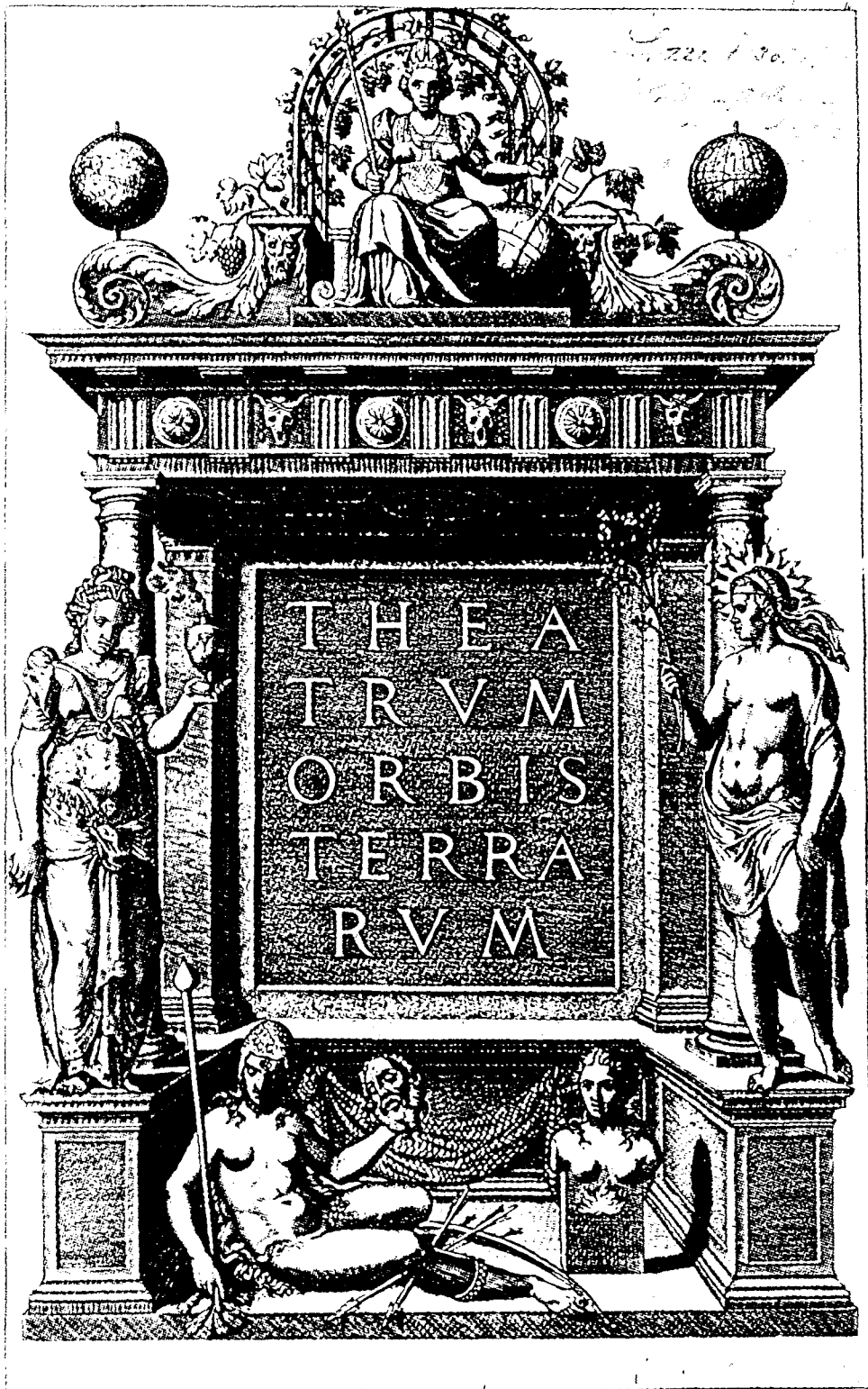
The Politics of Exploration**Introduction**

This chapter explores the ideologies behind Renaissance cartographic practices. Maps were, in this period, as much artistic expressions of ideological positions as they were scientific documents. Furthermore, though maps celebrate expansion, exploration and trade, they also announce ownership at both individual and national levels. This chapter describes the growth of 'England's' competitive determination to possess foreign territory.

Part I: Understanding the Wider World: The Politics of Maps

Similar to explorers, Renaissance cartographers also inherited an understanding of the world based on mythological speculation, inherited Classical tradition, and observations by previous travellers. A map represents a short-hand summary of current knowledge of a region. Maps also represent an area's location with regard to other regions. Maps, then, are subject to, and indicators of, ideological and political forces. For example, as John Hale ironically observes:

In the later fifteenth century, study of the second-century geographer Ptolemy led to the production of maps, centred on the Indian Ocean, that aimed to portray the world as it had been known to him, what a thin, waif-like



6. Titlepage of Abraham Ortelius, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1570.
Reprinted from John Hale, The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance, (London: Fontana, 1994), p.13.

extension of Asia was Europe!¹

To combat Ancient belittlement, Renaissance Europeans increasingly drew their maps as Europe-centred. The frontispiece of Antwerp-based cartographer Abraham Ortelius's 1572 Theatrum Orbis Terrarum clearly reveals this desire to represent Europe as superior to other continents (see fig 6). Here, Europe sits enthroned, grasping in her left-hand a christianised globe symbolising her dominion. Beneath Europe, Ortelius depicts three further female figures which correspond to stereotypical representations of Asia, Africa and America. Asia is opulently dressed, Africa is semi-clothed, and finally Ortelius renders America as naked and uncivilised as she brandishes a severed, possibly European, head.²

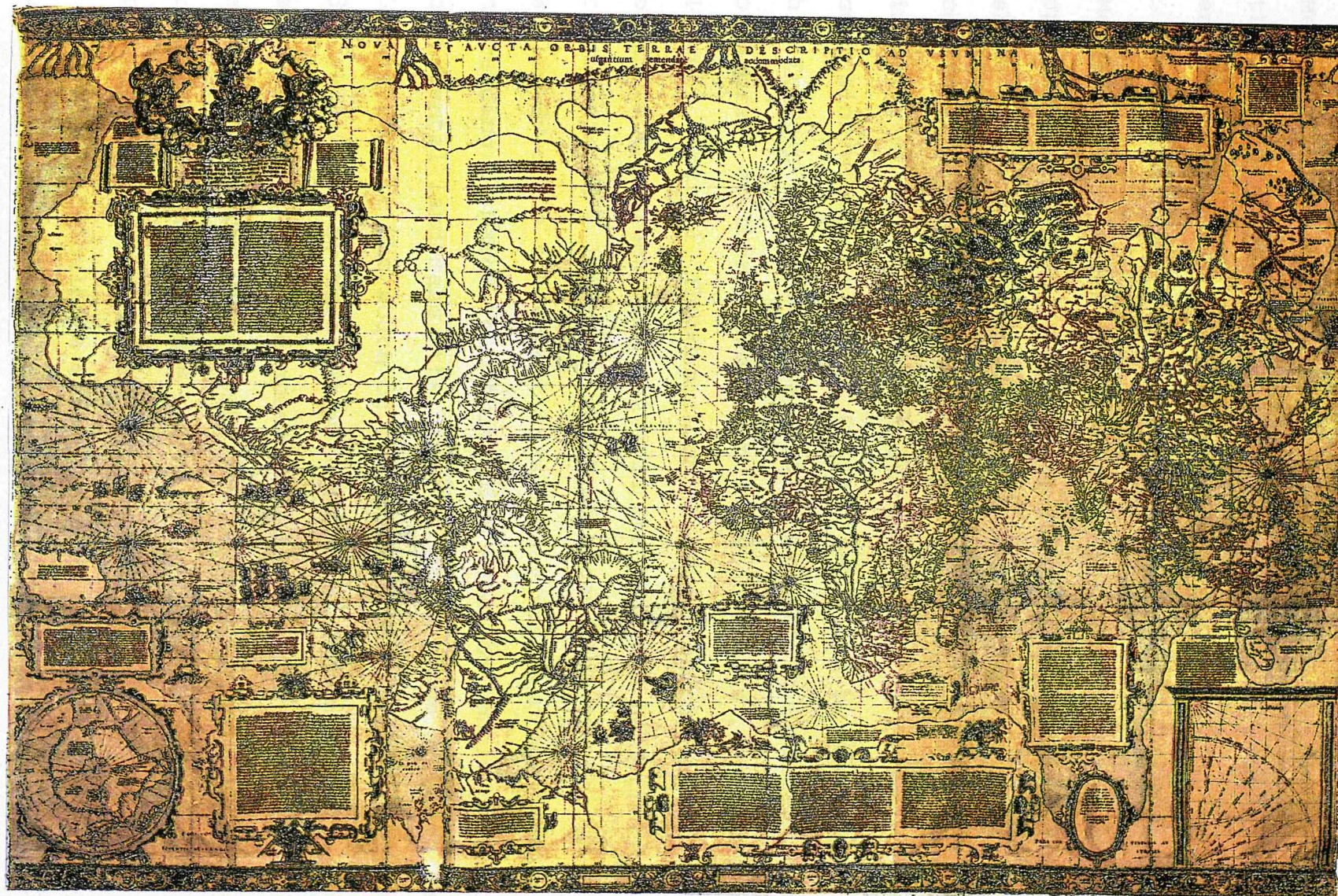
During the sixteenth century, due to the dissemination of technical advances in navigation and mapping, European explorers ventured far more frequently into both charted and uncharted waters. For example, only 200 vessels annually sailed around the Danish promontory in the late fifteenth century; one hundred years later the number had increased ten-fold.³ Similarly, for a variety of reasons, including diplomacy, education, and pilgrimage, travel through Europe became a more common activity.⁴ These travellers used maps and guidebooks which provided practical information about foreign measurements, prices and hazards, as well as recommendations about sites to visit, routes to use, and places to stay.⁵ For example, between 1475 and 1600, 127 guides to Rome were produced.⁶ The strength of this contemporary interest in maps is further revealed by the forty editions of Ortelius's Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, comprising thirty-five leaves of text

and fifty-three copperplate maps, which were published prior to 1600.⁷

Geographical knowledge, based on mariners', explorers' and travellers' experiences, and depicted by cartographers, circulated through the courts of Europe. A cartographer's job was to represent, in two dimensions, the knowledge described in these reports and translate travellers' experiences from spoken word to picture and written text. As more voyages of exploration were undertaken and trading networks and colonies established, accurate charts of sea-routes and wind-currents were essential both for mariners and for the companies and monarchs by whom they were employed. Frequently sailed routes and regions close to Europe were accurately and minutely represented. More remote regions, and yet to be 'discovered' lands, were imaginatively represented in fantasy seas. For example, a comparison between the accuracy of Gerard Mercator's 1554 European map and his 1569 World map reveals the disparity between Europe's knowledge of itself and its knowledge of the rest of the world (see fig 7 and fig 8). The carefully compiled nature of these maps bear witness to Mercator's skill and represent 'state of the art' sixteenth-century cartographic practice. His principal improvement on the European map was a reduction in the length of Ptolemy's Mediterranean, lessening its longitudinal length from 62 degrees to 53 degrees.⁸ Though still approximately ten degrees greater than later calculations, Mercator's measurements were not further corrected by cartographers until the eighteenth century.⁹ This map was instantly popular and a second edition was published in 1572, with considerable improvements



7. Mercator's Europe, from Mercator's Atlas, 1595.
 Reprinted from R.V. Tooley, Maps and Their Makers, 5th
 edn., (London: B.T. Batsford, 1972).



8. Mercator's World Map, 1569.
Reprinted from Peter Whitfield, 20 Centuries of World Maps,
(London: British Library, 1995), p.67.

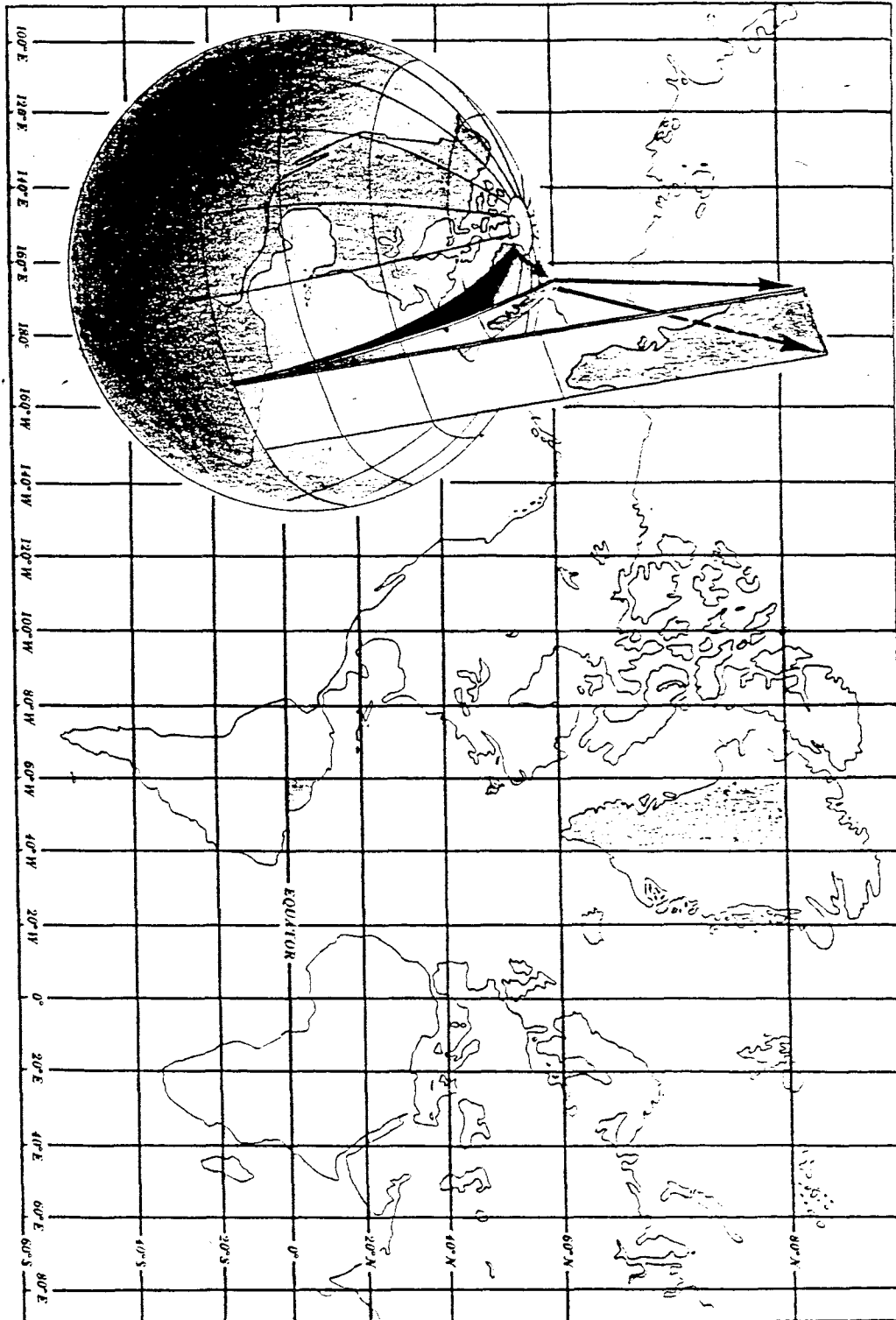
especially in its representation of Northern Europe as Mercator incorporated the results of recent English voyages to the White Sea, English observations of the latitude of Moscow and itineraries of the interior of Russia.¹⁰

However, in contrast to the accuracy of the European map, Mercator's World map still included much mythological and speculative material. He greatly improved the coastal outlines shown on the 1490 Rome edition of Ptolemy's World Outline, but continued with some of Ptolemy's misconceptions concerning the interior of the Old World. Most conspicuous of these was the confusion of the 'river of Canton' described by Marco Polo in his Travels with Ptolemy's Ganges. Mercator's representation of a great southern land, 'continens australis', was also largely fanciful. The depiction of this enormous continent was based on the Greek idea that, in the Southern hemisphere, there existed a land mass which balanced that of the Old World. Evidence to support this theory was also based on a misreading of Marco Polo from which Mercator concluded that a continental land mass, the hypothetical regions of Beach and Lucach, lay to the south of Java Major. The portions of Terra del Fuego seen by Magellan were incorporated into this southern continent, the coastline of which was brought northwards to the vicinity of New Guinea. As we shall see, this cartographic licence was satirised in Joseph Hall's 1605 text Mundus Alter et Idem.

These difficulties were even more strikingly revealed by Mercator's introduction of the new and revolutionary theory of projection on his World map. The problem of depicting a spherical world on a flat surface had assumed a greater

urgency because mariners needed sea charts to enable them to navigate over large areas of the world.¹¹ In order to preserve the straight lines required to set compass courses, the charts needed to compensate in some way for the curvature of the Earth. Mercator achieved this by increasing the distances between lines of latitude further north or south on his map. On the world map the meridians all appear as parallels, not as lines meeting at the poles. This meant that it was possible for any two points on the map to be joined by a straight line, called a 'loxodrome', which cut all meridians at the same angle.¹²

The map's theoretical construction necessitated the inclusion of lengthy notes to decipher the increasing scales Mercator used from Equator to Pole.¹³ Mercator made the spherical earth conform to the page-like map, and not vice versa. Because the meridians were all parallel - which they would be if the globe were two-dimensional, i.e. circular - he misrepresented the proportions of the land masses and stretches of ocean which were remote from the equator, as if the regions there were not curving towards one or other pole (see figure 9). Consequently, his depiction of the earth was different from any previous map. The two-dimensional status of the medium was just as important as the land masses and seascape inscribed on it. It was as if Mercator was seeking to copy the plane of a sheet of paper, as well as the globe's surface.¹⁴ This map allowed a navigator to construct a straight-line course for a voyage that, in practice, followed the curvature of the earth. The result was a map that could be 'read' only by those who understood, allowing them to



9. A gore of the globe peeled and projected, following Mercator.
 Reprinted from James Mainwaring, An Introduction to the Study of Map Projection, (London: Macmillan, 1942), p.11.

translate, the principles behind the distortion. Consequently, this made it unpopular with seamen who preferred the 'rule of thumb' method.¹⁵ The distance between the representation, the map, and the things represented, the land and sea, was too conceptually challenging for Mercator's map to be easily assimilated by the practitioners of seamanship. Robert Hues's Tractatus de globis et eorum usu (1594; translated into English in 1638) described the interval between cartographic theory and mariners' practice:

These rumbes are described in the Globe, either by greater or lesser circles, or by certain crooked winding lines. But seamen are wont to express the same in their Nauticall Charts by rights [i.e. straight] lines. But this practise is clean repugnant to the truth of the thing.¹⁶

Moreover, as Eileen Reeves has revealed, it was a distance that also possessed considerable imaginative potency.¹⁷ John Donne's 'A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning' took as one of its central conceits the translation of a ship's oblique course on the globe onto the lines on a map. With his image of the stiff twin compasses Donne emphasised the incommensurability of two of the most basic elements of geometry, the circle and the straight line.

If they be two, they are two so
As stiffe twin compasses are two,
The soul the fixt foot, makes no show
To move, but doth, if the' other doe.

And though it in the center sit,
Yet when the other far doth rome,
It leanes, and hearkens after it,
And growes erect, as that comes home.¹⁸

As John Freccero has argued, Donne's motif of the compass described 'a vortical reconciliation of body and soul'.¹⁹ The love Donne celebrated was poised between the perfect eternal circle of angelic emotion and the straight furrow of bestial

appetite. Freccero demonstrated that a spiral movement, or motus obliquus, was often connected with the seasonal course of the sun along the 'oblique circle' of the ecliptic in Neoplatonic tradition. Furthermore, a compass which 'leans and hearkens', and then traces a circumference, is, in effect, marking out the two indissoluble elements of the spiral, a circle and a straight line.²⁰

However, it is in Donne's phrase 'obliquely run', in the concluding stanza, that, according to Reeves, the parallel between a person's voyage through life and the loxodromic course was constructed.

Such wilt thou be to mee, who must
Like th'other foot, obliquely runne;
Thy firmness makes my circle just,
And makes me end, where I begunne.²¹

Human beings are neither angels, who would follow a circular path, nor animals who would follow a straight course; instead they pursue an oblique route between these two extremes.²² Humankind's course, according to the analogy, mimicked the loxodromic or oblique navigation. This style of sailing, which entailed crossing the lattice of longitudes and latitudes at a constant angle, was used by Elizabethan seamen for medium-distance journeys. For short distances a straight-line course was normally followed, while for immense distances a Great Circle route was the standard course. By the late sixteenth century cosmographers realised that unless the lines of an oblique course coincided exactly with longitudes and latitudes, then they were not straight but rather slow spirals about the poles.²³ It is the paradox central to the loxodromic course - that what appeared to be a straight line was, in fact, a spiral - which Donne appropriated when he described

the sinner's route through life, as he\she attempted to follow a straight path on a curved earth. This idea was further explored by Donne in 'Satyre III' where he explored the politics of religious choice.²⁴ In his/her quest for 'Truth', the sinner must ascend a 'huge hill/ Cragged, and steep' (79-80). The only successful route to the summit which Donne describes is - similar to the loxodromic course - a spiralling one: 'and hee that will/ Reach her, about must, and about must go' (line 80-81).²⁵

The notion of the round earth cartographically represented on a flat page-like map exercised Donne's imagination. In 'Holy Sonnet VII' Donne discussed the Last Judgement. Donne used the image of the 'round earths imagined corners', derived from Revelations 7.1., to heighten the apocalyptic tension in the text.²⁶ Moreover, in 'Hymne to God my God, in my Sicknesse', Donne imagined 'flatt maps' to be replicated by his own prostrate, 'flat' body as he lay on his sickbed enduring the ministrations of his physicians.²⁷ Like cosmographers, the physicians traced the course of Donne's illness 'per fretum febris' (through the strait of fever). This pun on the microcosm-macrocosm analogy was sustained by his reference to the Straits of Magellan, Gibraltar, and Anyan (the Bering Strait) in stanza four. In the same way that the Earthly Paradise (located in the Pacific, in the East or near Jerusalem) was reached through these Straits, Heavenly Paradise would be reached by the feverish straits of a fatal malady. On two hemisphere flat maps, such as Abraham Ortelius's Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (1570) and Francis Drake's Map of the World (1590), 'West and East ...are one' as points



10. Francis Drake's Map of the World,
Jodocus Hondius, 1590.
Reprinted from R.V. Tooley, Maps and Their Makers, 5th
edn., (London: B.T. Batsford, 1972).

on the left-hand and right-hand edges coincide (see fig 10).²⁸

Donne's conceit was that these two ostensibly antithetical directions would conflate in his death, or 'West', and resurrection, or 'East'.²⁹ In stanza four, Donne wrote:

Is the Pacifique Sea my home? Or are
the Easterne riches? Is Jerusalem?
Anyan, and Magellan, and Gibaltare,
All streights, and non but streights, are wayes to them,
Whether where Japhet dwelt, or Cham, or Sem. (Donne,
Poems, p.386)

Scholars have noticed a geographical problem with Donne's metaphor:

This seems to mean: In order to reach by sea either the Pacific or the Far East or Jerusalem from either Europe (the inheritance of Japhet) or from Africa (the inheritance of Ham) or from Asia (the inheritance of Shem), one must pass through straits. This, though, is both geographically inaccurate (the Pacific and the Far East could be reached from Europe by sailing round the Cape of Good Hope) and grammatically difficult ('Whether where' must mean 'Whether from where'). It looks as if Donne's memory had been impaired by his fever.³⁰

Donald K. Anderson resolves this problem by arguing that Donne was also influenced by archetypal 'T-in-O' maps, on which:

the Old World [was] divided into three continents by narrow bodies of water. At the junction of the T is Jerusalem; at the bottom, the Strait of Gibraltar. And on some T-in-O maps the names of Japheth, Shem and Ham appear with the names of their respective continents. In view of these facts, it seems plausible to argue that as Donne moves from Stanza 3 to Stanza 4 he switches maps. He has used the two-hemisphere map, for his death-and-resurrection analogy. He now turns to the T-in-O Map for his allusions to Jerusalem and Gibraltar and to Noah's three sons.³¹

Moreover, there seems to be another level embedded in Donne's appropriation of cartographic metaphors, specifically, his utilisation of the paradox of the loxodromic course. The double meaning of 'streights' thus becomes three-tiered: as well as referring to geographical features and dire circumstances, the word 'streights' also possessed

navigational implications. Donne wrote, 'and non but streights, are wayes to them'.³² It is possible to tease out this apparent geographical inconsistency by reading 'streights' as an ironic meditation on the loxodromic course where what appeared to be straight lines were in fact slow spirals.³³ The distances between the locations Donne described are all medium length journeys, and would be appropriate for the loxodromic course. As we have seen, Donne's 'A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning' described humankind's route through life in terms of a metaphor of oblique navigation. Similarly, in 'A Hymne to God my God, in my Sicknesse' the narrative persona occupied the middle position between the original sin of the 'first Adam' and the perfection of the 'last Adam', Christ. Thus the geographical inconsistency placed in Donne's text was matched by the paradox of, firstly, the loxodromic course and, secondly and more generally, the concept of the projection map. Just as Donne's geography was difficult to follow, on the projection map, the revolutionary form of representation that Mercator introduced was too different from previous maps for navigators to understand it since the landmasses inscribed were significantly out of kilter with their expectations.

Consequently, as Donne's use of cartographic metaphors illustrates, Renaissance maps appear to structure experience. On Mercator's and Ortelius's European maps, Europe had been 'conquered': for the first time European people were capable of conceptually and visually perceiving the scope of the physical landscape which they inhabited. Each nation state could now begin to conceptualise the borders of its neighbours

as well as its own parameters. For the first time, countries could define themselves in relation to the comparative size of other European states. However, as John Hale argues, there was a certain degree of fluidity within national boundaries until the late sixteenth century.³⁴ The revised editions of Ortelius's Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, published after 1570, included more dotted lines, to indicate the separation of countries or administrative areas, than the first edition. It was not until 1604, in Mathias Quadts atlas, that the first map, 'France with its borders', was published which explicitly drew attention to its frontiers.³⁵ Though boundaries were subject to territorial disputes, and as a consequence shifted, these printed maps still represented a political Europe. European maps, which had previously attempted to advertise a continental image, minimizing the political divisions within Europe, by the early seventeenth century started to indicate more distinct boundaries between nation states. For example, monarchs and aspiring rulers commissioned maps to reflect their power. Marlowe's dying Tamberlaine demands 'Give me a Map, then let me see how much is left for me to conquer', as he meditates on all he has achieved, and all he leaves undone.³⁶ In The First Part of Tamberlaine the Great (1587), he vowed:

I will confute those blind geographers
That make a triple region in the world,
Excluding regions which I mean to trace,
And with this pen reduce them to a Map,
Calling the provinces, cities and towns
After my name and thine, Zenocrate.³⁷

Like an aggressive European monarch, hungry for territory, Tamberlaine desires to conquer and rename, after himself, 'provinces, cities and towns' to reflect his power.³⁸

Moreover, as his derisive attack on Ptolemy's three-continent globe reveals, Tamberlaine aspires to make his cartographic mark in the New World just as much as in the Old. Tamberlaine envisages the globe as a macrocosm of himself. Marlowe's tyrant seeks to surpass Columbus, who, in 1492, erased the native American names of the lands he encountered but failed to be acknowledged by America's nomenclature. Columbus might have 'discovered' America, but the continent's name reflected Amerigo Vespucci. Tamberlaine here seeks to conflate the actions of Columbus with the commemoration of Vespucci onto a map which announces 'Tamberlaine' as the master of the world.

As we have seen, by the late sixteenth century, Renaissance World maps were still subject to mythological vagaries, cartographers' misunderstandings and abstruse technical advances. However, as Willem Blaeu's map The American Continent, first published in 1608 as part of a set of five maps depicting the world and the four continents, reveals, representations of remote regions were increasingly shaped by European politics.³⁹ The main title panel refers to America as the fourth part of the world, discovered by Columbus, named after Vespucci, and first circumnavigated by Magellan. The portraits on this title panel show the first three circumnavigators after Magellan: the Englishmen Drake and Cavendish, and the Dutchman Von Noort. The map's most striking feature was, however, the flamboyant baroque decoration depicting sea-monsters and deities, and the King of Spain travelling in splendour to survey his overseas empire. Pictorially, then, this map disclosed the relative importance of an individual European country's territorial possessions in

America.

Furthermore, the initiatives of several European governments to map accurately their own internal geography in the late sixteenth century signalled an important change in the ideological and conceptual role which maps performed. As Richard Helgerson has demonstrated, the ideological role maps effected, and their power to structure experience, can be traced in Christopher Saxton's privy council-inspired task to make a comprehensive survey of English and Welsh counties between 1572 and 1579.⁴⁰ This was the first of the series of state-funded initiatives designed to map the topography of lands under its control.⁴¹ It was a practice which spread through Europe in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Helgerson argues that changes in the deployment of heraldic arms - which signify ownership - on successive cartographic representations of England and Wales between the late-sixteenth and early-to-mid-seventeenth centuries reflected corresponding changes in ideology.⁴² Saxton's maps all displayed the heraldic arms of Queen Elizabeth, indeed the series was called The Elizabethan Atlas. On the frontispiece of the 1579 edition (which bore no title and no reference to either Saxton or William Seckford, his patron) there was a picture of the monarch enthroned.⁴³ However, Helgerson suggests that these signs of ownership were only 'decorative adjuncts' to the main purpose of the text which was to represent the land itself.⁴⁴ Indeed by the beginning of the seventeenth century, for example in the 1604 edition of John Norden's county map of Cornwall and the 1607 edition of

William Camden's Britannia, the monarch's arms appear only randomly. Furthermore, though John Speed's Theater of the Empire of Great Britain (1611) included the royal insignia on thirty-six of his forty-two maps, it was just one coat of arms amongst many. On this map, emblems of local gentry and prominent institutions were depicted, as well as diagrams of castles and cities, and important scenes and figures particular to the region's history.

These changes and developments between succeeding maps, and different editions of the same map, mark a decline in the authority conferred upon the monarch and, Helgerson argues, a corresponding rise in the status awarded to the land. The first instalment of Michael Drayton's Poly-Olbion (1612) further expanded this notion.⁴⁵ Drayton did not include the royal insignia on any of his eighteen maps. Instead, the land itself was given prime importance. Landmarks were illustrated by various nymphs and allegorical characters. Drayton's title-page shows Britain, as a Goddess attired in a map, rather than a picture of the English monarch. Drayton thus synthesised Camden's frontispiece, which was an allegorical personification of Britannia, with Saxton's frontispiece into a single image. The significance of these changes was that these cartographic representations started to support an ideology independent of that of the monarch.

Helgerson's analysis of the decline of absolutist images on maps suggests that ideologies were shaped by cartographic representation in the Renaissance. A notion of 'Englishness' emerged through the sequence of these maps which is predicated on the idea that it was the land, the earth and soil, which

was enduring. As Samuel Daniel argued, in his Collection of the Historie of England (1612), England possessed a history that could be characterised by its lack of continuity. His Historie described one invasion of England by a foreign conqueror after another. Both England's population and monarchy appeared as temporary and contingent, as he detailed a history with no consistency except for the land itself.⁴⁶ This pessimistic account of England's history has significant parallels with John Milton's The History of Britain, which was first published in 1670, but believed to have been originally composed in 1649 and revised in 1654.⁴⁷ Here, Milton saw English history as a series of failures to embrace Republican liberty.⁴⁸ For example, by drawing a parallel between 'their state and ours in the late commotions', Milton questions why fifth-century Britons, after experiencing 'civil government in all her formes ... were not found able after so many years doeing and undoeing to hit so much as into any good and laudable way that might show us hopes of a just and well amended common-wealth to come'?⁴⁹

By the early seventeenth century, as land was becoming central to a notion of Englishness, it was inevitable that as more lands were discovered, Englishmen would seek to incorporate these regions according to this emphasis on the ownership of land. On maps of England the monarchy may have ceased to be the icon which represented the essence of Englishness but, in foreign acquisitions, monarchy continued to be constructed as a central motif of ownership until much later. In 1585 John White produced a detailed and accurate map of part of Virginia.⁵⁰ The dominating symbol, in deep red, on

this map was Sir Walter Raleigh's coat of arms. Such a mark of possession implied to English entrepreneurs that in America there was land for the taking but, importantly, Raleigh's dominion had been authorised by Queen Elizabeth I. Similarly, in his text 'A Sermon Preached to the Honourable Company of the Virginian Plantation' (1622), John Donne described the connection between England and its colonies in terms of the body politic.⁵¹ Here, Donne urged the members of the Virginia Company to consider themselves the appendages of a body which was subservient to its head, King James I.⁵² Furthermore, John Smith's 1616 map of New England was used in 1623 to divide the land between twenty colonial speculators. The method employed was simply to cut Smith's map into pieces. The lots were drawn at Greenwich, in London, and King James I, who had just issued 'new Letters Patent' to the Council for New England, supervised the procedure. Indeed, Smith wrote that, in the absence of one of the speculators, the Duke of Buckingham, 'His Majesty was graciously pleased to draw the first lot in his grace's behalf, which contained the eighth number or share.'⁵³

What emerges from this debate is the idea that there were three principal varieties of printed maps in the Renaissance, each of which served ideological functions. There were national maps which sought to represent one particular country, either as a whole or as a series of regions. This sort of map allowed the subjects of that country to conceptualise themselves in relation to the landscape they occupied. As George Owen wrote, in his 1602 text Description of Pembrokeshire, the use of regional maps was a commonplace

amongst 'all noblemen and gentlemen, and [they were] daily perused by them for their better instruction of the estate of this realm'.⁵⁴ By the early seventeenth century, in England, there had emerged an ideological identity which attempted to fashion itself upon the immutability of this landscape. The dialogue between Hotspur and Glendower in Shakespeare's Henry IV illustrates this point. Whilst planning an attack on the monarch, Hotspur studies a map and finds his lands significantly smaller than those of his royal neighbour:

Methinks my moiety, north from Burton here,
In quantity equals not one of yours.
See how this river [the Trent] comes me cranking in,
And cuts me from the best of all my land.⁵⁵

To combat this problem, Hotspur proposes having 'the current in this place damm'd up' so that the river's course 'shall not wind with such a deep intent, to rob me of so rich a bottom here'.⁵⁶ Like Tamberlaine, Hotspur conflates himself with the land. His estates are an expression of his personal power. However, Hotspur's suggestion is immediately shown as impractical and far-fetched by Glendower's answer: 'Not wind? it shall, it must; you see it doth.' Glendower argues for the immutability of the landscape which cannot, he asserts, be altered by the vagaries and aspirations of particular - and ever-changing - inhabitants.⁵⁷ In this dialogue we can glimpse conservative Glendower's desire to halt the processes of landscape alteration that entrepreneurs - here symbolised by Hotspur - were effecting in regions around England. Most prominent of these landscape alterations was the debate concerning land reclamation schemes in the East Anglian Fens.⁵⁸

In contrast to the specificity of these regional or

national maps were World maps, which sought to represent the whole of geographical knowledge. These maps were continuously changing as explorers extended the parameters of the known world. The people living in these regions were expected to be different from Christian explorers. Because of earlier traditions of mythological speculation concerning indigenous peoples, both on previous maps and in descriptive texts, the inhabitants of regions remote from Europe were envisioned as barbaric and uncivilised. Decorating the margins of Bleau's The American Continent were a series of pictures of naked or semi-naked native Americans. Increasingly, these maps signalled that the regions depicted were owned by distinct European nation states. Occupying an uneasy middle-ground in between World and national maps were European maps, rendering areas inhabited by people supposedly of a similar nature. All the people here were 'civilised' but they possessed different religious and political affiliations. By the early seventeenth century maps, particularly those depicting Europe or the World, were being used more and more to signify ownership. Not surprisingly, it was when possession was contested that problems arose.

Part II: England, Europe and the World: Nationalism and Travel

It was not until the early 1550s, at least fifty years after the start of the 'age of discovery', that England began to take part in the expansionist drive experienced by other

European countries, particularly the Iberian nations. Before this date, English sailors only fleetingly ventured into uncharted waters on exploratory missions. In the reign of Edward VI, sailors from Bristol and other West country ports had done some voyaging; the Cabot cycle of voyages was partly financed by Henry VII; a brace of half-hearted American ventures were undertaken in Henry VIII's reign, and William Hawkins made shadowy expeditions to Guinea and Brazil.⁵⁹ English writers were similarly laggard in their production of geographical and travel literature. In 1519, the same year in which Utopia was drafted, Thomas More's brother-in-law, John Rastell wrote A New Interlude and a Mery of the Nature of the iiii. Elements. This text was a lecture in verse, disguised as a play, on natural science. In 1517, Rastell had been part of an expedition to New Found Land, but had got no further than Ireland. His interest in exploration was demonstrated in the cosmographical section of this whimsical text where Rastell described, in a dialogue between 'Experyence' and 'Studyous Desire', the lands encountered by the Cabots in their Tudor-sponsored missions in the 1490s. In his text, Rastell bemoaned the 'betrayal' of the mariners on these voyages whom 'wold take no paine to saile farther than their owne lyst and pleasure'.⁶⁰ The result of this incompetence was that England failed to claim possession of this territory:

O what a thyng a had be than
 Yf that they that be englyshe men
 Myght have ben the furst of all
 That there shulde have take possessyon
 And made furst buyldynge and habytacion
 A memory perpetuall
 And also what an honorable thyng
 Bothe to the realme and to the kynge
 To have had his domynyon extendynge
 There into so farre a grounde

Whiche the noble kynge of late memory
 The most wyse prynce the. vij. He[n]rry
 Causyd furst for to be founde.⁶¹

In 1527, Robert Thorne wrote a book of letters entitled The Book of Robert Thorne which circulated in manuscript form until Richard Hakluyt published it in 1582 in his Divers Voyages. This text, like Rastell's play, advocated the establishment of English overseas colonies - particularly to the North-East - as Thorne propounded the view 'there is no sea innavigable, no land uninhabitable'.⁶²

The Willoughby-Chancellor search for the northeast passage in 1553 and the founding of the Muscovy Company in 1555 marked the beginning of an English commitment to expansion. Moreover, the publication of Richard Eden's Treatise of the New India (1553) and Decades of the New World (1555) - respectively, translations of the part of Sebastian Munster's universal Cosmographia which dealt with the Columbian and Vespuccian voyages, and Spanish writer and scholar Peter Martyr's text - signalled a resolution to publish voyage literature for English readers. In 'To the Right Hyghe and Mighty Prince, the Duke of Northumberland, Hys Grace', Eden analyzed his primary motive for undertaking the project to translate Munster's text from Latin into English.

Wherefore partelye moved [by] the good affeccion, whiche I have ever borne to the science of Cosmographie, whyche entreately of the descripcion of the worlde, whereof the newe founde landes are no smal part, and much more by ye good wyll, which of duetie I beare to my natyve countrey and countreyemen, which have of late to their great praise (whatsoever succede) attempted with new viages to serche ye seas and newe found landes, I thought it worthy my travayle, to their better comfort, (as one not otherwise able to further theyr enterprise) to translate this boke oute of Latin into English.⁶³

Noticeably, Eden writes that his translation was inspired by

contemporary activities of English explorers: for example, in July 1551, the first English voyage, under the command of Windham, had departed for Barbary.

Eden's translation of Martyr's text was produced to celebrate the wedding between Queen Mary of England and Prince Philip of Spain. Eden described how, intoxicated by the shows and universal acclamations that greeted the procession of the royal couple through London on 18th August 1554, he debated how best to commemorate the ceremony.⁶⁴ He related that, unable to conceive of any original composition sufficiently worthy, he was led to consider the marvelous discoveries, conquests, and empire of the Spaniards. Moreover, because children were expected to be produced from this marriage, Eden was able to imagine Spanish possessions as the inheritance of the anticipated royal infant.⁶⁵ Consequently, in The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India Eden demonstrated an extremely positive attitude towards Spain as he praised the Godly work undertaken by Spanish explorers and conquistadors in America. In the 'Preface to the Reader', he wrote:

But the Spaniardes as the mynisters of grace and libertie, brought unto these newe gentyles thee victorie of Chrystes death wherby they beinge subdued with the wordely sworde, are nowe made free from the bondage of Sathans tyrannie... What other men do phantasie herein, I can not tell; but suer I am, that lyke as the slowe and bruttish wyttes, for the sclendernesse of theyr capacitie and effeminate hartes, do never or seldome lyfte up theyr myndes to the contemplation of goddes workes and maiestie of nature, but lyke brute beastes lookynge ever downwarde, thynke thee worlde to be in maner no bygger than theyr owne dungehylls or cagies, lyttle passynge whether the Chrystian fayth do sprede through the worlde, or bee dryven to one corner: Even so al good wyttes and honest natures (I doubte not) wyl not onely reioyce to see the kyngedome of God to bee so farre enlarged upon the face of the earthe, to the confusion of the devyll and the Turkysshe Antichryste, but also do the uttermost of theyr poure to further the same.⁶⁶

By representing all those who did not celebrate Spanish activities as both ungodly and ignorant, Eden attempted to quell anti-Spanish feelings and rivalry amongst his English readership. Differences between European peoples and nations were either ignored or marginalised as Eden demonised both the 'satanic' practices of native Americans and the 'Turkysshe Antichryste'. Moreover, in his preface, Eden outlined his proposal for the establishment of an English colony in America as he exhorted both rich noblemen and merchants to financially support English missionary activity in America:

I doubte not there bee many in Englande wolde gladly doo even among these newe gentyles if they were therto mainteyned by the ayde of the secular poure.⁶⁷

However, it was not until the 1580s, with the explorations of Francis Drake, John Hawkins, Martin Frobisher, Humphrey Gilbert and Walter Raleigh, that England made a significant contribution to overseas travel and exploration. In his 1589 text The Principal Navigations, Richard Hakluyt, rather than appropriating a Spanish history of exploration in the hope of a unified dynastic future, emphasised the fundamental differences and rivalry between European nation states.⁶⁸ For example, in The Principal Navigations Hakluyt offered a selective and strategic reading of the 'discovery' of the New World. In the 'Preface' to the 1589 edition, when describing English 'western Navigations', he wrote:

Herein thou shalt reade the attempt by Sea of the sonne of one of the Princes of Northwales, in sayling and searching towards the west more than 400. yeeres since: the offer made by Christopher Columbus that renowned Genouoys to the most sage Prince of noble memorie King Henrie the 7. with his prompt and cheerefull acceptation thereof, and the occasion whereupon it became fruitlesse, and at that time of no great effect to this kingdome: then followe the letters Patentes of the fore-said noble Prince given to John Cabot a Venetian and his 3. sonnes,

to discover and conquer in his name, and under his Banners unknown Regions: who with that Royall incouragement & contribution of the king himselfe, and some assistance in charges of English Marchants departed with 5. sailes from the Port of Bristoll accompanied with 300. Englishmen, and first of any Christians found out that mightie and large tract of lande and Sea, from the circle Arcticke as far as Florida, as appeareth in the discourse thereof.⁶⁹

Noticeably, by citing a Welsh pre-Columbian discoverer, Hakluyt created a four hundred year history of a nominally English presence in America. In this way Hakluyt constructed an earlier moment of discovery. The yoking of Welsh historical traditions to those of England by the accession of the Tudor dynasty and the Acts of Union in 1536 and 1543, enabled the Welsh prince Madoc - who was alleged to have eluded his political opponents by sailing to Alabama in 1170 - to be cited as an honorary 'English' discoverer in situ in America before an honorary 'Spanish' one.⁷⁰ Thus Hakluyt began the third, American volume of The Principal Navigations with two narratives describing the Welsh prince's activities. Furthermore, in one of his letters he commented, with some satisfaction, that: 'it appeareth that the West Indies were discovered and inhabited 322 yeares before Columbus made his first voyage which was in the year 1492.'⁷¹

Similarly, if, as Amerigo Vespucci had also claimed, the nature of discovery was redefined to become the sighting of mainland North America (Columbus's footfall had been on islands off the coast), then Sebastian Cabot's 1497 Tudor-sponsored mission could be claimed as the first discovery. And finally, the heroic figure of Columbus - the most venerated of all explorers in the Renaissance - was here described only in terms of his relationship with England. Implicit in such a

description, notwithstanding the failure of Henry Tudor's state sponsored Columbian mission - 'at that time of no great effect to this kingdom' - was the suggestion that England could lay claim to Columbus's subsequent 'discoveries'. Hakluyt's omission of a reference to Columbus's later Spanish sponsored missions and the events of 1492 in the 'Preface' was conspicuous and deliberated. In terms of a history of exploration, Columbus's landfall was habitually perceived as the pinnacle of Renaissance achievement. Hakluyt's subjugation of Columbus's importance as he concentrated on English achievements points to the strength of his desire to write England into this supreme position.

During the Renaissance a new strategy was developed by which the Old World sought to define itself and its position within the wider world: this was the collection and publication of edited compendia of voyage narratives. The travellers' reports Richard Hakluyt chose to publish in The Principal Navigations and the knowledge they described were proffered explicitly in the service of his conception of the identity of the English nation, rather than to support an ideologically undetermined, non-nationalist, or even Eurocentric project for the furtherance of knowledge.

It is the specifically English complexion of Hakluyt's collection which marked its difference from other European voyage compendia such as Fracanzano da Montalboddo's Paesi Novamente Ritrovati (1507) or Giovanni Battista Ramusio's Navigazioni e Viaggi (1550-1559) which did not confine themselves to the celebration of the activities of one particular nation.⁷² Though they usually identified the

nationality of the voyagers whose narrations they printed, their concern was in the extra-European world and its representation rather than in the political and cultural divisions within Europe.

Ramusio's and da Montalboddo's voyage compendiums, like Mercator's and Ortelius's World maps, addressed the issue of conceptualising Europe in relation to the rest of the globe. For Hakluyt this task was subservient and even contradictory to his primary aim which was to write an identity for the English nation in opposition to other European identities. In The Principal Navigations, Hakluyt offered an image of the world as a cipher through which Englishmen could find and fashion themselves. Ramusio and da Montalboddo, as they collected their voyages on a non-national basis, gave prime importance to the knowledge these travellers discovered rather than the specific national identity of the individual discoverer.

The interval between Hakluyt's concentration on a single voyaging nation and Ramusio and da Montalboddo's emphasis on descriptions of the newly discovered regions signals an important debate in the history of exploration during the Renaissance. Was it most important what was discovered? Or was it the identity of the discover that was most significant? In his 1574 travel manual, which was translated into English for the first time in 1575, Jerome Turler had attempted to define the 'preceptes of traveyling'.⁷³ Turler sought to locate a moral theory for travel that would serve as a guide for all those contemplating a voyage. He warned the traveller that, firstly, he must always keep in his mind the purpose for which

the travel was undertaken.⁷⁴ Secondly, he must always remember his home nation when abroad and not to assume the manners of the peoples he was living amongst. Thus, in his chapter 'How a Man ought to Traveill, and of the effect and commoditie of Traveill', Turler made clear that the traveller must tread a fine line between spurning the 'manners and customs' of his hosts, and consequently offending them, and embracing them to the extent that he lost his own society's values.⁷⁵ Turler warned against the promiscuous mingling of separate cultures - the values of the traveller and the values of the society he was visiting - without some sort of theoretical and moral control. By this means, Turler attempted to ensure that the traveller remained a supporter of his home society even when outside its boundaries. Thus, for Turler, the returning traveller represented no threat to his home society because, in an ideological sense, he had never been away. The significance of this text was that it constructed a theory of travel which was based on the maintenance of national identity. Turler's text discussed travel through Europe, not world-travel. This was an account designed for European nationals as they perambulated through Europe on, for example, the increasingly fashionable practice of a Grand Tour.⁷⁶

Moreover, Wayne Franklin has argued for the importance of a notion of 'home' for travellers in the Renaissance.⁷⁷ In other words, whilst in a foreign environment, the traveller must always maintain a sense of his/her national identity.

Almost by definition [the traveller] is an iconoclast; his departure, even if he goes in the service of 'home' purposes, hints not merely at the general authority of experience, but also (and more subversively) at the prospective power of individual life beyond the horizon.⁷⁸

Ramusio and da Mantalboddos' texts, with their construction of pan-European conceptions of identity possessed, therefore, much more potential to represent travel as a subversive and iconoclastic activity. As we have seen, Louis Le Roy's late sixteenth-century description of a war-torn Europe demonstrates that Europe was not perceived to be an homogenous entity. Jerome Turler's chapter, 'Of the Properties of the foure principal Nations of Europe', divided European people into separate nations.⁷⁹ Similar to the late medieval Spanish 'Poem of Alexander', where 'The people of Spain are vital and active, The French we see as bold warriors, The English are braggarts with false hearts', in Turler's summaries Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, and Spaniards, possessed very different characters, attitudes and customs.⁸⁰ By ignoring the political as well as social and cultural heterogeneity that characterised Europe, Ramusio and da Mantalboddos' pan-European voyage compendiums were ideologically unfocused as their compilations were not secured by the service of 'home' purposes. 'Europe' was a construct, useful to define the rest of the world against, as in the title page of Ortelius's Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, but Europe had no internal cohesion; it did not function as a 'home' to which the traveller could anchor his identity. As such, travels and travellers' tales that were founded on this false consciousness could be perceived as dangerously threatening since there was no state to be served by the traveller.

Moreover the English nation was a conspicuous absence from Turler's description of the 'principal Nations' of Europe. Consequently, Hakluyt claimed, was it not up to a

patriotic Englishman, inspired 'by the ardent love of my country', to redress this deficiency?⁸¹ Indeed, into the seventeenth century, well after Hakluyt attempted to formulate England as an audacious and pro-active voyaging nation, English foreign policy was significantly different from Hakluyt's empowering fantasy. These differences were particularly marked in the reign of James I. Here, the monarch pursued a pacific foreign policy of alliances with other nations in order to fashion a mediational role for England between more powerful rivals rather than actively furthering England's foreign interests.⁸²

As Richard Helgerson persuasively argues, England's burgeoning desire for territorial expansion and national recognition can be seen in Richard Hakluyt's first surviving work, A Discourse of the Commodity of the Taking of the Strait of Magallanus, written in 1580.⁸³ This text was motivated by Philip II of Spain's assumption of the crown of Portugal, thus at a stroke, massively increasing his foreign territories.⁸⁴ He wrote of 'the peril that may ensue to all the princes of Europe if the king of Spain be suffered to enjoy Portugal with the East Indies'. The threat to England was particularly grave because:

Whenever the rule and government of the East and West Indies and their several isles and territories shall be in one prince, they neither will receive English cloth nor yet care any vent of their commodities to us, having then so many places of their own to make vent and interchange of their commodities.⁸⁵

Here, the menace of the combined power of a united Spain and Portugal was represented as economic. To defuse the threat of a united Iberia, 'without great charge and without open war', Hakluyt suggested the implementation of three economic

policies. He advised:

(1) that the Strait of Magellanus be taken and fortified, inhabited and kept; (2) that the Isle of St. Vincent in Brazil and the soil adjoining be taken and kept; (3) that the northeast trade be discovered with all speed and drawn to trade.⁸⁶

Hakluyt's objective was to destroy Spain's economic power base by a two-pronged attack, one to the south and the west, and one to the north and east. Possession of the 'Strait of Magellanus' would be decisive in achieving these aims since it is represented 'the gate of entry into the treasure of both the East and West Indies'.⁸⁷ It would then be viable for the English to control 'all the golden mines of Peru and all the coast and tract of that firm of America upon the Sea of Sur.'⁸⁸ The other part of his project, the discovery of the northeast passage to the East, would provide a market for English cloth and also 'cut Spain from the trade of the spicery, to the abating of her navy, her wealth, and high credit in the world.'⁸⁹ As Helgerson comments, the audacity and geographical scope of these plans are marked, since Hakluyt's schemes included regions as disparate as China and Peru. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that Hakluyt's aggressive and bold 'England' was a country that in 1580 still did not possess any foreign territories. As Hakluyt dispiritedly confided to Philip Sidney in 1582, though it was ninety years since Columbus's 'first discovery of America', England had yet to establish a presence in America.⁹⁰

The means with which England was to frustrate Spanish power was principally economic. It was not England's exploratory missions or colonial settlements that would result in her assumption of a leading role in the European concert of

powers. Rather it was the activities of her merchants whose 'traffiques' would fulfil Hakluyt's ambitions. Richard Helgerson has forcefully argued that Hakluyt's texts revised the traditional hierarchical relationship between gentlemen-adventurers and merchants. He writes:

In no body of writings published in England in the sixteenth century - and, as far as I know, in none published elsewhere in Europe - were merchants presented more fully or more favourably or with less ideological constraint than in Hakluyt's three volumes of Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries.⁹¹

For Hakluyt, then, the merchant was just as much a heroic figure as the gentleman-backer who financed voyages of exploration. The trade routes which merchants sought, and the economic wealth they generated by their activities, were as important to English national identity as the more obviously daring and courageous exploits of aristocratic adventurers. This celebration of mercantile activity was revealed in Hakluyt's 'Epistle Dedicatorie in the First Volume of the Second Edition, 1598' where he commended the aristocratic 'Lord Charles Howard, Erle of Nottingham, Baron of Effingham, Knight of the noble Order of the Garter, Lord high Admirall of England, Ireland and Wales, &c. one of her Majesties most honourable privie Counsell'.⁹²

When I found in the first Patent graunted by Queene Marie to the Muscovy companie, that my lord your father being then lord high Admirall of England, was one of the first favourers and furtherers, with his purse and countenance, of the strange and wonderfull Discoverie of Russia, the chiefe contents of this present Volume, then I remembered the sage saying of sweet Isocrates, That sonnes ought not only to be inheritors of their fathers substance, but also of their commendable vertues and honours.⁹³

The patrician Lord Howard, father of Charles Howard, was praised because of his support for the innovative organisation of the mercantile joint-stock company, specifically, the

Muscovy Company. Hakluyt clearly conceptualised the elder Howard's commercial ventures just as positively as his son's more conspicuously heroic and honourable warlike defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Like the dedication to Charles Howard - where Howard the elder was represented as both gentle and commercial - Hakluyt's descriptions of merchants presented their activities in terms more traditionally associated with a swashbuckling elite. Merchant ships engaged in battle against 'strong and warlike' opponents, and the merchants not only performed heroically and courageously but also act as diplomatic and skilful English ambassadors before foreign princes.

But the accordance of these elite characteristics to merchants by no means precluded the furtherance of their commercial activities. The Principal Navigations was saturated with reports of the assessment of trade routes, analysis of markets, the securing of charters and commercial monopolies, ordering and conveying products, comprehending foreign coinage, weight and measure, setting up warehouses, hiring employees and overseers and details of actual trade. Hakluyt sought to advocate a policy by which the merchant class might not only appropriate behaviour more traditionally associated with their social superiors, but he believed that, in order to fashion a strong 'England', the ideological exchange needed to be reciprocal. As the commendation of the Howard family revealed, gentlemen could be associated with 'vulgar' trade and still retain their 'gentility'.⁹⁴

For Hakluyt then, the 'home values' he fostered revolved around the notion of an expansionist England. To further this

end, both merchants and gentlemen-adventurers were represented with interchangeable heroic metaphors. Gentlemen, because they serve England's ideological self-fashioning as they aimed to increase knowledge, further the spread of the Protestant religion, and aggressively thwart the interests of other European nation states. Merchants were imagined as heroic as they too had an important role to play in advancing England's destiny to be a great power. The trade-networks they would establish and the wealth these would provide were crucial to England's expansion. Since both groups supported Hakluyt's conception of the English nation, the travel they undertook was consequently defined according to hegemonic ideals. The travellers' reports Hakluyt narrates were all framed by this totalising conception of Englishness. Indeed it was the English nation itself that Hakluyt represented as a kind of 'universal voyager'.⁹⁵ The travellers' reports in The Principal Navigations could be nothing other than supportive of Englishness because Hakluyt's travellers were defined purely in terms of this identity. These voyage narratives described the travels of the home society as it attempted to trade with all the territories it came into contact with.

Significantly, it was Hakluyt's conceptualisation of the English nation as a 'universal voyager' which underpinned his particular version of the history of exploration. In the same way that the 'truth' of the texts he recounted was less important than their validation of an adventurous and expansionist English national identity - as he conflated the individual with the nation - Hakluyt read the history of discovery with the same nationalist perspective. Not only did

Hakluyt select his travellers' tales with national partiality, but, in the case of 'western' explorations in particular, this ideological position facilitated his rewriting of that history.

Not all commentators represented contact with foreigners as beneficial. For example, except for the shared emphasis on Protestantism, Phineas Fletcher's The Purple Island, or The Isle of Man (composed 1612; published 1633) can be seen as a precise counterpoint to Hakluyt's expansionist 'England'.⁹⁶ Fletcher appeared deeply sceptical concerning the benefits of exploration, as he criticised 'Vain men ... who plough the seas', as they, 'With dangerous pains', were 'Adding new worlds to th' old' (PI, I, 36). Instead, similar to Sir John Davies's 'Nosce Teipsum', Fletcher argued that Englishmen needed to 'finde your selves' (PI, I, 38).⁹⁷ The strategy Fletcher develops through the course of the text to achieve this knowledge is the dissection of the body.⁹⁸ In this text - similar to Hakluyt's conflation of the individual with the nation - Fletcher synthesised the human body with England into 'Isle of Man'. But, Fletcher argues, in order for the island to regain its lost happiness England must shun 'the painted lies' of the 'old slie Serpent' of foreign, particularly continental - and hence Catholic - influence (PI, I, 54). For Fletcher the island-body of England, which has now again been 'pull'd from that horrid main', must remain firmly anchored (PI, II, 2). The healthy body that Fletcher's text describes and, by implication, the maintenance of the Protestant religion of the nation are both contingent upon avoiding foreign contact.

A particularly striking feature of Hakluyt's The Principal Navigations was the lack of interest in the establishment of permanent English plantations and colonies in America. The Jamestown colony of 1607 never found a place in any of Hakluyt's compilations. Rather, since Hakluyt was financially supported, at least partially, by the Clothworkers' Company between 1578-1586, his aims seem to have been to re-orientate English trade away from short-range commerce in the Mediterranean and Northern Europe towards long-distance trade.⁹⁹ As the full title of his text suggests, where there is no mention of 'English Colonies', the strategies by which an expanding nation sought to maintain its foreign territories were not part of Hakluyt's brief. In The Principal Navigations, Hakluyt did not attempt to bridge the gap between Europe and the rest of the world. Rather, he visited Europe, and the rivalries between nation states, onto the wider world. It remained the task of subsequent historiographers to chronicle the English colonies.

By the seventeenth century, even though Hakluyt's The Principal Navigations had not concentrated on English colonisation, the one hundred year history of an Iberian presence in the New World, signalled that an initial voyage of discovery was only the beginning of empire formation. Particular practises, for example, the formal taking of possession of land by the explorer for his sponsors, became standardised.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, the collection of specimens, sometimes human ones, and the mapping of terrain, were customary procedures.¹⁰¹ Also, as Hakluyt briefly mentions in the preface to the second volume of the second edition of The

Principal Navigations (1599), Englishmen might be in Spanish Florida, the relic of previous voyages, 'one as yet remaineth, for ought we know, alive in the countrey.'¹⁰² Though here, Hakluyt's rivalry with Spain is apparent, explorers frequently left a small number of mariners to establish a colony. Voyages that made exciting or celebrated discoveries were speedily published for a popular reading market. For example, Columbus's letter, written on the return journey of the first voyage, was immediately published into several European languages and circulated through the courts of Europe.¹⁰³ It was published nine times in 1493, and by 1500, twenty editions had been published.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, it was not only Columbus's version of his discovery that was of interest to the literate: narratives of Columbus's historic voyages to America were written by several people including Columbus's son Hernando, Dr Chanca, physician to the fleet, Peter Martyr, the talented writer of news-letters to the great, the royalist historian Captain Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, and Bartolome de las Casas, a Spanish missionary.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, the early printing history of Hakluyt's The Principal Navigations is testimony to the popularity of voyage narratives in England, with three editions, each running to several volumes, published between 1589 and 1600.¹⁰⁶

Voyage narratives demonstrate, therefore, that discovery and colonisation were linked facets of empire formation. Discovery was an ongoing process and cannot be confined either to the initial moment when land was sighted or the first European footfall on the new land. Voyage narratives describe a complex network of indices that involve other factors, not

least an awareness of the economic and territorial possibilities that followed discovery. Columbus's letter was translated into so many other European languages precisely because it announced that his discoveries were already Spanish territory. Indeed, voyage narratives replicate broader cultural practices because they necessitate the selection and definition of what information is being sought and how it should be collated, disseminated, and used. As we shall see, there was an intricate relationship between voyage narratives and wider philosophical questions concerning the acquisition, classification, taxonomy and utilisation of knowledge in this period.

1. John Hale, The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance, (London: Fontana, 1994), p.15.
2. See Hale, The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance, p.11.
3. Hale, The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance, p.21.
4. For details see Anthony Maczak, Travel in Early Modern Europe, trans. by Ursula Phillips, (Cambridge: Polity, 1995).
5. For further details concerning European guidebooks see Maczak, Travel in Early Modern Europe, p.24-29.
6. Maczak, Travel in Early Modern Europe, p.27.
7. Hale, The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance, p.20; see also, Simon Berthon & Andrew Robinson, The Shape of the World, (London: George Philip, 1991), p.98.
8. The length of the Mediterranean Sea was given as 62 degrees by Ptolemy. Mercator shortened it to 58 degrees on his globe of 1541, and further reduced it to 53 degrees on his 1554 map. For further details of Mercator's improvements on this map see Lloyd A. Brown, The Story of Maps, (London: Cresset Press, 1951), p.159-160.
9. Crone, Maps and their Makers, (London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1953), p.112.
10. For further details about the mapping of Russia, and that country's uncertain status as part of Europe or Asia, see Hale, The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance, p.24-27.
11. For further details of Mercator's map, see Berthon & Robinson, The Shape of the World, p.98-99; also see Leo Bagrow & R.A. Skelton, History of Cartography, 2nd edn., (London: C.A.Watts, 1964), p.118-119.
12. See Peter Whitfield, The Image of the World: 20 Centuries of World Maps, (London: The British Library, 1995), p.66-69.
13. Mercator placed on his map two lengthy notes explaining how, given two of the following elements, difference of latitudes, difference of longitudes, direction, and distance, it was possible to determine the other two. The main difficulty was the determination of distance owing to the variation in scale. This he solved by the principle of similar triangles. The triangle given by the bearing between the two points on the chart, whose distance was to be determined, and their difference in latitude was constructed proportionally on the Equator. The length of the required line was then measured off in equatorial degrees, and the result obtained by multiplying the figure obtained by the appropriate number of miles (one degree being taken to equal fifteen German miles, sixty Italian, or twenty French miles). For further details see Crone, Maps and Their Makers, p.115.

14. I am indebted for this analysis to Eileen Reeves, 'John Donne and the oblique course', Renaissance Studies, 7 (1993), 168-183 (p.174).
15. For a detailed analysis of the workings of this map see Crone, Maps and Their Makers, p.114-118.
16. Robert Hues, A Learned treatise of Globes, trans. John Chilmead (London: T.P. for P. Stephens & C. Meredith, 1669), p.157.
17. Reeves, 'John Donne and the oblique course', p.168-183.
18. John Donne, 'A Valediction forbidding mourning' from Complete English Poems, ed. C.A. Patrides (London: Everyman, 1994), p.47. All subsequent references are to this edition.
19. John Freccero, 'Donne's Valediction: Forbidding Mourning', English Literary History, 30 (1963), 335-376, (p.337).
20. Reeves, 'John Donne and the Oblique Course', p.171.
21. Donne, Complete English Poems, p.47.
22. Reeves premises this reading upon John Freccero's argument that Donne's compass image celebrated a 'vortical reconciliation of body and soul', a representation of love as positioned between the perfect eternal circle of angelic emotion and the straight furrow of bestial appetite. For further details, see Reeves, 'John Donne and the Oblique Course', p.171.
23. Reeves, 'John Donne and the Oblique Course', p.174.
24. Donne, Complete English Poems, p.159-163.
25. For a fuller analysis of 'Satyre III' see James S. Baumlin, John Donne and the Rhetoric of Renaissance Discourse, (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1991), p.119-156.
26. Donne, Complete English Poems, p.343.
27. Donne, Complete English Poems, p.385-6.
28. This is a point that Donne made in his Sermons when he wrote: 'Take a flat Map, a Globe in plano, and here is East, and there is West, as far asunder as two points can be put: but reduce this flat Map to roundnesse, which is the true form, and then East and West touch one another, and are all one.' John Donne, 'A Sermon Preached to the Lords upon Easter-day, at the Communion, the King being then Dangerously sick at New-Market [28 March 1619]', in Selected Prose, ed. Neil Rhodes, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), p.149.
29. See Robert R. Owens, 'Donne's South-West Discoverie', Notes and Queries, 24 (1977), 142-143; see also Donald K. Anderson, 'Donne's "Hymne to God my God, in my sicknesse" and the T-in-O Maps', South Atlantic Quarterly, 71 (1972), 465-472.

30.J.B. Leishman, The Monarchy of Wit: An Analytical and Comparative Study of the Poetry of John Donne, (London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1951), p.273.

31.Anderson, 'Donne's "Hymne to God My God in my Sicknesse" and the T-in-Op Maps.', p.469.

32.Donne, Complete English Poems, p.386.

33.In this period 'straight' , meaning 'direct, undeviating, leading directly to its destination', was often spelt as 'streight'. For example, 'He without long tarrying or advisement, took the streight way to the sea syde' (Grafton, 1568). For further details see O.E.D.

34.For a fuller analysis of boundary demarcation on European maps see Hale, The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance, p.33-38.

35.Hale, The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance, p.35.

36.Christopher Marlowe, The Second Part of Tamberlaine the Great, Act 5, scene 3, in Christopher Marlowe The Complete Plays, ed. by J.B. Steane, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), p.253.

37.Christopher Marlowe, The First Part of Tamberlaine the Great, Act 4, scene 4, in Christopher Marlowe The Complete Plays, p.160.

38.For a detailed analysis of Marlowe's Tamberlaine see Stephen Greenblatt, Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p.193-221.

39.America Discovered: A facsimile reproduction of Blaeu's Map The American Continent, 1608, Wychwood editions, Oxford.

40.See, Richard Helgerson, Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p.107-147.

41.See Sarah Tyacke and John Huddy, Christopher Saxton and Tudor map-making, (London: The British Library, 1980). See also, Berthon & Robinson, Shape of the World, p.93.

42.Helgerson, Forms of Nationhood, p.107-122.

43.Helgerson, Forms of Nationhood, p.113.

44.Helgerson, Forms of Nationhood, p.113.

45.The Works of Michael Drayton, ed. J.William Hebel, 5 vols (Oxford: Shakespeare Head Press, 1931-41), IV.

46.The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel, ed. Alexander B. Grosart, 4 vols (London: Spencer Society, 1885-86), IV.

47. For further details see Nicholas von Maltzahn, Milton's History of Britain: Republican Historiography in the English Revolution, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p.22-48.

48. See Jonathan Sawday, 'Re-Writing a Revolution: History, Symbol and Text in the Restoration', The Seventeenth Century, 7, (1992), 171-199.

49. John Milton, The History of Britain, in Complete Prose Works of John Milton, ed. Don M. Woolfe, 5 vols., (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953-71), V, p.1-451 (p.441).

50. For further details see Berthon & Robinson, The Shape of the World, p.92.

51. The Sermons of John Donne, ed. G.R. Potter & E.M. Simpson, 10 vols., (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953-1962), IV, p.264-282.

52. Donne, Sermons, IV, p.282.

53. Cited in Berthon & Robinson, The Shape of the World, p.94.

54. Hale, The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance, p.18.

55. Shakespeare, Henry IV, Part 1, 3. i., in William Shakespeare The Complete Works, ed. by Peter Alexander, (London: Collins, 1951), p.497.

56. Shakespeare, Henry IV, Part 1, 3. i., p.497.

57. For a similar analysis see Hale, The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance, p.17.

58. Though the debate about the benefits of reclaiming large areas of the East Anglian Fens reached its height in the mid seventeenth century, smaller reclamation schemes had been in operation from the early Middle Ages particularly in the Holland Fen. See Keith Lindley, Fenland Riots and the English Revolution, (London: Heinemann, 1982).

59. For details of these early English voyages see Patrick McGrath, 'Bristol and America 1480-1631' in The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America 1480-1650, ed. K.R. Andrews & others, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978), p.81-102.

60. John Rastell, A New Interlude and a Mery on the Nature of the iiiii. Elements, (London, 1519), Sig C1^r.

61. Rastell, A New Interlude, Sig C1^r.

62. Quoted from Boies Penrose, Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1955), p.313.

63. The First Three English Books on America, ed. Edward Arber, (Birmingham: privately published, 1885), p.5.

64.Eden, 'Potentissimo Ac Serenissimo Philippo, Ac Serenissimae Potentissimaeque Mariae', from The First Three English Books on America, p.46. All references are to this edition.

65.Eden, 'Potentissimo Ac Serenissimo Philippo, Ac Serenissimae Potentissimaeque Mariae', p.46.

66.Eden, 'Potentissimo Ac Serenissimo Philippo, Ac Serenissimae Potentissimaeque Mariae', p.50.

67.Eden, 'Potentissimo Ac Serenissimo Philippo, Ac Serenissimae Potentissimaeque Mariae', p.58.

68.Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, 10 vols., (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1927-1928).

69.Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, I, p.9.

70.On the Madoc myth, see Gwyn A. Williams, Madoc: The Legend of the Welsh Discovery of America, (London: Eyre Methuen, 1979), p.31-67.

71.The Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, ed. by E.G.R. Taylor, 2 vols., (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1935), II, p.290.

72.For further details of the publishing history of da Montalboddo's and Ramusio's texts see The First Three English Books on America, ed. by Edward Arber, p.xiv-xv.

73.Jerome Turler, The Traveiller, ed. D.E. Baughan (Gainesville, Florida: Scholars Facsimiles and Reprints, 1951), Sig A 3^v. All references are to this edition.

74.Turler, The Traveiller, p.5.

75.Turler, The Traveiller, p.19-22.

76.For further details of the European Grand Tour - specifically Grand Tours made by aristocratic Englishmen - see John Stoye, English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667: Their Influence in English Society and Politics, 2nd edn., (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

77.Wayne Franklin, Discoverers, Explorers, Settlers?: The Diligent Writers of Early America, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1979).

78.Wayne Franklin, Discoverers, Explorers, Settlers?, p.12.

79.Turler, The Traveiller, p.39-46.

80.Cited by Hale, The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance, p.51.

81.Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, I, p.13.

82. For more details of James's pacific foreign policy see Alan G.R. Smith, The Reign of James I and VI, (London: Macmillan, 1973), p.15-18.

83. Richard Hakluyt, The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, I, p.139. I am indebted to Richard Helgerson for this analysis; for further details see Richard Helgerson, p.163-164.

84. For details of the Spanish empire, see J.H. Elliott, Spain and its World, 1500-1700, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p.7-26.

85. Hakluyt, Correspondence, I, p.143.

86. Hakluyt, Correspondence, I, p.140.

87. Hakluyt, Correspondence, I, p.140.

88. Hakluyt, Correspondence, I, p.142.

89. Hakluyt, Correspondence, I, p.144.

90. Richard Hakluyt, 'To the right worshipfull and most virtuous Gentleman, Master Philip Sydney Esquire' in Correspondence, I, p.175.

91. Helgerson, Forms of Nationhood, p.170.

92. Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, I, p.13.

93. Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, I, p.14.

94. For more details of this argument concerning the genres and values associated with the classes of merchants and gentlemen, see Helgerson, Forms of Nationhood, p.171-181.

95. Helgerson, Forms of Nationhood, p.178.

96. Phineas Fletcher, The Purple Island, The Poetical Works of Giles and Phineas Fletcher, ed. F.S. Boas, 2 vols., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908-9), II, p.1-171. All references are to this edition. For a recent critical analysis of Fletcher's text see Jonathan Sawday, The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture, (London: Routledge, 1995), p.170-182; see also Thomas Healy, 'Sound Physic: Phineas Fletcher's The Purple Island and the Poetry of Purgation', Renaissance Studies 5 (1991) 341-352.

97. Sir John Davies, 'Nosce Teipsum: This Oracle Expounded in two Elegies: Of the Soule of Man, and the Immortalitie thereof', in Poems of Sir John Davies, ed. by Robert Kreuger, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), p.3-67.

98. See Sawday, The Body Emblazoned, p.174-180.

99. G.D. Ramsay, 'Clothworkers, Merchant Adventurers and Richard Hakluyt', English Historical Review, 92 (1977), 505-21.

100. For an analysis of Columbus's ritualised gestures, designed to make America Spanish territory, see Stephen Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p.52-85.

101. Columbus brought native Americans back to Spain on all four of his voyages. For example, in his journal entry of 12th November 1492, he writes: 'I have sent men to a house on the west bank of the river. They have brought me back seven head of women, girls and adults, and three infants.' For further details see Tzvetan Todorov, The Conquest of America, trans. Richard Howard, (New York: HarperPerennial, 1985), p.48. In 1530, William Hawkins brought to England a 'savage king' to meet King Henry VIII. New World people appeared in Rouen in 1509, and Cartier's kidnapped Huron chief Donnacona cut a sensational swath at the court of Francois I in the 1530s. For further details see William Brandon, New Worlds for Old: Reports from the New World and Their Effect on the Development of Social Thought in Europe, 1500-1800, (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1986), p.14-15.

102. Richard Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, I, p.40.

103. Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions, p.60.

104. See J.H. Elliot, The Old World and the New, 1492-1650, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.9.

105. For further details see The Four Voyages of Christopher Columbus, ed. J.M. Cohen, (London: Penguin, 1968), p.11-24.

106. See D.B. Quinn, & others, 'Works Compiled, Translated or Published by Richard Hakluyt', in The Hakluyt Handbook, ed. D.B. Quinn, 2 vols, (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1974), II, p.461-528.

CHAPTER THREE

Heroic Figures? The Scientist, the Lawyer and Discovery.

Introduction

In England, how were the amazing discoveries of Renaissance explorers explained? We have already seen the ways in which Christopher Columbus described the lands he encountered to Europe. His recourse to a language of the 'marvelous' revealed the difficulties explorers faced when confronted with peoples and terrain outside of their own, their paymasters' and their audiences' conceptual experiences. Explorers like Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, and Humphrey Gilbert, and publicists like Richard Eden and Richard Hakluyt, had, literally and metaphorically, opened up a New World before the amazed and curious eyes of the Old. Europeans needed a new theoretical and philosophical apparatus to incorporate travellers' tales concerning strange new worlds and civilisations. Humanist philosophy, because of its concentration upon the excavation of Ancient wisdom and knowledge, was unable to assimilate the discovery of whole continents about which the Ancients had been unaware.¹ Furthermore, Renaissance explorers wanted to emulate rather than excavate past achievements. Plus ultra (further yet), rather than ne plus ultra (no further) was the epithet of the age.² It was necessary, therefore, for philosophers,

scientists, lawyers and churchmen in the Old World to formulate new systems and methodologies to explain, classify and disseminate this new knowledge and, equally importantly, to justify the colonisation of new lands for their respective governments. This chapter will examine the ways in which these images of explorers and colonisers taken from voyages of discovery are appropriated by the philosophical systems articulated by Francis Bacon and Sir John Davies.

Part I: The Heroic Scientist? Francis Bacon and the Discovery of America

The opening of Francis Bacon's The Great Instauration conflates the image of the explorer with the larger project for the acquisition of knowledge. When discussing past discoveries made by the Ancients, Bacon writes:

But as in former ages when men sailed only by observation of the stars, they could indeed coast along the shores of the old continent or cross a few small and mediterranean seas; but before the ocean could be traversed and the new world discovered, the use of the mariner's needle, as a more faithful and certain guide, had to be found out; in the like manner discoveries which have been hitherto made in the arts and sciences are such as might be made by practice, meditation, observation, argumentation, - for they lay near to the senses, and immediately beneath common notions; but before we can reach the remoter and more hidden parts of nature, it is necessary that a more perfect use and application of the human mind and intellect be introduced.³

For Bacon, in this revealing statement, the scientist's mission was to discover the 'remoter' parts of nature which were described as 'the new world'. Similar to John Donne's

description, in 1609, of his mistress going to bed as 'my America! my new-found-land', Bacon also contemplates a female America as a region to be penetrated by male scientists and explorers.⁴ As he watches his mistress undress, Donne anticipates his exploration of her body, calling her 'My myne of precious stones: My Emperie, How blest am I in this discovering thee'.⁵ For Donne, sexual knowledge is imagined as possession of territory; his mistress's body, as it is gradually revealed ('discovered'), becomes a set of valuable resources to be exploited. Bacon's metaphor uses the image of 'the new world', rather than 'a new world' or 'new worlds'. Bacon attempts, then, to encourage and foster discoveries in the arts and sciences in the future, but he supported his argument with an image of something - 'America' - that had already been discovered. America could no longer be accurately described as either 'remote' or 'hidden'. America was now part of the known world.

America had been a new world in 1492 but by 1620, the date of publication of The Great Instauration, descriptions of the continent of America had become established as 'the new world'. There was a degree of habituation in the usage of the metaphor which Bacon exploited in order to emphasise the continuous nature of 'discovery'. By the seventeenth century America had been known as 'the new world' for over one hundred years. As Willem Blaeu's 1608 map The American Continent indicates, the coastline had been mapped; but her 'remoter parts' had yet to be penetrated.⁶ In 1620 England possessed various colonies in North America, the most established and

well-known being Virginia and New England.⁷ America was both already discovered and, simultaneously, in the process of being discovered. Previous scientific discoveries and technical advances in navigation, such as the mariner's needle, the portolan charts, and the compass, had enabled explorers to find America. In 1620 Bacon fed this earlier alliance between science and exploration back into his argument for future scientific discovery. Developments in exploration had been dependent upon improvements in technology and consequently, according to his logic, progress in exploration should be used to inspire scientific endeavour.

However, the discovery of America is not always represented by Bacon in wholly positive terms. In Valerius Terminus, probably composed in 1603 but not published until 1734, Bacon describes the 'barbarous' nature of the 'new regions of people'.⁸

Let it be believed, and appeal therof made to Time, (with renunciation nevertheless to all the vain and abusing promises of Alchemists and Magicians, and such like light, idle, ignorant, credulous, and fantastical wits and sects) that the new-found world of land was not greater addition to the ancient continent than there remaineth at this day a world of inventions and sciences unknown, having respect to those that are known, with this difference, that the ancient regions of knowledge will seem as barbarous compared with the new, as the new regions of people seem barbarous compared to many of the old.⁹

As he had argued in The Great Instauration, here Bacon claims that the discovery of America and the revolution it represented for geographical knowledge should not be seen as a greater accomplishment than the discoveries possible for science. However, his analysis differed in the representation of the things discovered, in this case 'barbarous' native

peoples. In some ways this description is not surprising; Bacon was, no doubt, fully versed in racial characterisations of peoples from other cultures in the period.¹⁰ What is surprising is that he selects a negative description of America to substantiate his argument. It would be more consistent with his other descriptions to concentrate upon the positive discoveries made in America for example, commodities found - such as precious metals - or new species of plants capable of commercial exploitation such as tobacco.¹¹ Instead Bacon describes the barbarity of the native Americans. Why? The answer to this question can be found within Bacon's phrase, 'the new regions of people seem barbarous compared to many of the old.' Unlike Montaigne, who, in his essay 'On Cannibals', saw native Americans as capable of regenerating Europeans, in Bacon's description, native peoples reflected the barbarity of some of the people of the old world.¹² Who, then, were these barbarous people in the old world? The clue lies in parenthesis with Bacon's derisive attack on 'Alchemists and Magicians, and such like light, idle, ignorant, credulous, and fantastical wits and sects'. It was these alchemists and magicians or, in other words, charlatan scientists, whom Bacon held in contempt.¹³ Bacon implies, then, that native Americans need civilising in the same way that charlatan scientists require a reliable scientific methodology.

Bacon's appropriation of images of the New World begins to look distinctly double-edged. On the one hand, he employs them to stir up scientific endeavour. On the other, images of

America appear as metaphors for the ongoing problems within European science. Bacon's attack on charlatan scientists serves as an indictment against those who employ incorrect methodologies for their interrogation of nature's secrets. Similarly, Bacon's construction of America as an equivocal image in the opening of The Great Instauration reveals his desire to construct a clear methodology for the examination of nature. Bacon's use of the paradox within the term 'new world' forces scientists to examine their own aims to inspire 'a more perfect use and application of the human mind and intellect'.¹⁴

Moreover, Bacon's commercialism is clear: native Americans, whose differences from Europeans are caused 'not from soil, not from climate, not from race, but from the arts' were, according to Bacon, servile, because they are incapable of cultivating the land they occupy.¹⁵ Similar to Spanish conquistadors, who believed that since native Americans did not appear to work their land then they could not claim possession of it, Bacon here implies that native Americans have no land rights.¹⁶ As Portuguese Jesuit Manuel de Nobrega pondered in 1579, it was still a mystery why God had given 'such a good land to such an uncultivated people' (the Tupinamba of Brazil).¹⁷ According to these arguments, because Amerindians do not use their land properly, i.e. under European cultivation systems, and quack scientists are incapable of exploiting the commercial resources of nature, then both conquering Europeans in the New World and English empiric scientists are morally sanctioned to impose their own

methodologies. Bacon's emphasis upon commercialism became incorporated by mid seventeenth-century English colonial settlers. For example, Robert Child and John Winthrop, prospected for minerals and introduced innovative agricultural practices in Massachusetts in the late 1630s. Though some of their innovations were commercial failures, the ironworks they established were highly profitable.¹⁸ Furthermore, in the 1650s, in Ireland, this commercial aspect of Baconianism is clearly revealed in the Boate brothers' text Irelands Natural History, a text which was vigorously promoted by Samuel Hartlib.¹⁹ They argued that Ireland's mineral resources had been under-exploited by the native population due to their innate laziness as they have been 'so far from seeking out' such resources. Only the 'New English' had begun this task.²⁰

As we have seen, in Valerius Terminus, alchemists and magicians were represented by Bacon as villains who, in their investigations, failed to develop a methodology for the effective use of nature's resources. Which characters, then, did he represent as heroes? And what qualities made them heroic? In his writings Bacon constructs the natural scientist and the inventor as heroic figures. The most potent example of this heroic construction for the scientist was Bacon's revision of the leitmotif of the pillars of Hercules and his adaptation of the aphorism Ne plus ultra into Plus ultra. The utilisation of this motif and motto was both assertive and bold. Hercules was traditionally viewed as the paragon and cynosure of heroic virtue, and the expression Plus ultra had been the adage for the dominium and empire of the Holy Roman

Emperor Charles V.²¹ Therefore the choice of such an audacious image and motto for the title-page of The Great Instauration signals that Bacon's aim was the establishment of an equally ambitious and heroic methodology for science. It is a methodology that would rival and ultimately, Bacon implies, defeat both Spanish territorial interests and the knowledge of the Ancients. Moreover, the New World empire had already yielded immense wealth in silver and other resources to Spain.²² As Bacon wrote concerning the Spanish conquest in Advertisement touching an Holy War, 'We see what floods of treasure have flowed into Europe by that action...Besides, infinite is the access of territory and empire by the same enterprise.'²³ Written in 1622, whilst negotiations were in progress concerning the marriage of Prince Charles with the Spanish infanta, Bacon's criticisms of Spain were, in Advertisement touching an Holy War, necessarily tempered. However, while ostensibly praising the Spanish dominions on which 'the sun never sets', there is still a noticeable reluctance to celebrate Spanish achievements. Spanish monarchy is described as 'a beam of glory (though I cannot say it is so solid a body of glory)'.²⁴ Bacon's appropriation of these images is confrontational. The figure of Hercules was a classical ideal and the Columns of Hercules represented the limit of both the known world and knowledge. Bacon's aim to sail beyond this frontier thus marks his intention to go beyond Ancient knowledge. Furthermore, the appropriation of the motto of the expansionist Spanish Empire and its placement within the context of a document expounding the merits of

specifically English science underscores both the rivalry between the emerging English and Spanish nation states and Bacon's desire to boost the English economy.²⁵

Representations of the figure of Hercules in Classical and Renaissance literature are complex. Though endowed with god-like strength, courage and fortitude, the character of Hercules also possessed a much earthier side. This human aspect was revealed by his violent temper, intemperance and amorousness. These contradictions had made him a difficult character about which to construct a unified epic or tragedy. Consequently dramatists such as Sophocles, in The Women of Trachis and Heracles, produced enduring tragedies centring on his death while, conversely, Aristophanes and other comic poets concentrated on Hercules's human weaknesses.²⁶ Bacon exploits these contradictions within the figure of Hercules. The negative resonances are utilised to reveal the deficiencies of Ancient learning. In Of The Wisdom of the Ancients when describing Orpheus, 'or Philosophy', Bacon writes;

For Orpheus himself, - a man admirable and truly divine, who being master of all harmony subdued and drew all things after him by sweet and gentle measures, - may pass by an easy metaphor for philosophy personified. For as the works of wisdom surpass in dignity and power the works of strength, so the labours of Orpheus surpass the labours of Hercules.²⁷

Later, in the same section, he writes that natural philosophy's 'noblest work' is:

the restitution and renovation of things corruptible, and (what is indeed the same thing in a lower degree) the conservation of bodies in the state in which they are, and the retardation of dissolution and putrefaction.²⁸

Orpheus's power lies in his corrective capacity or, in other

words, his ability to restore nature to an earlier state of perfection. The labours of Hercules and by implication, his heroism, are represented as inferior in comparison to the standards set by Orpheus. Consequently, the utilisation of the motif of the pillars of Hercules, an image derived from the tenth labour, can be read as further evidence of Bacon's belittlement of both Ancient learning and the Spanish Empire.²⁹ Not only is it Bacon's avowed intention to proceed beyond the limits to knowledge which Hercules has established, his appropriation of the figure of Hercules - an equivocal and morally ambiguous hero - also implies the inadequacies inherent within imperial Spain and Classical learning.

In The New Organon, specifically 'Aphorisms concerning the Interpretation of Nature and the Kingdom of Man, LXXII', Bacon continued his invective against Ancient knowledge and, similar to the opening of The Great Instauration, used the conflation of voyage motif and the process of discovery to evaluate the success or failure of the Greek nation. When describing the limits of Greek knowledge he writes;

And of the regions and districts of the world they knew but a small portion; giving indiscriminately the name of Scythians to all in the North, of Celts to all in the West; knowing nothing of Africa beyond the hither side of Aethiopia, of Asia beyond the Ganges; much less were they acquainted with the provinces of the New World, even by hearsay or any well-founded rumour; nay, a multitude of climates and zones, wherein innumerable nations breathe and live, were pronounced by them to be uninhabitable; and the travels of Democritus, Plato and Pythagoras, which were rather suburban excursions than distant journeys, were talked of as something great. In our times on the other hand both many parts of the New World and the limits on every side of the Old World are known, and our stock of experience has increased to an infinite amount.³⁰

In this quotation Bacon depicts the Greeks as ignorant of vast

territories, incorrect in their opinions concerning these territories, and prosaic in their ambitions to discover new terrains. These failures reveal the Greek's inadequate understanding of the process of discovery. They possessed no methodology which would allow them the ability to discover 'new regions and districts of the world'. A correct methodology would have opened up these hidden areas, allowed the Greeks to be accurate in their descriptions and increased their ambitions concerning scope of their destinations. Bacon's catalogue of the Greek nation's defects was not concerned merely with the moment of discovery. Greek failures extended throughout the whole process. The Greeks were unable to conceive of a larger world, they were incapable of distinguishing between peoples, and unable either to describe accurately or use successfully the things they did discover. The privileged term within this quotation, which Bacon uses to signal the superiority of recent learning, was 'experience'. The discovery of the New World and the knowledge of the limits of the Old meant 'our stock of experience has increased to an infinite amount'. Classical learning was of no value in interpreting the phenomena of a part of the world about which it had been ignorant. As Francisco de Oviedo argued in Historia General y Natural de las Indias, the New World could only be learnt about through personal experience: 'What I have said cannot be learnt in Salamanca, Bologna or Paris.'³¹

The importance of 'experience' for Bacon is further revealed when, later in the same text, he extols the achievements of the 'heroic' figure of Christopher Columbus:

And therefore it is fit that I publish and set forth those conjectures of mine which make hope in this matter reasonable; just as Columbus did, before that wonderful voyage of his across the Atlantic, when he gave the reasons for his conviction that new lands and continents might be discovered besides those which were known before; which reasons, though rejected at first, were afterwards made good by experience, and were the causes and beginnings of great events.³²

Here 'experience' of the New World is represented as the herald of even more heroic achievements. Tantalisingly, Bacon is not explicit about what these 'great events' had been or would be. Moreover, for Bacon, Columbus is a progressive figure; thus there is no mention of Columbus's life-long belief that he thought he was discovering a new route to part of Asia.³³ In New Atlantis (1627), Bacon offered another tribute to Columbus as he included a statue of the explorer in the gallery devoted to the memory of 'all principle inventors'.³⁴ Furthermore, the privileging of the word 'experience' again implies the continuous process of discovery. Gaining of experience is a long term project, it does not merely occur in the initial moment of discovery. Because Bacon represents his ultimate aim for science in this way - science should seek to increase humanity's 'experience' - the methodology he fosters also concentrates on long-term aims.

Bacon appropriates heroic topoi to support his empiric methodology for the advancement of science. This methodology is summarised in The Great Instauration where Bacon writes concerning the inductive method:

Now what the sciences stand in need of is a form of induction which shall analyse experience and take it to pieces, and by a due process of exclusion and rejection lead to an inevitable conclusion.³⁵

The project for science was thus to develop 'experience', or data, into universal truths. 'Experience' is the raw material from which the scientist will be able to understand nature. As Bacon continues, 'experience' is not a simple solution to the problem of how humanity should acquire knowledge. He writes:

Lastly knowing how much the sight of man's mind is distracted by experience and history, and how hard it is at the first (especially for minds either tender or preoccupied) to become familiar with nature, I not unfrequently subjoin observations of my own, being as the first offers, inclinations, and as it were glances of history towards philosophy; both by way of an assurance to men that they will not be kept for ever tossing on the waves of experience, and also that when the time comes for the intellect to begin its work, it may find everything the more ready.³⁶

'Experience', we see here, is equivocal material. The Greeks had not possessed 'experience', so, according to Bacon, any philosophical system they deduced had been doomed to failure. But, importantly, even those who possess 'experience' are not guaranteed success in their attempts to understand and reach those hidden parts of nature. Something else is needed to prevent humanity from hopelessly 'ever tossing upon the waves of experience'. The metaphor implies that it is a course or bearing that is needed to enable scientists to steer their 'ships'. Bacon's emphasis upon the prime importance of the ability of scientists to pilot their projects is further revealed by the stress he laid upon the discovery of the mariner's needle and the consequent revolution he believed it had afforded for the art of navigation. But, if we continue with this metaphor for a moment longer, what, for Bacon, is the 'mariner's needle' or magnet which will realign 'experience' and translate it into a philosophical methodology

to allow Man to understand nature?

As Bacon's appropriation of the morally ambivalent figure of Hercules as a metaphor of the inadequacies of Ancient learning reveals, heroic topoi alone do not adequately cover Bacon's conception of scientists' larger project. In Novum Organon, when writing 'a few words touching the excellency of the end in view', he writes:

In the first place then, the introduction of famous discoveries appears to hold by far the first place among human actions; and this was the judgement of the former ages. For to the authors of inventions they awarded divine honours; while to those who did good service in the state (such as founders of cities and empires, legislators, saviours of their country from long endured evils, quellers of tyrannies, and the like) they decreed no higher honours than heroic. And certainly if a man rightly compare the two, he will find this judgement of antiquity was just. For the benefit of discoveries may extend to the whole race of man, civil benefits only to particular places; the latter last not beyond a few ages, the former through all time.³⁷

This statement makes explicit the evaluative criteria that underpin Bacon's world-view. 'Discoverers' were awarded a 'divine' status by the Ancients and Bacon clearly supports this identification. Men that serve the state are allotted heroic topoi, but there is a clear delineation between the categories of the 'heroic' and the 'divine' and the men that Bacon places in each.

Bacon imagines the figure of the inductive scientist not merely as a hero but also as a god. Bacon's construction of a hierarchical index of value is similarly revealed when he compares the 'barbarous' New Indians (native Americans) to the most 'civilised' Europeans in Novum Organon 'to justify the saying that "man is a god to man"'.³⁸ If Europeans' incorrect methodologies could appear godlike, then, Bacon suggests, how

much more 'divine' by comparison would appear the inductive methodology of the empiric scientist?

This construction of the 'godlike' scientist results in some obvious theological problems as it could easily be perceived as blasphemous by more traditional commentators. As we shall see, John Donne, in Ignatius His Conclave (1611), questioned the arrogance of empiric scientists like Galileo who, with his telescopic discoveries 'hath summoned the other worlds ... to give him an account of themselves'.³⁹ The scientist's quest after knowledge might lead him into areas reserved for the Protestant God. Indeed this problem is specifically addressed by Bacon at the beginning of the Advancement of Learning Divine and Human. Bacon constructs a reading of the Fall - the moment from Judeo/Christian tradition where 'over-much knowledge' results in the loss of the spiritual and geographic state of Paradise - to justify his empiric programme and make clear his religious orthodoxy. He writes:

It was not the pure knowledge of nature and universality, a knowledge by the light whereof man did give names unto other creatures in Paradise, as they were brought before him, according unto their proprieties, which gave occasion to the fall; but it was the proud knowledge of good and evil, with an intent in man to give law unto himself and to depend no more upon God's commandments, which was the form of the temptation.⁴⁰

Knowledge, in this statement, is separated into twin domains which were given the names 'pure' and 'proud' knowledge. Continuing with this categorisation, Bacon replies to St. Paul's warning: 'That we be not spoiled through vain philosophy.' Firstly he writes:

It is manifest that there is no danger at all in the

proportion or quantity of knowledge, how large soever, lest it should make it swell or out-compass itself; no, but it is merely the quality of knowledge, which be it in quantity more or less, if it be taken without the true corrective thereof, hath in it some nature of venom or malignity, and some effects of that venom, which is ventosity or swelling. This corrective spice, the mixture whereof maketh knowledge so sovereign is Charity.⁴¹

Moreover, the quest for knowledge was perfectly legitimate so long as three limitations were maintained. These were:

The first, that we do not so place our felicity in knowledge, as we forget our mortality. The second, that we make application of our knowledge to give ourselves repose and contentment, and not distaste or repining. The third, that we do not presume by the contemplation of nature to attain to the mysteries of God.⁴²

Touching this third limitation Bacon continues:

For if any man shall think by view and inquiry into these sensible and material things to attain that light whereby he may reveal unto himself the nature or will of God, then indeed is he spoiled by vain philosophy; for the contemplation of God's creatures and works produceth (having regard to the works and creatures themselves) knowledge; but having regard to God, no perfect knowledge, but wonder, which is broken knowledge.⁴³

Finally Bacon concluded his argument for the justification of his programme to advance learning:

It is an assured truth and a conclusion of experience, that a little or superficial knowledge of philosophy may incline the mind of man to atheism, but a farther proceeding therein doth bring the mind back again to religion.⁴⁴

This section of Bacon's text made distinct the parameters of an empiric methodology. Bacon deliberately and firmly makes his religious orthodoxy plain. His aim is not to seek after first causes as such an inquiry would be an invasion of forbidden areas of knowledge. As his utilisation of the metaphor of the Fall reveals, such an invasion into 'the secrets of the Deity' was a temptation that the scientist must resist in order to avoid heresy.

But was there an inconsistency between this claim of religious orthodoxy for his empirical project in The Advancement of Learning and Bacon's construction of a 'godlike' scientist? Or, in other words, was it intrinsically heretical to imagine the scientist as a 'man who is a god to man'? Bacon's negotiation of this lacuna is revealed by his celebration of the figure of Columbus. In Novum Organon, Bacon justified the publication of his speculations by citing Columbus as his antecedent. Columbus had promulgated his conjectures concerning the New World prior to his 'wonderful voyage' and before his beliefs 'were made good by experience'.⁴⁵ The word 'wonderful' is important: Bacon signals its import in The Advancement of Learning when he writes that 'wonder' is 'the seed of knowledge' and 'contemplation of God's creatures produceth ...knowledge; but having regard to God, no perfect knowledge, but wonder, which is broken knowledge'.⁴⁶ The term 'wonder' appeared to function as the connection between Man's understanding of the first cause (God) and second causes (nature). Wonder was an intermediate term between human and divine knowledge. Importantly, it possesses no heretical implications as it does not seek to explain the first cause. Rather, it can be seen as an allusion to something greater. For example, in Novum Organon, Columbus's discovery of America heralds 'the causes and beginnings of greater events', or, in The Advancement of Learning, 'wonder' leads Man to the contemplation of God. For Bacon, 'wonder' can be seen as a prophetic term. Bacon constructs Columbus not only as a heroic figure but also as a

prophet. This reading is substantiated by Bacon's History of the Winds where Columbus 'on the coast of Portugal inferred the existence of a continent in America from the periodical westerly winds'.⁴⁷ Here Columbus has the ability to read the book of nature.

For Bacon then, Columbus occupies a position between Man and God; he could be 'godlike' without either actually being represented as a god or appropriating divine power and consequently becoming an heretical figure. Rather the figure of Columbus was represented as a prophet and his 'discovery' of the New World was imagined as a harbinger of 'greater events'. Bacon's emphasis upon prophecy was similarly revealed by his interpretation of Daniel:12:4. In a prayer-like language, with irregular line endings, in The Advancement of Learning, he writes:

For the great building of the world has in our age been wonderfully opened and thorough-lighted; and though the ancients had knowledge of the zones and antipodes, And while on us the early morning breathes with panting horses, there the blushing eve Lights up her tardy signals, yet that might be by demonstration rather than by travel. But for a little vessel to emulate the heaven itself, and to circle the whole earth with a course even more oblique and winding than that of the heavenly bodies, is the privilege of our age; so that these times may justly bear in their motto not only plus ultra - further yet - in precedence of the ancient no ultra - no further; and 'Imitable Thunder' in precedence of the ancient 'Inimitable Thunder'.
(Demens qui nimbus, et non imitable fulmen)
but likewise, that which exceeds all admiration, 'Imitable Heaven' in respect of our sea-voyages, by which the whole globe of the earth has, after the manner of the heavenly bodies, been many times compassed and circumnavigated.
And this proficiencie in navigation and discovery may plant also great expectation of the further proficiencie and augmentation of the sciences; especially as it may seem that these two are ordained by God to be coevals, that is, to meet in one age. For so the prophet Daniel,

in speaking of the latter times, foretells 'That many shall go to and fro on the earth, and knowledge shall be increased' as if the opening and thorough passage of the world, and the increase of knowledge, were appointed to be in the same age; as we see it is already performed in great part; the learning of these our times, not much giving place to the two former periods or returns of learning (the one of the Grecians, the other of the Romans), but in some respects far exceeding them.⁴⁸

Elsewhere Bacon confirmed this belief in the importance of the connection between voyages of discovery, religion and philosophy. In Novum Organon, Bacon repeated his reading of Daniel's prophecy to mean that: 'The passage through the world (which now by so many distant voyages seems to be accomplished, or is in the course of accomplishment) and the advancement of the sciences, are destined by fate, that is by Providence, to meet in the same age.'⁴⁹ Bacon uses this connection between philosophy and cartographic discovery, buttressed by biblical prophecy, to emphasise the seasonable nature of his project for the advancement of science. Millennial implications - the prophecy of Daniel explicitly referred to the exponential increase of knowledge in the Last Age - are harnessed to underscore the urgency of Bacon's project.⁵⁰

But if Columbus is imagined as a prophet and the New World as a harbinger of further discoveries, what events did they foreshadow? Bacon's aim was to restore Man's dominion over nature. This was the rationale that connected his philosophical writings. Thus, in The Advancement of Learning, he describes 'sea-voyages' which have 'compassed and circumnavigated' 'the whole of the globe' as 'Imitable Heaven'.⁵¹ In other words, the ongoing process of discovery,

which navigational voyages are part of, will restore Man's lost dominion over Nature. This interpretation explains the superiority of Orpheus over Hercules. Orpheus 'subdued and drew all things after him' and 'renovated things corruptible', more specifically, he possesses a corrective capacity or restorative power. Orpheus is thus represented as the hope of future control over Nature. Hercules may be heroic, but he embodies the limit of knowledge.

The recovery of dominion over Nature is, for Bacon, a long-term project. Each individual discovery forms part of this ongoing process. Discovery will never be complete until 'the hidden parts of nature', made secret from Man at the Fall, are recovered. Bacon summarises his aims in The Advancement of Learning; he sought the restoration of 'the pure knowledge of nature and universality, a knowledge by the light whereof man did give names unto other creatures in Paradise'.⁵² This desire to regain 'pure' knowledge is not heretical, Bacon explains as, originally, it had been God-given. The project for the empirical scientist is by his continuing discoveries to rediscover Man's original birth-right. Like explorers, as they painstakingly map the globe, Bacon imagines empiric scientists to be continually pushing forward the boundaries of Knowledge. Bacon is not so much concerned with the details of what had been discovered; rather, his emphasis is placed on future discoveries as the expansion of the frontier of Man's knowledge would little by little lead him to 'universality'.

Part II: The Process of Colonisation: John Davies, God and the Law

We have already seen that the process of discovery was neither simple nor rapid: an initial discovery needed to be managed, maintained and used. Francis Bacon attempted to outline an agenda which defined the things which Man (sic) should be seeking to discover. Sir John Davies approached the problem another way as he attempted to establish a methodology to manage what had already been discovered. More specifically, Davies aspired, both in his philosophical speculations and in his professional role as Attorney General in Ireland, to devise a strategy to colonise areas that had not been adequately discovered.⁵³ For Davies, Ireland had never properly been subdued by the English government and Man had never 'known himself'.

Davies's polemical text 'Nosce Teipsum', published in 1599, takes as its subject matter the dilemma Man experiences when attempting to acquire self-knowledge.⁵⁴ Davies satirised the quest for knowledge undertaken by the empiric scientist, the cartographer and the doctor, and found their methodologies fundamentally flawed because their activities ignored the most basic project of all which was, as the title suggested, to 'know thyself'.

We seeke to know the moving of each Spheare,
And the straunge cause of th'ebs and flouds of Nile:
But of that clocke, which in our breasts we beare,
The subtill motions, we forget the while.

We that acquaint our selves with every Zoane
And passe both Tropikes, and behold both Poles;
When we come home, are to ourselves unknowne,

And unaquainted still with our owne Soules. (93-100)⁵⁵

The 'soule' is imagined as a topographical region in need of further discovery. Moreover, Man also needs to become 'acquainted' with the 'soule', which signals the long-term nature of the project; such knowledge cannot be gained from an initial encounter. The 'soule' needs to be colonised, managed, maintained and used. Cartographers had expended considerable amounts of energy in their projects to map the globe, but, according to Davies, they had neglected the most basic area of geographical knowledge, the 'soule'. Davies's point was that Man needs to define himself, his 'home', before he would have the ability to define anything else. The project for which 'Nosce Teipsum' argues is the colonisation of Man.

So how does Davies answer the riddle 'Nosce te ipsum', originally posed by the Delphic Oracle?⁵⁶ The crux of Davies's philosophy, his answer to the dilemma of how an individual knows his\her soul is revealed in the second elegy where Davies explores the role of God, as well as Man's relationship with God. According to Davies, the special property of the soul, the element that gives it such a unique status, is the connection to God, as originally 'God made the Soule good, rich and fair' (821). Davies explores the soul's origins:

God first made Angels bodillesse, pure, minds;
Then other things, which mindlesse bodies bee;
Last he made Man, th'Horizon twixt both kinds,
In whom we do the worlds abridgement see. (881-84)

Davies creates a hierarchy within these categories. The 'soule' operates as Man's connection to the angels and to God. Davies argues that the body is corrupt and causes contagion within the soul:

And yet this Soule (made good by God at first,
 And not corrupted by the Bodies ill)
 Even in the Wombe is sinfull and accurst,
 Ere she can judge by wit, or choose by will. (721-724)

Davies does not analyze the origin of the corrupt body; it is presented as intrinsically degenerate. Neither does Davies analyze the fall of the angels, the event which Milton's epic Paradise Lost (1667) was built upon. Indeed, according to Davies's articulation of angels as pure mind without body (the corrupting force), an angelic rebellion would appear paradoxical. Rather, Davies's focus is the idea that the soul, originally pure, is placed within a corrupt body so that the possibility of contagion is ever present. This analysis accounts for the Fall. Furthermore, when replying to the indictment against God that the Fall of Man was inevitable, an argument which constructs God as both cruel and the author of all Man's woes, Davies introduces a central new argument to his philosophy. The God that Davies believes in is both a judge and lawyer. When Adam ate the apple, he defied God's 'law',

For as that Easie law was given to all,
 To auncestor, and heire, to first, and last;
 So was the first transgression generall,
 And all did plucke the fruite, and all did tast. (785-789)

Adam ignored a 'universal law'. Davies argues this action was Adam's responsibility as had been given 'a judging wit and choosing will' (850). For Davies, this is the essence of Man's similarity to God. The 'soule', then, endows Man with critical faculties, the powers of judgement and choice.

It is this legal discourse that enjoys the status of ultimate authority in Davies's text. There is a identification

between God and 'law'. Adam's defiance resulted firstly in the Fall and, moreover, the presence of 'law' within Man, still remaining because of the critical faculties of wit and will, means that 'law' is potentially able to surmount the degenerate bodily influence. Davies's argument here is similar to Bacon's belief that the empirical scientist will restore Man's (lost) dominium over Nature. In Nosce Teipsum, it is law rather than science that has this capacity. However, in Davies's text, law is not precisely a restorative principle, rather is a strategy of containment against the ever present threat of the degenerative body.

Is there a connection between this legal terminology within Davies's 1599 philosophical articulation of the boundaries and goals for knowledge and the wider panorama of seventeenth-century ideologies? Furthermore, is this legal discourse, concentrating upon Man's God-given powers of judgement, significant in the subsequent development of English colonial policy?

The legal influence on colonial policy can be seen in Sir John Davies's work in Ireland as Solicitor-General from 1603, and later as Attorney-General from 1606-19.⁵⁷ Davies was appointed to Ireland following the decisive defeat of Hugh O'Neill on Christmas Day 1601 and the subjugation of Tyrone's rebel forces.⁵⁸ The Ireland Davies was sent to had long been 'troublesome' to the English crown. To secure the recalcitrant country, Davies proposed the universal application of English law to the whole of Ireland in a way that would facilitate assimilation of the Gaelic polity and reduce the influence of

the Old English descendants of earlier Anglo-Norman settlements. As he maintains in A Discovery of the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued .. until .. his majesty's happy reign (1612), 'to perfect the conquest of this kingdom' it was necessary to make the Irish 'become English'.⁵⁹ This policy was similar to the one outlined by Edmund Spenser in A View of the Present State of Ireland (1596; published 1633).⁶⁰ Davies's work in Ireland was so vital because it developed a jurisprudence of colonial expansion that would have significant impact on the development of the English, later British, empire. Davies's policies asserted the primacy of central government, the establishment of a system of jurisdiction parallel to that of England, the introduction of fixed units of landholding, the encouragement of arable farming, and the adoption of English laws of property and inheritance.⁶¹ Though a standing army was maintained in Ireland through the seventeenth century, the major tool of practical colonialism was the imposition of English common law.⁶²

Through the medieval period both civil and canon lawyers had debated the questions of conquest and native rights. These theories not only influenced Spanish debates about the conquest of the New World, but they also affected the development of English expansionist policies in Ireland.⁶³ During the eleventh century there was a revival of Roman law which became, after its acceptance by the Catholic church in the twelfth century, the dominant European law. This continental law described conquest right as the principal

legal justification which validated titles to territories acquired by military force. European jurists agreed that conquest of a territory in a 'just' war yielded full sovereignty to the conquering power. In their detailed treatment of warfare and the resulting conquest right between Christians and non-Christians, lawyers developed two strategies to define native property rights in non-Christian regions. The first, originated by Pope Innocent IV in the thirteenth century, acknowledged the legality of both the government and property rights of non-Christian peoples irrespective of their religious or political associations. The second approach, created by the thirteenth-century canonist, Hostiensis, argued that no valid dominium could exist without ecclesiastical approval. In other words, non-Christians could not own or control territory without papal sanction. By 1500, European nations were expanding under two legal systems with respect to native land rights. The paradigm preferred by expanding rulers and states was, naturally enough, the Hostiensis model, by which they were allowed to disregard native rights after a 'just' war. Consequently, from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries, the expansion of European powers abroad, not excluding Ireland, often consisted of secular governments, authorised by papal decree, expanding into and conquering territories, on the convenient pretext that the native inhabitants and governments had in one way or another defied or neglected the Christian church. Spanish colonial activities in the New World operated under these guidelines. For example, in 1519, the Crown of Castile

asserted inalienable possession of the Indies: 'By donation of the Holy Apostolic See and other just and legitimate titles, we are lord of the West Indies, the isles and mainland of the Ocean Sea.'⁶⁴

Davies's selective appropriation of Roman law allowed him to choose those aspects of conquest doctrine which could be most easily applied to the English situation, as foreign conquerors, in Ireland at the beginning of the seventeenth century. According to Davies, the application of conquest right vested England with a public law title to Ireland. Based on the Elizabethan victory over Tyrone, Davies invoked the rights of conquest to justify the eradication of domestic Irish law. In the same way that Spenser had represented the native Irish as bestial and wild as they 'wander loosely' and are 'ydely roguing' in The View of the Present State of Ireland, in Davies's text, Irish Brehon law was represented as lewd and barbarous.⁶⁵ Davies aimed to eliminate all competing claims to Irish dominion, foreign and native, that were dependent upon either the political authority previously awarded to Gaelic chieftains, or upon the papal donation of Ireland to Henry II in 1154. The hierarchy between native Irish law and the English law which Davies sought to introduce into colonial Ireland mirrors the power relationship between the 'body' and 'soule' revealed in 'Nosce Teipsum'. Here Davies represented the body as lewd and barbarous and a threat of contagion to the soul, just as he believed that unless native Irish law was subjugated then the stability of English rule in Ireland would be forever in jeopardy.

To mitigate the drastic powers conferred by conquest right, Davies made a distinction between conquest under 'a despotic monarch or tyranny' as opposed to one under an English or 'royal monarchy'. Where despots ruled (Turkey, Muscovy or New Spain) conquest right gave the state title to all lands conquered, effectively reducing the native inhabitants to 'villains or slaves as proprietors of nothing but at the will of their Grand Signor or Tyrant'.⁶⁶ Such was the case, for example, in 1658 when William D'Avenant attacked the tyrannous despotism of the Spaniards against both Amerindians and the English in The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru. Similarly, in 1591, Giles Fletcher in The Russe Commonwealth, in his dedication to Elizabeth I, had described Moskovia as 'a true and strange face of a Tyrannical state, (most unlike to your own) without true knowledge of GOD, without written Lawe, without common iustice'.⁶⁷ However under the moderate government of an English 'royal monarch' a public law title to Ireland by right of conquest did not serve as a means to seize the personal estates of either the Anglo-Irish or the native Irish. Rather, English conquest created a 'lordship paramount', which in effect not only vested the state with the title to the whole of Ireland, but more importantly allowed the crown the right to subsequently confer ownership of individual estates.

In 'Nosce Teipsum' we can see the seeds of this legal philosophy and ideology. The second dedication of the poem, 'To my most gracious dread Sovereigne' emphasised the vital connection between the monarch and God:

Like Heav'n in all: like th'Earth in this alone,
 That though great States by her support do stand,
 Yet she her selfe supported is of none,
 But by the Finger of th' Almightyes hand: (5-8)

Through this Dedication, Davies consistently stresses the mind or soul of the monarch; Elizabeth was 'the divinest and richest minde' (9). Similarly she was described as 'great Spirit' (13) and 'Faire Soule' (21). In Elizabeth's case, it is the soul that rules and controls the body. In ordinary (non sovereign) people, the body is a constant threat of contagion to the purity of the soul. In Elizabeth, the soul's connection to God is so strong, due to her status as divine right monarch, that the soul is able to dominate the normal aging processes of the body:

Faire Soule, since to the fairest bodie knit
 You give such lively life, such quickning power,
 Such sweete celsestiall influence to it,
 As keeps it still in youths immortall flower: (21-24)

In this way we can see the significance Davies places upon the English 'royal monarchy': Elizabeth's special relationship to God, the law-giver, means that she becomes 'the sacred Spring whence Right and Honor streames / Distilling Vertue, shedding Peace and Love' (14-15).

Davies privileges both the 'law' and God, the ultimate Law-giver throughout his text. For example, in the second elegy, when Davies discusses the Fall of Man and the resulting corruption of the soule in all humanity, it is clear that this contagion works according to the tenets of a universal 'law'.

And as when th'hand doth strike, the Man offends,
 For part from whole, law severs not in this;
 So Adams sinne to the whole world extends,
 For all their Natures are but part of his.

Therefore this sinne of kind, not personall

But reall, and hereditarie was,
 The guilt whereof and punishment to all,
 By course of Nature, and of Law doth passe. (777-784)

....
 Of this we find some footsteps in our Law,
 Which doth her roote from God and Nature take;
 Ten thousand Men she doth together draw,
 And of them All one Corporation make. (789-792)

Davies's argument is that Adam's sin, his defiance of God's 'law' corrupts both his own and all humanities' 'Nature'. The Fall, then, has changed the 'law' as sin, becomes perpetuated throughout Nature. Davies created two types of 'law'. Original 'law' was modified by circumstances, and what emerges is a 'Civill law' (801) in which the soul was 'Borne slave to sinne' (838). Man's (Adam's) original birthright of a perfect soul with perfect 'judging wit and choosing will' has been forfeited by the Fall. An inferior reflection of the perfect state of original 'law' or free will is left, where wit and will are perpetually threatened with bodily corruption.

So what exactly did Davies mean by 'civill' law? Again, it is in his application of English law in Ireland that the answer can be seen. Hans Pawlish argues in Sir John Davies and the Conquest of Ireland for the influence of the civil law upon common lawyers through the early seventeenth century.⁶⁸ A less than absolute dominance of common law over civil law can be found in the legal texts of Sir John Davies. Previously, Davies has been represented by legal historians - such as G. Pocock - as unequivocal in his endorsement of the common law.⁶⁹ Pawlish comments:

No other English lawyer of the seventeenth century, with the exception of Coke, praised the certainty of the common law more favourably to the civil law. A brief illustration of Davies' rhetorical style provides a flavour of his invective against civilian critics of the

common law. Against aspirations cast at the dilatory nature of English litigation, Davies cited Bodin's reference to a case that lay pending in the French courts for over a hundred years. He then launched a rejoinder to the civilians and canonists by comparing, as Coke compared, the decisions of the doctors to a sea full of waves.⁷⁰

But, as Pawlish continues, this common law orthodoxy is only apparent in the introduction to the Reports. A more detailed analysis beyond the proem reveals that Davies, as Irish Attorney general, cited civil and canon laws as frequently as common law in litigation proceedings. The most important utilisation of the tenets of civil law was the assertion by Davies and other contemporary lawyers of an English claim to Ireland by right of conquest. Established civil law doctrine maintained that conquest overruled all prior and current rights to property on the part of the conquered. This civil law doctrine, as propounded by Davies following the defeat of Tyrone's rebellion in 1603, served two purposes. First, Ireland, including the Gaelic dynasts, would have to accept English common law as its own, without competition from the Brehon law, especially such customary procedures of Gaelic landholding and descent as gavelkind and tanistry. Second, conquest would justify the eradication of the domestic Irish laws and the elimination of all derivative claims, foreign and Gaelic, that were contingent upon the papal donation of Ireland in 1154.

Davies's pragmatic approach to the assimilation of civil and common law theories in practise in Ireland through the early decades of the seventeenth century, was a policy of importance to the subsequent foundation and consolidation of

the English Empire. It was also philosophically anticipated in 'Nosce Teipsum'. Originally, it was God's common law that operated in Eden. Adam's illegitimate acquisition of knowledge, and the resulting corruption of his soule that the body engendered, resulted in a new law, specifically the 'civill' law. This 'civill' law is essentially, as in Ireland, a pragmatic law. It is a strategy of containment, designed to enable a more perfect life in what had become an imperfect world. Just as English common law practices and canon and civil law practices were amalgamated into a practical solution to the hostile and difficult situation for English conquerors in Ireland, so in 'Nosce Teipsum' the post-lapsarian world must be managed in such a way as to allow the best to be made of the situation. In this way Davies's solutions for Ireland and his analysis of the post-lapsarian world is utopic.⁷¹ The description of a 'civill' law operating in post-lapsarian Eden and inherited by all the descendants of Adam does not possess wholly negative connotations. In 'Nosce Teipsum' Davies describes a legalistic and theoretical programme to acquire knowledge of the soul which anticipates the legalistic programme for the colonisation of Ireland he later introduced in practice. In 'Nosce Teipsum' God's 'law' possessed parallels with English common law; in both the Reports and 'Nosce Teipsum' each legal system was represented as traditional and idealised. But these twin systems, God's 'law' and the unadulterated imposition of English common law into Ireland, are arcadian or, in other words, they are not sustainable in either Eden or early seventeenth-century

Ireland. Davies introduced a pragmatic amalgamation of both English common law and more cosmopolitan civil law traditions into Ireland as a strategy to overcome entrenched Irish custom and practice just as the critical faculties of 'wit' and 'will' were used by the soul to keep the threat of bodily contagion under control. The main purpose of Davies's legal reforms was to overcome Brehon law and Irish systems of land tenure and inheritance. They offered a practical system with which to colonise and administer an area of land. The main purpose of 'Nosce Teipsum' is to give post-lapsarian Man an understanding of both his strengths and his weaknesses and to construct a strategy to foster one and reduce the threat of the other. Similar to Ireland, Man is represented as an area in need of strategies of colonisation and management.

As we have seen, in their early seventeenth-century philosophical texts, both Francis Bacon and Sir John Davies responded to the need to construct an ideology that would incorporate the recent dramatic changes in conceptualisations of the globe. Both men formulated an ideological and philosophical position that defined the legitimate area in which knowledge could be sought. The motif of the voyage and the rhetoric of the bold explorer were appropriated by both these writers as principal images with which to describe their philosophical endeavours. Their emphases were different, however, in terms of which component from the broad category of voyage narratives each was concerned with. Bacon's main focus was to formulate a methodology to discover the secrets of nature, while Davies's prime consideration was with the

procedure for the colonisation of territory after initial discovery. Yet, as we have seen, they shared the aim of formulating a practical system with which to understand, increase, administer and exploit the expanding boundaries of knowledge. Indeed, both writers constructed these occupations and the men that perform them with heroic, even god-like, rhetoric. Yet, as we have seen in Fletcher's The Purple Island, though Bacon and Davies confidently asserted the benefits of discovery and colonisation for the English nation, these positivist views were by no means shared by all early seventeenth-century commentators.

1. For a detailed history of the major shifts in humanism see Cesare Vasoli, 'The Renaissance concept of Philosophy', in The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy, ed. Charles B. Schmitt & Quentin Skinner, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.55-74.

2. These aphorisms are taken from Francis Bacon, The Advancement of Learning Human and Divine, in Works of Francis Bacon, ed. J. Spedding & others, 14 vols., (London: Longman & Co, 1857-1874), V, p.311.

3. Bacon, Works, IV, p.18.

4. John Donne, 'To his Mistress Going to Bed', in Complete English Poems, ed. C.A. Patrides, (London: Everyman, 1994), p.120-122.

5. Donne, Complete English Poems, p.121.

6. For further details concerning the progress of European exploration in America see John Bakeless, America as Seen by its First Explorers: The Eyes of Discovery, (New York: Dover Publications, 1950).

7. For further details see A.D. Innes, The Maritime and Colonial Expansion of England under the Stuarts, 1603-1714, (London: Sampson Low, 1933), p.81-124.

8. For more details concerning both the publication history and conjectures about the date of composition of Valerius Terminus see Ellis's 'Preface' and Spedding's 'Note to the Preface' in Works, III, p.201-13.

9. Bacon, Works, III, p.223.

10. For a history of early modern English social attitudes to 'blackness', see Karen Newman, '"And wash the Ethiop white": Femininity and the Monstrous in Othello', in Fashioning Femininity and English Renaissance Drama, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991), p.71-93. See also Anthony Pagden, 'Shifting Antinomies: European Representations of the American Indian Since Columbus', in Visions of America Since 1492, ed. Deborah L. Madsen, (London: Leicester University Press, 1994), p.23-34.

11. The cultivation of tobacco in Virginia through the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries heralded the commercialisation of English colonisation. In Virginia tobacco was not a wild product, but a cultivated one. It was not even native; *Nicotiana rustica*, the species native to North America and used by Indians there, never appealed to the European taste; *Nicotiana tabacum*, which appealed enormously, was introduced into Virginia from South America. For more information about the history of tobacco see Joyce Lorimer, 'The English contraband tobacco trade from Trinidad and Guiana, 1590-1617', in The Westward Enterprise: English activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America 1480-1650, ed. K.R. Andrews and others, (Liverpool:

Liverpool University Press, 1978), p.124-150.

12. Michel de Montaigne, Essays, trans. J.M. Cohen, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1958), p.105-119.

13. John Steadman explores Bacon's use of the morally ambiguous figure of the Magus. Steadman argues that Bacon's utilisation was selective as Bacon sought to dismiss fabulous and superstitious natural magic but 'revive and reintegrate the misapplied and abused name of Natural Magic; which in the true sense is but Natural Wisdom, or Natural Prudence', Works, III, p.351. See John Steadman, 'Beyond Hercules: Francis Bacon and the Scientist as Hero', Studies in the Literary Imagination, 4, (1971), 3-47, (p.31-34).

14. Bacon, Works, IV, p.18.

15. Bacon, Works, IV, p.114.

16. Pagden, 'Shifting Antinomies', p.24.

17. Pagden, 'Shifting Antinomies', p.24.

18. See Charles Webster, The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-1660, (London: Duckworth, 1975), p.46-47.

19. For further details see Patricia Coughlan, '"Cheap and Common Animals": The English Anatomy of Ireland in the Seventeenth Century', from Literature and the English Civil War, ed. Thomas Healy & Jonathan Sawday, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p.205-223, (p.212-213).

20. Coughlan, '"Cheap and Common Animals"', p.213.

21. Steadman, 'Beyond Hercules', p.4.

22. For further details concerning the economic value of Spain's empire see J.H. Elliot, Spain and Its World, 1500-1700, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p.7-26.

23. Bacon, Works, VII, p.20.

24. Bacon, Works, VII, p.21.

25. On the formation of the nation state in this period see Michael Braddick, 'State formation and social change in early modern England: a problem stated and approaches suggested', Social History, 16 (1991), 1-16. Though discussing the internal dynamics of state formation, Braddick points out the central importance of inter-state rivalries in the process. For further details concerning Spain's colonial development see J.H. Elliot, Spain and Its World, 1500-1700, p.3-66.

26. For a detailed account of the different conceptions of Hercules in literature see G. Karl Galinsky, The Herakles Theme: The Adaptations of the Hero in Literature from Homer to the

Twentieth Century, (Totowa N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1972).

27. Bacon, Works, VI, p.720.

28. Bacon, Works, VI, p.721.

29. 'The tenth labour of Heracles, the theft of the cattle of Geryon, took him to Erytheia, an island on the westernmost edge of the world. On this journey, Heracles erected two pillars - traditionally identified as the rocks of Calpe (Gibraltar) and Abyla (Ceuta) - at the Atlantic entrance to the Mediterranean Sea, so that future travellers could see how far he had come.' The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts 1300-1990s, ed. by Jane Davidson Reid, 2 vols., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), I, p.531.

30. Bacon, Works, IV, p.73.

31. For further details see Elliot, The Old World and the New, p.40.

32. Bacon, Works, IV, p.91.

33. See David B. Quinn, 'European Perceptions of American Ecology' in Visions of America Since 1492, ed. Deborah L. Madsen, (London: Leicester University Press, 1994), p.3-22.

34. J.H. Elliot, The Old World and the New, p.11.

35. Bacon, Works, IV, p.25.

36. Bacon, Works, IV, p.30.

37. Bacon, Works, IV, p.113.

38. Bacon, Works, IV, p.114.

39. John Donne, Ignatius His Conclave, trans. T.S. Healy, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p.7.

40. Bacon, Works, III, p.264-265.

41. Bacon, Works, III, p.266.

42. Bacon, Works, III, p.266.

43. Bacon, Works, III, p.266.

44. Bacon, Works, III, p.267-268.

45. Bacon, Works, IV, p.91.

46. Bacon, Works, III, p.266, p.267.

47. Bacon, Works, V, p.177.

48. Bacon, Works, V, p.311-312.

49. Bacon, Works, IV, p.91.

50. On the millennial implications derived from this prophecy see Charles Webster, The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-1660, p.19-27.

51. Bacon, Works, IV, p.311.

52. Bacon, Works, III, p.264-265.

53. For a history of English colonial activities in Ireland see Karl S. Bottingheimer, 'Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Westward Enterprise, 1536-1660', in The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America, 1480-1650, ed. K.R. Andrews and others, p.45-65.

54. Sir John Davies, 'Nosce Teipsum: This Oracle Expounded in two Elegies: Of the Soule of Man, and the Immortalitie thereof', in The Poems of Sir John Davies, ed. Robert Kreuger, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), p.3-67. All subsequent references are to this edition.

55. Davies, 'Nosce Teipsum', p.9.

56. There is a summary on the derivation of the phrase 'Nosce te ipsum' in Sir Thomas Elyot's The Governour, ed. Henry Croft, 2 vols., (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co, 1880), II, p.203-204.

57. For a biography of Sir John Davies see, Hans S. Pawlish, Sir John Davies and the Conquest of Ireland: A Study in Legal Imperialism, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p.15-33.

58. For a more detailed history of both these campaigns see R.F. Foster, Modern Ireland 1600-1972, (London: Penguin, 1988), p.15-36.

59. John Davies, A Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never Entirely Subdued nor brought under Obedience of the Crown of England until the beginning of his Majesty's Happy Reign, in Ireland under Elizabeth and James I, ed. Henry Morley, (London: Routledge, 1890), p.213-342 (p.218).

60. Edmund Spenser, A View of the Present State of Ireland, in Ireland Under Elizabeth and James the First, p.34-212.

61. For further details see Aidan Clarke with R. Dudley Edwards, 'Pacification, Plantation and the Catholic Question, 1603-23' in A New History of Ireland, ed. T.W. Moody and others, 9 vols., (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), III, p.187-288.

62. In 1606 the number of men stationed in Ireland was reduced from 9000 to a permanent establishment of 880 foot and 234 horse, but the Lord Deputy retained the right to levy another 2000 men

without consultation with the English government. See J.C. Beckett, The Making of Modern Ireland, 1603-1923, (London: Faber, 1966), p.36.

63. See Anthony Pagden, 'Dispossessing the Barbarian: The Language of Spanish Thomism and the debate over the property rights of the American Indians', from The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe, ed. Anthony Pagden, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p.79-98. For a comparison between English colonial attitudes to Ireland and Spanish beliefs about native Americans see, D.B. Quinn, 'Ireland and Sixteenth-Century European Expansion', in Historical Studies, I: Papers Read before the Second Irish Conference of Historians, ed. T. Desmond Williams, (London: Bowes & Bowes, 1958), p.22-32.

64. For further details see Elliot, The Old World and the New, p.79-82.

65. For further details of Spenser's attitudes see Patricia Coughlan, '"Cheap and Common Animals"', p.205-223 (p.206-8). For Davies's views on Irish Brehon law see Davies, A Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never Entirely Subdued.. until.. His Majesty's Happy Reign, in Ireland under Elizabeth and James I, p.290-300.

66. Sir John Davies, A Report of Cases and Matters in Law Resolved and Abridged in the King's Court in Ireland, (Dublin: Sarah Cotter, 1762), p.111.

67. Giles Fletcher, Of the Russe Commonwealth, in The English Works of Giles Fletcher, the Elder, ed. Lloyd E. Berry, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), p.169-306, (p.169).

68. For Coke the common law embodied the 'highest perfection and reason' whose lineage and origin could be traced back to an idealised Anglo-Saxon past. Yet Pawlish suggests that Coke's antipathy to the civil law may be less clear cut than traditional legal scholarship has argued. The inventory of Coke's library reveals that the Chief Justice possessed not only a complete collection of the Corpus Iuris Civilis and the canon law, but also the glossators and selected works of the humanist jurists. Moreover T.E. Scrutton, in his study of Roman Law influence in early modern England, detects several references to the civil law in Coke's Reports as he discusses the sway of continental law and jurisprudence on Coke's legal theories. Moreover, Coke should not be seen as either representative or typical of the legal profession in the early seventeenth century. For example, Bacon spoke slightly of Coke's Reports and warned readers that there were 'many peremptory and extra judicial resolutions more than are warranted'. For further details see; Sir Edward Coke, The Institutes of the Laws of England, 4 vols., (London: John Streater, Henry Twyford & Elizabeth Flesher, 1671); The Reports of Sir Edward Coke, ed. John Henry Thomas & John Farquar Fraser, 6 vols., (London: J. Butterworth & Son, 1826); S.E. Thorne, A Catalogue of the Library of Sir Edward Coke, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p.38-51; T.E. Scrutton, 'Roman Law

Influences in Chancery, Church Courts, Admiralty and Law Merchant', in Select Essays in Anglo-American Legal History, 3 vols., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907), I, p.209-210; L. Knafla, Law and Politics in Jacobean England, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

69. For the argument concerning the alleged dominance of the common law tradition over the civil one in early modern England see G.J.A. Pocock, The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law, (Bath: Chivers, 1974), p.90.

70. Pawlish, Sir John Davies and the Conquest of Ireland, p.167.

71. A working definition of 'utopia' is : 'a holding operation, a set of strategies to maintain social order and perfection in the face of deficiencies, not to say hostility, of nature and the wilfulness of man. In utopia, it is neither man nor nature that is idealised, but organisation'. See J.C. Davies, Utopia and the Ideal Society: A Study of English Utopian Writing 1516-1700, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.37.

CHAPTER FOUR

'And new Philosophy calls all in doubt': Non-Progressive Voyages

Introduction

As we have seen in Francis Bacon's texts, voyage motifs had become synonymous with progress. Bacon sought to push forward the boundaries of knowledge, represented by the pillars of Hercules, as he confidently sailed, armed with his empiric methodology, into uncharted waters towards new worlds. The imposition of Sir John Davies's system of legal colonisation attempted both to control and to manage 'discovered' lands and peoples for the benefit of the English nation. These philosophical texts argue that 'discovery' does not occur in an historical or cultural vacuum: newly discovered resources and peoples must be managed, maintained and used. But not all writers and commentators were so optimistic concerning the benefits of discovery.

Part I: Visions of Hell: Catholicism and John Donne's Ignatius His Conclave.

John Donne's text, Ignatius His Conclave (1611), discussed the repercussions caused by new knowledge falling into the wrong hands.¹ Unlike Bacon, for Donne, voyages of discovery were not synonymous with progress. For example, the

beginning of Ignatius His Conclave makes clear that Donne's narrator undertakes a voyage of discovery. In Ignatius His Conclave, the world explored by the narrator was a nightmare vision of inverted values.

As for the suburbs of Hel (I meane both Limbo and Purgatory) I must confesse I passed them over so negligently, that I saw them not; and I was hungerly caried to find new places, never discovered before.²

Similar to Dante's The Divine Comedy, Donne's text also describes a painful descent into Hell, but Donne's narrator attempts to supersede Dante's account which had only passed fleetingly through the quintessence of Hell in Book I, Canto XXXIV.³ In Ignatius His Conclave, the narrator desires to be the first explorer in the 'new places' of the centre of Hell. This impatient desire resulted in what Donne describes as a very 'negligent' attitude. There was no scientific rigour here, no Baconian methodology that proceeded from the particular to the general. Rather, in contrast to 'Dante' who, in The Divine Comedy patiently and painstakingly descended into Hell in order to reach the City of God, Donne's narrator arrogantly desires to get immediately to 'more inward places', or the epicentre of Hell.⁴

Was Donne arguing against all exploration and discovery then? The answer can be deduced from a closer analysis of the narrator's journey in Ignatius His Conclave. Initially, the narrator was presented with a bewildering panorama as, in his 'extasie', he meandered through 'all places, and to survey and reckon all the roomes, and all the volumes of the heavens'.⁵ Focus was only achieved with the aid of 'certaine spectacles, I know not of what making' which narrow the field of vision

from all places to one place, the inner sanctum of Hell in which Lucifer resided.⁶ These supernatural ocular instruments allowed their wearers to:

discerne so distinctly the soules of their friends, when they were discharged from their bodies, and sometimes the soules of such men as they knew not by sight, and of some that were never in the world, and yet they could distinguish them flying into Heaven, or conversing with living men, I saw all the channels in the bowels of the Earth; and all the inhabitants of all nations, and of all ages were suddenly made familiar to me.⁷

Though the narrator does not know the exact origin of these spectacles, they appear to resemble Galileo's telescope - the findings of which had been published in Siderius Nuncius in 1610. Ironically, later in the text, Donne explicitly attacked the alarming and dangerous presumptuousness of astronomers and scientists such as Galileo.⁸ But these spectacles also represent what Donne saw as the swollen claims of Catholic martyrologies.⁹ Previous wearers, such as Gregory the Great and Bede, possessed a kind of distorted vision that could discern 'soules' as they flew into Heaven, seeing even 'some that were never in the world'. The power, but inaccuracy, of these spectacles was a reference to Ignatius Loyola's influential First Prelude to the First Spiritual Exercise, the 'composition of place - seeing the spot':

in contemplation or meditation on visible matters, such as the contemplation of Christ our Lord, Who is Visible, the composition will be to see with the eyes of the imagination the corporeal place where the thing I wish to contemplate is found.¹⁰

The mingling of the imaginary and the corporeal, which the power of Ignatius's 'imaginary eye' suggested, was the focus of the satire in Ignatius His Conclave. Here, the narrator's fantastic spectacles, his 'imaginary eye', indeed allowed him

to focus on one corporeal spot, but it was the epicentre of hell. Ignatius His Conclave attacked Catholic, specifically Jesuit, scientific practices as, for Donne, instead of discovering profitable new worlds, they took the voyager to hell.

Once this focus was achieved, the narrator discovered there were six competing claimants for the position at the right hand of Lucifer. The innovators were all placed in hell by Donne because of the confusion they had caused to traditional beliefs. They were an eclectic bunch: Paracelsus was a physician, Copernicus was a cosmographer, Machiavelli was a politician, Columbus was an explorer, Aretine was a writer, and Neri was a priest. Even this eclecticism functions as a satiric attack on Jesuit scientific practices, which were perceived as indiscriminating.¹¹ For example, Althanasius Kircher, in his text Mundus Subterraneus, sandwiched descriptions of fossil fish between explanations of gems bearing the images of cities and stones in the shape of John the Baptist and he maintains such a mixed narrative for several hundred pages.¹² Also, Jesuit science often refused to choose between the theories it offered. In a 1651 text, Giovanni Battista Riccioli offered no less than fourteen possible explanations for the appearance of new stars, along with an analysis of the strengths and shortcomings of each theory. But he never chose to prioritise one and suggest it as a scientific fact.¹³ Each theory was maintained whatever its likelihood of being accurate.

Donne's six innovators have all introduced innovations

that destabilise traditional beliefs. Yet, was innovation necessarily culpable to Donne? As Ignatius remarked, when Copernicus was denied a place in the inner sanctum of Hell, Copernicus's theories about the movement of the earth 'may very well be true'.¹⁴ Though Copernicus's discovery of new planets was, according to Ignatius, significant, this alone was not enough to gain him a place in Lucifer's government. To be admitted, he needed:

a Cathedrall Decree from the Pope, by which it may be defined as a matter of faith: That the earth doth not move, & an Anathema inflicted upon all which hold the contrary: then perchance both the Pope which shall decree that, and Copernicus his followers, (if they be Papists) may have the dignity of this place. ¹⁵

It was not Copernicus's discoveries that were important to Ignatius. Rather, the Catholic Church would have to deny that his theories were true before Copernicus was awarded the status of 'Anti-Christian hero'.¹⁶ Here, crucially, Donne argued that scientific innovation was not intrinsically harmful. It was the Jesuit's appropriation of new knowledge to support a Romanish agenda which he attacked. In Ignatius His Conclave, Donne described the worst possible situation, his dystopia, where all innovations were judged solely on their ability to undermine God's truth. The powerful new ideas of philosophers, scientists, and explorers were valued by Ignatius and Lucifer solely according to their ability to be appropriated by the Catholic Church.

For example, the text described Columbus's discovery of America, and the native peoples there, as a new continent where Jesuits could propagate their missionary zeal. Indeed, Ignatius, by talking over 'Columbus', does not even allow the

explorer to explain his claim to be Lucifer's assistant.¹⁷ Rather, Ignatius asserted that it was not Columbus, the Dominicans, or the Spanish who were guilty of the genocide of native Americans. It was solely due to the activities of the Jesuit order that native Americans' '200000 men' had 'beene brought to a 150', Amerindians had been reduced to slavery, and so much gold mined from America.¹⁸ Similarly, astronomers like Galileo and Copernicus, when they discovered new worlds and planets, also were describing territories in which Catholicism might be spread. Finally, the conclusion of Ignatius His Conclave, in which Ignatius was dispatched to the moon to found a Jesuit colony, operated as Donne's warning to English Protestants. Though Ignatius's threat to Lucifer's authority in hell was neutralised by his banishment to the moon, the threat to Protestantism, which this expansionist Jesuit lunar colony represented, was not defused. Ignatius was dispatched to the moon in order to use it as a base from which to co-ordinate further Jesuit aggression:

And with the same ease as you passe from the earth to the Moone, you may passe from the Moone to the other starrs, which are also thought to be worlds, & so you may beget and propagate many Hells, & enlarge your Empire, & come nearer unto that high seate, which I left at first.¹⁹

Unlike Bacon, who saw science as intrinsically redemptive, for Donne it was a tool whose power might be exploited to further what he believed were incorrect beliefs. Ignatius His Conclave charted a voyage where the figure of the narrator learnt that the discovery of new knowledge was not necessarily beneficial. In other words, discovery and progress were not intrinsically linked. Donne revealed his conception

of the worst possible world in order to voice a warning to English Protestantism.

Part II: Mundus Alter Et Idem: A Satire on Voyages.

Joseph Halls' Latin text, Mundus Alter et Idem (1605), was also satiric, but the satire was directed at the genre of the voyage narrative as the narrator, Mercurius, in the good ship 'Phantasia', undertook a voyage of exploration to the officially unknown continent of Terra Australis Incognita.²⁰ In The Advancement of Learning Bacon articulated a philosophical system which attempted to control the production of knowledge. Unlike Bacon's translation of the motifs of the voyage and the heroic explorer into a manifesto for scientific and philosophical progress, in Mundus Alter Et Idem Hall expounded a manifesto for conservative stasis as the text charted the 'discovery' of a dystopic new world. Indeed, even the paradoxical title of Hall's piece, Mundus Alter Et Idem ('The World, Another and the Same'), highlights Hall's concern as to whether it was possible to discover anything new. The title 'The World, Another and the Same' questioned the very idea of 'discovery' as Mercurius explored a 'new world' that must have seemed remarkably familiar to his Old World readers. Though Hall's text was written in a scholarly latin idiom, Mundus Alter et Idem was 'Englished' in 1609 by 'I.H.', alias John Healy, who, the following year, translated Augustine's Of

the Citie of God.²¹ It was through Healy's ribald and popular translation, which was written in the roguish style of Thomas Nashe's The Unfortunate Traveller, that a non latin-speaking literate public were able to travel with Mercurius to Terra Australis Incognita.

Critics have frequently categorised Hall's text as a 'dystopia' or described it as a 'world upside down'.²² Hall's Terra Australis Incognita is indeed a 'bad place' (the direct translation of 'dystopia') and, as such, it can be seen as a satiric attack on European vices. As Mercurius visits each region a new 'vice' - be it gluttony, drunkenness, lechery, thievery, cowardice, or idiocy - replaces the previous one as the epitome and motif of the society he is observing. Once within a particular region, the narrator proceeds from province to province as if from one inter-related vice to another. For example, Mercurius progresses naturally from the city of fools to Specius Tractus, the land of wanton extravagance, and then to Lisonica, the land of flattery.

The allegorical character of the lands and peoples Mercurius encounters reveals Hall's pessimism concerning the decayed state of the world in the early seventeenth century. Hall's ideas were similar to those expressed by John Donne in 'An Anatomy of the World' and 'Of the Progres of the Soule' (to which Hall prefixed his verses 'To the Praise of the Dead, and the Anatomy' and 'The Harbinger to the Progres').²³ Donne describes the instability new knowlewdge generates within created order, 'all cohaerance gone', and sees this as a portent of the world's end.²⁴ The knowledge of new planets

has, according to Donne, meant that the 'Sun is lost, and th'earth'.²⁵ Similar to the scientific scepticism of Ignatius His Conclave, for Donne in 'The Anniversaries' new discoveries both create new areas of doubt and destabilise old areas of certainty as 'new philosophy calls all in doubt'.²⁶ This pessimism concerning the world's potency was also revealed in Hall's theological and prose writings as he related how the world bragged of its own knowledge, but has never before possessed 'less soundness'.²⁷ In a letter written in 1608 Hall comments:

That Ancient of Days, to whom all times are present, hath told us, that these last shall be worst. This censure is not confined to our seas; but, free and common, hath the same bounds with the earth. I joy not in this large society. Would God we were evil alone! How few are those whose carriage doth not say, that profession of conscience is pusillanimity! They are rare hands, that are free either from aspersions of blood or spots of filthiness. Let me be at once, as I am use, bold and plain: wanton excess, excessive pride, close atheism, impudent profaneness, unmerciful oppression, over-merciful connivance, greedy covetousness, loose prodigality, simoniacal sacrilege, unbridled luxury, beastly drunkenness, bloody treachery, cunning fraud, slanderous detraction, envious underminings, secret idolatry, hypocritical fashionableness, have spread themselves all over the world.²⁸

The Australia 'discovered' in Mundus Alter Et Idem represents the literal enactment of 'aspersions of blood or spots of filthiness' that 'have spread themselves', with infectious speed, 'all over the world'. Instead of landing at heaven on earth, as Richard Eden wrote of the Antipodes, 'yf there bee any earthely Paradyse in the worlde, it can not bee farre from these regions of the south' (1555), by comparison, Mercurius discovers a world that more closely resembles a nightmare vision of Hell on earth.²⁹ The excesses of Europe were mapped,

in an exaggerated form, onto the 'new' continent of Terra Australis Incognita. For Hall, then, the corruption of Terra Australis Incognita is imagined as further evidence of the imminent apocalypse where, preceding the reign of the saints on earth, there would be the Last Days, a time of faction, disorder and war.³⁰

This pessimism concerning the state of the world, Man's corruption and the impossibility of redemption was similarly revealed in Hall's 1637 text The Remedy of Prophaneness. When commenting upon the legend of St. Brendan, who was believed to have come in sight of earthly Paradise after an arduous and long journey, Hall writes:

They may, that list, believe it, but sure I am; Never any mortall eye (since the Angell brandished his sword there) could find ought worthy the name of a Paradise, in this inferiour world; here is Purgatory enough, and perhaps, some hell above ground: But if, as Ortelius of late held, that all the whole world was, as at the first, Paradise, any man shall now think that any part of it is so still, I shall pittie him; and think him worthy the pleasure of these earthly torments.³¹

For Hall then, the realisation of an earthly Paradise was no more than a phantasm. Moreover it was revealed in The Remedy of Prophaneness to be both heretical and paradoxical. The search for Paradise on earth will lead the seeker to 'earthely torments', Purgatory or Hell. In The Remedy of Prophaneness, to seek Paradise was to find Hell in the same way that in Mundus Alter Et Idem Mercurius wished to discover another world but found the same.

The paradox that Mercurius's discovery represents can be seen as emblematic of Hall's beliefs about the status of knowledge in the early seventeenth century. Unlike Bacon, who

chose the voyage motif to represent the pinnacle of scientific achievement and, consequently, venerates imagery derived from voyage narratives as encapsulating the highest form of knowledge or 'wonder', in contrast, Hall's text ruthlessly satirises both travellers and the genre of the voyage narrative. Hall follows the tradition set by Lucian's A True Story which charts the progress of a voyage of discovery but also takes an unashamed delight in its own fabrication. Lucian writes:

Be it understood, then, that I am writing about things which I have neither seen nor had to do with nor learned from others - which, in fact, do not exist at all and, in the nature of things, cannot exist. Therefore my readers should on no account believe in them.³²

Mundus Alter Et Idem possesses many parallels with Lucian's satiric, comic and often grotesque fantastic voyage.³³ However, Lucian explicitly stated that his voyage narrative 'contained not a word of truth'.³⁴ Hall's text was similarly fantastic, but Mundus Alter Et Idem displayed its textuality through a series of elaborate puns. Even the name of the narrator, Mercurius, was double-edged. Mercury was the patron of travellers, the purveyor of information, and was often represented by Renaissance philosophers as a symbol of man's aspiring intellect.³⁵ He was also the patron of thieves and, in Mundus Alter Et Idem, the main idol in Lavernia, the land of deception. Indeed, at the end of the text the narrator reveals that Mundus Alter Et Idem was composed in Plagiana Province, the region inhabited by plagiarists and cribbers. The postponement of the explicit denouement of the text's fictive and plagiarising nature until the very end was

indicative of Hall's attitude to larger issues concerning the merits of discovery and knowledge.

Joseph Millar Wands describes the resemblances between Hall's text and Thomas More's Utopia, buttressing his argument with Richard Schoeck's analysis of More's text.³⁶ Both More and Hall, according to Wands, were concerned with giving their texts a large 'measure of authority' and a 'visual apparatus of tradition'.³⁷ Hall's attempt to make his fictive text plausibly appear as non-fiction is demonstrated by the elaborate paraphernalia which supports the main body of the text. This material includes an engraved title-page, a dedication by the 'author', Mercurius, to the Earl of Huntingdon, and a greeting to the reader by the 'editor', William Knight. There is also a 'preface' to the voyage in which Mercurius and two other Cambridge students debate the merits of travel, a fold-out map of the world and four fold-out maps of the regions of Australia. Hall also includes nearly two hundred marginal notes explaining the customs of the four regions, engravings of the artifacts found by Mercurius, and an Index of Proper Names. This material betrays Hall's desire to mimic the style and format of voyage narratives included in, for example, Hakluyt's 1589 collection, Principal Navigations. Here, Hakluyt attempted to offer a day-by-day account of exploratory voyages, providing in his collection such disparate material as company charters, instructions to agents, letters to foreign kings and enemy reports.³⁸ But the bulk and over-abundance of material that was designed ostensibly to add to the authority of Hall's

text, in fact, undermines its plausibility. Mundus Alter et Idem is a text that protests too much. As Wands comments, no other factual or fantastic voyage narrative, except More's Utopia (1519) demonstrated such a concern to establish its own authenticity. He writes:

I believe we must conclude that both authors [More and Hall] are intent on emphasising the age and believability of their respective commonwealths in order to force the reader to entertain the truth each book has to tell.³⁹

However instead of reading, like Wands, this plethora of material as an indication of Hall's concern to establish himself as purveyor of 'truth', it can be seen as a critique of the kinds of 'truth' voyage narratives provide. Mundus Alter Et Idem is a text that delights in its own rhetorical techniques of exaggeration. Throughout the text, descriptions of Terra Australis Incognita are worded in the language of extremes; for example, the land of Moronia was represented as 'incultissima, vastissima, populosissima', its occupants were described as 'frequentissima populo', and the climate they inhabit was described as 'frigore intensissimo'.⁴⁰ Here, all aspects of the discovered land are magnified, which functions as a satiric comment on explorer's glowing, but often fanciful, reports of new lands. Such was the tone of the first report on Virginia by Captain Arthur Barlowe - a member of Raleigh's reconnaissance team - which was published in the third, American volume of Hakluyt's 1600 edition of the The Principal Navigations. Here, Barlowe described Roanoake as enjoying 'the most plentifull, sweete, fruitfull and wholesome [soile] of all the worlde'.⁴¹ Such accounts purported to be 'true', indeed voyage narrative titles often claimed to be 'A

True Report of...'.⁴² Hall's satire on exaggeration was a critique of the worst excesses of the voyage narrative genre where, he believed, 'truth' had ceased to have any meaning. Seen in these terms Mundus Alter et Idem was, Hall claimed, just as 'true' as any of the factual voyage narratives Hakluyt had published.⁴³ Indeed, Hall's satire bears striking resemblances to Foucault's analysis of the connection between madness and the popular motif of the 'ship of fools' in Renaissance Europe.⁴⁴ Foucault writes:

The ship of fools sails through a landscape of delights, where all is offered to desire, a sort of renewed paradise, since here man no longer knows either suffering or need; and yet he has not recovered his innocence. This false happiness in the diabolical triumph of the Antichrist; it is the End, already at hand.⁴⁵

The degeneracy of Australia, signalling the phantasm of the quest for an earthly paradise, revealed that voyages of discovery, for Hall, did not discover new truths. Instead, like the symbolism of the 'ship of fools', voyage narratives further substantiated the pessimistic view that such pursuits are merely the search for a false paradise. For Hall, then, explorers that make such large claims for their activities, including those that 'discover' Terra Australis Incognita, reside on a 'ship of fools'. But, similar to Foucault's analysis of the ambiguous status of the mad in Renaissance culture where, for example, the Fool in King Lear paradoxically revealed the truth to the crazed king, in Mundus Alter et Idem, Hall's satire on the exaggeration in voyage accounts attempted to correct the fallacies of Renaissance conceptions of knowledge.⁴⁶

For example, the bite of Hall's satire was particularly

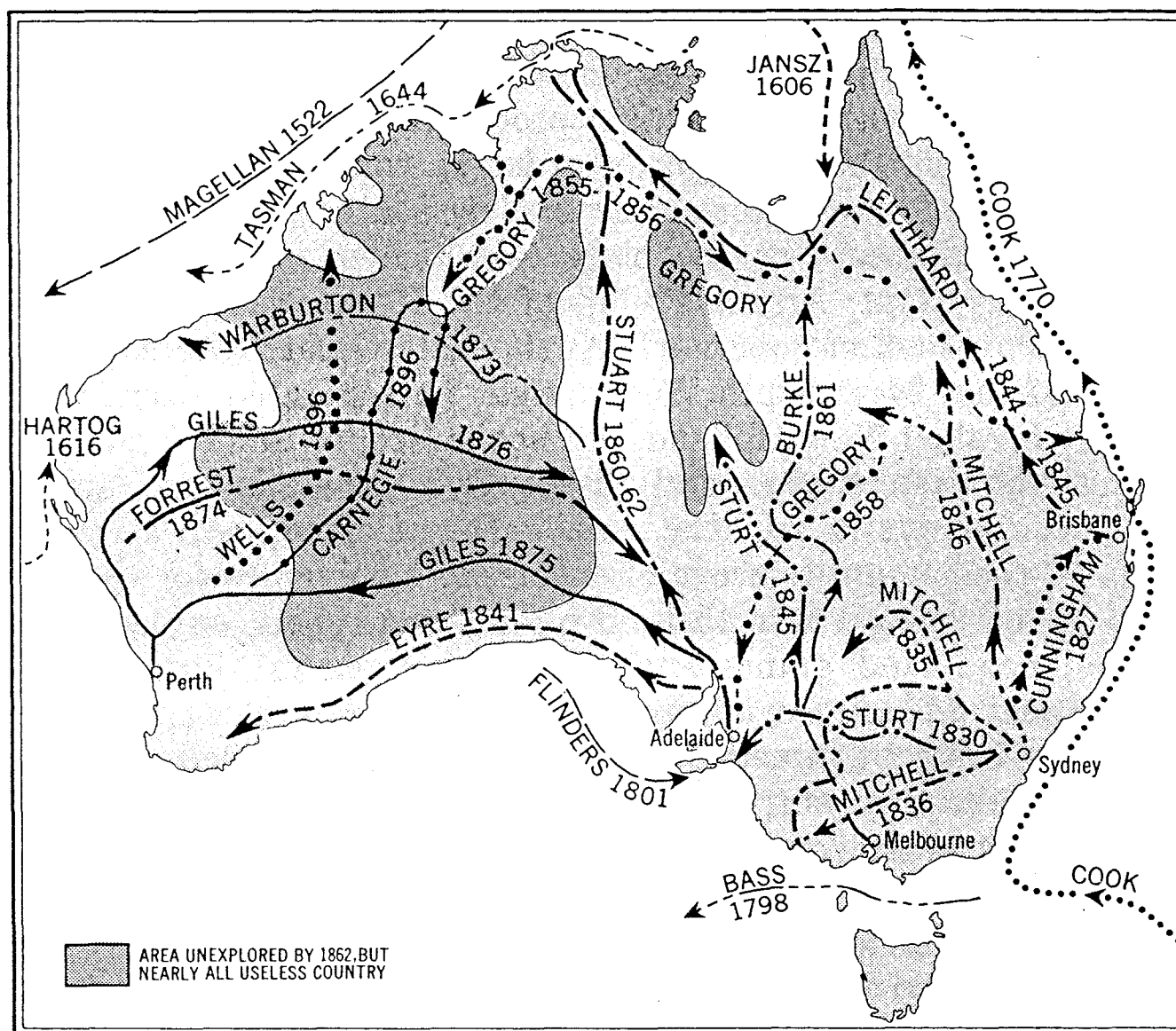
intense when he exposed the absurdity of contemporary cartographic practice. Indeed, as 'The Occasion of this Travel' made clear, the project to discover Australia was initially undertaken because of the paradox within the epithet 'Terra Australis Incognita':

It has always annoyed me to find that maps invariably carry the legend 'The Unknowne Southern Land'. And indeed who could be so soulless to read it without silent indignation? For if they know it to be a land, and a southern land, how can they assert that it is unknown? And if it is unknowne, whence comes that shape and position which the cartographers agree unanimously in depicting? ⁴⁷

The existence and representation of a great Southern Continent was a Renaissance commonplace derived from the work of Pomponius Mela and Ptolemy, two late classical geographers, who argued that symmetry demanded a continent in the South to balance the landmasses in the North.⁴⁸ Such beliefs were sustained by Marco Polo's thirteenth-century reference to a well-governed kingdom in the south which grew spices and drugs.⁴⁹ Though Marco Polo meant nothing farther south than the Malay Peninsula, which he called 'Locac', this reference was understood by European geographers to allude to a continent much farther south than the Equator. Columbus's discovery of the New World in 1492 further fuelled this belief, for if one previously unknown and enormous land mass had been found then, Renaissance geographers speculated, why not another?

The date of the first European ^{discovery} of Australia is uncertain. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, Spanish explorers believed they had glimpsed the fabled Southern continent. Following a brace of thwarted attempts to

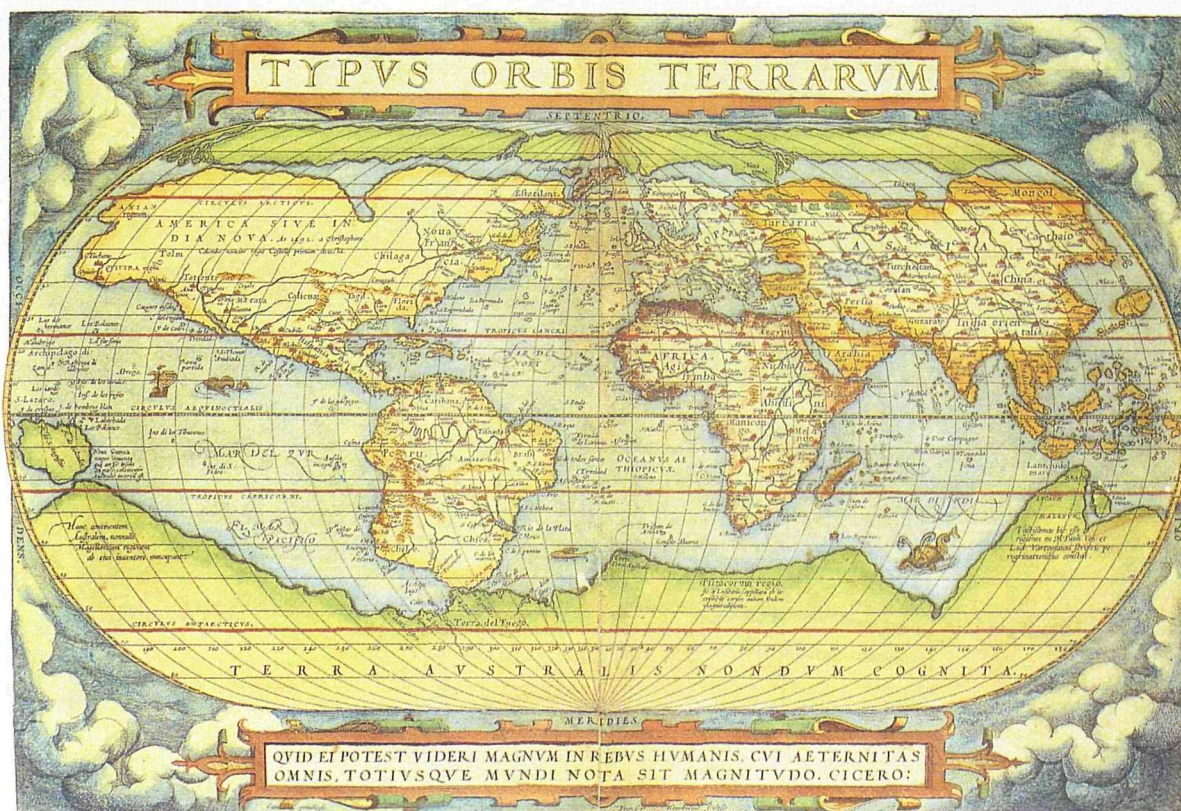
reach the continent (in 1567 and 1595 respectively, lead by Alvaro de Mendana, which discovered the Solomon islands) Pedro Fernandez de Quiros set sail to find the continent in December 1605.⁵⁰ De Quiros had been pilot on Mendana's abortive 1595 voyage, and it took him two years, and several letters to the Pope concerning the heathen souls ripe for conversion in Terra Australis, to raise the money for three ships and three hundred men from Philip III of Spain. De Quiros sailed to the New Hebrides group, but believed he had discovered the Southern Continent which he swiftly named Austrialia del Espiritu Santo - a reference to the king's Hapsburg (Austrian) blood - ^{which he} claimed for Spain. The first reliable European foot-fall in Australia was financed by the Dutch East India Company. In 1605 a pinnace, under William Jansz, set sail from Bantum to ascertain whether New Guinea possessed gold or spices. The ship entered the Torres Strait, turned South after coasting New Guinea and landed at a cape which Jansz named 'Keerweer'. The land was wilderness, and inhabited by 'wild, black, cruel savages', who killed some of the Dutch seamen.⁵¹ This cape was a northern promontory of Australia (see figure 11).⁵² Furthermore, on the 'Dieppe Maps', which were presented to Prince Henry the Navigator in 1536, and supposedly copied from secret Portuguese charts, a Southern continent was represented which was strikingly similar to Australia's eastern profile. This would indicate that the Portuguese had charted the east and northeast coasts of Australia before 1550. However, because of the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), which had carved the yet to be discovered world into spheres



11. Map of Australia showing 'pre-discovery' voyages.
 Reprinted from *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th edn.,
 23 vols., (Chicago: William Benton, 1973),
 II, p.785.

of influence for Spain and Portugal, this region fell under Spanish imperium. Therefore the Portuguese had no rights of exploration on the east coast of Australia and the results of such a voyage plausibly might have been kept secret. However, the originals of these maps and other associated documents were destroyed in the 1775 earthquake in Lisbon.⁵³

Throughout the sixteenth century, cartographic representations of Terra Australis Incognita became progressively more detailed even though no actual discovery had taken place. On Claudius Ptolemaeus's 1482 World Map Cosmographia latine reddita a Jac Angelo the southern continent was represented as merely an undifferentiated and roughly sketched coast line (see fig 2, Chapter 1, p.21).⁵⁴ However by the time of production of Abraham Ortelius's 1570 series of maps Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, the coastline of Terra Australis Incognita was meticulously drawn (see figure 12).⁵⁵ The World Maps that accompanied both the 1605 and 1607 editions of Mundus Alter Et Idem depicted an enormous southern continent which was derived from Ortelius's detailed but imaginary coastline. For example, Ortelius's map 'Promontorium Terrae Australis' shows, close to Tierra del Fuego, an immense headland jutting far out into the Atlantic. Hall's fold-out map of the country of Crapulia and the promontory 'nigellum Crapuliae caput' bears a noticeable resemblance to Ortelius's depiction of this headland. This similarity was emphasised by Hall as underneath the label 'promontorium nigrum' appeared the explanation that, following Ortelius, this headland was also called, 'olim promontorium Terra Australis' (see figure



12. Abraham Ortelius,
Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1570.
 Reprinted from The Art of Cartography : A Book of Postcards
 from the Huntington Library, (San Francisco: Pomegranate
 Artbooks, 1991).



13. Map of Crapulia,
Reprinted from Joseph Hall, Another World and Yet the Same,
trans. John Millar Wands, (New Haven: Yale University
Press, 1981), p.20.

13).⁵⁶

In the same way that Hall satirically exploited cartographers' non-existent yet meticulously drawn coastlines, in Mundus Alter Et Idem, he also capitalised on the way Renaissance map makers filled these ambiguously 'known' lands with fantastic peoples. In Historia Mundi or Mercator's Atlas, Australia was described as a land populated by pygmies and giants, and a detailed narrative of the life-styles of these fantastic peoples was provided.⁵⁷ Hall satirises this cartographic licence that not only imagined the coastal geography of a land prior to 'discovery' but also mapped its internal geography. The maps of Ortelius and Mercator claimed to be accurate representations of the limits of the known world, but, by creating new continents based upon myth, hearsay and speculation, Hall believed cartography could no longer claim authority or assert its texts as truth. Hall's point was that cartography was infected with the same lack of 'soundness' that troubled mankind as a whole. Cartographers were imagining new worlds which were still to be discovered and by doing so were creating a kind of confusion in which the known and the unknown were no longer distinguishable.

Hall's disquiet with the concept of 'discovery' and his concern about its destabilising potential which had resulted in the blurring of the boundary between known and unknown was revealed most explicitly in 'The Occasion of this Travel and the Introduction'. In Hall's representation of the character of Peter Beroaldus his beliefs about 'discovery' were clearly revealed. In many ways this section of the text was less

obviously satiric than Mercurius's later descriptions of Australia. The introduction functioned as an intellectual debate about the merits of travel between the naive and inexperienced narrator, Mercurius, and Peter Beroaldus, an experienced French traveller. Initially Beroaldus appears scornful about travel:

Indeed how little distant is Paris from Montauban, Calais from Paris, and Dover from Calais? Truly, when I consider the whole earth, the distance seems to me to extend a mere arm's breadth; on a map the width of a finger; surely when I contemplate the heavens, nothing at all.⁵⁸

Here Beroaldus meditates on the scale of cartographic representation using the relationship between microcosm and macrocosm. Compared to a large world map (Waldseemüller's world map was 2.4 metres wide and composed of twelve woodcut sheets) such local European travel measures a mere arm's length. On a smaller European map, the distance is the width of a finger, and, when compared to the cosmos, a journey between Paris to Montabaun is too small even to be represented. In Shakespeare's play Hamlet, the protagonist melancholically observes 'Denmark's a prison'. In an attempt to evade the ghost's demands that he murder his uncle, Hamlet imagines himself to be 'a king of infinite space' if he were 'bounded in a nutshell'. However, even in this microcosmic world, Hamlet is subject to 'bad dreams'.⁵⁹ For Hamlet, miniaturisation offers no escape from the corruption of Denmark, rather it reveals the impossibility of such evasion. Similarly, for Beroaldus, the interchange between different geographic scales revealed the futility of European travel as such journeys were completely insignificant.

Beroaldus's beliefs fed into the paradox between mundus alter and mundus idem. Beroaldus denigrated the sort of limited travel that followed well-trodden routes. Beroaldus's opinions can be seen as a negative comment upon the increasingly fashionable custom of the Grand Tour which was undertaken by aristocratic young men, in order to continue their education, after coming down from university.⁶⁰ As John Stoye remarks, because of the scarcity and sketchiness of surviving documents (State Papers Foreign and manuscript diaries) it is impossible to assess accurately the number of English citizens perambulating through Europe at this time.⁶¹ However, the numerous manuscript diaries and letters of English travellers housed in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum, as well as the travel accounts of, amongst others, such well-known writers as the poet and pamphleteer John Milton, the dramatist Thomas Killigrew, the diarist John Evelyn and the scientist Robert Boyle, all testify that touring the famous sites and relics in Europe was an increasingly common occupation.⁶² Indeed, this sort of European travel was explicitly attacked by Hall in his 1617 text Quo Vadis? A Iust Censure of Travell as it is commonly undertaken by the Gentlemen of our Nation.⁶³ Here, Hall recommended that would-be travellers could more profitably spend their time in perusing 'iournals, maps, hystorical descriptions, relations' by their own fire-sides, travelling 'no further then their owne closet', than in 'tedious and costly pererrations'.⁶⁴ Such travel is represented as both prosaic and pointless as it 'discovers' nothing. According to

Beroaldus, in Mundus Alter Et Idem, there is nothing new to be found when undertaking travel through Europe; the traveller merely encounters more of the same. In other words, he merely encounters mundus idem and consequently could make no 'discovery'. This attitude towards travel is also, initially, exhibited by Michel de Montaigne who managed to write and publish the first version of his Journal de voyage en Italie before he had even visited Italy; it was first published in Bordeaux in March 1580, even though he only embarked on his tour in September.⁶⁵ However, subsequent editions were published in 1588 and 1595, in which Montaigne was no longer reliant on past scholarship and literature. Rather, the dominant and determining role in shaping Montaigne's opinions about travel was experience. For example, in the later editions of his Journal de voyage en Italie, Montaigne frequently analyses the state of his health. He expressly visited Bagni di Lucca in order to take the curative waters, and painstakingly recorded his consumption on each day (drinking up to nine Italian pounds of water).⁶⁶ These notes were later to provide indispensable information for his study and treatment of his bladder complaint. These activities reveal Montaigne to be an empiricist who refused to give blind obedience to traditional sources of authority. As Antoni Maczak comments, Montaigne:

would be particularly pleased when he had carried some experiment with his health and had come to conclusions which contradicted the measures recommended by his doctors.⁶⁷

In Mundus Alter Et Idem, Hall also debated the merits of empiricism. For Beroaldus, there was another sort of travel

which he described as a far more heroic enterprise:

I am certain that I would have properly termed as 'traveler' only your Drake, and Cavendish, and the Portuguese Sebastian del Cano who, for example, recently measured out this whole world on their ocean voyages. Nor, in truth, will I begrudge this name to Christopher Columbus, who discovered the West Indies, or to Ferdinand Magellan who discovered the Moluccas, or to Francisco Pizarro and Almagro, who discovered the province of Peru, or lastly, to Hugh Willoughby, who first was able to reveal the Arctic continent; nor to any of those, whoever they were, who either discovered new worlds by dangerous investigation or settled such discoveries. And in truth (for I may confess to you freely), I do not know exactly what sort of heroic venture my mind impels me to attempt: one that will astonish this age and will make posterity always recall my memory with gratitude.⁶⁸

Beroaldus sought to emulate explorers 'who either discovered new worlds by dangerous investigation or settled such discoveries'. Here, it is empiricism that Beroaldus praises as he venerates explorers who, with the ocular evidence derived from personal experience, have added to knowledge. Indeed the rhetoric Beroaldus used when he comments, 'I will do it, by Hercules, somewhat earlier than I had expected but surely no less willingly', is strikingly similar to ^{the heroic} Bacon employs in The Advancement of Learning. In Bacon's text the pillars and figure of Hercules represented the limits of ancient learning and acted as a spur for Renaissance endeavour. However, as we have seen, Hercules's status as a morally ambiguous hero, and his inability to restore Man's lost dominion over nature, was used by Bacon to belittle Ancient learning and the Spanish imperium. In Mundus Alter et Idem, it is 'by Hercules' that Beroaldus swears his commitment to 'discovery'. Indeed, as Mercurius admiringly comments: 'It is a great thing you embark upon Beroaldus, and one scarcely of human capacity.'⁶⁹ It was the quasi-divine aspects of heroic

explorers that, as we have seen, Bacon employed in his programme to advance empiric science.⁷⁰ But he applied them carefully, making sure that his god-like explorers, such as Columbus, did not venture into territories reserved for the Protestant God. Beroaldus's appropriation of the image of Hercules does not demonstrate the same perception. In Mundus Alter et Idem, Beroaldus and Mercurius' utilisation of heroic and quasi-divine rhetoric to describe the project for the discovery of Australia indicate, for them, that there are two sorts of voyage: European travel or mundus idem, and world travel or mundus alter. According to Beroaldus, the only genuine variety of voyage is one where 'travelers search for other worlds scorning this one'.⁷¹ The term 'discovery' can only be applied to the category of voyage which seeks mundus alter. Thus Beroaldus and Mercurius aspire to be empiricists, but Hall demonstrates a distinct unease concerning their ambitions.

This disquiet concerning the implications of such empiricist projects to discover new worlds was revealed in several ways in Mundus Alter et Idem. Unlike Montaigne, Beroaldus's empiricism was reliant on ancient scholarship, specifically Seneca's prophecy concerning the revelation of a great continent, which Beroaldus believed referred to Australia. Hall debunked these arguments as he satirically catalogued the dubious and fantastic arguments Beroaldus expounded to support his theory that Australia was the great continent to which Seneca had referred. Beroaldus lists five sources for his identification of America, the 'western land',

with 'golden Ophir'. This would mean that America was known to Europe before Columbus's celebrated landing.⁷² However, though Beroaldus dismisses three of these opinions he maintains the last two, one identifying Solomon's 'golden Ophir' (1 Kings 9.28) with Hispaniola, the other connecting Ophir with Peru, no doubt due to the rich metal resources the Spaniards were mining in South America.⁷³ Beroaldus says, 'whichever of these two finally prevails, for my purposes I have one either way - as I desire'.⁷⁴ Hall shows the character of Beroaldus, unlike an authentic empiricist, to be so desperate to prove his point that he will appropriate contradictory arguments. Hispaniola and Peru cannot be both identified with Ophir with any degree of empirical accuracy. His source's authenticity was not important to Beroaldus. The crucial element, for him, was that they appeared to buttress his belief that Australia was the unknown continent about which Seneca had prophesied. Indeed the fact that Beroaldus appeared to believe this prophecy about an 'unknown' land that was curiously 'known' was itself an example of the same logical inconsistency that he so disparagingly exposed when decrying cartographic practices which had already mapped the officially 'unknown' continent of Terra Australis Incognita. Moreover, though Beroaldus appropriated the rhetoric of the bold and quasi-divine adventurer to describe both himself and the scope of his ambitions, the text rapidly deflated these claims:

Now after three days we reached the Belgian shore, and after the seventh day the shore of Aquitaine; there Drogus was snatched away from me to the village of Delft, and here Beroaldus to Montauban - both of them, to be sure, most unwillingly. However, they cajoled me either to press miserably on, a solitary traveler,

against innumerable and unknown perils or to be exposed to the derisive laughter of my friends after so great an expectation.⁷⁵

After such lofty pretensions for the magnitude of his future 'discovery', Beroaldus scuttled with unseemly haste back to his homeland of Montauban. Indeed the only journey he undertook, despite his ambitious schemes, was the kind of European perambulation that he had previously so ruthlessly belittled. The text's denigration and satiric treatment of the character of Beroaldus, where the gulf between his ambitions and his enactment of them is presented as so wide, betrays Hall's concern that early modern society's emphasis upon 'discovery' had led humanity to become over-ambitious. Not only did Beroaldus fail to match up to the pretensions of his scheme but the main body of the text itself - an often grotesque, ignoble and absurd description of a 'discovered' land - also acted as a satiric invective against what Hall saw as the swollen claims made by supposedly empiricist explorers.

For Hall then, voyage narratives encapsulated the worst excesses of human ambition. According to Hall, explorers and voyagers attempted to be God-like as they perpetually sought after new worlds and scorned the Old. As such, they were legitimate targets for his satire and so, in Mundus Alter Et Idem, Hall revealed the supposed 'discovery' of Australia to be no 'discovery' at all. In Mundus Alter Et Idem Hall attempted to demonstrate that there was no such thing as mundus alter, all the explorer will ever 'discover' will be the same world. Moreover, because Australia was represented as so much worse than Europe, it is clear Hall feared the

contagious threat the new world represented for the Old.

Indeed, it was in America that syphilis was once believed to have originated. Its first outbreak was amongst French troops in Naples in 1494, where it had supposedly been conveyed by sailors who had used the same prostitutes as the returning sailors from Columbus's first voyage to the West Indies.⁷⁶

When discussing the merits or otherwise of travel in Quo Vadis?, Hall expanded this point. Travel was represented as neither broadening nor enlightening. Rather, it was dangerous for several reasons. It exposed travellers to popery. Similar to Jack Wilton's encounters with French battlefields and German Anabaptists in Thomas Nashe's The Unfortunate Traveller (1594), it exposed travellers to, and encouraged them to experiment with, novelties and vices not common in England.⁷⁷ And it was also likely to jeopardise the traveller's health. In England, the anxiety concerning the dangers of travel to health is confirmed by the payment of high bonuses, by usurers and gamblers, to tourists who returned home safely.⁷⁸

What, then, are the political, social and religious ramifications of the position that Hall occupied in Mundus Alter Et Idem? What path did he advocate early modern society should follow? In Mundus Alter Et Idem the sorts of 'discovery' which explorers sought, with the implied status of divinity for the voyager, were presented as impossible. Explorers who aimed to seek new worlds were condemned to perpetually find the same world. In essence, Mundus Alter Et Idem presented a pessimistic account of the world as Hall argued for the innate degeneracy of the human race which,

following the Fall, was inescapably fixed. Explorers and scientists might promise the discovery of new and better worlds but their promises were mere phantasms. Paradise had been irretrievably lost in the Fall and neither explorers, with their bold schemes and fanciful descriptions, nor empiric scientists, with their ambitious projects for the advancement of learning, would ever recover a perfect world.

Both Donne's and Hall's texts were non-progressive voyages. Deeply uneasy concerning the benefits of either travel or empiricism, Hall's attack on the vices of *Terra Australis Incognita* replicated the fear of other cultures demonstrated, as we shall see, by so many commentators on the New World. Were New Worlds utopic and paradisiacal or, conversely, dangerously degenerate and dystopic? Donne did not exhibit fears of the unknown in the same way. His concern was to highlight the aggressive colonial strategies of Catholicism. These concerns continued to shape the activities, and exercise the imaginations, of English explorers, politicians and writers throughout the seventeenth century.

1. John Donne, Ignatius His Conclave, trans. T.S. Healy, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969). This text has had a troubled critical history. For example, in Healy's edition it has been marginalised. Healy describes Ignatius his Conclave merely as material to aid critical understanding of Donne's other (and, he implies, better) works. 'Even the most devoted of Donne students will not want to spend much time on his controversial prose works. These can only be of serious interest in their relation to the poetry and the sermons.' See Healy's 'Introduction', p.xiii. Moreover, the text has been vilified: 'It is one of the oddities of scholarship that works of bigotry which, if written today, would be scorned by decent men, find, in the genius of their author's other works, a passport to scrupulous editing, sponsorship by foundations, and publication by university presses.' For further details see, J. Max Patrick, Seventeenth Century News, 30 (1972), 34. For a more balanced reading of Donne's text see, Anthony Raspa, 'Theology and Poetry in Donne's Conclave', Journal of English Literary History, 32 (1965), 478-489; R. Chris Hassel, 'Donne's Ignatius His Conclave and the New Astronomy', Modern Philology, 68 (1971), 329-337.

2. Donne, Ignatius His Conclave, p.9.

3. Dante, The Divine Comedy, trans. Dorothy L. Sayers, 3 vols., (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1949), I, p.285-289..

4. Donne, Ignatius His Conclave, p.9.

5. Donne, Ignatius His Conclave, p.7.

6. Donne, Ignatius His Conclave, p.7.

7. Donne, Ignatius His Conclave, p.7.

8. Donne, Ignatius His Conclave, p.7.

9. See Healy's 'Commentary', p.102-103. For a further example of Donne's objection to the idea of souls leaving their bodies, see 'Resurrection' in Complete English Poems, ed. C.A. Patrides, (London: Everyman, 1994), p.338.

10. Ignatius Loyola, The Spiritual Exercises of St Ignatius Loyola, ed. Halycon Backhouse, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1989), p.15. For the influence of Loyolan practises on Renaissance religious poetry see Louis Martz, The Poetry of Meditation: A Study in English Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century, (Yale: Yale University Press, 1954).

11. For further analysis of Jesuit science see William B. Ashworth, 'Catholicism and Early Modern Science' in God and Nature: Historical Essays on the Frontier between Christianity and Science, ed. D.C. Lindenberg, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p.136-166.

12. For an analysis of Althanasius Kircher's Mundus Subterraneus see Ashworth, p.150-151.

13. For further details of Giovanni Battista Riccioli's Almagestum Novum see Ashworth, p.151-2.

14. Donne, Ignatius His Conclave, p.17.

15. Donne, Ignatius His Conclave, p.19.

16. Donne, Ignatius His Conclave, p.19.

17. Donne, Ignatius His Conclave, p.69.

18. Donne, Ignatius His Conclave, p.69.

19. Donne, Ignatius His Conclave, p.81.

20. Joseph Hall, Mundus Alter Et Idem, trans. Joseph Millar Wands, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

21. For further details of the relationship between Healy's The Discovery of a New World and Hall's Mundus Alter et Idem, see Richard McCabe, Joseph Hall: A Study in Satire and Meditation, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p.321-330.

22. For further details of this categorisation see Joseph Millar Wands's 'Introduction' to Mundus Alter Et Idem, specifically 'Mundus Alter Et Idem and Menippean Satire', xxv-xli; also see McCabe, Joseph Hall: A Study in Satire and Meditation, p.73-109. The definition of 'dystopia' that both these critics support is the one offered by J. Max Patrick in Quest for Utopia, (New York: [n.pub], 1952), p.297-298. The description of Terra Australis Incognita as 'a world upside down' is made by R. Colie, Paradoxia Epidemica: The Renaissance Tradition of Paradox, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), p.45.

23. For further details of the connection between Donne and Hall see, R.C. Bald, John Donne: A Life, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p.243-4.

24. John Donne, Complete English Poems, p.255.

25. Donne, Complete English Poems, p.255.

26. Donne, Complete English Poems, p.255.

27. Joseph Hall, The Works of Joseph Hall, 12 vols., (Oxford: D.A. Talboys, 1837-9), VII, p.499.

28. Hall, Works, VI, p.241-242.

29. Richard Eden, The First Three English Books on America, ed. Edward Arber, (Birmingham, 1885), p.278.

30. For further details of the prevalence of apocalyptic beliefs in this period see The Apocalypse in English Thought and Literature, ed. C.A. Patrides & Joseph Wittreich, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p.74-147. See also, Margarita

Stocker, Apocalyptic Marvell: The Second Coming in Seventeenth Century Poetry, (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1986), p.1-30.

31. Joseph Hall, The Remedy of Prophaneness, (London: T. Harper for N. Butter, 1637), p.195-196.

32. Lucian, The Works of Lucian of Samosta, ed. H. G. Fowler & F.G. Fowler, 4 vols., (Oxford: Clarendon, 1905) I, p.253.

33. For further details of these parallels see Millar Wands's 'Introduction', xxvii-xxxii.

34. Lucian, Works, I, p.253.

35. Betty Radice, Who's Who in the Ancient World, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), p.163-164.

36. Joseph Millar Wands, 'Antipodal Imperfection: Hall's Mundus Alter et Idem and its Debt to More's Utopia', Moreana, 18 (1981), 85-100.

37. Millar Wands, 'Antipodal Imperfection', p.89. See also Richard Schoek, 'The Ironic and the Prophetic: Towards Reading More's Utopia as a Multidisciplinary Work, in Quincentennial Essays on Sir Thomas More, ed. Michael J. Moore, (Boone, North Carolina: Albion, 1978), p. 111-127, (p.125).

38. For further details see George B. Parks, 'Tudor Travel Literature: A Brief History', in The Hakluyt Handbook, ed. D.B. Quinn, 2 vols., (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1974), I, p.97-132.

39. Wands, 'Antipodal Imperfection', p.89.

40. Hall, Mundus Alter et Idem, p.113-114.

41. Cited by George B. Parks, 'Tudor Travel Literature', p.112.

42. For example, Thomas Hariot, A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia, in The New World, ed. Stefan Lorant, 2 vols., (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), p?.

43. Indeed, as Stephen Greenblatt points out, Hakluyt no longer included Mandeville's Travels in the second edition of his Principal Navigations. Greenblatt believes this was because Mandeville's text was no longer believed to be 'true'. See Stephen Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), p.30-34.

44. Michel Foucault, Madness and Civilisation: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason, trans. by Richard Howard, (London: Tavistock, 1967), p.3-37.

45. Foucault, Madness and Civilisation, p.22-23.

46. 'He [the Madman] is no longer simply a ridiculous and familiar silhouette in the wings: he stands centre stage as the guardian of truth.. If folly leads each man into a blindness where he is lost, the madman, on the contrary, reminds each man of his truth.' See Foucault, Madness and Civilization, p.14.

47. Hall, Mundus Alter et Idem, p.8.

48. Robert Hughes, The Fatal Shore: A History of the Transportation of Convicts to Australia 1787-1868, (London: Pan, 1988), p.43.

49. Marco Polo, The Travels, trans. Ronald Latham, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1958).

50. For further details see Hughes, The Fatal Shore, p.44-46.

51. For further details see The New Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th edn., 23 vols., (Chicago: William Benton, 1973), vol 1, p.712-715 (p.714).

52. Hughes, The Fatal Shore, p.47.

53. For further details see Hughes, The Fatal Shore, p.46.

54. Claudius Ptolemaeus, Cosmographia latine reddita a. Jac Angelo, World Map, 1482.

55. Abraham Ortelius, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1570.

56. For further details see Richard McCabe, Joseph Hall: A Study in Satire and Meditation, p.85-88.

57. Historia Mundi or Mercator's Atlas, trans., W.S[altonstall], London, 1635, p.929-30.

58. Hall, Mundus Alter et Idem, p.10.

59. William Shakespeare, Hamlet, II, ii, 242, 253-255, from The Complete Works of William Shakespeare, ed. by Peter Alexander, (London: Collins, 1951), p.1042.

60. For further details of the Grand Tour in the Renaissance see John Stoye, English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667, 2nd edn., (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); see also, Antoni Maczak, Travel in Early Modern Europe, trans. Ursula Phillips, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995).

61. Stoye, English Travellers Abroad, p.4.

62. For a history of Milton's travels in Italy in 1638-9, see William Riley Parker, Milton: A Biography, 2 vols., (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), I, p.169-182.

63. Quo Vadis? A Iust Censure of Travell as it is commonly undertaken by the Gentlemen of our Nation, (London: E. Griffin for F. Butter, 1617).

64. Joseph Hall, Quo Vadis?, p.31.

65. For further details see Maczak, Travel in Early Modern Europe, p.278.

66. For further details see Maczak, Travel in Early Modern Europe, p.103.

67. Maczak, Travel in Early Modern Europe, p.279.

68. Hall, Mundus Alter et Idem, p.11.

69. Hall, Mundus Alter et Idem, p.13.

70. See John Steadman, 'Beyond Hercules: Francis Bacon and the Scientist as Hero', Studies in the Literary Imagination, 4 (1971), 3-47.

71. Hall, Mundus Alter et Idem, p.17.

72. Hall, Mundus Alter et Idem, p.14.

73. See Hall, Mundus Alter Et Idem, p.14-15. For further details about 'golden Ophir' see Charles Webster, The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-1660, (London: Duckworth, 1975), p.328. See also Jonathan Sawday, The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture, (London: Routledge, 1995), p.260.

74. Hall, Mundus Alter et Idem, p.15.

75. Hall, Mundus Alter et Idem, p.17.

76. For further details see John Hale, The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance, (London: Fontana, 1994), p.554-556.

77. Thomas Nashe, The Unfortunate Traveller and Other Works, ed. by J.B. Steane, (London: Penguin, 1972), p.251-370.

78. Maczak, Travel in Early Modern Europe, p.98.

CHAPTER FIVE

Discovering Ideal Worlds: Utopic Voyages**Introduction**

This chapter focuses on representations of 'America' in English texts written in the mid-seventeenth century. How were indigenous peoples and New World landscapes described in colonial texts? Was colonial life utopic or dystopic? And how should English colonies be organised in order to maximise their stability and to obtain the greatest benefit for the home nation?

Part I: English Colonies in America

By 1627, when Francis Bacon's New Atlantis was published, England had established overseas colonies and trade networks throughout many areas of the Old and the New Worlds.¹ In the twenty-five or so years since the publication of Richard Hakluyt's proleptic Principal Navigations (1589), English territorial and economic ambitions had been, at least partially, fulfilled.²

Trade with the East Indies started to generate large profits. Until 1615 the Russia company was successful in its whaling voyages, and in 1618 trade to Africa, under the auspices

of the Africa company, was re-established. In 1606, James I issued the First Virginia Charter. This document appointed a Royal Council for Virginia and defined the territory 'Virginia' encompassed. This was between the 34th and 45th parallels of latitude, in other words, the coast and hinterland from South Carolina to Halifax. The Royal Council was to supervise colonisation in this area: but the colonising was to be done by two companies - the London Company and the Plymouth Company. Following one unsuccessful attempt to colonise the north of Virginia, the Plymouth company abandoned further operations.³ The Bermudas were colonised in 1611; and attempts were also made to occupy Guiana, first by Raleigh during the reign of Elizabeth I, and then by Raleigh and the London Virginia Company in a series of ventures until 1619. In 1620, the Plymouth Company was resurrected, and secured a new charter under the name of the 'New England Company'. In 1621 the New Scotland, or Nova Scotia, venture was set up. In Ireland, in 1609, a similar enterprise to colonise a large tract of land had been established by the body later known as the Irish society.⁴

There was a key difference, however, between the ambitions England directed Eastward and Westward. In the East, where there were already established civilizations, albeit of non-European and non-Christian peoples, English merchants wanted to foster trade links. The only kind of settlement contemplated by the East India Company was of an essentially transitory nature. Factories, agencies, and depots were established in, for example, the Spice

Islands, where the small European community would consist of the Company's employees who were wholly occupied with trade. There was no inducement to colonise the area permanently. The market for English goods might prove considerable, but the dominant motive for the Company's presence was not export but import. The East India Company was chiefly concerned with the import of the valuable products of the East, either for direct consumption in England or re-export to other markets.⁵

In contrast, in the complex of attractions of the West for English venturers, import trade was only a minor motive. The natural resources of America were largely an unknown quantity. Furthermore, there was little market for English manufactured goods since the native population was, as far as was known, sparse, and Spanish and Portuguese American territories to the South were markets which were firmly closed to English mercantile activities. If there was ever going to be substantial trade, it would be between English settlers and the home-country. In short, there were three uses to which English occupation of North America might be put: the discovery of precious metals, the discovery of a new route East, to Cathay or India, via the West, and the establishment of permanent self-supporting colonies comprised of a population which was, for one reason or another, superfluous in England. Increasingly, through the seventeenth century, it was the permanent establishment of colonies in America that was the most potent incentive for Western expansion.

Under the 1606 First Virginia Charter, control of the colony

was vested in a series of Councils or Committees. At the head was the Supreme Council of Virginia, representing the Crown and appointed by the Crown. Each of the two companies, the London and the Plymouth, had a Council in England to direct its affairs, as well as a subordinate Council in the colony itself to conduct its administration. All the Councils were nominated by the Crown, but each Council chose its own President or Governor from its own members. The Government of the Council was responsible to the directorate of the Company, which, in turn, was accountable to the Crown, represented by the Supreme Council of Virginia.⁶

As Michael Zuckerman has argued, the maintenance of authority and control of territories was an acute problem for colonial nations and their representatives, the Governors of these early settlements.⁷ Zuckerman describes how, in the first years of the Virginia plantation, the Governors repeatedly oscillated 'between the libertinism of the first planters and the brutal leadership thought necessary to control it'.⁸ Governors imposed martial law on the settlers or were ousted whilst trying to uphold their draconian statutes. The problems of social control experienced by John Smith, Sir George Percy (brother to the Earl of Northumberland), Thomas West (Baron de la Ware), and Samuel Argall in their role as successive Governors of the Virginia colony from 1609-1622, when there were a series of revolts and suppressions, are emblematic of the difficulties of the maintenance of stable colonial rule.⁹

As Nicholas Canny has argued, the majority of settlers in

Virginia were from the lower social orders, including discharged soldiers, the unemployed and the underemployed.¹⁰ Following English colonial experiences in Ireland through the late sixteenth century - where the government had found it impossible to maintain any stable rule, as settlers had either been massacred by the 'wild Irish' or become assimilated, with the consequence that England gained no economic benefit - the government wanted to learn lessons from this painful seasoning.¹¹ There had been a chronic shortage of 'gentlemen' to lead and run the colony with the result that the men in charge were often unruly or disbanded army officers who could not be relied upon by the English government and the colony's investors to remain loyal in times of hardship.

Such a population was replicated in the American colonies and, it was believed, would need rigid regulations imposed upon it in order to maintain order.¹² Indeed the Jamestown colonists proved extremely difficult to control since, against the Virginia Company's regulations, they traded with native Americans, refused to work and mounted insurrections.¹³ The Governors received little effective support, financial or practical, from their homeland. The lack of communication was so acute that John Smith, in 1609, contemplated breaking the ties between the colony and its London headquarters when he dispiritedly wrote that he wished that the newly appointed officers (of higher social standing than himself) 'had never arrived, and we for ever abandoned and left to our fortunes'.¹⁴ Furthermore, in 1609 some 'unruly youths'

stowed away on the same vessels that deposited them in Jamestown, after swearing an oath to denigrate the colony on their return to England. They circulated 'in all places...(to colour their owne misbehaviour, and the cause of their return with some pretence) most vile and scandalous reports, both from the countrey it selfe and the cariage of the businesse there'.¹⁵ In 1610, in the wake of these disturbances, and to reintroduce the authoritarian system which the Virginia Company had initially envisaged necessary to control the colonists, the stringent Lawes Divine, Moral and Martiall were implemented.¹⁶ Moreover, England's New World plantations such as Virginia were, unlike the Newfoundland fisheries, non-profitable enterprises in this period.¹⁷

In early seventeenth-century English texts, colonial territories played an important role in the formation of English national identity. English colonial literature concerning both Ireland and North America represented the establishment of a stable English rule in the colony as a reflection of the potency of the homeland. Renaissance representations of Ireland, for example, frequently personified the country as a 'woman' in need of 'husbandry'. For example, Luke Gernon, a magistrate in Munster in the early seventeenth century, wrote:

This Nymph of Ireland is at all poynts like a yong wenche that have the greene sicknes for want of occupying. She is very fayre of visage, and hath a smooth skinn of tender grasse... Her breasts are round hillockes of milk-yeelding grasse, and that so fertile that they contend wth the vallyes. And betwixt her leggs (for Ireland is full of havens), she hath an open harbor, but not much frequented...It is nowe since she was drawne out of the wombe of rebellion about sixteen yeares, by'rlady nineteen, and yet she wants a husband, she is not embraced, she is not

hedged and ditched, there is noo quicksett putt into her.¹⁸ Similarly, in 1642 Thomas Fuller, when describing 'America' and 'her' fellow continents, stated 'I am confident that America (though the youngest sister of the foure) is now grown marriageable'.¹⁹ Such representations issued a challenge to potential (male) colonisers to test their virility by subduing 'Ireland' or 'America'. The rhetoric of John Donne's A Sermon Preached to the Honourable Company of the Virginian Plantation (1622) is another example where the representation of the colonial territory simultaneously described a vision of 'Englishness'.²⁰ Donne's text, in which he both extended the body politic to include the colonial regions and used biblical imagery of growth and regeneration, rested on the scriptural quotation; 'But Yee shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and yee shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth' (Acts 1.8). God, in this metaphor, did not privilege the centre of Christianity over its peripheral regions. Consequently, English Protestants must also award the same status to colonial territories as to their homelands.²¹ Donne urged the Virginia planters to evangelise and convert heathen peoples; he stressed the importance of this divinely sanctioned role both in terms of the enlargement of the kingdom of God and the kingdom of England. At the end of the sermon, in his prayer, Donne explicitly addressed both the colonisers and their homeland - represented by the figurehead of the monarch -

in order to exhort both sides to maintain the links between centre and periphery:

Looke gratioously, and looke powerfully on this body, which thou hast bene now some years in building and compacting together, this Plantation. Looke gratioously upon the Head of this Body, our Sovereigne and bless him with a good disposition of this work, and bless him for that disposition... Looke gratioously upon those that are the Eyes of this Body, those of the Clergy, who have any interest therein: bless them with a disposition to preach there, to pray here, to exhort every where for the advancement thereof, and bless them for that disposition.²²

Donne imagined the Virginia colony to be just as much a part of the body politic as any other section of the King's realm. The plantation must remain loyal to its sovereign but, by the same token, the monarch - the head - and the clergy - the eyes - must also support their colonial appendages. Donne's appeal for unity between colony and homeland was constructed against this background of slanderous reports, and the continuing history of disturbances and unrest through the early seventeenth century - most prominently the 1619 massacre of two-thirds of the Virginia settlers by native Americans and the long guerilla war which followed between settlers and native Americans.²³ In the aftermath of these disturbances, in 1623, James I undertook proceedings for the confiscation of the Virginia Charter so that the Company, but not the colony, ceased to exist.

However, these descriptions of colonial territories as places of bad management, corruption, licentiousness and authoritarianism also had their counter-images. Michael Drayton's 'Ode to the Virginian Voyage' of 1606 (published 1619-20) argued that Colonists could expect three overabundant harvests a year

from Virginia's 'fruitfull'st soyle' and 'to get the pearle and gold, and ours to hold'.²⁴ The natural beauties and fertility of the colonial landscape were also emphasised, as was the sweetness of the air ('the lushious smell of that delicious land').²⁵ Drayton's representation of Virginia as 'Earth's only paradise' was replicated in many pamphlets and poems advertising colonisation. For example, William Symonds in his 1609 sermon about Virginia described the terrain as 'a Land more like the Garden of Eden: which the Lord planted, than any part else of all the earth.'²⁶ One promotional pamphlet, written in 1698 by Gabriel Thomas, whilst describing Pennsylvania and West New Jersey, went so far as to assure settlers that all children born by the banks of the Delaware were 'better natured, milder, and more tenderhearted than those born in England'.²⁷ Here, it appears, the trans-Atlantic climate was capable of regenerating its colonial inhabitants. Such a message possesses political resonances. Since the colonial population was believed to be largely comprised of England's socially superfluous elements, then an improvement in the temperaments of settlers' offspring would, through the passage of time, eradicate undesirable traits present in the original community.

Of particular prominence in such idealised descriptions of colonial territories was the life of indolent ease that settlers could expect to enjoy. With the munificence of a benign providence, the colonial landscape was imagined to yield 'all things in abundance, as in the first creation, without toil or

labour'.²⁸ New Britain (1609), a document addressed 'to the chief Treasurer of this [the Virginia] Colony and the Merchants of the Moscovite and the East India Companies', summarises these idealised representations of America as the anonymous author comprehensively lists all the commodities and natural resources to be exploited and enjoyed in the New World.²⁹ Daniel Price's 1609 sermon, designed as a 'reprooffe to those that traduce the Honourable Plantation of Virginia', goes even further as he asserts that Virginia:

is not unlike to equalize (though not India for gold, which is not impossible yet) Tyrus for colours, Basan for woods, Persia for oils, Arabia for spices, Spain for silks, Narsis for shipping, Netherlands for fish, Pamona for fruit, and by tillage, Babylon for corn, besides the abundance of mulberries, minerals, rubies, Pearls, gems, grapes, deer, fowle, drugs for physic, herbs for food, roots for colours, ashes for Soap, timber for building, pastures for feeding, rivers for fishing, and whatsoever commodity England wanteth.³⁰

Here Price imagines America to be capable of producing any item on demand, and noticeably, Price fantasises that gold may still be discovered. Similar to Ben Jonson's celebration of the arcadian and self-contained estate in 'To Penshurst', where 'there's nothing I can wish, for which I stay' (hunger), both America and Jonson's English manor satisfy all needs.³¹ Mixed in with such descriptions of an Edenic America - where the colonial landscape appeared to have bypassed the consequences of the Fall - were images of America as a sensual paradise. As in medieval representations of the land of Cokaygne where 'life is sheer pleasure' and the residents would 'find rivers broad and fine of oil and honey, milk and wine', Nature in America provided 'food

[which would] drop into their mouths'.³² As we shall see later, the notion of an Edenic America continued to exercise the imagination of subsequent writers, including Andrew Marvel and John Milton.

Early descriptions of America were also concerned with representations of native peoples. The terrestrial Eden which Drayton celebrated in 1609 was already inhabited, albeit sparsely by European standards. In the same way that John Donne colonised his 'America', his 'new-found-land' with scant attention to the desires of his silent partner in 'To his Mistress Going to Bed', native Americans were frequently represented as part of the colonial landscape.³³ From 1492 onwards, when Columbus first described native South Americans to his royal paymasters, it was the usefulness of the islanders that was emphasised. On his first encounter (11th October 1492), Columbus admiringly describes the stature of young male native Americans:

They were very well built with fine bodies and handsome faces. Their hair is coarse, almost like that of a horse's tail and short.³⁴

Already, in this quotation, native South Americans are compared to animals, specially the horse, both a beast of work and an animal associated with social prestige in the European world. Forty-eight hours later, on 14th October 1492, Columbus meditates on their economic potential, and ease with which they could be enslaved:

However, should your Highnesses command it all the inhabitants could be taken away to Castile or held as slaves on the island, for with fifty men we could subjugate them all and make them do whatever we wished.³⁵

Promotional literature for English colonisation echoes Columbus's descriptions. In New Britain, the author briskly shifts from reports of the physical environment to descriptions of native North Americans:

The Country is vast; the soil is good; the air is healthy: the climate very suitable to our constitution and even more temperate than that of England. The natives are savages who live in troops like cattle - some dressed in furs and others naked - without any discipline or law of life than the law of Nature.³⁶

The seamless inclusion of descriptions of native peoples into topographical accounts has a dehumanising effect as native Americans are represented as merely one more commodity to be exploited within the colonial landscape. This erasure of native North Americans is also revealed by the history of English mapping in North America. On John Smith's 1612 map of Virginia, he fully acknowledged the presence of Amerindians, even predominantly using Indian place names, and informing the reader that 'as far as you see the little crosses on rivers, mountaines, or other places, have been discovered; the rest was had by the information of the Savages, and are set down according to their instructions'.³⁷ In Smith's 1616 map of New England, no acknowledgement of native American information was given. By 1672, when Augustine Herrman produced a new survey of Virginia and Maryland, and 1677, when John Foster updated the map of New England, only English place names were used.³⁸

Throughout the Renaissance native American peoples were subject to the same contradictory representations as the landscape which they occupied. Indeed, images of native Americans

oscillated between idealised and degenerate descriptions.³⁹

Through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, particularly in the work of Spanish commentators, a debate raged concerning the status and origin of native American peoples. One side, represented by Francisco Lopez de Gomara in Histoire Generale des Indies (1587), detailed an enormous list of offences executed by Amerindians ranging from sodomy and the eating of human flesh to lawlessness and stupidity: 'to sum up, I say that God never created a nation so full of vice and so lacking in any virtue'.⁴⁰ As Fernandez de Oviedo comments, with some satisfaction, about the alleged homosexual practices of male native Americans, 'See how just is God, to give them [syphilis] where [sodomy] is practised.'⁴¹ Undoubtedly, these ideas influenced Thomas Thorowgood's representations of native Americans in his two editions of Jewes in America (1650; republished 1660).⁴² The alternative view saw native Americans as 'noble savages', a new example of an antique tradition of writing about primitive peoples that dates back to Homer's description of the Scythians as a people who possessed all things in common.⁴³ For example, Montaigne's polemical essay 'On Cannibals' describes native Americans as possessing:

no knowledge of letters, no science of numbers, no title of magistrate nor of political superior; no habit of service, riches or poverty; no contracts, no inheritance, no divisions of property, only leisurely occupations, no respect for kinship but the common ties, no clothes, no agriculture, no metals, no use of corne or wine. The very words denoting lying, treason, deceit, greed, envy, slander, and forgiveness, have never been heard.⁴⁴

As Shakespeare's play The Tempest reveals, Montaigne's idea of

the 'noble savage' possessed considerable potency in this period. Set in Bermuda, following the shipwreck of some Virginia-bound colonists in 1609, and describing the situation of, amongst others, the island's native Caliban (an anagram of 'canibal'), Gonzalo's speech on the ideal commonwealth, repeats Montaigne's description verbatim:

I' the commonwealth I would by contraries
Execute all things: for no kind of traffic
Would I admit; no name of magistrate;
Letters should not be known; no use of service,
Of riches, or of poverty, no contracts,
Successions; bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none;
No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil;
No occupation; all men idle, all;
And women too; but innocent and pure;
No sovereignty.⁴⁵

By the ^{opening of} seventeenth century there was a vast body of writings concerning the New World, offering a bewildering array of interpretations of the life to be experienced there. America was both ideal and dissolute. It could both regenerate the Old World, as Montaigne argued in 'On Cannibals', or contaminate it, as Hall suggested in Mundus Alter et Idem. Indeed, as Erwin Panofsky has revealed, embedded in the motto 'et in arcadia ego' - and consequently in the idea of an arcadia itself - was the ever present potent image of death.⁴⁶ Within representations of ideal landscapes were always the seeds of destruction. What was needed was a strategy to manage this dangerous ambivalence. It was the formulation of this strategy that concerned Francis Bacon in New Atlantis. Was life for the English colonist utopic or dystopic? Were native Americans immature or degenerate? How should the New World be integrated into the Old? And specifically, how could

England best secure territory, and future riches, in the New World? These were the questions posed by subsequent seventeenth-century English writers as they read about, discussed and even visited America.

Part II: Ideal Societies and the New World

The tradition of writing about imaginary and idealised civilisations which a voyager stumbles across in the course of his/her travels has a long history dating back to Antiquity.⁴⁷ Ancient Greek literature, such as Hesiod's Works and Days, and Hebrew prophetic texts both described Arcadian worlds.⁴⁸ One such manifestation of a terrestrial utopia was the land of Cokaygne, a version of which appeared as early as 440 B.C.⁴⁹ J.C. Davies argues that there are five different categories of ideal society; the Land of Cokaygne, the perfect moral commonwealth, arcadia, the millennium, and utopia.⁵⁰ Utopia can be defined as:

a holding operation, a set of strategies to maintain social order and perfection in the face of the deficiencies, not to say hostility, of nature and the wilfulness of man. In utopia, it is neither man nor nature that is idealised but organisation.⁵¹

Organisation becomes the key feature which distinguished the utopic civilisation from other forms of ideal society which emphasised either the perfectibility of man or nature, or awaited

the intervention of a deity. This stress on organisation enabled Bacon to both imagine his ideal world according to his empiric principles, and to construct an image of the colonial world that was neither fantastically idealised or dangerously degenerate.

Bacon's society was similar to the civilizations described in Thomas More's Utopia (1519), Johan Valentin Andreae's Christianopolis (1619), and Thomas Campanella's Civitas Solis (1625).⁵² All of these imagined societies were organised around a structuring principle. The organising principle, however, varied in each of these texts - in Campanella's and Andreae's texts, it was religion; in More's Utopia, it was state control; and in New Atlantis, it was an autonomous and institutionalised science. The parallels between More's text and New Atlantis are particularly striking; both take the discovery of America as the imaginative opening from which to generate a fantasy society. In Utopia, Raphael Hythlodæus's imaginary travels were grafted onto the voyages of exploration of Amerigo Vespucci. The starting point for the journey to Utopia was a fort at Cape Frio, the place in which Vespucci had left twenty-four of his crew in 1504.⁵³ More's text implied that the lands Hythlodæus described could be seen as an addendum to the discovery of America. For More, writing in 1519, the recognition of America as a New World rather than part of the Old World, the Indies, was a highly topical issue. This geographical setting provided both the text Utopia and the imaginary place Utopia with a context against which Hythlodæus's discovery narrative appeared authentic.

Moreover, America's ambivalent status as both New and Old World offered More an imaginative opening in which to locate a society that was radically different from that of his homeland, and forced Renaissance readers to question the normative values upon which Henrician England was based.

Bacon also connected his imaginary civilisation with America. In the text itself, Bacon referred to 'Atlantis', the island described by Plato in Critias.⁵⁴ This island and its surrounding sea were named after Atlas and believed to be inhabited by his descendants. In 1552, Francisco Lopez de Gomara in his polemical text Historia de la conquista de Mexico had equated Plato's Atlantis with the continents of America; or, more correctly, the existing America was all that remained of Atlantis after it had been inundated by the sea following an earthquake.⁵⁵ The history of New Atlantis that Bacon described referred to this legend as the country had been depopulated by a great local flood in its antiquity.

Bacon located his island of New Atlantis between the Great Atlantis and the Orient. This geographical placement in the unexplored and little known regions beyond the New World increased both the authenticity and feasibility of the narrative. In the 1620s the scope of America was not known. French and English colonial outposts were dotted in a piecemeal fashion along North America's Eastern coastline and the Portuguese and Spanish in particular had established sizeable settlements in South America.⁵⁶ But America's Western coastline and, in

particular, the continent's interior, had only been sketchily surveyed.⁵⁷ It was therefore highly possible that further discoveries of new lands would be made specifically in these areas.

Moreover, this geographical position had an ideological significance. As we have seen, the East had long been associated with fantastic and marvelous peoples, landscapes, and civilisations. If something was described as 'Eastern' or 'Oriental' in origin then it elided normative Western expectations. An Eastern geographical source imbued the item or person described with connotations that were notably different from their Western counterparts. The people imagined to be living in these regions were regularly described as, for example, two-headed, dog-headed, or hermaphroditic.⁵⁸ It was as though bodies from these areas were not expected to conform to the same anatomical rules as they did in the West. Entirely typical was the medieval manuscript Wonders of the East, where 'women with hair down to their heels and oxen's feet' were represented.⁵⁹ This manuscript was widely translated and circulated through Europe in the following centuries.⁶⁰ Descriptions of America also became caught up in this interest in the prodigious and the monstrous. At the end of the fifteenth century, Peter Martyr describes 'monsters in the shape of men, which had... but one foote' in America.⁶¹ In 1597 Abraham Hartwell, in his translation of Filippo Pigafetta's A Report of the Kingdome of Congo, wrote that he hoped proof would soon be forthcoming from

America that headless men existed.⁶² In Othello, Shakespeare's protagonist fascinates Desdemona with traveller's tales of the 'Anthropophagi, and men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders'.⁶³ The depiction of the 'marvels' to be found both in the East and in America created these geographical locations as spaces in which anything was possible.

But, by the 1620s America had become, albeit imperfectly, incorporated into Western perceptions of the known world as many nation states had settlements and subjects there. Reports of the life to be experienced there were in circulation as the region 'America' became a lived reality for an increasing number of people, rather than just a fantasy landscape. By placing New Atlantis in the interstice between America and the Orient, Bacon's text addressed the ways in which geographically remote regions could be assimilated, both conceptually and practically, by the home nation.

Part III: New Atlantis and the Politics of Voyages

The society described by Bacon in New Atlantis was an extremely authoritarian one: the state of Bensalem was controlled by an autonomous scientocracy which was centred on the institution of Salomon's House, or the College of Six Day's Works, the seat of empirical research. Contact between the

scientists and the larger society was strictly limited; a fellow of Salomon's House visited the capitol in the course of the narrator's stay but, the reader is informed, this was the only contact that had occurred in the previous twelve years. Moreover, though the society clearly privileges science, the reader is given no actual knowledge of the marvelous achievements and advances that Salomon's House has made. Apart from the antiseptic oranges and the 'small grey or whitish pills' which cured the illnesses of the narrator's fellow voyagers on their initial arrival in New Atlantis, no descriptions of these scientific achievements and inventions were provided by the text.⁶⁴ The work of the scientists was completely divorced from the day to day existence of the population of Bensalem.

Throughout this text the narrator, and consequently the reader - who only learns what the narrator has discovered - is kept in suspense as they await the denouement or, in other words, an understanding of the workings of Salomon's House. From the beginning of the text the narrator is made aware that New Atlantis is a place that awards Salomon's House a privileged position in its society. The Governor of the Strangers' House - the place where the narrator and his compatriots are accommodated on their arrival in the country - calls Salomon's House 'the very eye of this kingdom'.⁶⁵ This metaphor - with its empirical and ocular resonances - is designed to emphasise the all-powerful nature of the institution. The accolade is given during a description of the conversion of the state to Christianity. Out

of all the New Atlanteans who beheld the spectacle of 'a great pillar of light; not sharp, but in form of a column or cylinder, rising from the sea a great way up towards heaven: and on top of it was seen a large cross of light, more bright and resplendent than the body of the pillar,' it is only the Fellow of Salomon's House who understood its significance as a message from God.⁶⁶ Because of the emphasis the New Atlanteans place upon identifying the religion of the strangers immediately they arrive in New Atlantis, and the importance that their culture accords to this conversion narrative, the scientist's perception, and by implication the institution he represented, both appear to work in tandem in a mutually supportive relationship in this text.

Although, from the start, the narrator/reader is made aware of the importance of Salomon's House in the state of New Atlantis, the explication of this institution is constantly deferred by the text. The text repeatedly digresses from its ostensible purpose. Indeed, achievement of this resolution is presented in terms of a quest by the text. The strangers - mariners and readers alike - have a series of tests they must pass before being allowed to see the epicentre of New Atlantis. The association between the reader and the narrator seems designed to draw the reader into the textual world of New Atlantis. Just as the narrator must assert his Christianity before being allowed to land, the text attempts to persuade the reader to embrace the normative values of New Atlantean society. This vetting procedure operates as a tacit affirmation that the

readers of the text support the doctrinal positions of the society they are fictively and metaphorically entering.⁶⁷ Moreover, the construction of the mariners as strangers to (and yet observers of) this society - in other words, their position as 'outsiders' - also operates as a rhetorical strategy to draw the reader into this fictive world. This fantasy text appropriates a standard narrative technique of the voyage narrative genre; an explorer arrives in a strange world and, in the course of his/her stay, observes the workings of the alien society. The progress of the narrative charts the stranger's gradual and increasing familiarity with this foreign environment. This appropriation of narrative techniques from the genre of documented voyages creates an aura of authenticity for this fictive voyage.

The trial of strangers is continued throughout the story. For example, strangers have to show they are prepared to obey the smaller rules of the society, such as agreeing not to go further than a 'karan.. from the walls of the city, without especial leave,' before they are allowed to proceed to the next stage of their quest.⁶⁸ Indeed this text, which mimicked the style of a voyage narrative, was - paradoxically - distinctly uneasy in its representation of the benefits of travel. This unease is revealed in other contemporary texts, where travel was represented as a potentially subversive activity and one that needed strict controls placed upon it. For example, in 1575, Gerard Turler, in his manual for travellers, revealed a sceptical view concerning

travel. These beliefs had been anticipated by Thomas More's Utopia (1515-16). More had appeared wary of the potential of travel and the resulting contact with strangers which might, he believed, result in social and political discontent within the traveller's home society. The inhabitants of Utopia who wished to travel were allowed to do so by the state only under strict passport controls that defined the limit of their journey. The absence of these documents resulted in the traveller either being punished as a fugitive or condemned to slavery.⁶⁹ By the 1620s, in Francis Bacon's text, there was a slight but significant modification in this cautious attitude towards travel. King Salomana, like the state apparatus in Utopia, feared the negative consequences of contact with strangers and other cultures. Though he forbade all citizens to travel outside the boundaries of their national waters, nonetheless he authorises two ships to be sent forth every twelve years, manned by a staff of three 'research fellows', whose mission was to acquire knowledge of 'the sciences, arts, manufactures and inventions of all the world'.⁷⁰

The blanket ban imposed upon travel outside the state boundaries in More's ideal society was transformed into a selective and controlled policy of reconnaissance in Bacon's text. Neither Bacon's nor More's societies permitted independent travel, but, in New Atlantis, the scientocracy authorised travel missions that supported the aims of the state. Within the parameters of the scientists' rigid guidelines these missions are represented by Bacon as of benefit to the New Atlantean nation.

The things 'discovered' by these government-defined voyages that could be of 'use' are incorporated into the New Atlantean state. However, contact with other cultures and the potential exchange of values is strictly limited. Indeed, New Atlantean policy insisted that contact with other cultures was a one-way process. In the host country the visiting scientists remained incognito, 'colour[ing] themselves under the names of other nations'.⁷¹ This disguise, or camouflage, concerning their true identity, and the secrecy which characterised the governor's tantalising but sketchy description of the practicalities of these missions, illustrates Bacon's desire to control the power of travel to effect change. The whole of the central part of the text described the reasons behind the world's ignorance of the existence of New Atlantis and displayed the consequent utopic lifestyle the society enjoyed, and it is clear that Bacon supported such an isolationist policy. The New Atlantean state apparatus had evolved a policy which allowed them to selectively appropriate knowledge derived from the rest of the world without becoming subject themselves to the uncontrollable influences of haphazard cultural exchange.

Moreover, the state in New Atlantis precludes the possibility of the telling of a traveller's tale. The fellows of Salomon's House live in isolation from the rest of society. In effect, Salomon's house and its relationship with the larger community of New Atlantis can be seen as a microcosm of the isolation between the country of New Atlantis and the rest of the

world. Because the scientists had no direct contact with the people and the dissemination of the things 'discovered' on their reconnaissance missions was strictly controlled by the scientocratic government, the traveller's tale - which simultaneously told of experiences beyond the traveller's home society and demonstrated his desire to be included within that society - cannot be articulated in such a world.⁷² It would serve no function; travellers' tales have no 'use' according to the institutionalised guidelines prescribed by the scientocracy for the wider society of New Atlantis. Travellers' tales, with their ambiguous anti-establishment resonances that hint at the benefits of subversive individual experience, have no place in a society that organises itself around and is governed by the institution.

Yet how did this cautious and authoritarian attitude to travel mesh with a text that so explicitly imitated the rhetorical strategies of a voyage narrative? There were two different attitudes towards travel within this text, depending on whether the society of the narrator or the society of New Atlantis was being described. The New Atlantean state was represented as self-sufficient in the text: it did not need to forge economic links with other areas in the world. For example, the governor claims that currently New Atlantians:

maintain a trade, not for gold, silver, or jewels; nor for silks; nor for spices; nor any other commodity of matter; but only for God's first creature, which was Light: to have light (I say) of the growth of all parts of the world.⁷³

However, he describes a history of former commercial links.

Previously, the New Atlanteans have traded with all the great civilisations of the past including the Phoenicians, the Tyrians, the Carthaginians, the Egyptians, the Palestinians, the Chinese, and the 'Great Atlanteans'. These earlier trading links are no longer of value to the New Atlanteans. The fertility of the land and Salomon's House, which seeks 'the true nature of things' in order to give 'the more fruit in the use of them', provide all the materials necessary for the population to enjoy a life of comfort 'without any aid at all of the foreigner'.⁷⁴

Indeed this history of past contacts was described as a time of national rivalry and war:

the said country of Atlantis, as well as that of Peru, then called Coya, as that of Mexico, then named Tyrambel, were mighty and proud kingdoms in arms, shipping, and riches: so mighty, as at one time (or at least within the space of ten years) they both made two great expeditions; they of Tyrambel through the Atlantic to the Mediterane Sea; and they of Coya through the South Sea upon this our island.⁷⁵

The governor appeared tantalisingly nebulous concerning the outcome of this first expedition into Europe; all he was certain about was 'there never came back either ship nor man from that voyage'.⁷⁶ He continued by describing the way in which the later warlike expedition by these hostile nations, against New Atlantis itself, was speedily and peacefully dealt with. This history has interesting implications. Firstly Europe was conquered by these warlike and proud states and, secondly, 'Great Atlantis' was punished by 'Divine Revenge' for its ambition with a 'particular deluge or inundation'.⁷⁷ Consequently inhabitants of Europe are constructed as descendants of these warlike peoples, and native

Americans - who were dispersed and isolated in the aftermath of this divine punishment with the result that they were effectively a thousand years younger than other peoples in the world - are represented as simple and childlike.⁷⁸ Only New Atlantis escaped the negative consequences of these colonial expeditions as the country was strong enough to repulse hostile marauders and restrained enough not to trounce them unmercifully. It is in the wake of this history that King Solamona, 'doubting novelties, and commixture of manners', established an isolationist policy for his country.⁷⁹ Does this mean, then, that Bacon, in New Atlantis, was presenting an anti-colonial argument as he attempted to foster a policy against the building of Empires?

The text's attitude towards expansion and exploration by European countries is strikingly different to its support of the New Atlantean isolationist policy. The narrator/readers's contact with this utopic society was designed to be didactic. The narrator and his fellow crew function in this text as representatives of Europe as a whole. Their particular national identity is not important; rather, these characters are the products of a history of past aggressive colonisation through Europe. The appropriation of the rhetorical strategies of a voyage narrative clearly signalled that this text was designed to be a learning tool for the reader/narrator. Contact with New Atlantean culture and value systems would enable the voyagers from Europe to observe the workings of a society that would inspire them to implement changes in their own homeland on return

to Europe. Indeed the fellow of Salomon's House, at the very end of this fragmentary text, explicitly gives the narrator permission to 'publish it for the good of other nations'.⁸⁰

Part IV: New Atlantis and the policies of James I

But what were the values that Bacon was hoping to transplant from New Atlantis to early modern England? King Salomona can be seen as the personification and encapsulation of all the values and policies that Bacon wished James I had followed. Similar to his namesake King Solomon of the Hebrews, King Salomona was wise and revered. But his lasting achievement in New Atlantis was his policy to institutionalise science. This strategy had, according to the text, resulted in prosperity and stability. In 1623/4 James I, the monarch whom Bacon had so effusively and hopefully praised in the opening pages of his 1605 text, The Advancement of Learning, had failed to make any significant financial commitment to his project for the institutionalisation of science in England.⁸¹

Like James I, King Salomona supported a pacific foreign policy; but there was a crucial difference. The New Atlantean monarch's strategy was based on the essential strength of his nation. As Bacon made clear, Bensalem was capable of self-sufficiency. James's foreign policy had been based on the

essential weakness of England's position as he sought to construct England as a diplomatic buffer between Catholic Iberians, Catholic France and Protestant Northern Europe. By maintaining cordial relations with each of these states or monarchies whose interests were opposed to each other, England could, James believed, fashion a decisive role for itself.⁸²

However, King Salomona's isolationist policy had resulted in New Atlantis's concentration upon the organisation of its own internal workings at an optimum level as they had institutionalised science. James's policies had resulted in no such utopia: rather the monarch Bacon had served under (as Chancellor until his impeachment for corruption in 1621) had experienced a turbulent and troubled reign. Moreover, because the monarch had failed to support Bacon's empiric project, no progress had been achieved in the 'arts or manufactures' which could have made England self-sufficient.

Furthermore, between 1621-1624, England suffered an economic crisis during which the balance of payments - the difference between England's imports and exports - was extremely unfavourable.⁸³ This situation was exacerbated by the fact that most of these imports into England were of a so called 'soft' nature - in other words they were non-essential goods such as tobacco, wine and oil from Spain, for which demand and, consequently, prices fluctuated sharply. As Brian Dietz catalogues, one of the root causes of this economic crisis had been Alderman Cockayne's project for English cloth merchants to

start finishing their cloth products as well as exporting 'in the white' cloth, a policy which received royal support and sponsorship in 1614.⁸⁴ Though, ostensibly, a policy designed to provide employment for English workers, increase profits, and create revenue for the Crown, Cockayne's project was also intended to break the dominance the profitable Merchant Adventurer's Company had enjoyed in the wool trade. The new company was a financial failure as it had none of the necessary expertise of the old, and the Dutch retaliated against the attack on their finishing industry with a ban on the import of dressed and dyed cloths. By 1617 it had been disbanded and the old company re-established, but the woollen industry had entered recession. By 1622, shipments of cloth had fallen by a quarter from the level of 1618 - even declining below the previous all time low of 1616. As markets shrank, wool prices fell and bankruptcies and unemployment were widespread. The blame for this economic crisis was persistently levelled at Cockayne's project and James's tenacious support of those policies.⁸⁵

The failure of these economic and foreign policies, both of which were perceived to have been championed personally by the monarch were cryptographically critiqued by Bacon in New Atlantis. Writing from 'the verge' following his impeachment, Bacon embedded these criticisms in his complex representation of the triad of James I, King Solomon of the Hebrews and King Salomona in New Atlantis.⁸⁶ In 1605, in The Advancement of Learning Bacon had praised the personal qualities of James I,

gesturing towards 'the propriety and excellence of your individual person, rather than to the business of your crown and state'.⁸⁷ By the mid 1620s the 'English Solomon' was no longer considered to possess these excellent personal qualities. Indeed in 1622, in the History of thee Reign of Henry VII - which was dedicated to Prince Charles rather than King James - Bacon explicitly identified the first Tudor monarch as the 'English Solomon'.⁸⁸

In New Atlantis the representation of such a model king, who possessed all the positive resemblances of the Hebrew Solomon, served to highlight James's failure to execute the policies Bacon favoured. Consequently, the resemblance between James and the Hebrew King was now inferred by negative allusions towards Solomon's increasing despotism and the loss of God's favour towards the end of his life. As Solomon grew older his 'heart was not perfect with the Lord his God' (I Kings: 11: 4). According to biblical narrative, Solomon was seduced away from Yahweh into idolatrous practices as he authorised the building of heathen sanctuaries for his new wives on the high places around the city of Jerusalem. In response Yahweh punished Solomon's successor, his son Rehoboam, with both a civil war and foreign enemies. The result was the division of the Promised land into the twin domains of Israel and Judah. By the 1620s as James was increasingly reliant on his favourite courtiers - showering them with riches and turning a blind eye to their corruption - and seemed to be overly dependent on Spain as he sought an alliance

with the marriage of his son to a Catholic princess - it seemed that James had, like Solomon, been seduced away from what Bacon perceived as strong monarchy.

Bacon's cryptographic critique of the monarch was necessarily subtle: an explicit attack would have been foolhardy. In New Atlantis Bacon's disillusion with James I - a monarch from whom he had, in 1605, confidently expected so much - was translated into an idealised depiction of King Salomona who had, in the fantasy society of Bensalem, enacted all Bacon's favoured policies. By 1623/4, Bacon's hopes for the future of England - in terms of her expansion and growth both internally and within the world - were located in Prince Charles.

As we have seen, throughout the seventeenth century widely differing representations of America and Americans extensively circulated. Increasingly, representations of the New World became caught up in articulations of an English imperial destiny. In New Atlantis Bacon implied that King James I had failed to shape a decisive role for England against foreign competitors. As the seventeenth-century progressed, English national identity, and English national ambitions, continued to be fashioned through real and imaginary accounts of voyages. For example, Thomas Thorowgood's changing representation of native American peoples in Jewes in America was, as we shall in the next chapter, motivated by his hostility towards Spanish Catholicism, his disgust with Spanish conquistadors' and missionaries' activities in the New World, and his desire to secure territory for England

in America. As more Amerindians were converted by the Spanish Thorowgood represented them as more degenerate.

This hostility towards Catholicism in general, and Spain in particular, was also apparent in Andrew Marvell's images of America. In 'The Garden' and 'Bermudas', Andrew Marvell appropriated earlier English promotional pamphlets' descriptions of America's overabundant flora and fauna as he portrayed nature in, respectively, an English and a transatlantic setting. He described how 'ripe apples do drop about my head' and 'the luscious clusters of the vine upon my mouth do crush their wine' ('The Garden'), and the way in which God 'makes the figs our mouths to meet, And throws the melons at our feet' ('Bermudas').⁸⁹ However, as Margarita Stocker observes, Marvell also uses these images to argue for his own status as one of the elect at the last Judgement, and, in 'Bermudas', for England's national destiny as an elect and imperial nation.⁹⁰ Stocker details Marvell's use of images from Revelations. For example, the notion of wine forcing itself upon the poet recalls Christ as the Winepress at the Apocalyptic judgement (Revelations 14:19; 19:15). When this image is conflated with the 'passion' of the preceding stanza, it becomes clear that Christ's redemptive blood is being offered to the poet. Thus Marvell appears as one of the elect at the final judgement where the saved are served with a banquet by God (Revelation 19:9). 'The Garden' describes the poet's retreat from worldly artifice to pastoral simplicity in the Old World as Marvell creates a personal New Jerusalem, or, as

Milton would later write, 'a paradise within'.⁹¹

'Bermudas' transposes the apocalyptic banquet described in 'The Garden' to the New World, the 'new heavens and new earth' described in Revelation 21:1. Francis Bacon argued in The Advancement of Learning (1605) that the recent discovery of America should be seen as a harbinger of the Apocalypse. Improved techniques in navigation, which had facilitated the discovery of the New World, were a sign of the Last Age's increased knowledge, thus fulfilling Daniel's prophecy 'Many shall pass to and fro, and science shall be increased'.⁹² Marvell argued in 'Bermudas' (1653) and also in his later poem 'Upon the Victory Obtained by Blake over the Spaniards, in the Island of Teneriffe, 1657' (1658) for England's divinely sanctioned imperial destiny.⁹³

Stocker writes:

the poem ['Bermudas'] is built upon a prophetic problematic, providing a conjunction of reality and history with vision and exemplum. Bermudas is a vision, for Cromwell's England, of its arrival at a New Jerusalem character; an exemplum which recognizes the "interval" that yet interposes between England's current condition and the New Jerusalem to which she aspires.⁹⁴

Thus in 'Bermudas', Marvell describes the future actions of the colonising English sailors who are required to worship the Protestant God, and convert, in the New World:

Oh let our voice his praise exalt,
Till it arrive at heaven's vault:
Which thence (perhaps) rebounding, may
Echo beyond the Mexique Bay.⁹⁵

This conversion impulse appears equally aimed at indigenous peoples and the Spanish conquistadors 'beyond the Mexique Bay': both were suitable targets for Protestants' missionary zeal.

Often, in Marvell's work, an ostensibly paradisiacal landscape is revealed to be indelibly contaminated. In his pastoral poem 'The Mower Against Gardens', an edenic landscape has been infected by 'Luxurious man'.⁹⁶ The poetic voice appears pessimistic concerning whether Man will ever enjoy the 'Marvel of Peru', which appears emblematic of Spanish colonies in the New World.⁹⁷ Consequently it could be argued that Marvell is both criticising Spanish despotism and bemoaning the lack of English access to such regions. Similar to Panofsky's description of arcadia, within Marvell's ideal world were the ever present potent images of death and destruction. For Marvell, in 'Upon the Victory Obtained by Blake', these seeds of destruction were the Spanish whose:

Fleet her spacious wings unfold,
Leaves the new World and hastens for the old:
But though the wind was fair, they slowly swoome
Frayted with acted Guilt, and Guilt to come:
For this rich load, of which so proud they are,
Was rais'd by Tyranny, and rais'd for War.⁹⁸

Here the treasure fleet represents Spain's tyrannous imperial ambitions and guilty dominium in the New World. In 'Bermudas', Marvell combines notions of America as a sensuous paradise, ideas of England's imperial destiny and an anti-Spanish polemic. Written as Cromwell's imperial designs for England were emerging, Marvell's America is a fertile, but post-lapsarian world where England can continue the holy war against Catholicism as well as expanding the English empire.

1. Robert Ellis and James Spedding argue that New Atlantis was written in either 1623 or 1624, firmly placing its composition at the end of Bacon's life when he lived in retirement following his impeachment for corruption in 1621. For further details see, The Works of Francis Bacon, ed. J. Spedding and others, 14 vols, (London: Longman & Co, 1857-1874), III, p.122-123.

2. For further details of these trade links see Carole Shammas, 'English Commercial Development and American Colonisation', in The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America, 1480-1650, ed. K.R. Andrews, & others, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978), p.151-174. See also, Brian Dietz, 'England's Overseas Trade in the Reign of James I', in The Reign of James VI and I, ed. Alan G.R. Smith, (London: Macmillan, 1973), p.106-122.

3. For a history of the early years of the Virginia Company see Louis B. Wright, 'Colonial Developments in the Reign of James I', in The Reign of James I and VI, ed. Alan G.R. Smith, (London: Macmillan, 1973), pp.123-139 (p.128-135). See also, A.D. Innes, The Maritime and Colonial Expansion of England under the Stuarts, 1603-1714, (London: Sampson Low, 1931), p.81-124.

4. For more details see William Robert Scott, The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720, 3 vols., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910-1912) I, p.130-131. For information concerning the plans to establish plantations in Ireland in 1609 see Karl S. Bottingheimer, English Money and Irish Land: The 'Adventurers' in the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), p.17-22.

5. A.D. Innes, The Maritime and Colonial Expansion of England, p.81.

6. A.D. Innes, The Maritime and Colonial Expansion of England, p.89.

7. Michael Zuckerman, 'Identity in British America: Unease in Eden', in Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800, ed. Nicholas Canny & Anthony Pagden (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p.115-159.

8. Zuckerman, 'Identity in British America', p.141.

9. For further details of this turbulent history, see Nicholas Canny, 'The Permissive Frontier: The Problem of Social Control in English Settlements in Ireland and Virginia 1550-1650', in The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America, 1480-1650, p.17-45.

10. Canny writes: 'Proprietors in Virginia, like their counterparts in Ireland, found it difficult to attract those with previous experience in agriculture. In desperation they sought after convicted felons and those of England's destitute who had drifted to the capital, either in search for employment or to escape from the rigours of the poor law. Generally speaking it is probable that a majority of those who took ship to Virginia were making the final of a series of moves in an unsettled and rootless existence.' See Canny, 'The Permissive Frontier', p.25-26.

11. For a history of English attempts to colonise Ireland through the sixteenth century see Karl S. Bottingheimer, 'Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Westward Enterprise 1536-1660' in The Westward Enterprise, p.45-64. Also see David Beers Quinn, 'Sir Thomas Smith (1513-1577) and the Beginnings of English Colonial Theory', American Philosophical Society Proceedings, 89 (1945), 543-60; 'The Munster Plantation: Problems and Opportunities', Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, 71 (1966), 19-40; 'Ireland and Sixteenth-Century European Expansion', Historical Studies, 1 (1958), 20-32. And see Nicholas Canny, 'The Ideology of English Colonisation; from Ireland to America', William and Mary Quarterly, 30 (1973), 573-98.

12. Indeed, this similarity between the settlers who colonised Ireland and America may have been actual as well as just in terms of their social groupings. Nicholas Canny writes: 'Those who arrived [in America] with Daniel Gookin from Ireland in 1621 did not bear Irish surnames, which suggests that these were in fact Englishmen whom Gookin had, some years previously, brought as tenants for his estate in Munster, and then transferred to his newly acquired property in Virginia.' See Canny, 'The Permissive Frontier', p.26.

13. For further details see Canny, 'The Permissive Frontier', p.28-29.

14. John Smith, Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Edward Arber and A.G. Bradley, (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1910), p.479.

15. Quoted by Canny, 'The Permissive Frontier', p.29.

16. Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall (London, 1612) in Tracts and Other Papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement and Progress of the Colonies in North America, ed. Peter Force, 4 vols., (Washington, 1836: reprinted Gloucester, Mass: Peter Smith, 1963), III, 68 pages.

17. On the estimated outlay for investors in Virginia of £300,000 up to 1624, quick returns could not be expected. The Virginia Company was aware of this when it based its early appeals to investors on the non-commercial and long-range goals of national honour, prestige and religious sentiment. Later the emphasis shifted to the

more conventional profit motive, but this carried little conviction when the company's ledgers were scrutinised. Although tobacco exports had risen rapidly after the second charter was granted in 1609, the profit margin remained slight. By 1624 the company was near bankruptcy. For further details see Dietz, 'England's Overseas Trade in the Reign of James I', p.119.

18.Cited in Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley, 'Introduction: Irish Representations and English Alternatives', from Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534-1660, ed. Brendan Bradshaw & others, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p.1-23 (p.4).

19.Thomas Fuller, The Holy State, (Cambridge: Roger Daniel for John Williams, 1642).

20.The Sermons of John Donne, ed. G.R. Potter and E.M. Simpson, 10 vols., (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953-1962), IV, p.264-282. All subsequent references are to this edition.

21.Michael Braddick has recently argued that the distinction between centre and locality in connection with the problem of the formation of early modern English state identity - and the resulting privileging of the centre - is an incorrect one. He writes: 'the state is distinct from the locality not by being central but by being more extensive than the locality - it is one of the things common to a number of localities rather than an alien and hostile central body. Thus the customary usage of centre versus locality cannot be said to refer to any geographical reality but to orientations of interest or identity.' Michael Braddick, 'State Formation and Social Change in Early Modern England: A Problem stated and Approaches Suggested', Social History, 16 (1991), 1-16 (p.5).

22.Donne, Sermons, IV, p.282.

23.For further details see Simon Berthon and Andrew Robinson, The Shape of the World, (London: George Philip, 1991), p.94.

24.Michael Drayton, 'Ode to the Virginian Voyage', in The Works of Michael Drayton, 5 vols., (Oxford: Shakespeare Head Press, 1932), II, p.363-364.

25.Drayton, 'Ode to the Virginia Voyage', p.87.

26.William Symonds, Virginia. A Sermon Preached at White Chapel, (London, 1609), p.26.

27.For more details of these contrasting images of America see Zuckerman, 'Identity in British America', p.115-127.

28. 'Arthur Barlowe's Discourse of the First Voyage,' in The Roanoake Voyages, 1584-1590, ed. David Quinn, 2 vols., (London: Hakluyt Society, 1955), I, p.108

29. Anon, New Britain, in The Genesis of the United States, ed. Alexander Brown, 2 vols., (Boston, 1890: reprinted New York: Russel & Russel, 1964), I, p.259-277. Interestingly Father Crusuelo summarised this 12000 word document for the king of Spain. Crusuelo's selection reveals the subjects which were thought important to Spain.

30. Daniel Price, Saules Prohibition Staide, in The Genesis of the United States, I, p.312-316.

31. Ben Jonson, 'To Penshurst', in Ben Jonson, the Complete Poems, ed. George Parfitt, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975), p.95-98, (p.97).

32. My translation of 'The Land of Cokaygne', in Early Middle English Verse and Prose, ed. J.A.W. Bennet and G.V. Smithers, 2nd edn., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p.136-144 (p.140); William Bullock, Virginia Impartially Examined, (London: John Hammond, 1649), p.14.

33. John Donne, 'To his Mistress Going to Bed', in Complete English Poems, ed. C.A. Patrides, (London: Everyman, 1994), p.121.

34. Christopher Columbus, 'Digest of Columbus's Log-book on his First Voyage made by Bartolome de las Casas', from The Four Voyages of Christopher Columbus, ed. by J.M. Cohen, (London: Penguin, 1969), p.55.

35. Columbus, 'Digest of Columbus's Log-book', p.59.

36. Anon, New Britain, p.265.

37. Cited in Berthon and Robinson, The Shape of the World, p.94.

38. For further details see Berthon & Robinson, The Shape of the World, p.94.

39. For further details see Anthony Pagden, 'Shifting Antinomies: European Representations of the American Indian Since Columbus', from Visions of America Since 1492, ed. Deborah L. Madsen, (London: Leicester University Press, 1994), p.23-34.

40. For further details see, William Brandon, New Worlds for Old: Reports from the New World and their Effect on the Development of Social Thought in Europe, 1500-1800, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1986), p.11-13.

41.Cited from Richard C. Trexler, Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), p.141.

42.Thomas Thorowgood, Jewes in America, (London, 1650); Thorowgood's text was republished in a substantially different edition in 1660.

43.For further details see William Brandon, New Worlds for Old, p.21. See also Arthur Lovejoy and George Boas, Contributions to the History of Primitivism: Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1935).

44.Michel de Montaigne, 'On Cannibals' from Essays, trans. J.M. Cohen, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1958), p.105-119 (p.110).

45.Shakespeare, The Tempest, II, i, in The Complete Works of William Shakespeare, ed. Peter Alexander, (London: Collins, 1951), p.10. For a detailed analysis of Shakespeare's play see Peter Hulme, Colonial Encounters: Europe and the native Caribbean, 1492-1797, (London: Routledge, 1986), p.89-136. See also Brandon, New Worlds for Old, p.18.

46.Erwin Panofsky, 'Et in Arcadia Ego', from Philosophy and History, ed. R. Klibansky & H.J. Paton, (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), p.223-254.

47.For further details of the history of utopianism, see; Utopias and Utopian Thought, ed. by Frank E. Manuel, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966); Glenn Negley and J. Max Patrick, The Quest for Utopia: An Anthology of Imaginary Societies, 2nd ed., (College Park, Maryland: McGrath Publishing, 1971).

48.Lovejoy and Boas, Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity, p.25-27, p.46-47, p.86-88, p.292-293.

49.Teleclide's wrote: 'First there was peace among all things like water covering one's hands. And the earth bore neither fear nor disease, but all needed things appeared of their own accord. For every stream flowed with wine, and barley cakes fought with wheat cakes to enter the mouths of men, pleading to be gulped down if they loved the whitest. And fishes, coming to men's houses and baking themselves, would serve themselves upon the tables.' See Lovejoy & Boas, Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity, p.40-41.

50.For further details of these distinctions see, J.C.Davies, Utopia and the Ideal Society: A Study of English Utopian Writing 1516-1700, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) p.11-40.

51.Davies, Utopia and the Ideal Society, p.37-38.

52. Thomas More, Utopia, trans. Paul Turner, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965); Valentin Andrae, Christianopolis: An Ideal State of the Seventeenth Century, ed. Felix Held, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1916); Tommaso Campanella, Civitas Solis, trans. William J. Gilstrap, in Negley and Max Patrick, The Quest for Utopia, p.181-207. All references are to these editions.

53. For further details of More's utilisation of early accounts of America in his text Utopia, see Thomas More, Utopia, ed. Edward Surtz and J.H. Hexter, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p.i-xxxii.

54. Plato, Timaeus and Critias, trans. Desmond Lee, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971). For a discussion of Plato's geography of the Atlantis myth see J.A. Stewart, The Myths of Plato, (London: Macmillan & Co, 1905), p.457-469.

55. Gomara was one of the fiercest critics of native American peoples: 'to sum up, I say that God never created a nation so full of vice and so lacking in any virtue.' For further details of Gomara's support of Cortez's campaign through Mexico see William Brandon, New Worlds for Old: Reports from the New World and their Effect on the Development of Social Thought in Europe, 1500-1800, (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1986), p.40-43. See also Tzvetan Todorov, The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other, trans. by Richard Howard, (New York: HarperPerennial, 1992), p.56-57.

56. Commenting on the slow start the English made in their colonial endeavour, John Bakeless summarises the progress of other Europeans: 'It is astonishing how Europeans swarmed about the great, empty land of North America, as the middle of the sixteenth century was approaching. Almost simultaneously, De Soto was exploring the South, Coronado the Southwest, Alarcon the Gulf of Mexico, other Spaniards the California coast, while Cartier was carrying forward in the Gulf of St. Lawrence those French explorations that would eventually reach half way across the continent.' For further details of this history of piecemeal progress through America by European settlers see John Bakeless, America as Seen by its First Explorers, (New York: Dover Publications, 1989), p.47-400 (p.176).

57. The mapping of America was a slow process. From Mexico, or New Spain, the Spanish domains extended in the 16th century northward into California and Florida, southward to Panama, and the settled regions were duly mapped under official auspices. In South America, during the 16th and 17th centuries, cartography followed the Spanish settlement of Peru, the Chilean coast, Venezuela and the River Plate region, and the Portuguese settlement of the eastern and southern coasts of Brazil and in the Amazon valley. The mapping of North America during the same period accompanied the establishment of French, English and Dutch colonies on the Atlantic

seaboard and in the St Lawrence basin and the exploration of the interior, from Hudson Bay to the Mississippi and as far west as the Rockies, by French and English venturers. Between 1585-1587 the Englishman John White mapped the coastal region between Florida and Chesapeake Bay, while in 1613 and 1632 the Frenchman Samuel de Champlain mapped Nova Scotia, the St Lawrence basin, and the Great Lakes region, from Hudson Bay in the north to Chesapeake Bay in the south. Later in the century, French explorers provided cartographers with materials for maps of the great river systems of the Ohio, Missouri and Mississippi, south to the Gulf of Mexico and west to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. Map-production in the British colonies of North America began only in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. The first map to be drawn and printed in America was that of New England, a crude woodcut made in 1677 by John Foster. For further details, see Leo Bagrow and R.A. Skelton, History of Cartography, 2nd edn, (London: C.A.Watts, 1964), p.193.

58. See Ruddolf Wittkower, 'Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 5 (1942), 159-197.

59. For further details see Mary B. Campbell, The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), p.47-86 (p.58).

60. Campbell traces the genealogy of Marvels of the East: 'Apparently it [the text] began its life in Egeria's genre: the British manuscripts descend from a redaction of a Continental Latin work usually called The Letter of Farasmanes to Hadrian. The eight extant Continental variants are all epistolary in format, that is, they begin with a salutation and contain a few uses of the first person.' See Campbell, The Witness and the Other World, p.63.

61. Cited from Robert Ralston Cawley, Unpathed Waters: Studies in the Influence of the Voyagers on Elizabethan Literature, (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1967), p.104.

62. Cawley, Unpathed Waters, p.104.

63. William Shakespeare, Othello, The Moor of Venice, I, iii, in The Complete Works, ed. Peter Alexander, (London: Collins, 1951), p.1119.

64. Francis Bacon, The Works of Francis Bacon, III, p.127-168, (p.132-134). Bacon's antiseptic oranges were subsequently appropriated in Marvell's 'Bermudas' where rejuvenating 'orange bright' 'hang in shades'. For further details see Margarita Stocker, Apocalyptic Marvell: The Second Coming in Seventeenth Century Poetry, (Brighton: Harvester, 1986), p.195.

65. Bacon, Works, III, p.137.

66. Bacon, Works, III, p.137.

67. For a similar analysis see J.C. Davis, Utopia and the Ideal World, p.47-48.

68. Bacon, Works, III, p.135.

69. Thomas More, Utopia, trans. Paul Turner, p.84.

70. Bacon, Works, III, p.146.

71. Bacon, Works, III, p.146.

72. Wayne Franklin summarises this analysis of the subversive potential of the traveller when he writes: 'almost by definition [the traveller is] an iconoclast; his departure, even if he goes in the service of "home" purposes, hints not merely at the general authority of experience, but also (and more subversively) at the prospective power of individual life beyond the horizon.' See Wayne Franklin, Discoverers, Explorers, Settlers?: The Diligent Writers of Early America, (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1979), p.12.

73. Bacon, Works, III, p.146-147.

74. Bacon, Works, p.146, p.144.

75. Bacon, Works, III, p.142.

76. Bacon, Works, III, p.142.

77. Bacon, Works, III, p.142.

78. This representation of native American peoples has strong parallels with the Spanish Thomist debate concerning the status of the indigenous inhabitants of the New World. For further details see Anthony Pagden, 'Dispossessing the Barbarian: the Language of Spanish Thomism and the Debate over the Property Rights of the American Indians', in The Languages of Political Theory in Early Modern Europe, ed. Anthony Pagden, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p.79-98.

79. Bacon, Works, III, p.145.

80. Bacon, Works, III, p.166.

81. Bacon, Works, III, p.261-264.

82. For a summary of the effectiveness of James's pacific policy with regard to other countries see Alan G.R. Smith, The Reign of James VI and I, p.15-18. Smith describes this policy as successful up to 1610 when Spain and France were hostile to each other; but, with the death of Henry IV of France and the establishment of more

cordial relations between these two Catholic powers, England's position as mediator was largely irrelevant. More seriously, after the outbreak of the Thirty Years War in 1618, and the serious political and religious rivalries within Europe that this revealed, James's pacific policy was increasingly idealistic. The invasion of the hereditary dominions of his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, by Spanish forces, in the autumn of 1620 should have indicated beyond all doubt that James needed to choose between the Spanish match for his son Charles and supporting Protestantism through Europe. As the leading Protestant kingdom in Europe, James's choice should have been easy; but, believing that his influence with the Spanish would hold considerable sway in persuading the Spanish to moderate their demands, James tried to maintain cordial relations all round. By the time of his death, war with Spain, still undeclared, had become virtually inevitable.

83. Brian Dietz writes: 'In the year from 1621 imports stood at £1,291,720, a significantly higher level than at any time in the years of prosperity before 1614, while in the same year cloth exports had fallen well below the average level of that earlier period.' See Dietz, 'England's Overseas Trade in the Reign of James I', p.118.

84. Dietz, 'England's Overseas Trade in the Reign of James I', p.111.

85. For further details see Astrid Friis, Alderman Cockayne's Project and the Cloth Trade, (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1927), p.145.

86. The verge was the area outside a twelve mile radius from London.

87. Bacon, Works, III, p.261.

88. For further details see Howard B. White, Peace Among the Willows: The Political Philosophy of Francis Bacon, (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968), p.45-57.

89. The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell, ed. H.M. Margoliouth, 3rd edn., 3 vols., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), I, p.52, p.17. All subsequent references are to this edition.

90. Stocker, Apocalyptic Marvell, p.244.

91. For further details and an excellent reading of this poem see Stocker, Apocalyptic Marvell, p.240-256.

92. Bacon, Works, III, p.320-321.

93. For an English nationalist reading of 'Upon the Victory Obtained by Blake', see Stocker, p.176-186.

- 94.Stocker, Apocalyptic Marvell, p.187.
- 95.Marvell, 'Bermudas', Poems, I, p.17.
- 96.Marvell, Poems, I, p.43.
- 97.Marvell, Poems, I, p.44.
- 98.Marvell, Poems, I, p.119.

CHAPTER 6

Political Encodings: Fantasy Voyages during the Civil War and Republic**Introduction**

The expression of English ambitions for territory in 'New Worlds' is discussed in this chapter. As Spain appeared uncompromising in the belief of its unalienable right to New World, particularly South American, riches then, Englishmen speculated, would it not be more profitable for England to seek alternative, even lunar, 'new worlds'? Furthermore, this chapter demonstrates that representations of 'New World' territory and native peoples became vehicles by which to voice domestic political concerns.

Part I: Lunar Voyages

By the late 1630s English colonies, particularly in America, were becoming increasingly established and autonomous. The problems of starvation and insurrection of the early years in Virginia has passed; tobacco planting, started in 1614, continued to be extremely profitable, and corn-growing advanced so that the colony ceased to be dependent on imported supplies or on scanty and unreliable produce from

potentially hostile Indians.¹ Further north, English emigration had resulted in established settlements in Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Haven, Connecticut and Rhode Island.² For example in 1634 Massachusetts had a population of 4000 settlers; by 1642 it was 16000.³ There was an array of reasons for emigration: settlers left to improve their economic conditions, and Puritans migrated across the Atlantic to escape persecution in England.⁴ Furthermore, following Elizabeth I's 1597 law 'An Acte for Punyshment of Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars', convicts under commuted death sentences were banished 'to such parts beyond the seas as shall be... assigned by the Privy Council'.⁵ In 1611, Thomas Dale, Marshal of Virginia transported three hundred convicted felons to Virginia. From 1618 onwards there was a steady supply of convicts transported to England's American colonies.⁶ Even further north, by the late 1630s, the territories subsequently called New Hampshire and Maine were being colonised under patents granted by the New England Council to various applicants. For example, John Mason, an ex-governor of Newfoundland and a friend of Buckingham, started settlements near the Merrimac River which were distinctly Anglican. Fernando Gorges was the chief coloniser of Maine. He had been active during the original inception of the Plymouth Company and involved in its reconstruction as the Council of New England. In 1639 Charles I granted him the title of Lord Proprietor of Maine.⁷ By 1641, when the Civil War broke out, it is estimated that England had approximately 50,000 transatlantic settlers.⁸

However, because of the competition with other European

countries for territory and the failure to find gold, other precious metals, or gems lavishly strewn about the landscape, it was becoming increasingly apparent that English colonisation in North America was not going to result in easy riches. Though the terrain was fertile, England's American colonies did not immediately yield immense wealth from precious materials. In comparison, it has been estimated that between 1500 and 1650 Spain officially imported 181 tons of gold and 16,000 tons of silver from her American colonies.⁹ Thus in 1624 Benjamin Rudyard testily observed to the House of Commons that it was not the Spanish monarch's 'great territories which make him so powerful.. for it is very well known that Spain itself is but weak in men, and barren of natural commodities.. No, sir, they are his mines in the West Indies, which minister fuel to feed his vast ambitious desire of universal monarchy'.¹⁰ To possess similar wealth and empire - by the late sixteenth century and through the seventeenth century Spain controlled the Caribbean, Mexico, Peru, the Philippines, and Portugal, as well as Portuguese Africa, the Far East, and Brazil - England would need to discover a New World over which to enjoy sole dominion. Consequently, in 1638, two English texts were published which discussed the possibility of an inhabitable world in the moon. These were Francis Godwin's fantastic voyage The Man in the Moone: or a Discourse of a Voyage thither, and John Wilkins's speculative and philosophical text The Discovery of a New World; or, A Discourse tending to prove, that (it is probable) there may be another habitable world in the moon. With a discourse concerning the possibility of a passage thither.¹¹

The terrain of the moon had long been a source of speculative inquiry for writers and scholars alike. Marjorie Nicolson, in Voyages to the Moon, thoroughly catalogues this tradition of imaginative writing.¹² For example, Lucian's satiric fantasy the True Historie, which was translated into English for the first time in 1634, described an inhabited world in the moon.¹³ In Icaromenippus, Lucian's traveller, whilst contemplating the night skies, 'found the stars dotted quite casually about the sky, and I wanted to know what the sun was. Especially the phenomena of the moon struck me as extraordinary, and quite passed my comprehension; there must be some mystery to account for those many phases, I conjectured'.¹⁴ To achieve this knowledge, Icaromenippus furnished himself with two wings - one of an eagle, the other of a vulture - and, after considerable practice, he began his flight to the moon from the crest of Mount Olympus. However, as in the True History, a mere voyage to the moon was not the height of the traveller's ambitions. In both texts the moon was a base from which to make further explorations among other stars and planets.¹⁵

In Plato's myths, Phaedrus and 'Er' in The Republic, further prototypes for seventeenth-century moon voyages can also be seen.¹⁶ Other classical antecedents include Cicero's Somnium Scipionis, and Plutarch's De Facie in Orbe Lunare.¹⁷ Though not strictly lunar voyages Cervantes's Don Quixote (where the characters of Quixote and Sancho undertake a fantastic voyage from the kingdom of Kandy and find themselves ascending through the middle air into the region of fire), Dante's pilgrimage to Paradise, and the terrestrial voyage of

Rabelais's Pantagruel through a series of exotic islands and ports, were all important literary sources for lunar voyage writers in the seventeenth century.¹⁸

However, it was from the publication of Galileo's Siderius Nuncius, or The Starry Messenger, in 1610 that the imaginative possibilities of lunar voyages received renewed impetus.¹⁹ In this text Galileo described, with considerable gusto, 'the new earth' which he had 'discovered' through his telescope. In a language which echoed Columbus's articulation of 'wonder' as he contemplated the marvelous spectacle of the New World in 1492, Galileo, on 30th January 1610, wrote to Belisario Vinta concerning the significance he attached to his discoveries:

I am quite beside myself with wonder, and am infinitely grateful to God that it has pleased Him to permit me to discover such great marvels as were unknown to all the preceding centuries. That the Moon is a body resembling the Earth, of this I felt certain already before. I have also observed a multitude of fixed stars that had never been seen before, and which are more than ten times as numerous as those which are visible to the naked eye.²⁰

In Siderius Nuncius, as well as claiming to have observed four new planets, Galileo described the 'beautiful and delightful' Moon:

The Moon certainly does not possess a smooth and polished surface, but one rough and uneven, and just like the face of the Earth itself, is everywhere full of vast protuberances, deep chasms and sinuosities.²¹

Moreover, he speculated about the possibility that the Earth-like Moon might be comprised of sea and land: 'its [the Moon's] brighter part might very fitly represent the surface of the land and its darker region that of the water.'²² Though Galileo refused to commit himself concerning the question of whether other planets were inhabited, writing to Prince Cesi

on January 25th 1613 'If the question be put to me I will answer neither yes nor no', this possibility certainly continued to exercise the imagination of other seventeenth-century writers.

In 1611, Ben Jonson's cryptic dialogue between Love and the Sphynx in Love Freed from Folly and Ignorance reflected this novel information.²³ In the same year, in Ignatius His Conclave, John Donne satirised Galileo's telescope representing it as 'certaine spectacles, I know not of what making' which enhanced the narrator's vision to allow him to 'discerne distinctly' souls, to see 'all the channels in the bowels of the Earth, and all the inhabitants of all nations'.²⁴ Donne explicitly satirised what he saw as the dangerous arrogance of astronomers and scientists such as Galileo who 'of late hath summoned the other worlds, the Stars, to come neerer to him, and give him an account of themselves'.²⁵ Furthermore Donne banished what he saw as Jesuit malefactors to the moon in the hope that they might engender their particular form of chaos solely in that distant environment.

I will write to the Bishop of Rome: he shall call Galileo the Florentine to him; who by this time hath thoroughly instructed himselfe of all the hills, woods, and Cities in the new world, the Moone. And since he effected so much with his first Glasses, that he saw the Moone, in so neere a distance, that he gave himselfe satisfaction of all, and the least parts of her, when now being growne to more perfection in his Art, he shall have made new Glasses, and they received a hallowing from the Pope, he may draw the Moone, like a boate floating upon the water, as neere the earth as he will. And thither (because they claime that those employments of discovery belong to them) shall all the Jesuites be transferred, and easily unite and reconcile the Lunatique Church to the Romane Church; without doubt, after the Jesuites have been there a little while, there will soon grow a Hell in that world also: over which, you Ignatius shall have dominion, and establish your kingdom and dwelling there. And with the

same ease as you passe from the earth to the Moone, you may passe from the Moone to the other starrs, which are also thought to be worlds, & so you may beget and propagate many Hells, & enlarge your Empire, & come nearer unto that high seate, which I left at first.²⁶

But, as we have seen, this strategy for Jesuit containment was not guaranteed to be successful. Donne's fear was that the 'Lunatique and Romane Church' would use the moon as a base from which to co-ordinate further Catholic colonisation through the universe.

The possibility of a populated moon was further discussed in Jonson's later plays News from the New World Discovered in the Moon (1620) and The Staple of News (1626).²⁷ In News from the New World Discovered in the Moon each character attempts to be the bearer of the most current information ahead of his/her contemporaries with the result that the amazing 'new World ... And new creatures in that World ... with navigable Seas, and Rivers ... Variety of Nations, Polities, Lawes' are all described.²⁸ Moreover, similar to Donne's strategy for Jesuit isolation in the world of the moon, Jonson exiled 'the brethren of the Rosie-Crosse' to be contained in 'their colledge within a mile o' the Moone: a castle i'th'ayre'.²⁹ In the same way that the New World was perceived as a place to send economically or socially superfluous populations from England in this period, so the moon also was imagined as a location in which to attempt to contain elements excluded from early seventeenth-century society.

But there is a significant change in the prospective use to which the moon was to be put between early seventeenth-century texts and the later lunar voyages of Godwin and Wilkins. For these subsequent English writers the moon,

instead of merely being an object of fantastic wonder or a site of fantastic disposal for undesirable elements within society, had a more direct political significance. The moon had become a terrain to be colonised and a place in which to extend particular national empires.

In 1634, four years after the death of the author, Johann Kepler's text Somnium, a rich composite of speculative fantasy and scientific knowledge, was published. The Somnium is a dream vision which is split into two parts. The first can be seen as partially autobiographical as it describes the fortunes of Duracotus of Islandia and his 'wise woman' mother Fiolxhilda. The text uses this familial story both to account for and act as a preface to the lunar voyage in the second part.³⁰ Following an argument, Fiolxhilda gives her young son to a sea captain and, after a series of adventures, Duracotus becomes the pupil of the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe where he becomes skilled in the 'most divine science'.³¹ Returning home after an interval of five years, Duracotus learns that his mother is as knowledgeable in astronomy as the celebrated Tycho Brahe. His mother's wisdom is derived from the 'daemons from Levanian', the spirits of the moon, whom she could muster at will and with whom selected individuals could travel to the lunar world.³²

The second part describes Duracotus's voyage to and experiences on the moon. Travelling in the company of these daemons who had administered memory-suppressing 'narcotics and opiates', Duracotus arrives at a telescope-inspired lunar world.³³ On the journey itself scientific speculations are mixed with fantasy. For example, as his extensive notes

reveal, Kepler considered the probable effect of gravity on the human body as Duracotus left the 'magnetic attraction' of the earth.³⁴ The lunar landscape is scientifically described: the seasons, the length of day and the climate are all quite different from those on earth. Levania is divided into two zones, the temperate 'Subvolva' and intemperate 'Privolva'. In Privolva 'night is as long as 15 or 16 of our natural days; it is gloomy with perpetual darkness' and everything appears frozen.³⁵ Following this night, Privolva experiences a day of a similar duration with 'immeasurable heat' which is 'fifteen times more burning than our African heat'.³⁶ In Subvolva the climate is less harsh due to the warmth of the 'Volva' which serves the same purpose as the moon does to earth. Overall the climate is much more extreme than the one on earth, cold more intense, and heat more scorching, than at the earth's poles or equator. Topographically the moonscape is similar to earth except that everything is magnified; the mountains climb to awesome heights, and the valleys and canyons plummet to far greater depths than any terrestrial gully. The inhabitants of this lunar world are as marvelous as their environment: the occupants are of immense proportions but extremely short-lived. In 'The First Anniversarie' (1611) John Donne saw in the increasing brevity of Man's (sic) lifespan an analogy to the decay of the world.³⁷ But whereas for Donne this transience of life was matched by a similarly curtailed stature, ('we're scarce our Fathers shadowes cast at noone'), Kepler's lunar inhabitants are enormous.³⁸ Though some of these creatures are winged, some walk, some crawl, and some live in water, generally 'A race of serpents predominates'.³⁹

Like Milton's serpent in the Garden of Eden in Paradise Lost, the genus of Kepler's creatures announces their fallen nature. They are nomadic, without government or society, sybaritically basking in the heat of the sun before they disappear into the sea or caverns and fissures. These serpent-like creatures, Kepler implies, need the redemption offered by Christian colonisers and missionaries.

This text is thought to have been originally composed in the first decade of the seventeenth century and circulated in manuscript but, following the trial of Kepler's mother for witchcraft, the Somnium was suppressed by the author for a quarter of a century.⁴⁰ The posthumous publication of Kepler's work seems to have been the catalyst that motivated Wilkins to think of the moon as a potential site for colonisation. Kepler's descriptions of the lunar inhabitants as serpent-like and without civilisation, and his emphasis on the topography of the terrain, all serve to represent the moon as a site ripe for colonisation. Indeed, as early as 1610, Kepler, following Galileo's telescopic discoveries, had, in a revealing letter, discussed the uses to which lunar knowledge could be put. He proposed a partnership between the two astronomers in which their knowledge would act as a navigator's chart for future voyages of exploration:

Provide ships or sails adapted to the heavenly breezes, and there will be some who will not fear even that void [of interplanetary space]. So, for those who will come shortly to attempt this journey, let us establish this astronomy: Galileo, you of Jupiter, I of the moon.⁴¹

It is but one small step from this statement, especially as earlier in the letter Kepler discussed the colonial implications of Columbus's historic voyage to the New World,

to discuss the national identity of the voyager and the ownership of the newly explored world.

The 1638 edition of The Discovery of a New World expropriates its principal argument, that the moon is a world with natural features much like the earth, from Galileo. Basing his argument on Galileo's hypothesis, Wilkins suggests that the moon might also be inhabited, although he does not speculate upon what sort of creatures these inhabitants are, thus avoiding the sensitive issue of whether these inhabitants are progeny of Adam. Furthermore, Wilkins also hypothesised that since the earth and the moon were similar, then the argument could be extended to construct a uniform notion of the nature of the entire cosmos. This countered the Aristotelian belief concerning hierarchical and fixed spheres within the universe which had suggested that the natural laws of the moon and the earth were different.⁴²

Godwin's fantasy text The Man in the Moone (published in 1638) awarded the status of first man on the moon to a Spaniard, Domingo Gonsales. Why did an English bishop, whose other interests included collecting materials for a civil and ecclesiastical history of Britain, give this accolade to a Spaniard?⁴³ The memory and reputation of the Spanish-sponsored explorer Christopher Columbus was ostensibly appropriated in the preface 'To the Ingenious Reader' by 'E.M.' of Christ-Church (the publisher) to add to the authenticity of the account:

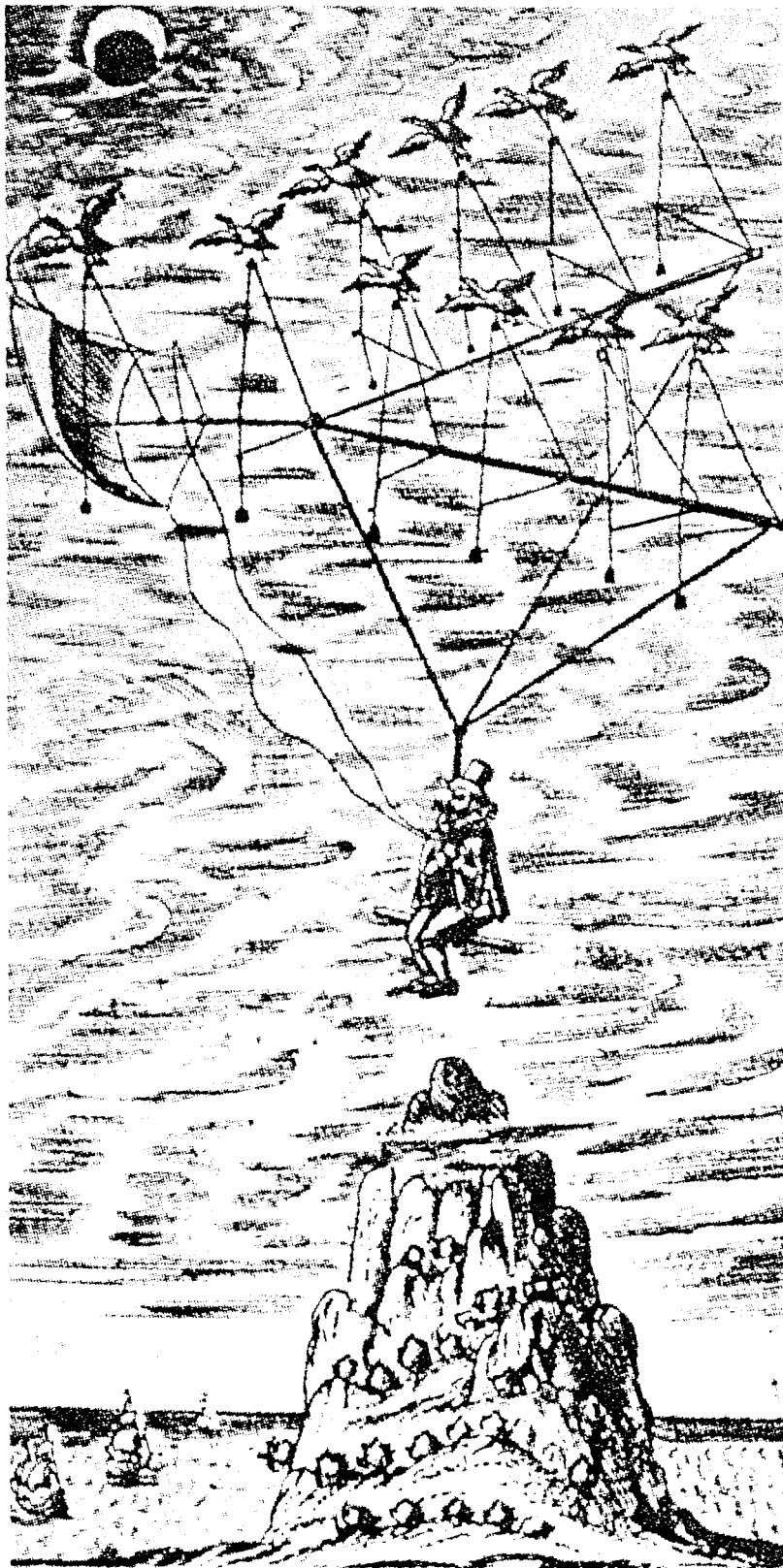
It was not the authors intention (I presume) to discourse thee into a beleife of each particular circumstance. Tis fit thou allow him a liberty of conceite; where thou takest to thy selfe a liberty of judgment. In substance thou hast here a new discovery of a new world, which perchance may finde little better entertainment in thy

opinion, than that of Columbus at first, in the esteeme of all men. Yet his than but poore espiall of America, betray'd unto knowledge soe much as hath since encreast into a vaste plantation.⁴⁴

However, this veneration can be seen as lukewarm: Columbus's 'poore espiall' of America has only later been 'encreast into a vaste plantation' by the activities of later generations of non-Spanish explorers and settlers. Moreover, as the preface explicitly states, this text does not purport to be an historical account of an actual voyage; it is a 'conceite'.⁴⁵ In other words, the reader is not meant to believe or indeed agree that the first explorer on the moon is, or could be, Spanish.

Similar to Bishop Joseph Hall's Mundus Alter et Idem, Godwin's text can be seen as a satiric imitation of the conventions of a voyage narrative. But whereas Hall ridiculed the excesses of travel literature without an obvious national partiality as he attacked Europeans in general, Godwin's text can be seen as specifically anti-Spanish propaganda. The satire is often focused upon the central character, the fame-and-fortune hunting, Domingo Gonsales. This character is neither handsome nor heroic: we frequently see him in ignominious situations and his lack of stature is repeatedly emphasised by the text. For example, whilst on the moon Gonsales finds his diminutive size to be matched by the stature of the least powerful and least venerated lunar inhabitants:

and this is generally noted, that the taller people are of stature, the more excellent they are for all indowments of mind, and the longer time they doe live. For whereas (that which before I partly intimated unto you) their stature is most divers, great numbers of them little exceeding ours; such seldome live above the age of 1000 moones, which is answerable to 80. of our Yeares,



14. Domingo Gonzales and his 'Ganzas'
Reprinted from Marjorie Nicolson, Voyages to the Moon, (New
York: Macmillan, 1960).

and they account them most base creatures, even but a degree before brute beasts; imploying them accordingly in all the basest and most servile offices, tearing them by a word that signifieth bastard-men, counterfets, or Changelings.⁴⁶

Thus, just as Donne bemoaned the decline in Man's longevity and stature, seeing this as a reflection of a degenerating world in 'The First Anniversarie', in Godwin's text lunar society operates under similar principles. On the moon, Gonsales's position, according to his stature, is 'but a degree before brute beasts'.

However, Gonsales's dominant characteristics seem to be his resourcefulness and ability to accrue wealth, not necessarily honourably, in whatever situation he is placed. In Gonsales's brief account of his own early history, which opens the text, he describes how, whilst in dire financial straits, he shot a horse from under one of William of Orange's soldiers:

which falling upon his leg, so as he could not stirre, hee yielded himself to my mercie; but I knowing mine owne weaknesse of bodie, and seeing him a lustie tall fellow, thought it my surest way to dispatch him, which having done, I rifled him of a chaine, monie, and other things to the value of 200 ducats.⁴⁷

This dubiously earned windfall allows him to assume the trappings of nobility once more. After a career as a mercenary, Gonsales becomes first a courtier, then, after quietly living in Spain for many years, a merchant in the East Indies. It is whilst returning jewel-laden from these Spanish trading colonies that Gonsales's ship is routed by English vessels; in order to escape capture or sinking Gonsales harnesses his 'ganzas' and his moon voyage occurs (see figure 14).⁴⁸

Godwin's national allegiances are clearly revealed

numerous times in this text. For example Godwin describes Gonsales's perfidious un-named countryman whom 'in the Yeare 1596...came home from the West-Indies, in triumphant manner, boasting and sending out his declarations in print, of a great victory hee had obtained against the English, neere the Isle of Pines. Whereas the truth is, he got of the English nothing at all in that Voyage, but blowes and a great Losse'.⁴⁹ It is this corrupt Spaniard, a kinsman of a man Gonsales had killed in a duel, whose attempt to extort reparation from Gonsales, results in the latter's precipitous departure for the East Indies. Later in the text, after describing the inhabitants of the moon-world in some detail, Godwin again reveals his nationalist partiality as the 'great Irdonozue', the lunar monarch, requested 'that if that ever I had meanes thereunto, I should salute from him Elizabeth, whom he termed the great Queene of England, calling her the most glorious of all women living'.⁵⁰

This text is certainly nationalist in tone but, crucially, like Hakluyt's Principal Navigations which concentrated on England's trade rather than the nation's colonial activities, The Man in the Moone does not attempt to be a manifesto for colonisation. The advanced society Godwin describes on the moon precludes it as a site in need of colonisation by 'civilising' Spanish adventurers. Godwin concentrates upon the imaginative possibilities of the moonscape, rather than arguing for direct political action. Godwin's text can be seen as a transitional text in terms of its articulation of English expansionist policies. Spanish colonisation is satirised, and the English nation is revered,

but there is no direct expression of an English colonial policy with regard to the moon. There is, then, a significant difference between Godwin's text and the second edition of Wilkin's Discovery of a New World in the Moon which was published in 1640.

This new edition of Wilkin's text was published with an additional, fourteenth, proposition, 'That it is possible for some of our posterity to find out a conveyance to this other world; and if there be inhabitants there, to have commerce with them', which took into consideration the imaginative possibilities for bird-propelled inter-planetary travel which Godwin had discussed. Wilkins's national partiality is clearly apparent in this fourteenth and last proposition of Discovery of a New World in the Moon:

It is the opinion of Kepler, that as soon as the art of flying is found out, some of their nation will make one of the first colonies that shall transplant into that other world. I suppose his appropriating this preheminance to his own countrymen, may arise from an over-partial affection to them. But yet thus far I agree with him, that whenever that art is invented, or any other, whereby a man may be conveyed some twenty miles high, or thereabouts, then it is not altogether improbable that some other may be successful in this attempt.⁵¹

Moreover, Wilkins obviously intends that the moon-world should become an English colony. Indeed the name of Columbus - and by implication the fantastic wealth his discovery had accrued for Spain - is cited at both the beginning and end of this text as a spur to English activities. Initially Columbus is invoked in order to convince disbelieving readers of the plausibility of Wilkins's hypothesis:

How did the incredulous world give at Columbus, when he promised to discover another part of the earth? And he could not for a long time, by his confidence or arguments, induce any of the christian princes, either to

assent unto his opinion, or to go to the charges of an experiment.⁵²

And, at the end, it is explicitly the 'great benefit and pleasure', financial as well as scientific it seems, of Columbus's historic journey which provokes Wilkins's admiration.⁵³ He exhorts his readers: 'in brief, do but consider the pleasure and profit of those later discoveries in America, and we must needs conclude this [a moon voyage] to be inconceivably beyond it. But such imaginations as these, I shall leave to the fancy of the reader.'⁵⁴

Wilkins's concentration upon the probability rather than the empirical verification of his conjectures throughout the text is the key to an understanding of his aims. Like Godwin, he does not intend to establish categorically the experimental evidence to support a belief in either the actual physical environment or inhabitants of the moon. Rather, Wilkins issues to the English reader an invitation to meditate on the possibilities for development of the moon as a site of future national enlargement. Thus, unlike Godwin, Wilkins is not concerned to establish a civilised and advanced society in the world of the moon. The topography of the moon-scape and the possibility of first touch-down there are much more central to his project than descriptions of fantasy inhabitants.

The differences between these texts can perhaps be seen as reflecting a change in attitude towards colonialism between their dates of composition. Though The Man in the Moone was posthumously published in 1638, the text is thought by Anthony à Wood to have been originally composed whilst Godwin was a student between the years 1568-1576, though the references to Galileo and other scientific achievements would indicate that

the text was considerably revised before publication.⁵⁵ In the later sixteenth century, the English nation looked with jealous eyes at the wealth Spain was deriving from colonial territories in America. By 1640, when the second edition of Wilkins's text was published, what had been satiric articulations of envy were now translated into a competitive determination to be first and sole possessors of this attractive satellite.

Part II: Colonial Outposts and Empire Building

We have seen how national competition, particularly with Spain, shaped English fantasy voyages in the early-to-mid-seventeenth century. However, as the political unrest in England escalated through the late 1630s and 1640s, as well as expressing nationalist sentiments, English travel writing and descriptions of the New World increasingly reflected the turbulent politics of the home nation.

Both James I and Charles I had supported English colonisation in America in a piecemeal and somewhat half-hearted fashion. However, Charles I and his advisor Archbishop Laud, had, in the 1630s, begun to question the wisdom of the drain of economically valuable skilled artisans from England especially when compounded with the difficulty of centralised control of these often non-conformist and potentially rebellious citizens in such distant provinces. John Donne's Sermon to the Virginia Colonies (1622) was, as we have seen,

designed to halt the fermentation of unrest and rebellion amongst England's colonial citizens as he exhorted the Virginians to remain loyal to their monarch. Thus in 1634, Charles established a Commission for the Plantations with Laud as President, which was designed to check the establishment of communities which intended to disregard ecclesiastical authorities in England. But, due to the political unrest in England through this decade, Charles I and Laud were increasingly occupied with domestic affairs so that these plans were never implemented.⁵⁶ Even though monarchical policy was significantly out of kilter with the aims of the majority of settlers, Charles I's persistent political difficulties with mounting opposition to his rule, and the ensuing Civil War, meant that the colonies were effectively left to govern themselves.⁵⁷

It was in the 1650s, under the guidance of Oliver Cromwell, that English foreign policy became once more as audacious and aggressive as the opinions and plans expressed by Richard Hakluyt under Elizabeth I. But unlike Hakluyt, who had primarily been interested in the expansion of trade, Cromwellian policy was also determined to enlarge England's colonial territories. One of the boldest acts of the Commonwealth was the so-called 'Navigation' policies inaugurated in 1650 and 1651, which launched England's overseas trade, merchant shipping and colonies on a new course. The Navigation Act of 1651 prohibited foreign ships from either taking part in English colonial trade or carrying imports to England.⁵⁸ Following the imposition of these rigorous and indiscriminating statutes, between 1652-54, the

Commonwealth fought a trade war with the Dutch.⁵⁹ In the month succeeding Cromwell's installation as Lord Protector, England came to terms with Holland. The Treaty of London, signed in April 1654, was on paper a remarkable victory for the English (though in practice the terms were considerably less impressive).⁶⁰ Finally, within four months of the Treaty of London, the Protector decided to instigate a wholly unprovoked assault upon the strongest power in Europe, Catholic Spain. This attack was not to be played out in Europe, where England still hoped to maintain trading links with Spain, but in the sphere of colonial territory in the West Indies, and culminated in a series of policies known as the Western Design.

On October 5th 1655 war officially broke out between England and Spain. On 25th-26th October in that year, Cromwell's Council of State framed the Protectorate's defence in a document entitled, A Declaration of His Highness, By the Advice of his Council; Setting Forth... the Justice of their Course Against Spain.⁶¹ This document described Spain's violation of both English and Amerindian natural rights. The Spaniards' despotic claims that they possessed 'the sole Signiory of that New World' were shown to be intolerable. The Declaration demonstrated that the Spaniard's cruelties against the jus gentium and the jus naturale of the English and natives 'in whose blood (the Spanish) have founded their Empire' demanded revenge.⁶² Similar to Andrew Marvell's poems 'Bermudas' and 'Upon the Victory Obtained by Blake over the Spaniards, in the Island of Teneriffe, 1657', William Davenant's play The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru, first

performed in 1658, closely reflects this anti-Spanish political ideology.⁶³ Set in the New World, the play describes the atrocities of the Spaniards as the detailed set directions describe the 'racks, and other engines of torment, with which the Spaniards are tormenting the Natives and English mariners, which may be suppos'd to be lately landed there to discover the coast'.⁶⁴ The play describes the English rescue of the Peruvians from Spanish oppression, ending with a triumphant pronouncement of future amity between native Americans and their English saviours:

After all our disasters
The proud Spaniards our masters,
When we extol our liberty by feasts,
At table shall serve,
Or else they shall starve;
Whilst th' English shall sit and rule as our guests.⁶⁵

As Susan Wiseman has astutely observed:

Thus it draws on mythologisations of the English as conquerors in South America established around Drake, Raleigh and others. At the same time the resolution of the play takes place in the future, in the form of a fantasy of the reconquest of South America by the English - and so the play unites past and future, ignoring anything which might pass between. It fuses mythologised past (the golden age of Elizabethan conquest) and the future (the age of reconquest) and so contextualises the present, or moment of production, in a historical continuum which has direct access to Elizabethan politics of nationhood and conquest, obliterating any Stuart history.⁶⁶

Cromwell's naval expedition to capture Caribbean Spanish colonies in 1655 was trounced on the island of Hispaniola. The expedition only managed to avoid total defeat with the seizure of Jamaica, an acquisition of dubious economic benefit.⁶⁷ This defeat became an important factor in rallying opposition to the Protector's rule as the regime seemed to be over-extending itself in both foreign and domestic spheres. At home his imposition of the rule of the Major-Generals had proved an

unpopular policy and, when coupled with the failure of the Western Design abroad, became a turning point in contemporary attitudes towards Cromwell. Theologians and Commonwealthmen alike began to question the role of the Protector, the godly basis for the republic, and the reasons behind its desire for enlargement.⁶⁸

The changes in contemporary perceptions of Oliver Cromwell and English colonial policy are strikingly revealed by the differences between the two editions of Puritan divine Thomas Thorowgood's polemical and colonial text Jews in America, or, Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race. This text was first published in 1650, and republished in 1660, almost at the moment of Charles II's triumphant return to England.⁶⁹ In both these texts Thorowgood argues that native Americans were descended from the Lost Tribes of Israel who had wandered into America centuries before and lived in isolation from other Jewish communities ever since with the result that much of their original religion and culture had been either debased or lost. In both texts Thorowgood uses his analysis of the ancestry of Amerindians to support the territorial interests of the English Protestant state. However, in 1650 Thorowgood described the native Americans as 'primitive'; by 1660, they had become 'degenerate'. This change was caused by Thorowgood's disappointment with the failure of the Commonwealth, and what he saw as Cromwell's betrayal of his Republican allegiances.

Thorowgood's identification of a Jewish origin for native American peoples was by no means a new idea. Spanish commentators, ever since Columbus's first footfall on the

islands off the coast of America in 1492, had perceived similarities between the culture of the peoples they encountered and the Jews. The significance of these resemblances was repeatedly debated from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Spanish ecclesiastical historians who discussed the alleged Israelitish origin of the Amerindians were divided into two schools of thought. One hailed the new subjects of Spain as the progeny of Israel, while the other conceived of apparent Hebrew practices and customs among the inhabitants of the New World as having a satanic origin.⁷⁰

Thorowgood's texts were also influenced by later Spanish writers. By the mid-seventeenth century some ecclesiastics had begun to question the moral and divine sanction for the Spanish presence in the New World. Bartolomé de las Casas, a Spanish missionary and Antonio de Montesinos, alias Aaron Levy - a Jew - both argued for a Jewish genealogy for Amerindians and used this theory as part of their denunciation of Spanish treatment of native peoples.⁷¹ If Amerindians were of Hebrew descent and their migration took place before the advent of Christianity then the Spanish system of *encomienda* and the atrocities perpetrated under it were doubly iniquitous. The Spanish had based their conquest policies on the papal bulls and briefs of 1492 which had granted them a broad combination of privileges and rights in the New World in exchange for promoting missionary activity. But these bulls had assumed that the conquered people would have had some previous contact with Catholicism and were either ignoring the true faith or actively opposing missionary activity. A Hebrew ancestry that was traced back to a time before Christ revealed the

inaccuracy of the conquistadors' arguments. It meant, of course, that the Amerindians could not possibly have had any association with Christianity and therefore could not be deliberately neglecting Catholicism. Moreover, it was also argued that a Hebrew origin, in spite of the regression that centuries of Amerindian isolation had engendered, must modify Spanish Thomist's arguments for Amerindians status as either 'natural children' or 'natural slaves'.⁷² An original Hebrew culture, however debased by the time of Spanish conquest, revealed the application of such terminology to be misguided. Amerindians were not 'naturally' inferior; rather, according to las Casas, they had endured an unfortunate isolation which in no way precluded their status as free subjects of the Castilian crown.

Thomas Thorowgood's successive editions of Jewes in America were undoubtedly indebted to this specifically Catholic and Spanish missionary debate. But Thorowgood's texts were similarly served by a Puritan polemic concerning the imminent end of the world. In the writings of the Puritan divines from the reign of Elizabeth I until the days of Cromwell there was a growing conviction - derived from Paul in Romans II, John in Revelation 16:12, and the great prophets of Israel, Isaiah and Ezekiel - that the whole nation of the Jews would be converted to Christ and become a Protestant Christian people in the Last Days. Through the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, European Protestant theologians suggested timetables for this approaching apocalypse. These calculations pointed to the years 1650-1656 for the destruction of the antichrist, the gathering of the Gentiles,

the conversion of the Jews and the return to Palestine.⁷³ In the wake of these apocalyptic timetables, in the generations leading up to the critical dates between 1650-1656 the leitmotif of Jewish identity was awarded a special significance. As 'the Jew' was believed to be about to convert, Puritan discourses concentrated upon this imminently expected change in religious status; they then translated it into a metaphor for a wider theological, political and social context.⁷⁴ Jewish conversion was a motif that possessed considerable power as it was seen by both radicals and more traditional commentators as a harbinger of the reign of the Saints on earth which was to precede the Second Coming. Scores of pamphlets were produced on the subject by such diverse writers as Mary Carey, Comenius, Archbishop Ussher and Benjamin Worsley.⁷⁵ Some of these texts were addressed to particular groups of practising Jews, for example the comparatively large Jewish community in Amsterdam, and attempted to persuade them to convert.⁷⁶ The shared currency between all these writers was that they constructed Jews as proto-christians.⁷⁷

In 1650, Thorowgood described native Americans as a simple and child-like people who possessed a culture that was both rudimentary and a primitive reflection of Judeo-Christian doctrine.

the Indians make account the world shall have an end, but not till a great drought come, and as it were a burning of the aire, when the Sunne and Moone shall faile, and lose their shining, thence it is, that in the Eclipses of those two greater Lights, they make such yellings and out-cries, as if the end of all things were upon them.⁷⁸

Indeed Amerindians could be seen as 'natural children' who, though they cannot exercise reason in their childhood state,

possess the potential to be rational in the future. 'Natural children' according to Spanish Dominican Francisco de Vitoria's text of 1537 De indis recenter inventis, were heirs to the state of true reason.⁷⁹ As such their possessions could be held in trust until they reached maturity. For de Vitoria maturity entailed, of course, Amerindian conversion to Catholicism. This Catholic argument concerning the property rights of native American peoples was subsequently appropriated and modified to support Thorowgood's specifically Protestant conversion principles.

In Jewes in America Thorowgood uses the motif of Jewish identity as an intermediate term between Protestantism and native American culture. He achieves this relationship by establishing a hierarchy of terms with which to describe different cultures: native Americans possess 'customs', a less prestigious description than the 'civilizing and Gospellizing' impetus of the Protestant settlers.⁸⁰ Consequently, whilst Thorowgood's text avowedly claimed to describe similarities between native Americans and Hebrews, the implicit agenda was the converse; similarities between 'customs' were related in a manner that revealed differences between the peoples described. Thorowgood's hierarchy of terms corresponded to a belief in racial superiority: the American Indians possessed 'customs' that were a mere shadow of those of the Hebrews while the Puritan missionaries possessed a 'civilisation', a term which placed them at the pinnacle of a racial hierarchy.

The imposition of a Jewish identity onto the native Americans functioned as a way of bridging the gulf between the culture of the Puritan settlers and that of the Indians. It

also had an overt political purpose. The construction of a Jewish identity for the native American peoples established English territorial interests in the New World. Thorowgood presented the relationship between the different cultures in terms of an exchange of the Puritans' spiritual culture for the Indians' temporal wealth. The Puritans' aims were:

not to satisfie humane curiosity, but to promote mans salvation; not to see diversitie of places, but to seeke and finde, and save lost mankinde. And if such be the aim of our Nation there, we may with more comfort expect and enjoy the externalls of the Indians, when we pay them our spirituals, for their temporals, an easie and yet most glorious exchange.⁸¹

Elsewhere Thorowgood expressed this policy of exchange even more forcibly:

The inhabitants of the first England, so Versegan calls that part of Germany where our Ancestors came hither with the Saxons and Iutes, derive their Christianity from Iewry - tis but just therefore, lege talionis, that we repay what we borrowed, and endeavour their conversion who first acquainted us with the eternall Gospell.⁸²

In this case the affiliation, and consequently the exchange, was between the Christians and the Jews. The motif of Jewish identity was being used as an intermediate term with which to connect native Americans and the English settlers. As the English had a special relationship with the Lost Tribes due to mutual ancestors in Germany then, according to Thorowgood's argument that the native Americans were Jews, English Puritans could claim that native Americans shared the same lineage. The construction of a Jewish Amerindian identity was pivotal in this relationship of exchange; the English nation 'owed' a debt to the Jewish nation, and this debt was to be repaid by converting the native Americans to Christianity.

As Thorowgood had represented the American Indians as descendants of the Lost Tribes, with the special relationship

with the English nation that this entailed, this could be used as a basis with which to substantiate an English claim to territory in the New World. The common genealogy proved that, as a nation state, England had a superior claim to territory in the New World than had any other colonial power. A shared Jewish ancestry between the English nation and the native American peoples was used as an argument to support the territorial interests of the English state.⁸³ When discussing the issue of state formation in early modern Europe Michael Braddick writes: 'territorial interests may override class interests and thus result in a degree of autonomy.'⁸⁴ In a sense, Thorowgood's text conformed to this statement; territorial state interests were deemed so important that differences in religion between Jew and Christian, previously emphasised by the usage of the hierarchical terms 'civilisation' and 'custom', were, in the same text, now overridden by the desire for colonial expansion. The identification of the native Americans as Jews thus served a dual purpose; it confirmed the English claim for territory in the New World and, because of the approach of the apocalyptic years 1650-1656, marked the Amerindians as imminent converts to Protestantism. This 1650 text anticipates Cromwell's aggressive anti-Spanish policy of the mid 1650s; the 1660 edition both takes into account this policy, and the changing political circumstances of this turbulent decade.

In 1651 the Royalist theologian and historian Hamon L'Estrange had published a text disagreeing with Thorowgood's identification of the native Americans as descendants of the lost tribes of the Jews.⁸⁵ L'Estrange provided an alternative

history for the Amerindians, arguing for a less specifically Jewish genealogy. Amerindians were descended from Noah and his sons (particularly Shem) whom, he argued, peacefully migrated eastwards. According to L'Estrange, the native Americans could not be descended from the Lost Tribes because they were placed in captivity under the Babylonians after this migration.

Thus far I have offered my weak conceptions, first how America may be collected to have bin first planted, not denying the Iewes leave to go into America, but not admitting them to be the chief or prime planters therof; for I am of the opinion, that the American originalls were before the Captivity of the Ten tribes, even from Sems near progeny.⁸⁶

L'Estrange's text offered a cryptographic critique of the role of Cromwell in the immediate past of the Civil War. L'Estrange argued that the movement eastwards of 'Sems near progeny', even into America, took place in a climate of peaceable openness, in a world before Babel, before the tyranny of Nimrod and before the resulting afflictions of civil war and disputes over territory. He wrote: 'I suppose that mankind having then (as we use to say) all the world before them, and room enough, spread, dilated and extended into that same moderate and temperate clymate, Eastward.'⁸⁷ Consequently the history of America could be represented as Edenic as it had bypassed the genesis of civil war which L'Estrange's transcription of biblical narrative described as violently splitting the rest of the world into two factions. In this turbulent division we can see an analogy with the political situation of the 1640s. Excluding America, the world was filled with 'so great a swarm of men... who were like to be infected with continual broyles and warres, by the pride, cruelty, insolence, and usurpation of Idolatrous Nimrod'.⁸⁸

This representation of the biblical figure Nimrod served as a watermark for L'Estrange's political orientation. The figure of Nimrod can be seen as double-edged: his fabulous reputation as a 'hunter', 'builder' and founder of 'kingdoms' was based on biblical descriptions (Gen.10:8-12). However, the verse 'he began to be a mighty one in the earth' (Gen.10:8; I Chron.1:10) complicates this heroic description as it could mean he was considered the originator of the military state based on arbitrary force.⁸⁹ Superficially and surprisingly, it seems, royalist L'Estrange uses the motif of monarchy to condemn the figure of Nimrod. Yet, it is the word 'usurped' that can be seen to be decisive in L'Estrange's description. It is with this word that the analogy with Cromwell is constructed:

He reigned not as king untill after the Confusion, but when he saw his hopes and purposes dashed, and a solstice of the work, and that now he was arrived at the Hercules Pillars, the nil ultra of his great action and adventure, and could not reach home to say with Nebuchadnezar, Is not this great Babel that I have built? yet he was unwilling to remove from the place where he had erected such a monument to his aspiring mind, but there he meant to stay and abide, expecting the dawning of another day, and how so great a wonder and miracle should conclude.⁹⁰

Previously, L'Estrange's praise of the American Indians' 'records of the series and succession of their kings' and the resulting artifacts of 'goodly buildings, and magnificent monuments of Antiquity' revealed that it was not the institution of monarchy that he censured; rather, it was the 'usurpation' of the institution of monarchy and the foundation of a system of government based on military coercion for which Nimrod was renowned which was castigated by the text.

L'Estrange created a distinction within the institution of monarchy. A positive version of monarchy was located in Edenic

America; but his description of a distorted and unnatural monarchy established in the rest of the world - which the figure of Nimrod with its correlation to the role of Cromwell suggested - indicated his political allegiances. Importantly, for L'Estrange, America was a world that had escaped the turmoil of Babel and Civil War.

In the 1660 edition of Jewes in America Thorowgood both answered the criticisms of Cromwell that L'Estrange implied and re-iterated his belief concerning the indelible connection between native Americans, Jews and the English which L'Estrange had explicitly denied. Thorowgood utilised the same historical paradigm as L'Estrange, but provided a different reading of those biblical characters and events. His description of Nimrod was much more sympathetic. As in L'Estrange's text, the figure of Nimrod was analogous to Cromwell, but there was an attempt, partially at least, as might be expected from a man that had been connected with the Republic, to justify Nimrod's rebellion. Nimrod's rebellion was motivated by 'impatience' with the tedious and unimaginative patriarchal authority that thwarted his plan to recolonise Eden.⁹¹ Nimrod was presented as an adventurous, enterprising colonial explorer who, because he was dissatisfied with the hegemonic regime, revolted and took the law into his own hands. Even Nimrod's project to build the tower of Babel - traditionally described in purely negative terms - was presented by Thorowgood as partially explainable. It was built to:

procure themselves a Sem, a great name to balance the potent name of Sem, and secondly to keep the people together from being scattered from him, having with him both greatnesse, strength and safety.⁹²

Thus Babel was represented as a project of defence and as an attempt to protect Nimrod and his nation from hostile parties. The Babel project was described as an action of necessary statesmanship within a context of uneasy relationships between different peoples and states rather than as an illegitimate attack upon God's power. Unlike L'Estrange's text, where Sem was represented as the original ancestor of the native Americans, Thorowgood's text described Sem as the leader of a hostile nation state. In Thorowgood's text, competition between Sem and Nimrod for power and authority can be seen as a reflection of the unease between the emerging nation states of England and Spain over colonial influence. Though the figure and actions of Nimrod were not presented as totally legitimate in this text, he was treated with some sympathy. The project to recolonise Eden and the uneasy relationship with the hostile 'Sem' both figure as problems which faced an emerging nation state as it sought to expand and consolidate its position within a concert of powers.

However, Thorowgood's choice to include a defence of Nimrod, a figure habitually associated with an illegitimate rebellion against the just authority of God, surely figured as a weak argument for Republicanism. The descriptions of a stagnant, conservative regime which obstructed Nimrod's natural ambitions partly redeemed Nimrod and his actions; but the redemption was not complete. This seemed due more to the failure of Nimrod's project rather than the intrinsic iniquity of the scheme itself. This subtle and complex representation of Nimrod was motivated by Thorowgood's changing attitudes to Cromwell.

In the 1660 edition of Jewes in America Thorowgood's attitude to the New World can be seen as a reflection of the disappointment and disillusion he felt at the failure of the Commonwealth. America was represented as a refuge for the godly from 'not the violence of enemies so much as our own national and personal sins.' The threat now came not from the 'violence of former innovations' of Laudian practices, perceived as quasi-Catholic by Puritans in the 1630s and 1640s; rather, the danger came from the 'falsehood and hypocrisy, the backsliding and apostasy, the avarice and selfishness, the pride and security' which had accompanied the last years of the 'reign' of Cromwell and which 'do portend no less than a deluge of destruction' unless the English nation repent.⁹³

Yet, Thomas Thorowgood's 1660 edition of Jewes in America still embraced an expansionist foreign policy. Thorowgood disagreed with royalist L'Estrange's version of the migration of the generations of Sem into America. Rather Thorowgood, argued that there was no distinction between the peoples that colonised America and those that lived in the rest of the world. According to Thorowgood's reasoning America had not bypassed the inception of what L'Estrange called 'the continuall broyles and warres' which raged through all the world except America.⁹⁴ In Thorowgood's text, America was just as much a part of this post-lapsarian world as anywhere else. In fact Thorowgood argued for the opposite as he represented the native Americans as particularly degenerate. In the 1660 edition of his text, as well as expressing his beliefs of racial superiority with an etymological hierarchy moving from

'custom' to 'civilisation' as in the 1650 Jewes in America,
 Thorowgood now presented the native Americans as barely human.

When I was directed, at houres diverted from other studies, to look into the books that write of the New World, and saw therein the most degenerate spectacles of humane nature in those poor Indians, little of man was found in them, beside shape, and body, few impressions of reason were left, fewer of religion, I had no thought, at first to observe among them any semblance of Judaicall rites, and customes, but by some instinct, or providence upon further reading, and consideration, such cogitations increased in mee, that those, now despicable, and forlorne people might long agoe have had some other kind of being and condition, and yet may happily, by divine appointment, be restored and recovered.⁹⁵

In 1638, in a curious reversal of Donne's and Johnson's description of the moon as a midden for what they saw as the lees of English society, Godwin, in The Man in the Moone, had described native Americans as the progeny of undesirable and excluded elements from the lunar world.⁹⁶

And their ordinary vent for them is a certaine high hill in the North of America, whose people I can easily beleieve to be wholly descended of them, partly in regard of their colour, partly also in regard of their continuall use of Tobacco which the Lunars use exceeding much, as living in a place abounding wonderfully with moysture, as also for the pleasure they take in it, and partly in some other respects too long now to be rehearsed.⁹⁷

Godwin's notion of native American degeneracy is matched by the 1660 edition of Thorowgood's text, but for Thorowgood it is motivated by his disillusionment with English politics. It is the degeneracy of the Americans, their 'despicable condition', that Thorowgood dwells upon. In this later text the American Indians are represented now as exhibiting only a 'semblance of Judaicall rites and customes'. This alteration in the representation of native Americans from primitives in 1650 to degenerates in 1660 was motivated by the disappointment Thorowgood felt with the failure of the

Commonwealth and, in particular, with Cromwell's betrayal of his Republican principles. The 'deluge of destruction', as Thorowgood so pessimistically described the situation of 1660 in England, seemed to have travelled across the Atlantic ocean to be repeated in the New World where Amerindians were mindlessly described as succumbing en masse to Catholic blandishments. These joint bogeys of Romanish practices and Indian credulity become the focus of Thorowgood's ire in his chapter, 'The Indians docible nature and the Spaniard's Cruelties'.⁹⁸ This representation of native American degeneracy can be seen as a comment upon the contamination Thorowgood believed they had received from contact with the Catholics. American Indian contact with the Spanish and their resulting idiotic conversion - 'that blinde, easy and Spanish way (so much magnified in the Records of Charles the Fifth, one of their Priests baptizing 70000 of them, another 30000, a third 10000)' - acted as a spur to the orthodox Puritan to join in what Thorowgood saw as a holy war against Catholicism.⁹⁹ In 1660 the native Americans were represented as degenerate instead of primitive precisely because of Amerindian contact with Catholicism; consequently Thorowgood's puritan mission to 'restore' and 'recover' the Indians became much more urgent. As in the 1650 edition of Jewes in America, in 1660 Thorowgood continued to construct the Jew as an intermediate term between Puritan English colonial interest and Spanish imperial designs. Because of native American contact with Catholicism, according to Thorowgood, the affinities between the Indians and the Jews had become a mere 'semblance' and it was the duty of the godly Puritan to stem

this tide of degeneracy.¹⁰⁰

In the critical months following Charles II's return to England as monarch, it is impossible not to see such marked usages of the word 'restore' as politically motivated. Thomas Thorowgood dedicated the 1660 edition of his text to the newly restored monarch. The dedication functioned as a plea for tolerance towards a subject who might have appeared, as a member of the assembly of divines appointed by Parliament in 1643, to have been less than outspoken in his previous support of the monarchical cause. Couched in terms of an appeal for forbearance towards those who were 'driven from their affection to Episcopacy' by 'former innovations' (Laudian practices), nonetheless, his request that 'your Highnesse will follow the example of Great King James, who did equally love and honour the learned and Grave men of both Opinions, and left the Councel to his Royal Successor, so to be beneficial to the Ministry' served as an apology for his own part in the ousting of the monarch.¹⁰¹ The dedication to the new king can be seen as politically expedient. In the confused months following the Restoration (when nobody knew whether the Declaration of Breda, where the monarch collectively forgave the English nation - except the named regicides - for executing his father, would be upheld) it was not surprising to find Thorowgood attempting to shore up his own position.¹⁰² Within this plea for royal forgiveness there seemed to be a desire to deflect monarchical displeasure from oneself by highlighting the guilt of someone else. Indeed, this displacement seems to have been a standard tactic of restoration apologists. For example, in 1661, an anonymous

pamphlet, The Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton and John Bradshaw, purporting to be their execution speeches, was published which cited the motivation for Bradshaw's regicide to have been his Jewishness.¹⁰³

You expect to hear somewhat of my Religion, and for my part, I never knew any such thing in a common-wealth, except the Jewish Religion, and truly that I would be soonest of, did I love any, because the Crucify'd their King, and truly I may be thought a Jew for the same thing.¹⁰⁴

For 'Bradshaw', Christ-killing, a conventional anti-semitic stereotype, was refigured in his act of regicide. But, the implication was, 'Bradshaw's' Jewishness marked his difference from other citizens, subjects who were now keen to assert their own monarchical loyalty. For Thorowgood it was another marginalised group who were represented as culpable for the civil war. In Thorowgood's 1660 edition of Jewes in America the blame for the revolution was laid firmly at the feet of the Catholics: 'the hearts, and heads, and hands of the Jesuites have contrived and wrought these distractions in your Kingdomes'.¹⁰⁵

This animosity towards Catholics in England was perfectly consistent with Thorowgood's attitudes to Spanish Catholics in the New World. In both situations it is Catholicism that is demonised as the real threat. Consequently, Puritan theologians like Thorowgood were represented as innocent of the charge of provoking the revolution, and native Americans were represented as Jews as a way of establishing the preeminence of an English claim to territory in the New World. Both at home and abroad, Catholicism was presented as the threat to the English nation.

Thorowgood's representation of the native Americans as

Jews was an attempt on the part of a Puritan writer to claim territory for his country. The description of native Americans as 'acceptable' Jews figured as a rhetorical strategy of a colonial discourse that was incapable of describing an alien culture on its own terms. Native American culture was translated into a Jewish culture so that it could be understood - as inferior of course - by the hegemonic discourse of Puritanism. It was the same partisan discourse that in 1660 sought to provide a critique of the recent past. Thorowgood identified the Catholics, more specifically the militant Jesuits, the secret army of the Catholic Church, as the agitators who conspired against Charles I. Moreover, America was represented as the new terrain upon which to wage the perpetual war against Catholicism. According to Thorowgood Catholics caused the Revolution in England and they could now be punished for their sins by avenging Puritans in America.

The aggressive foreign policy against Spain that Thorowgood supported in Jewes in America in 1660 was designed to distract attention from and cover the past of a Puritan and Republican sympathiser. Assertive foreign policies were a safe political topic in the early days following the Restoration. Also, and perhaps this was what was so subtle about Thorowgood's text, the author never retracted his Republican sympathies. The very foreign policy that he so dogmatically maintained, by which he pointed to someone more guilty than himself, was precisely the course that Oliver Cromwell had so persistently followed. Aggression against Spain in 1660 allowed the Republican sympathiser to both assert his loyalty to the newly restored monarch and continue the policies

established under Cromwell and the Commonwealth.

1. For further details see A.D. Innes, The Maritime and Colonial Expansion of England under the Stuarts, (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co, 1931), p.150-171.
2. Innes, The Maritime and Colonial Expansion of England, p.126-149.
3. Innes, The Maritime and Colonial Expansion of England, p.140.
4. For further details of the extent of the Puritan emigration to America see D. Cressy, Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). See also, Kevin Sharpe, The Personal Rule of Charles I, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p.751-757.
5. Cited by Robert Hughes, The Fatal Shore: A History of the Transportation of Convicts to Australia 1787-1868, (London: Pan, 1987), p.40.
6. For further details see Hughes, The Fatal Shore, p.40-41.
7. Innes, The Maritime and Colonial Expansion of England, p.145.
8. Geoffrey Holmes, The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and Early Georgian Britain 1660-1722, (London: Longman, 1993), p.62.
9. J.H. Elliott, Spain and its World, 1500-1700, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p.21.
10. For further details see J.H. Elliott, Old Worlds and the New, 1492-1650, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p.90-91.
11. Francis Godwin, The Man in the Moone, or a Discourse of a Voyage thither by Domingo Gonsales, the Speedy Messenger, (Menston, Yorkshire: The Scholar Press, 1971); John Wilkins, The Discovery of a New World; or, a discourse tending to prove, that (it is probable) there may be another habitable world in the moon. With a discourse concerning the possibility of a passage thither, from The Mathematical and Philosophical Works of the Right Rev. John Wilkins, (London, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd; 1970), p.1-130.
12. Marjorie Hope Nicolson, Voyages to the Moon, (New York: Macmillan, 1960).
13. Lucian of Samosta, Certaine Select Dialogues of Lucian, Together with His True Historie. Translated from the Greeke into English. By Mr. Francis Hickes. Whereunto is added the Life of Lucian gathered out of his owne Writings, with briefe Notes upon each Dialogue and Booke, (Oxford: W. Turner, 1634).
14. The Works of Lucian of Samosta, trans. H.W. Fowler & F.G. Fowler, 4 vols., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), III, p.126-144, (p.128).

15. For further details of Lucian's influence on fantastic voyages see Christopher Robinson, Lucian and his Influence in Europe, (London: Duckworth, 1979), p.129-144; see also Jeniffer Hall, Lucian's Satire, (New York: Arno Press, 1981), p.339-354.

16. 'The winged chariots of the Phaedrus offered something to inventors of semi-scientific "flying chariots" in the seventeenth century. In the myth of 'Er', Plato made use of a device which became common in modern cosmic voyages. In the first part of the tale we seem to be upon the earth, as we survey "a certain ghostly place wherein were two open Mouths of the Earth hard by each other, and also above, two Mouths of the Heaven over against them." Later in the myth we have imperceptibly changed our position, so that we, who were upon the earth, are now above, or at least beyond it. At one moment we look up to the "Straight Line extended from above through the whole Heaven and Earth, as it were a Pillar"; at another, we see from afar the concentric rings of the cosmos, behold Necessity and Fate, and observe the Siren singing as "she goeth about the circle".' Marjorie Hope Nicolson, Voyages to the Moon, p.16. For further details about 'Er', see Hilda Richardson, 'The Myth of Er', Classical Quarterly, 20, (1926), 113-133.

17. Nicolson, Voyages to the Moon, p.16-17.

18. Nicolson, Voyages to the Moon, p.18-19. For a more detailed discussion of Rabelais's use of the imaginary voyage see Christopher Robinson, Lucian and his Influence in Europe, p.133-135.

19. For more information of the scientific career and achievements of Galileo see A. Wolf, A History of Science, Technology, and Philosophy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, 2nd edn., (London: Allen & Unwin, 1950), p.27-54; see also Martha Ornstein, The Role of Scientific Societies in the Seventeenth Century, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928), p.23-32; Nathan Spielberg & Bryan D. Anderson, Seven Ideas that Shook the Universe, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1985), p.40-42; A.E.E. McKenzie, The Major Achievements of Science, 2 vols., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), I, p.16-32.

20. Galileo Galilei, Le opere, ed. A. Favaro & I. Del Lungo, 20 vols, (Florence: Firenze, 1890-1909), X, p.280.

21. Nicolson, Voyages to the Moon, p.24.

22. Cited from Marie Boas, The Scientific Renaissance, (London: Collins, 1962), p.317.

23. Sphynx: I say, you first must cast about
To finde a world, the world without.

Love: I say, that is already done,
And is the new world i' the Moone

Sphynx: Cupid, you doe cast too farre;
This world in neerer by a starre
So much light Ile give you to'it.

Love: Without a Glasse? Well, I shall do't.

Ben Jonson, Love Freed from Folly and Ignorance, in Works of Ben

Jonson, ed. C.H. Herford & Percy Simpson, 11 vols, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1954-65), VII, p.364.

24. John Donne, Ignatius His Conclave, trans. T.S. Healy, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p.7.

25. Donne, Ignatius His Conclave, p.7.

26. Donne, Ignatius His Conclave, p.81.

27. For further details see Ben Jonson, The Staple of News, ed. Anthony Parr, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p.22-31.

28. Ben Jonson, Newes from the New World, in Works, VII, p.517. For further details see Nicolson, Voyages to the Moon, p.29.

29. Ben Jonson, Works, VII, p.519.

30. For details of the autobiographical parallels between Somnium and Kepler's life see Nicolson, Voyages to the Moon, p.43-44.

31. John Lear, Kepler's Dream, trans. Patricia Kirkwood, (Berkeley: University of California Press; 1965), p.95.

32. 'Daemon', as Kepler makes clear in note 51 is etymologically derived from the Greek word 'daiein' meaning 'to know'. Lear, Kepler's Dream, p.102.

33. Lear, Kepler's Dream, p.107.

34. Lear, Kepler's Dream, p.106.

35. Lear, Kepler's Dream, p.123.

36. Lear, Kepler's Dream, p.124.

37. John Donne The Complete English Poems, ed C.A. Patrides, (London: Everyman, 1994), p.248-264 (p.253).

38. Donne, Complete English Poems, p.253.

39. Lear, Kepler's Dream, p.157, p.155.

40. Lear, Kepler's Dream, p.26-39.

41. Cited by Nicolson, Voyages to the Moon, p.45.

42. For further details see Hans Aarsleff, 'John Wilkins', in From Locke to Saussure: Essays on the Study of Language and Intellectual History, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), p.239-277 (p.246).

43. For biographical information concerning Godwin see Dictionary of National Biography, ed. Leslie Stephen, 63 vols., (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1885-1900), XXII, p.56-58.

44. Godwin, Man in the Moone, Sig A3^r-A4^r.

45. Godwin, Man in the Moone, Sig A3^v.
46. Godwin, Man in the Moone, Sig F7^v-F8^r.
47. Godwin, Man in the Moone, Sig B3^r.
48. Godwin appropriated the world 'ganza', meaning a type of bird similar to a white goose, from a 1601 edition of Pliny's Natural History: 'the geese there, be all white, but less of bodie than from other parts: and there they be called ganzas.' For further details see O.E.D., 2nd edn., ed. J.A. Simpson & E.S.C. Weiner, 20 vols., (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), VI, p.359.
49. Godwin, Man in the Moone, Sig B5^{r-v}.
50. Godwin, Man in the Moone, Sig H8^v.
51. Wilkins, Discovery of a New World in the Moon, p.111.
52. Wilkins, Discovery of a New World in the Moon, p.4.
53. Wilkins, Discovery of a New World in the Moon, p.129.
54. Wilkins, Discovery of a New World in the Moon, p.129-130.
55. For further details see Anthony à Wood, Athenae Oxonienses: A New Edition, with Additions, and a Continuation by Philip Bliss, 4 vols., (London: J. Rivington, 1813-20), II, p.555, p.882; see also Nicolson, Voyages to the Moon, p.71.
56. For further details of this history see Innes, The Maritime and Colonial Expansion of England, p.140-141.
57. For example, the effectual independence of colonial territories is revealed when, in 1643, a confederation of the four New England colonies of Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven (it excluded Rhode Island) was established for defensive and, if necessary, offensive purposes, but without powers over its separate members for any other purposes. It also entirely ignored the possibility of intervention from England. For further details see Innes, The Maritime and Colonial Expansion of England, p.149. For a history of the turbulent reign of Charles I, see Kevin Sharpe, The Personal Rule of Charles I.
58. For further details of the rigour of this policy, the difficulties of implementation, and the subsequent revisions under the 1660 Convention's Act, see Holmes, The Making of a Great Power, p.58-61.
59. For further details of the Dutch war see Bernard Capp, Cromwell's Navy: The Fleet and the English Revolution, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p.73-86.
60. The Dutch ceded the spice island of Pula Run in the centre of the East Indies; compensation was offered for damages to English merchants in the Baltic and Asia, while none was granted for the substantial injuries inflicted on Dutch shipping; and the Dutch

agreed to refuse assistance to Charles II, to politically marginalise Charles II's former ally the Dutch House of Orange, and to salute English warships. In practise these terms were considerably less impressive: Pula Run was never delivered, the terms of the salute remained ill-defined, and the Dutch had already decided to refuse help to Charles II and thwart Orangist plans for power. For further details see Ronald Hutton, The British Republic 1649-1660, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), p.108.

61. For this history I am indebted to David Armitage, 'John Milton: Poet Against Empire' in Milton and Republicanism ed. by Armand Hiny and Quentin Skinner, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 1995).

62. Cited by Armitage, 'John Milton: Poet Against Empire', forthcoming.

63. William Davenant, The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru, in The Dramatic Works of Sir William Davenant, ed. James Maidment & W.H. Logan, 5 vols., (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1872-1874), IV, p.76-94.

64. Davenant, 'The Fifth Entry', Works, p.88.

65. Davenant, 'The Sixth Song', Works, p.93.

66. Susan J. Wiseman, '"History Digested": Opera and Colonialism in the 1650s', from Literature and the Civil War, ed. by Thomas Healy & Jonathan Sawday, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p.189-204 (p.194).

67. For a more detailed account of Oliver Cromwell's policy see, S.A.G. Taylor, The Western Design: An Account of Cromwell's Expedition to the Caribbean, 2nd edn., (London: Solstice Productions Ltd., 1969).

68. For further details see Armitage, 'John Milton: Poet Against Empire', forthcoming.

69. Thomas Thorowgood, Jewes in America, or, Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race, (London, 1650); Thomas Thorowgood, Jewes in America, or, Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race, 2nd edn., (London; H.Broome, 1660). For further details concerning the differences between these editions and the reasons behind these changes see, Claire Jowitt, 'Radical Identities? Native Americans, Jews and the English Commonwealth', The Seventeenth Century, 10 (1995) p.101-119.

70. For example, in his 1607 text Origen de los Indios the Spanish ecclesiastic Gregorio Garcia strongly supported a Hebrew ancestry for the Amerindians. He also argued for the influence of Satan on native American culture. In reply to an enquiry about what had become of the Hebrew tongue which the descendants of the ten tribes were supposed to possess, he asserted that in the first place the language had gradually changed in keeping with the universal experience among other races; secondly, there were many traces of Hebrew still remaining in the American languages; and

thirdly, Satan had prompted Amerindians to learn new tongues in order to prevent them from receiving Catholic instruction. Fortunately, according to Garcia, missionaries had become acquainted with these new and strange dialects and thus had outwitted Satan. For more information concerning the advocates of these different opinions see A.M. Hyamson, 'The Lost Tribes, and the Influence of the Search for them on the Return of the Jews to England', Publications of the Jewish Historical Society, 1903, p.19-20.

71. See Bartolomé de las Casas, The Devastation of the Indies, trans. Herma Briffault, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992).

72. For a full discussion of the legal and religious status of the Amerindians in Spanish debates during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries see Anthony Pagden, 'Dispossessing the barbarian: the language of Spanish Thomism and the debate over the property rights of the American Indians', from The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe, ed. Anthony Pagden, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p.79-98.

73. For further details concerning this debate between Protestant theologians concerning the timetable for the end of the world see Christopher Hill, 'Till the Conversion of the Jews', Collected Essays, 2 vols, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1965), II, p.269-300.

74. Hill catalogues a register of subscribers for the calling of the Jews. From Andrew Willet in 1590, through William Perkins, Richard Hooker, Thomas Brightman and many others, the notion of Jewish conversion had a growing currency through the seventeenth century. After the breakdown of censorship in 1640, Thomas Brightman's influential but formerly banned text Revelation of the Revelation was republished. Brightman's texts together with Joseph Mede's Key of the Revelation form the basis from which a host of millennial texts were spawned as these ideas circulated more widely and the apocalyptic years approached. Hill, 'Till the Conversion of the Jews', p.273-276.

75. For a more detailed account of the diversity and intensity of this debate see Hill, 'Till the Conversion of the Jews', p.274-277.

76. Though writing after the first publication of Jewes in America, Margaret Fell is a prime example of a writer who addressed the Jewish community in Amsterdam urging them to convert to Christianity. She wrote two pamphlets addressed to the Jews. The first, For Menasseh-ben-Israel the calling of the Jews out of Babylon was published in 1656. This pamphlet was written at the height of the debate concerning the possible re-admission of Jews to England. In 1657, following the breakdown of these discussions between the Amsterdam Jews and Cromwell's government, Fell published another pamphlet, A Loving Salutation to the Seed of Abraham amongst the Jews, now bemoaning the absence of a 'home' for Jewish peoples. In both texts the Jews were constructed as proto-Christians. For a biographical study of Fell see Isobel Ross, Margaret Fell, Mother of Quakerism, (London:

Longman, Green & Co, 1949), p.89-97.

77. For more information on the relations between Christians and Jews in this period see David Katz, Philo-semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England 1603-1655, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).

78. Thorowgood, Jewes in America, (London, 1650), Sig C2^v.

79. Pagden, 'Dispossessing the Barbarian', p.84-86.

80. For further details see Jowitt, p.107.

81. Thorowgood, Jewes in America, (London, 1650), Sig I2^v.

82. Thorowgood, 'The Epistle Dedicatory', Jewes in America, (London, 1650), Sig B2^r.

83. Michael Braddick describes the problem of defining the state and pinpointing a date for its emergence in this period. Though discussing the internal dynamics of state formation, Braddick points out the central importance of inter-state rivalries in the process of state formation. See Michael Braddick, 'State Formation and Social Change in Early Modern England: A Problem Stated and Approaches Suggested', Social History, 16 (1991), 1-16.

84. Braddick, 'State Formation and Social Change in Early Modern England', p.7.

85. Hamon L'Estrange, Americans no Jewes, or, Improbabilities that the Americans are of that Race, (London: W.W. for Henry Seile, 1651). Hamon L'Estrange, 1605-1660, was the second son of Sir Hamon L'Estrange of Hunstanton in Norfolk. Interestingly the L'Estrange family was resident in the same parish over which Thomas Thorowgood was rector, suggesting a more personal and intimate knowledge between the two than has previously been acknowledged. Hamon L'Estrange fought as a Colonel in the Royalist Army. From 1643-1651 he was declared a delinquent and his property was sequestered by the state. See Hamon L'Estrange, The Charge upon S^r Hamon L'Estrange together with his Vindication and Recharge, (London, 1649). Among his other writings, he published The Reign of King Charles, A History faithfully and Impartially delivered and disposed into Annals in 1655. For further details see Dictionary of National Biography, XXXIII, p.115-116.

86. L'Estrange, Americans no Jewes, p.11.

87. L'Estrange, Americans no Jewes, p.9.

88. L'Estrange, Americans no Jewes, p.9.

89. T.K. Cheyne & J. Sutherland Black, eds, Encyclopaedia Biblica: A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political and Religious History, the Archaeology, Geography and Natural History of the Bible, (London: A.C. Black, 1914), p.492.

- 90.L'Estrange, Americans no Jewes, p.7.
- 91.Thomas Thorowgood, Jewes in America, or the Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race, 2nd edn., (London: H. Broome, 1660), p.9. All subsequent references in the text are to this later edition.
- 92.Thorowgood, Jewes in America, (London, 1660), p.9.
- 93.Thorowgood, Jewes in America, (London, 1660), Sig B1^r.
- 94.L'Estrange, Americans no Jewes, p.9.
- 95.Thorowgood, Jewes in America, (London, 1660), Sig B2^v.
- 96.Godwin, The Man in the Moone, Sig H4^v.
- 97.Godwin, The Man in the Moone, Sig H5^r.
- 98.Thorowgood, Jewes in America, (London, 1660), Sig H2^r - L2^v.
- 99.Thorowgood, 'Epistle Dedicatory, To the King's Most Excellent Majesty', Jewes in America, (London, 1660), Sig A2^r.
- 100.Thorowgood's arguments for the degeneracy of the native Americans and their partial loss of a Hebrew identity, has correspondences with the arguments 'J.J.' constructed in his text, The Resurrection of Dead Bones, or the Conversion of the Jews, published in 1654/5 on the eve of the crucial date in the apocalyptic calendar of 1656. 'J.J.' believed that the retrogression of the Jews was a sign that their conversion was imminent. Thus he stated: 'So according to human censure, Israel is past recovery, but according to the supernatural promises of God, they were never so near to their restoration as now, because they have fallen into the greatest desolation.' J.J., 'Preface to the Christian Reader', The Resurrection of Dead Bones, or the Conversion of the Jews, (London, 1654\5), Sig A3^v.
- 101.Thorowgood, Jewes in America, (London, 1660), Sig A2^r.
- 102.See Jonathan Sawday, 'Re-writing a Revolution: History, Symbol and Text in the Restoration', The Seventeenth Century, 7 (1992), 171-199 (p.174).
- 103.For further details see Jonathan Sawday, 'Re-writing a Revolution: History, Symbol and Text in the Restoration', p.192.
- 104.Cited by Sawday, 'Rewriting a Revolution', p.192.
- 105.Thorowgood, Jewes in America, (London, 1660), Sig A3^v.

CHAPTER 7

Restoration Discovery**Introduction**

After the Restoration, fantasy voyages about 'new worlds' continued to be vehicles by which writers could voice their ideological concerns. Supporters of the recently established Royal Society argued that empirical science could restore humanity's lost dominion over nature and expand England's industry, trade and empire. This chapter examines the ways in which fantasy voyage literature demonstrated support for, and caution concerning, such empiric and utopic policies.

Part I: Science and Colonialism

As we have already seen, by 1660 English Puritan commentators were attempting to come to terms with the events of the recent past through cryptographic critiques of the role of the Protector in texts which were avowedly concerned with colonial territory. The domestic political divisions of the 1640s and 1650s in England had been reflected in the colonies. In the 1640s, generally speaking, the more Northern Puritan-dominated colonies, such as New England, sympathised with Parliament; the southern colonies from Maryland to Barbados supported the Royalists, particularly when, following the

decisive defeat of the cavaliers at Naseby, a considerable number of Royalist refugees emigrated to America, such as Lord Willoughby to Virginia. Following the regicide, the acquiescence of the colonies to the new regime was uncertain. At first, with more immediate trouble to deal with in Ireland and Scotland, as well as the threat of Prince Rupert's Royalist fleet, the Government merely forbade trade with rebellious Cavalier colonies. However in 1651, Cromwell sent a strong Commonwealth squadron to Barbados to subdue the recalcitrant settlements. When the 6,000 Royalist troops mustered by Willoughby learnt just how decisive the Royalist defeat at Worcester had been, conciliatory terms were agreed with the Commonwealth commissioner. Following the lead of Barbados, the island colonies, including Antigua and the Bermudas, submitted to the Republic. Virginia also yielded and New England accepted the Republic without demur. Upon Maryland, a predominantly Catholic colony and under the control of the Royalist Lord Baltimore, more stringent terms were imposed by the Republic.¹

Under Charles II, England continued to be assertive with regard to the acquisition of colonies and the furtherance of trade interests. The determining factor in the Empire policy of the Crown, the Commonwealth, and the Protector had been their attitudes to the Dutch and the Spanish.² Throughout the mid seventeenth century established Dutch trade networks were the obstacle to English expansion. Though Charles I had desired colonial and trade expansion, he had not been prepared to go to war with the Dutch to secure them. The Commonwealth

was willing to co-operate with the Dutch in order to negotiate a larger share of the profitable East Indian trade but, failing Dutch acquiescence, was equally prepared to fight. The 1651 Navigation Act, and the 1652-4 trade war signalled England's commitment to the furtherance of this ambition, by force if necessary. The Protector negotiated peace by the Treaty of London when the continuance of the Navigation Act was assured (as the effective superiority of the English fleet became apparent).³ Moreover, once Cromwell became Lord Protector his hostility towards Catholicism, in particular to Spain, his wish for a Protestant League with England as the dominant force, his desire for Dutch co-operation in other schemes (Cromwell wanted the Dutch to guarantee that they would not assist a Stuart restoration), all made peace with Holland politically expedient. Indeed, in the long debate before the agreement of peace with the Dutch, Cromwell's hostility towards Spain is made clear by the terms he tried to negotiate. At one point Cromwell suggested that world trade be divided between Holland and England, Asia to the Dutch, America to England, with the Dutch required to assist the English in evicting the Iberians from the New World.⁴ Furthermore, in a speech at the opening of Parliament, on the 17th September 1656, Cromwell, repeatedly and emphatically, asserted that the Spanish were the 'natural' enemies of the English: 'Why truly, your greatest enemy is the Spaniard. He is. He is a natural enemy, he is naturally so. He is naturally so, throughout, as I said before.. And truly when I say that he is naturally throughout an enemy, an enmity is put into him

by God.'⁵ With the Restoration, Holland once more became the major rival: the policy implemented by Charles II was a reversion to that of the Long Parliament rather than to Cromwell's.

However, the re-emergence of the Dutch as the major adversary did not result in England and Spain drawing closer together. Through the early years of the Restoration the government allied itself to neither France nor Spain in particular, though following Charles II's marriage to a Portuguese princess, which displeased the King of Spain (who had been hoping to recover the Portuguese crown) France appeared to be the more favoured nation with which to maintain a balance of power in Europe.⁶ Indeed the audacity of the Commonwealth's and Republic's foreign policy, and the achievements of the navy, were recognised and applauded by the restored monarchy. For example, in 1660 Prince James commended the ex-republican flag-officer John Lawson to the Commons for services 'which have brought so much glory to these nations'.⁷

In 1660, a new Navigation Act which refined the rigorous statutes of 1651 was introduced. Designed by Sir George Downing, Exchequer official, Member of Parliament for Carlisle and experienced in the realities of contemporary trade (following his post as the government's Resident at the Hague, 1658-60) this Act laid the foundations for English economic wealth.⁸ This legislation served to strengthen both England's shipping and the nation's function as an entrepot as colonial goods were reserved for English shipping and all the most important materials - including substances like cotton-wool

and dyestuffs - could only be directly shipped to England or Ireland or to another English plantation.⁹ In 1663, this legislature was further supported by the Staple Act, which stipulated that colonists must purchase all the European goods they needed (principally manufactures) in England. From now on the home country served as an entrepôt in both directions, importing the manufactures England could not produce in order to re-export them, at a profit and at an inflated price to ensure that English native products would be cheaper in the transatlantic market.

This emphasis upon English economic strength was also reflected by the establishment of a national institution to focus scientific enterprise. The Royal Society was founded in the year of Charles II's Restoration; a royal charter was granted in 1662, replaced by a second the following year. Importantly, as Michael Hunter describes, this made the group more formal and permanent, as the Royal Society became a chartered corporation, with a constitution which had to be observed and which conferred rights and privileges.¹⁰ The historians and early members of the Royal Society formulated a programme for scientific endeavour whose parameters were ostensibly Baconian. As the first secretary, Henry Oldenburg, wrote: 'It is our business, in the first place, to scrutinise the whole of Nature and to investigate its activity and powers by mean of observations and experiments; and then in course of time to hammer out a more solid philosophy and more ample amenities of civilisation.'¹¹ Thomas Sprat's History of the Royal Society (1667) made this connection more explicit: on



*Presented to the R. Society from the Author
by the hands of Dr John Wilkins, Octob. 10. 1667.*

15. Frontispiece of Thomas Sprat's History of the Royal Society (1667) with an inscription by John Wilkins. Reprinted from Dorothy Stimson, Scientist and Amateurs: A History of the Royal Society, (New York: Henry Schuman, 1948)

the frontispiece Bacon was enshrined as 'Artium Instaurator' (see figure 15).¹² Furthermore, Joseph Glanvill, in 1668, published Plus Ultra which appropriated the famous Baconian phrase for the advancement of the boundaries of knowledge.¹³ However, as Charles Webster has observed, there was a degree of expediency in this articulation of a Baconian origin: by representing their project as Baconian the originators of the Royal Society could avoid the contentious political and religious issues of the Civil war period.¹⁴

As Webster and others have argued, there was, however, a considerable degree of continuity of both people and ideas between the Royal Society and the scientific institutions of the Commonwealth.¹⁵ These centres of research and discussion included, amongst others, a London group which met between 1645 and 1648 who were interested in 'the New Philosophy or Experimental Philosophy', whilst the London College of Physicians had, in the 1650s, like Bacon's Soloman's House, a wide range of interests extending from comparative anatomy to brewing. At Oxford medical research, stimulated by Harvey, flourished throughout these years. Furthermore in the 1650s, following the move of various prominent scientists from London to hold Oxford University posts, a more formal group was established. It was predominately associated with John Wilkins, author The Discoverie of a New World in the Moon and brother-in-law to Oliver Cromwell, who became warden of Wadham College in 1649, but other active scientists include John Wallis, Seth Ward, Christopher Wren, William Petty, Thomas Willis and Robert Boyle.¹⁶

Another important antecedent of the Royal Society was the circle of scientists and educationalists who gathered around, or corresponded with, Samuel Hartlib. Hartlib was a Puritan German emigré who went to Cambridge in 1625 and decided to settle permanently in England.¹⁷ Through the mid-seventeenth century Hartlib and his circle - which included William Petty, John Evelyn and John Dury (who wrote the preface to the 1650 edition of Jewes in America) - formulated diverse schemes for reform. As his plan for a Puritan, scientific and utopic colony 'Antilia' in the 1630s reveals, Hartlib was interested in England's colonial development. Indeed, for a brief time, North America, specifically Virginia, was considered as a suitable location for settlement.¹⁸ Though Hartlib's scheme never went further than the planning stage, in the colonies themselves the partnership between Robert Child and John Winthrop Jr. in Massachusetts in the 1640s followed Baconian principles. These men vigilantly investigated their surroundings, searched for profitable minerals or other useful raw materials, and tested a series of innovative agricultural practices.¹⁹

In 1641 a utopic text, Macaria, was published which summarised the frameworks for society which the Hartlib group sought to propagate.²⁰ Presented to the Long Parliament, this text took as its 'Pattern Sir Thomas Moore, and Sir Francis Bacon'.²¹ However, there was a shift in emphasis from philosophy to practice - particularly in terms of the exercise of trades - between Bacon's New Atlantis and Macaria. In Macaria, the scientific institution is no longer dedicated to

'the knowledge of Causes, and the secret motions of things',
but rather to the commercial improvement of society:

They have an house, or College of Experience, where they deliver out, yearly, such medicines as they find out by experience: and all such as shall be able to demonstrate any experiment, for the health or wealth of other men, are honourably rewarded at the publick charge.²²

Moreover, the college was a subordinate component of the text: the emphasis was placed on the councils of husbandry, fishing, trade by land, trade by sea, and new plantations, established in order that the people may 'live in great plenty, prosperity, health, peace and happiness'.²³ Indeed, the Commonwealth of Macaria exhibited a committed and assertive attitude to the acquisition of, and investment in, colonial territory:

In the Council for new Plantations, there is established a Law, that every Year a certain Number shall be sent out, strongly fortified, and provided for at the publick Charge, till such Times as they may subsist by their own Endeavours: And this Number is set down by the said Council, wherein they take diligent Notice of the Surplusage of People that may be spared.²⁴

Through the late 1640s and 1650s the management of England's colonies continued to be a subject of debate and concern for Hartlib's circle. In 1649, the Puritan Benjamin Worsley circulated a memorandum, Profits humbly presented to this Kingdom, which sought to reorganise agricultural and industrial methods in the colonies.²⁵ In this text and in his correspondence, Worsley was concerned to bring to the government's attention the problematic relationship between England and the American colonies, particularly Virginia where the Royalist affiliations of Willoughby, the governor, made the implementation of his proposals, 'for planting and

introducing new commodities or for setting up new manufactures', impractical.²⁶ To combat these difficulties, Worsley proposed that, firstly, the rebellious governor was replaced by a parliamentary commission and, secondly and consequently, English control of colonial trade was enforced as the Royalist governor would no longer be able to use Dutch shipping. Worsley's Virginian schemes, promoting economic unity between colony and homeland, were designed to be applied throughout England's colonial dominions.

The stress upon utility, particularly with regard to trade, and the emphasis upon colonial development were both aspects of Hartlib's programmes that were appropriated by the Royal Society. Though, as historians of science have demonstrated, Thomas Sprat's History of the Royal Society is not an accurate record of the actual activities of Restoration scientists, it does represent an important articulation of the aspirations of the group.²⁷ The History of the Royal Society was a publicity document, designed to answer theological criticisms of the Society's methods as well as attract financial support and new members.

Sprat's text was concerned to outline a method for the cooperative compilation of natural histories which would be of utilitarian benefit. The collection of natural histories consisted of two parts; the preliminary collection of data, and the subsequent collective judgement of the Fellows concerning the facts. Collective effort was of paramount importance in the both stages: in the first stage this was due to the amount of information required, and because the data

collected would not be subject to individual bias. At the second stage, validation of data required the use of experiments which were to be repeated 'till the whole Company [were] fully satisfi'd of the certainty or constancy; or, on the otherside, of the absolute impossibility of the effect'.²⁸

Sprat attempted to make apparent the Royal Society's theological orthodoxy. Abraham Cowley's 'Ode to the Royal Society', which prefaced Sprat's text, made it clear that empiricism was the epistemology most consistent with religion as he described Philosophy as 'the great and only Heir of all that Human Knowledge which has bin Unforfeited by Mans rebellious Sin'.²⁹ According to Cowley, Man would remain guilty of original sin if he presumed to have knowledge through pure ratiocination, rather than by the empirical study of the natural world using the senses. Similar to the belief Bacon expressed in The Advancement of Learning, Cowley argued that in his prelapsarian state Adam had been able to appreciate the true cause and essence of things, and hence he had been able to name the animals as they were lead before him in Eden. With the Fall, this dominion over Nature was forfeited. According to Cowley and Sprat the programme of the Royal Society, with its concentration upon the collection of empirical data, the use of experiment, and the performance of works, would restore this lost dominion. Empirical science would 'bring knowledg back again to our very senses, from whence it was first deriv'd to our understandings'.³⁰

The performance of works was a central tenet of Sprat's highly nationalist text. The Society was committed to the

application of its discoveries to improve the economic conditions of the English nation. With the aid 'new arts and new experiments', the English nation would be able to 'rank all the varieties, and degrees of things so orderly one upon another; that standing on the top of them, we may perfectly behold all that are below, and make them all serviceable to the quiet, and peace, and plenty of Man's life'.³¹ Arguing that science was allied 'with the present prevailing Genius of the English nation', Sprat enthusiastically listed the classes and professions from whom he hoped Baconian science would receive support.³² These included churchmen, scholars, merchants, artisans, statesmen, diplomats, and gentlemen. Support from these groups would ensure England's supreme position as not only 'Mistress of the Ocean, but the most proper Seat, for the advancement of Knowledg'.³³ Sprat was keen to emphasise the usefulness of the Royal Society and the economic wealth its discoveries would generate in the spheres of trade, colonialism and industry.

Similar to Hakluyt's Principal Navigations, Sprat's text fashioned a vision of the English nation as sovereigns of the world. The close connections between science, commerce, technology and national wealth which he outlined would result in a triumphant progress towards an English Golden Age. However, this utopic vision for England did not satisfy, as we shall see, all the rational men (and women) to whom Sprat appealed for support. Sprat, Cowley and the Fellows of the Royal Society might imagine they had created a blueprint for the recovery of Man's lost dominion over nature, but as Samuel

Butler's biting satire on the misinterpretation and exaggeration of the Royal Society, 'The Elephant in the Moon', reveals, not all England's citizens shared this belief.³⁴ Examining the lunar topography with their telescopes, the Fellows all see with their own eyes a moon-scape populated with Elephants. Speedily following this amazing discovery, the scientists speculate on a variety of explanations for these inhabitants, and make plans to publish their findings in their next journal, or 'Transaction'.³⁵ However, the Fellows' error is discovered by a lowly Footboy who 'found a Mouse was gotten in the hollow Tube'.³⁶ The scientists are 'Amaz'd, confounded, and afflicted' by their mistake, and Butler's satire concludes with a prescriptive warning to all present and future empiricists:

That those who greedily pursue
Things wonderful, instead of true;
That in their Speculations chuse
To make Discoveries strange News;
And Nat'ral History a Gazette
Of Tales stupendous, and far-fet;
Hold no Truth worthy to be known,
That is not huge and over-grown,
And explicate Appearances,
Nt as they are, but as they please,
In vain strive Nature to suborn,
And, for their Pains, are paid with Scorn.³⁷

Part II: Fantasy Voyages in the 1660s

Support for Royal Society philosophy, and the application of its principles for the improvement of society, was by no means uniform. During the 1660s a variety of writers, such as

Margaret Cavendish and John Milton, who either objected to or were excluded from the vision of Englishness promulgated by the scientists, formulated replies to ideas of an empiric utopia. Some writers, however, responded more positively. The Republican writer Henry Neville debated the benefit of the implementation of scientific principles to society.³⁸ In 1668, he published a fantasy text, The Isle of Pines, which described the Dutch discovery in 1667 of an island in the South Seas inhabited by approximately 12,000 progeny of George Pine, an English book-keeper, who had been shipwrecked there in the company of four women (the daughter of the master of the ship, two serving maids and a 'negress') during the reign of Elizabeth I.³⁹ Pine cohabits first with one of the serving maids, next with her fellow and then the master's daughter. Finally:

one Night, I [Pine] being asleep, my Negro, (with the consent of the others) got close to me, thinking it being dark, to beguile me, but I awaking, and perceiving who it was, yet willing to try the difference, satisfied myself with her, as well as with one of the rest.⁴⁰

Due to the fertility of the women and the plentiful food on the island, after forty years, Pine and his 'wives' have produced 565 descendants and after fifty-nine years 1789 progeny. Originally, this text was published in two parts, the first, The Isle of Pines: or, A Late Discovery of a Fourth Island in Terra Australis Incognita, narrating the memoirs and history of George Pine on the island; the second, A New and Further Discovery of the Islle of Pines In a Letter from Cornelius Van Sloetten describing the voyage and findings of Cornelius Van Sloetton, the Dutch seaman who discovered the

descendants of the shipwreck victims after they had been there ninety-eight years.⁴¹ The two parts of the text, one 'English' and one 'Dutch', are strikingly different. This text is important because it questions the 'civilisation' of the English shipwreck victims and their descendants.

Like Thomas More's Utopia (1519) and Joseph Hall's Mundus Alter et Idem (1605), Neville exerts considerable effort to establish the authenticity of his text. Published with the 1668 combined edition of Pine's and Van Sloetten's accounts were two letters from Abraham Keek - a merchant of Amsterdam - stating that the last post from Rochelle brought information concerning a French ship which had just arrived and reported the discovery of the Isle of Pines. Neville's fabrication of this supposedly independent French report seems designed to mimic the conventions of a voyage narrative as corroboration of a discovery was often endorsed through citation of independent sources.

At the time of publication Neville's text was extremely popular. Several editions were rapidly produced.⁴² Eager to assert an established English presence in the South Pacific, similar to the publishing history of Columbus's account of his 1492 voyage to America which claimed the newly discovered regions for Spain, the text was swiftly translated into several European languages, including French, German, Dutch and Italian. The libidinous nature of the text, as well as contemporary interest in the discovery of new territory, secured it an audience. Indeed, according to Worthington Chauncey Ford, merchants in Holland and Germany, on receipt of

the first translations of Neville's text, held back their vessels about to sail, to await further information on this fourth island of Terra Australis Incognita.⁴³ In England readers appeared to be more sceptical concerning the authenticity of Neville's account as in Athenae Oxonienses, Anthony à Wood described Neville's text as 'a mere sham or piece of drollery'.⁴⁴ Moreover, later in 1668, a German critic carefully set about demonstrating the geographical and historical contradictions and inconsistencies within The Isle of Pines.⁴⁵

The Isle of Pines describes how 'civilised' English people adapt to life on a previously uninhabited, remote island. The geographical co-ordinates of the island are vague in Pine's description; after almost reaching St Lawrence, the ship is blown off course during eight days' storms. In Van Sloetten's account the cartographic location is more precise, 'it lyeth about seventy six degrees of Longitude, and twenty of Latitude, being scituate under the third Climate', which places it to the northeast of Madagascar.⁴⁶ Similar to Joseph Hall's Mundus Alter et Idem, Neville's text also satirises contemporary speculations about the undiscovered 'Terra Australis incognita, or a new Southerne Discouerie, containing a fifth part of the World'.⁴⁷ Neville, by placing his island in the southern seas, exploits traditional expectations of explorers and geographers who had, as we have seen, envisioned there to be a landmass to balance the northern continent in this area.

The island itself is extremely fertile. Pine and his

compatriots do not have to cultivate the land, rather the island yields her bounty with paradisiacal ease:

the countrey so very pleasant, being always clothed with green, and full of pleasant fruits, and variety of birds, ever warm, and never colder than in England in September: So this place (had it the culture, that skilful people might bestow on it) would prove a Paradise.⁴⁸

Indeed, this quotation implies that Pine's island is more like medieval representations of the land of Cockaigne, a sensual and often libidinous ideal world, which is characterised by its over-abundance and excess.⁴⁹ The statement suggests that the island does not enjoy 'the culture' that 'a skilful people' would bestow in order to make it Edenic. Pine and his compatriots do not exert a civilising influence upon their environment; rather, they experience a life of sensual ease, openly having sex 'custome taking away the shame', and having few responsibilities for child-care 'when they had suckt, we laid them in Mosse to sleep, and took no further care of them, for we knew, when they were gone more would come'.⁵⁰ Indeed, Dutch descriptions of the people on the Isle of Pines are reminiscent of Columbus's portraits of the American islanders he encountered on his four voyages to the New World. For example Van Sloetten's account of his exploration of the coast of the island is strikingly similar to Columbus's descriptions of native American trepidation:

All the way as we passed the first morning, we saw abundance of little Cabbins or Huts of these inhabitants, made under Trees and fashioned up with boughs, grass, and such like stuffe to defend them from the Sunne and Rain: and as we went along, they came out from them much wondering at our Attire, and standing aloof from us as if they were afraid, but our companion that spake English, calling to them in their own Tongue, and giving them good words, they drew nigher, some of them freely proffering to go along with us, which we willingly

accepted; but having passed some few miles, one of our company espying a Beast like unto a Goat come grazing on him, he discharged his Peece, sending a brace of Bullets into his belly which brought him dead upon the ground: these poor naked unarmed people hearing the noise of the Peece, and seeing the Beast lie tumbling in his gore, without speaking any words betook them to their heels, running back again as fast as they could drive.⁵¹

He (the Indian king) then complained about the Caribs, who captured his people and took them away to be eaten, but he was greatly cheered when the Admiral comforted him by showing him our weapons and promising to defend him with them. But he was much disturbed by our cannon, which so frightened all the Indians that they fell down like dead men when they heard them fired.⁵²

Pine's narrative exhibits no interest in technology or social organisation. Indeed Pine and his wives do not explore the island or survey the terrain in order to ascertain additional useful resources. Once they have established that they have enough food and have built shelters for themselves, satisfying their immediate needs, they exhibit no further interest in their environment. This attitude is antithetical to the empiric philosophy of the Royal Society, summarised by Robert Hooke, which sought:

not only to behold the works of Nature, or barely to sustain our lives by them, but we have also the power of considering, altering, assisting, and improving them to various uses.⁵³

Furthermore, in Pine's account there is no awareness of the significance of his experiences; he makes no claims to have discovered a new world, demonstrates no interest in ascertaining the economic potential of the island, and there are no heathen peoples to convert. Furthermore, in this account there is no veneration of Columbus, as we have seen, habitually cited as a preface to an account of further or new discovery.

However, interestingly, Pine's narrative does reveal an awareness of the national identity of the central character; on his death-bed, whilst naming the people the 'English Pines', he also exhorts his successor to maintain the Protestant religion and the English language:

I informed them of the Manners of Europe, and charged them to remember the Christian Religion, after the manner of them that spake the same Language, and to admit no other; if hereafter any should come and find them out.⁵⁴

Yet, because of the divided nature of the society on the island when the Dutch arrive, it is clear that the sensuous enjoyment of a paradisiacal landscape without any imposed social regulations and rules for the population, is not an adequate form of government. The Dutch discover the English Pines to be on the brink of civil war as, in a microcosm of English society in the 1640s, brother is about to turn on brother with murderous intent. Predictably, given the standard belief in the superiority of the white race in the Renaissance, it is the descendants of the negress that are represented as the malefactors within the community.⁵⁵ Both the rebellions against Pine's successors are initiated by descendants of Philippa, the black slave. Furthermore, it is Dutch support which proves decisive in putting down the rebellion and Dutch construction skills which erect a house to mark the governor's status.

What Neville suggests is that the form of government advocated by Pine and followed by his descendants is inadequate for the needs of a society of 12000 people where more definite rules are required to prevent civil unrest. In this text, the Dutch seem to be represent a much more

effective social order. This veneration of the Dutch by an English writer is perhaps surprising in the late 1660s, in the immediate aftermath of the second trade war of 1664-1667. Indeed, John Dryden's nationalist and imperialist poem 'Annus Mirabilis: The Year of Wonders, 1666' is much more conventional in its celebration of English victory.⁵⁶ Here Dryden reveres both the King, his ministers and the nation's naval commanders whom he represents as securing England's imperial destiny in an historic and heroic defeat of the Dutch. Furthermore, both the Royal Society and the manifest disaster of the fire of London are harnessed in support of Dryden's imperial theme. The citizens of London are exhorted to rebuild 'a city of a more precious mould'.⁵⁷ It is clear that this 'deified' new city is an imperial metropolis whose wealth and magnificence will reflect England's destiny to be the leading trading nation in the world. Thus the rebuilding of London by its population is described as just as much of an heroic and nationalist project as the actions of England's more obviously intrepid naval empire builders. This invitation to London's citizenship was an attempt to close the gap between the interests of the elite and the masses as their activities were both represented as integral parts of a national project. Dryden's 'Apostrophe to the Royal Society' served a similar function:

Instructed ships shall sail to quick commerce,
 By which remotest regions are allied;
 Which makes one city of the universe,
 Where some may gain and all may be supplied.

Then, we upon our globe's last verge shall go
 And view the ocean leaning on the sky:
 From thence our rolling neighbours we shall know

And on the lunar world securely pry

Apostrophe to the Royal Society

This I foretell, from your auspicious care,
Who great in search of God and nature grow;
Who best your wise creator's praise declare,
Since best to praise his works is best to know

O, truly royal! who behold the law
And rule of beings in your maker's mind,
And thence, like limbecs, rich ideas draw
To fit the levelled use of human kind.⁵⁸

In these four stanzas Dryden makes clear the ambitions of his English imperial project. The scientists' experiments will discover facets of nature which will improve the lives of not just the elite, but people from all levels of society. Moreover, Dryden argues that navigation 'makes one city of the universe', so that even the globe appears to be shrinking. Dryden imagines what the world looks like from space as Englishmen 'view the ocean leaning on the sky' and 'on the lunar world securely pry'. Thus England's scientists and explorers will both participate in this project to make the world, and indeed the universe, one community. It is imperial England which is imagined as the supreme power and arbiter of the universal community.⁵⁹

Neville makes no such claims concerning England's imperial destiny. Indeed, like Thorowgood, Neville in the 1660s was disappointed with the failure of the English Republic and what he saw as Cromwell's betrayal of the Commonwealth.⁶⁰ Periodically under suspicion of sedition and imprisoned by Restoration authorities, he spent much time abroad in Italy, only returning after the fire of London and to publish The Isle of Pines.⁶¹ Similar to Thorowgood, Neville

transfers his disillusion with English politics onto a remote geographical setting. Dryden represented the Dutch as indolent and soft from luxurious living; the weight and quality of the spices and perfumes the Dutch gather in the East weakens, and then destroys, their possessor. Describing the sea battle between English and Dutch ships where 'by the rich scent we found our perfum'd prey', Dryden writes:

Amidst whole heaps of spices lights a ball,
And now their odours armed against them fly:
Some precious by shattered porcelain fall,
And some by aromatic splinters die.⁶²

Here the inflammable spices carried by the Dutch fire the ships, turning the very spicy smell against them; porcelain shatters into shrapnel, precious wood, to sharpened spears.⁶³ For Neville, it was the English Pines who had become corrupted by a life of indolent ease. Though dwelling in a flawless landscape they did not possess the culture to make it Edenic. Instead of improving their landscape with technological advances, the Pines descended to faction and unrest.

Owing to his disappointment with the English political situation, Neville imbues Dutch explorers with attitudes corresponding to those expressed by Royal Society scientists. Because of the English Pines' lack of effective forms of government, Neville's text acts as a catalyst to engender debate concerning how a constitution should be framed. It is clear that civilised peoples, according to Neville, need to productively exploit the landscape they occupy. The principles of the Royal Society, represented by the Dutch explorers in this text, should, Neville argues, be incorporated into government.

In Paradise Lost, John Milton addressed similar questions. In this text, Milton can be seen as both sceptical concerning the benefits of Empire and cautious about the merits of empiricism. David Armitage has recently demonstrated that, in Paradise Lost, Milton mourned the loss of the chance for Republican liberty which the revolution offered and criticised Cromwell's policies.⁶⁴ Though first published in 1667, Milton's text is believed to have been largely composed between 1658 and 1660.⁶⁵ Writing at the same time as Thomas Thorowgood, Milton's criticism of the Protector also focuses on Cromwell's aggressive, but largely unsuccessful, campaign to wrest from Spain its Caribbean colonies.

The narrative of Paradise Lost had depended upon the ambitions of Satan to compete with God for control and authority over the 'New World' of Eden and its inhabitants, Adam and Eve. As such Satan's 'bold design' (Paradise Lost, II, 386), presented during the council in Hell, can be seen as a colonial enterprise. Armitage writes:

By presenting such politic arguments for conquest as the deliberations of a demonic council, Milton implies that they are ungodly and any who espouse them act without the requisite divine sanction, because they have been cast out of God's presence. Milton's critique of colonial scheming in the councils of Hell points the finger at no one in particular. Yet it is easy to forget that Satan and his minions were once angels; through pride, ambition and self-interest they fell, and in their fallen state they covet empire. By implication, conquest and imperial enterprise are characteristics of fallen creatures, whether they are Spanish or English, Catholic or Protestant.⁶⁶

This demonic debate results in Satan's flight across Chaos, a voyage of discovery through previously uncharted regions. Described as a trading fleet (Paradise Lost, II, 636-642)

Satan resembles the audacious 'bold adventurers' whom Hakluyt, in 1589, had wanted the English nation to become. However, before reaching Paradise, the destination of his colonial ambitions - like Terra Australis Incognita, a fabled region 'of ancient and prophetic fame' about which only unreliable information from travellers' tales circulated - Satan has to pass through 'a dark illimitable ocean without bound, without dimension; where length, breadth and height, And time and place are lost'.⁶⁷ Chaos, like the vast, seemingly limitless, ocean over which Columbus had to sail before reaching America, is represented as a kind of un-mappable abyss where it is impossible for the 'bold adventurer' to find his bearings. This is a region in which the optimistic aims to subdue Nature expressed by Royal Society scientists hold no sway.

Satan's flight across Chaos also engages with the topical issue of the plurality of inhabited worlds. The astronomer Galileo, author of Siderius Nuncius, is twice alluded to in Paradise Lost. Milton first refers to Galileo in a simile on Satan's shield:

the broad circumference
Hung on his shoulders like a moon, whose orb
Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views
At evening from the top of Fesole
Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands,
Rivers or mountains in her spotty globe. (PL, I, 286-91)

Like John Donne's attack on Galileo's arrogance in Ignatius His Conclave, because of the astronomer's association with Satan, this allusion is implicitly negative. Moreover, Milton's second reference to Galileo explicitly casts doubt on the validity of his world-in-the-moon argument:

As when by night the glass

Of Galileo, less assured, observes
 Imagined lands and regions in the moon. (PL, V, 261-3)

Here the astronomers 'glass' is an unreliable guide to the solar system. Similar to Samuel Butler's satire 'The Elephant in the Moon', in Paradise Lost, the telescope also provides uncertain data and Galileo's findings are presented as merely 'imagined'. Furthermore, In Book III, during his colonizing flight to Eden, Satan perambulates through the universe. Just before he lands on the Sun, Satan alights on the 'starry sphere'. The narrator pauses to describe the Limbo of Vanity that will occupy, in the future, the areas Satan now explores (PL, III, 440-97). Eventually, the narrator foretells, this part of the universe will house a Paradise of Fools reminiscent of Donne's lunar Jesuits. According to the narrator, these occupants will:

... wander here,
 Not in the neighbouring moon, as some have dreamed;
 Those argent fields more likely habitants,
 Translated saints, or middle spirits hold
 Betwixt the angelic and human kind. (PL, III, 458-62)

What is interesting about this passage is that the narrative voice has no sooner ridiculed the idea of a lunar Limbo, than the narrator populates the moon with 'more likely inhabitants'. The narrator succumbs to the temptation that such Galileo-like speculations represent as his imagined inhabitants appear to be either Enoch or Elijah ('translated spirits') or lower beings between angels and humans ('middle spirits').⁶⁸ The dubious merits of empiricism are here so seductive that even the narrator cannot resist imaginative speculation.

But if empire and empiricism do not represent answers for

Milton, what are Adam and Eve left with at the end of Paradise Lost? Satan's empiricism has contaminated Adam and Eve. No longer prepared to subjugate themselves to God's authority, they become empiricists themselves as, by eating the apple from the Tree of Knowledge, they seek to rely on their own sensory perceptions and judgement. Unlike Cowley, who, in 'The Ode to the Royal Society', argued for a triumphant empiricism which would recover 'orchards open now, and free' from 'that Monstrous God [Authority]', Milton expressed no such optimism.⁶⁹ Expelled from Eden, Satan's 'New World', Adam and Eve face colonizing another New World, America. But how was this American New World represented by Milton? Armitage argues:

Adam and Eve had no potential for empire or conquest, at the end of Paradise Lost because all the world was (as it were) America, untroubled by rights of property, acts of conquest, or the imperial rivalry:

The world was all before them, where to choose
The place of rest, and Providence their guide:
They hand in hand with wandring steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way (PL, XII, 646-9)⁷⁰

In Paradise Lost, Adam and Eve are represented as the original inhabitants of America; but, significantly, for Milton, America was not an ideal world. As Archangel Michael's universal history lesson in Books XI and XII had revealed, the lands Adam and Eve are to colonise, including America, are inescapably implicated in a post-lapsarian world of faction and war. Armitage's analysis that Milton was a poet against Empire is persuasive, yet Milton's views seem more absolute than even Armitage suggests. Satan's colonialism and empiricism and Eve's conversion to Satan's values, have

created a post-lapsarian world that was in situ, even in America. When Michael shows Adam the disease and pestilence that will afflict humanity in the future, 'Inductive mainly to the sin of Eve', he stresses her empiricism.⁷¹ Archangel Michael's advice to a dejected Adam was merely that of damage control (Paradise Lost, Book XI, 530-565) as Michael offered the temperate strategy of 'Not Too much' (531).

Similar to Thorowgood's text Jews in America, Republican Milton suggested that America in Paradise Lost was contaminated by the failure of the English Commonwealth. Like Satan, Cromwell had sought, perhaps illegitimately and certainly unsuccessfully, to expand the bounds of his empire. Moreover, new worlds, either in the moon, on other planets, or in America, had not bypassed the consequences of the Fall. The arrogance of empiricists, who sought to restore Man's lost dominion over nature, and imperial aggression were post-lapsarian facts of life for an humanity that had ceased to concentrate on obedience to God.

In Paradise Lost, it is Eve's sin, and Adam's uxoriousness, that caused the Fall. For Milton, Eve was the first human empiricist. Eve's status, a parodic inversion of Royal Society policies which excluded women, further reveals Milton's distrust of empiricism. According to Milton, empiricism was dangerous as it taught an over-reliance on individual judgement rather than obedience to God and, when women became empiricists, as the narrative of Paradise Lost demonstrates, chaos ensued.

As Jonathan Sawday has recently argued, the 'Royal

Science' of the Royal Society sought to celebrate the 'triumph of a strident masculinity over a submissive and cowed feminine Nature'.⁷² Excluded from membership of the Royal Society, allowed only by invitation to attend specially arranged scientific demonstrations, and defined by their gender as the object of the (male) empiricists' inquiry, how did women in the mid-to-late-seventeenth century respond to the exultant empiric prophecies of the Royal Society? Katherine Ranelagh, née Boyle, was, according to Charles Webster, highly active in promoting the ideas of her brother and the Hartlib circle during the 1640s and 1650s.⁷³ Aphra Behn, in 1688, translated Bernard le Bouvier's Entretiens sur La Pluralitie des Mondes (1686), into A Discovery of New Worlds.⁷⁴ Though she made few additions to the main text, Behn prefaced her edition with an 'Essay on Translated Prose'. Here Behn argued that Le Bouvier, whose project was to explain to a person ignorant of natural philosophy (a woman) the Copernican system and the possibility of a plurality of worlds, had 'failed in his Design'.⁷⁵

According to Behn, the reasons for Le Bouvier's failure were:

he hath turned this part of Natural Philosophy... into Ridicule; he hath pushed his wild notion of the Plurality of Worlds to that heighth of Extravagancy, that he most certainly will confound those Readers, who have not Judgement and Wit to distinguish between what is truly solid (or, at least, probable) and what is trifling and airy: and there is no less Skill in Understanding required in this, than in comprehending the whole Subject he treats of. And for his Lady Marquièse, he makes her say a great many very silly things, tho' sometimes she makes Observations so learned, that the greatest Philosophers in Europe could make no better.⁷⁶

In her 'Essay on Translated Prose', Behn made clear that understanding Natural Philosophy and femaleness were not incompatible. Though in her texts, Behn frequently alluded to

the lack of philosophical and classical education for women - for example, in 'To the Unknown Daphnis on his Excellent Translation of Lucretius' she wrote, 'Till now I curst my Sex and Education/ And the more scanted Customs of the Nation/ Permitting not the Female Sex to tread/ The mighty Paths of Learned Heroes Dead' - her 'Essay on Translated Prose' studiously demonstrated female familiarity and discernment with regard to science.⁷⁷ It was the inconsistency of Le Bouvier's representation of Lady Marquièse - generally thought to be Marguerite de Rambouillet, the Marquise de La Mesangère, though Kathleen Jones has recently postulated that Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle might be another candidate for Le Bouvier's curious, but untutored Lady Marquièse - that provoked Behn's ire.⁷⁸

Margaret Cavendish also sought, in her philosophical and imaginative texts, to prove that women were not merely objects of inquiry for male empiricists but were capable of seriously contributing to scientific debate.⁷⁹ Having already published Philosophicall Letters and Observations Upon Experimental Philosophy, respectively in 1664 and 1666, Margaret Cavendish in 1667, whilst in London was invited (following her own request) to attend a meeting of the Royal Society at Arundel House.⁸⁰ She was invited despite the wishes of some of the Fellows who, already besieged by satiric invectives, for example Henry Stubbe's series of critical tracts, culminating in Legends No Histories: Animadversions upon the History of the Royal Society (1670), feared a visit from 'Mad Madge' might exacerbate the situation.⁸¹ The advice of Cavendish's

friend Dr. Walter Charlton and recognition of her social position - it was possible she might grant the indigent Society with a generous endowment - prevailed, and an invitation was issued. The meeting Cavendish attended was designed to be flamboyant rather than experimentally important: Robert Boyle was asked to demonstrate a vacuum, an experiment involving colour, and dissolve a piece of meat in acid.⁸²

The contemporary interest Cavendish's visit aroused - for example, the diarists John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys both appear mesmerised by the incident, and the Fellows expected the encounter to spawn a host of satiric ballads - is testament to the difficulty these men experienced in taking female interest in science seriously.⁸³ Cavendish's reactions to the visit are only described through onlookers' accounts - according to Pepys's somewhat jaundiced eye, the Duchess was 'full of admiration, all admiration'.⁸⁴ However, her text The Blazing World, published as an addendum to Observations Upon Experimental Philosophy in 1666, but republished in a second edition in 1668, included a satiric sketch aimed at scientific societies.⁸⁵ Finding herself in a world full of hybridised creatures, a young, newly married and ennobled Empress is concerned to test her own intellect against that of her natural philosophers, the 'bear-men'. Anxious to establish the 'truth of the phenomena of celestial bodies', the Empress observes the quarrelsome discussions concerning the merits of the telescope between these natural philosophers.⁸⁶ Observing that a relation of 'all their optic observations' would 'be

very tedious work' - as Paul Salzman argues, a criticism of Robert Hooke's detailed and painstaking Micrographia (1665) - the Empress forbids the bear-men's squabbles to be heard outside their 'schools' to prevent 'factions or disturbances in state or government'.⁸⁷ In terms of Cavendish's views on Royal society science, the debate between the bear-men and the Empress is important; the Empress argues:

Nature has made your sense and reason more regular than art has your glasses, for they are mere deluders and will never lead you to the knowledge of truth.⁸⁸

In reply, the bear-men assert that they 'take more delight in artificial delusions than in natural truths.'⁸⁹ In Cavendish's satire, then, there is little distance between her conception of the imaginative activities of the Royal Society, and her own beliefs, revealed in her preface to The Blazing World, that the traditional hierarchical relationship between 'fancy' and 'reason' needed to be refigured.

According to Cavendish, natural philosophers' speculations, even whilst searching for 'the one truth in nature', still operate in the realm of 'fancy'.⁹⁰ Traditionally, such imaginative speculations 'as they swerve from the only truth' have been, Cavendish observes, perceived to be 'in the wrong'.⁹¹ Milton, for example, subscribed to such a hierarchy, as, for him, Cavendish's 'one truth in nature' was obedience to God. Cavendish, however, in The Blazing World - an imaginative text that was 'joined... as two worlds at the end of their poles' to her 'serious philosophical considerations', Observations Upon Experimental Philosophy - sought to revise the customary relationship

between 'reason' and 'fancy'.⁹² For Cavendish, there was no discrete separation between 'fancy' and 'reason', as both were 'effects, or rather actions of the rational part of matter'.⁹³ Though Cavendish admits the study of 'reason' to be more 'profitable', 'useful', 'laborious' and 'difficult', she writes that 'reason' 'requires sometimes the help of fancy to recreate the mind and withdraw it from its more serious contemplations'.⁹⁴ Cavendish's scientific speculations are not merely the ramblings of an untutored mind; they represent a philosophical manifesto which argued for the importance of a fertile imagination to re-inspire reason.

For example, similar to her notion of the connection between 'reason' and 'fancy', Cavendish, in The Blazing World, created an imaginative new world 'the Poles of the other world, joining to the Poles of this'.⁹⁵ The incorporeal world Cavendish created in The Blazing World answered Hobbes's argument that:

The World (I mean not the Earth onely .. but the Universe, that is, the whole masse of all things that are) is Corporeall, that is to say, Body; and hath the dimensions of Magnitude, namely Length, Breadth, and Depth: also every part of Body, is likewise Body, and hath the like dimensions, and consequently every part of the Universe is Body; and that which is not Body, is no part of the Universe; and because the Universe is All, that which is no part of it, is Nothing; and consequently nowhere.⁹⁶

Hobbes's corporeal universe is one where, using the Royal society's empiric principles, everything can be measured and recorded. Milton's description of Chaos refused, as we have seen, to be given these 'dimensions of Magnitude'. Cavendish, however, drew attention to the limits of empiricism in a different way. In The Blazing World, the 'Duchess' attempted

to create a world according to Hobbes's mechanistic principles, but found the task impossible:

But when all the parts of this imaginary world came to press and drive each other, they seemed like a company of wolves that worry sheep, or like so many dogs that hunt after hares, and when she found a reaction equal to those pressures, her mind was so squeezed together that her thoughts could neither forward nor backward, which caused such a horrible pain in her head that although she dissolved that world, yet she could not without much difficulty settle her mind and free it from the pain which those pressures and reactions had caused it.⁹⁷

Hobbes's corporeality proves incompatible with a world where 'reason' and 'fancy' mingle so intensely. The incorporeal spirit of the 'Duchess of Newcastle' visits the supposedly corporeal world of the Empress. But, the Blazing World is an imaginary textual world, one without 'Body.. and consequently nowhere'. Cavendish's text is indeed a utopia, translated from Greek to mean 'not place', or 'nowhere', in its original sense. Hobbes's restrictive corporeal boundaries offered Cavendish an imaginative opening for the creation of worlds which were literally nowhere.

If empiricism and the Royal Society failed Cavendish, what were the values Cavendish sought to propagate in her utopia? Like Milton and Thorowgood, in The Blazing World, Cavendish also attempted to draw parallels with the events of the recent past. But, unlike these Republican writers, Cavendish's allegiances were Royalist. In this text, Cavendish attempted to mesh competing feminist and royalist ideologies. Cavendish's absolutism, revealed by the phrase 'I endeavour to be Margaret the First', was predicated on her political disenfranchisement.⁹⁸ According to Catherine Gallagher, 'of the two available political positions, subject and monarch,

monarch is the only one Cavendish can imagine a woman occupying' as 'exclusion from political subjecthood allows female subjectivity to become absolute'.⁹⁹ As a result, she identified with the paradoxical figure of the interregnum monarch. During the 1650s the exiled Charles Stuart was also 'no subject', as he was the ruler of merely a fantasy kingdom.¹⁰⁰ But, for Cavendish, the central concern was how she, and other women, could become Queens. For Cavendish, the ambition to be a queen was an expression of her marginalisation within Restoration England.

Cavendish's immediate models of Queenship were problematic. Henrietta Maria, the Queen whom she had previously served as maid-of-honour, was, through the 1650s, a Queen without a king. Henrietta Maria was now merely the dowager Queen, the widowed mother of an exiled King. Charles Stuart, the future Charles II, was, in this period, both a Queen-less and kingdom-less monarch. Furthermore, when Charles II did marry in 1662, his Queen, Catherine of Braganza, was a marginalised and power-less figure in Restoration England, possessing little influence over her husband and, famously, sharing his favours with several mistresses.¹⁰¹ It was to the reign of Elizabeth I that Cavendish looked for an appropriate role model to express an enabling fantasy for a woman writer. Indeed, one of the most striking images in Cavendish's text is the imperial magnificence of the military costume of the Empress:

On her head she wore a cap of pearl and half-moon of diamonds just before it; on the top of her crown came spreading over a broad carbuncle cut in the form of a sun; her coat was of pearl mixed with blue diamonds and

fringed with read ones; her buskins and sandals were of green diamonds. In her left hand she held a buckler to signify the defence of her dominions, which buckler was made out of that sort of diamond as has several different colours, and being cut and made in the form of an arch, showed like a rainbow. In her right hand she carried a spear made of a white diamond, cur like the tail of a blazing star, which signified that she was ready to assault those that proved her enemies.¹⁰²

The Empress's 'rainbow diamond' is reminiscent of the 'Rainbow' portrait of Queen Elizabeth I, by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, painted at the end of the reign in 1600.¹⁰³ Just as Elizabeth I assumed the military 'male' role as she surveyed her troops, mustered at Tilbury to meet the Armada in 1588, in full battle dress, here the Empress transgressed ascribed gender roles as she successfully entered the male public domain.¹⁰⁴

Similarly expansionist and imperialist themes were represented by Gheeraerts's earlier portrait of Elizabeth I, the 'Ditchley' portrait of 1592 (see figure 16).¹⁰⁵ In this painting the queen stood on a Saxton-style map of England. The counties were delineated and many of the principal towns marked. Elizabeth was represented as the controller and possessor of the detailed topographic landscape which supported her. An armillary sphere - a skeleton celestial globe which only depicts, with metal rings, the Equator, Ecliptic tropics, Antarctic and Arctic circles - hung from her left ear. Here, Elizabeth I controlled the world. The conjunction of such differing levels of detail on the two maps is marked. England, once merely part of the world, now dominates it. On the county map, the lines and contours of England are clearly visible, while on the armillary sphere the



16. The 'Ditchley' Portrait (1592)
by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger.
Held at the National Portrait Gallery, London.

lines of longitude and latitude are only crudely marked. Richard Hakluyt's desire to foster an expansionist identity for the heroic voyaging English nation, was mirrored by this picture of England's Queen.¹⁰⁶ The body of Elizabeth connected these two maps, as the portrait asserted Elizabeth I to be England's link to the world. The distortion of the size of these three images relative to each other focused attention on the immense power of the Queen.

Like Elizabeth I, Cavendish scripted her subjectivity through images of absolute monarchy in The Blazing World. These images accorded a quasi-divine status to the sovereign. But this identification was problematic because the enabling fantasy figure of the Empress was, crucially, not a monarch in her own right. The Empress's rule had been authorised by her husband, the Emperor, who, though he remained a shadowy figure in The Blazing World, still licensed his wife's actions. Through this figure, Cavendish examined the differences between inherited monarchy and Queenship by marriage. Elizabeth I was a monarch by birthright, Cavendish and the Empress were not. To achieve full subjecthood, Cavendish needed to create further worlds, over which she could be monarch by descent. This was an idea that she rehearsed in her poem 'World in an Eare-Ring' which was published as part of her earlier text Poems and Fancies in 1653.¹⁰⁷ Concerned with atomization, this poem develops the conceit of the miniaturisation of a world as it hung suspended and self-contained without impingeing upon the consciousness of the wearer of the earring at all. The conceit appropriated the

armillary world represented on the 'Ditchley' portrait, but significantly, in this text, Cavendish switched the focus from the power of the Queen to the solipsistic and microcosmic private world of the earring. The theme that this text rehearsed - of private, self-created and internally coherent worlds - anticipated the ideological position Cavendish explored in The Blazing World. In her prose text, ultimately, absolute monarchy and feminism were proven incompatible as the Empress and the Duchess retreated into the solitary pursuit of creating imaginary worlds. Absolute female monarchy was the ideal role for a woman, but, as Cavendish pragmatically concluded, it was an inherited, not a created, position. William Newcastle, in his preface to his wife's work, 'To the Duchess of Newcastle on her New Blazing World', simultaneously summarised Margaret Cavendish's disenfranchisement and emphasised the magnitude of her achievement. Columbus 'only discovered' a New World 'lying in time's shade'.¹⁰⁸ By contrast, Margaret Cavendish's achievement, 'your creating fancy thought it fit / To make your world of nothing but pure wit', was, for Newcastle, a far more impressive attainment.¹⁰⁹ Because of her gender, it was only through 'fancy' that Cavendish could ever become 'Margaret the First'.

Conclusion

This thesis has explored the ways in which English writers employed the idea of America in the Renaissance. In the late-sixteenth century, when England had no foot-hold in

the New World, English writers looked with jealous eyes at the wealth Spain gained from the Indies. Richard Hakluyt, for example, believed that Spain's dominance in Europe in the 1580s was due to South American silver: 'With this treasure did he [Emperor Charles] not take the pope prisoner?'¹¹⁰ Such wealth and power was, naturally enough, highly attractive to other European nation states who wanted their share of transatlantic riches. Indeed Edward Hayes, in his 1583 voyage narrative of Humphrey Gilbert's final voyage, argued that 'the countreys lying north of Florida, God hath reserved the same to be reduced unto Christian civility by the English nation'.¹¹¹ In such statements we can glimpse an increasingly formidable and competitive post-Reformation religious determination to convert indigenous peoples of America to a particular denomination of Christianity.

As we have seen, the allure of New World territory and riches did not recede in the seventeenth century. Though England had, by the mid-seventeenth century, secured profitable and productive colonies in North America, fulfilling Hayes's prophecy, these colonies yielded no gold and silver. Consequently fantasy writers such as Francis Godwin and John Wilkins transferred their aspirations for English New World territory to an alternative venue, the moon. Here, these writers proposed, England might enjoy sole dominion over all the natural resources of the lunar landscape.

The idea of America and 'new worlds' captured the imagination of English writers throughout the Renaissance. This thesis has explored the ways in which images of America -

the landscape, the native peoples, the life to be experienced by settlers there - were disseminated through English 'factual' and 'fantasy' texts. Furthermore, 'new worlds' became a key rhetorical device to describe developments and discoveries in disciplines as diverse as philosophy, politics, science, cosmography and law. Francis Bacon, for example, saw the discovery of America as a portent for other heroic, particularly scientific achievements. Notions about what it was to be 'English' were expressed in many New World texts from Richard Hakluyt's The Principle Navigations (1589) to Henry Neville's The Isle of Pines (1667). Indeed, texts purporting to describe New World locations were often just as much concerned with domestic English politics. New World settings were an important vehicle by which Renaissance English writers sought to protest against or offer support for domestic policies. The fantasy new worlds Margaret Cavendish colonised in The Blazing World, for example, as she privileged the 'imaginary' over the 'real', were a political statement about her disenfranchisement from the patriarchal Royal Society. Indeed, as this thesis has shown, reflections of the Old World were articulated in representations of the New, and vice versa. As Garsilaso de la Vaga's emphatically asserted at the beginning of the seventeenth century, 'there is only one world and although we speak of the Old World and the New, this is because the latter was lately discovered by us, and not because there are two.'¹¹²

1. A.D. Innes, The Maritime and Colonial Expansion of England under the Stuarts, (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co, 1931), p.219-20.

2. For further details see Innes, The Maritime and Colonial Expansion of England under the Stuarts, p.194-220.

3. The Rump Parliament, following the execution of Charles I in January 1649, speedily set about the important task of building up a powerful and politically dependable fleet. A major programme of naval rearmament was started, new orders for ships being placed as early as March 1649. By the close of 1651 twenty new warships had been built and added to the fleet, and a further twenty-five had been acquired by purchase or capture. The navy had almost doubled in size. For further details see Bernard Capp, Cromwell's Navy: The Fleet and the English Revolution, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), p.52.

4. Capp, Cromwell's Navy, p.83.

5. Cited from Susan Wiseman, '"History Digested": Opera and Colonialism in the 1650s', from Literature and the Civil War, ed. by Thomas Healy & Jonathan Sawday, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p.189-204 (p.189).

6. Innes, The Maritime and Colonial Expansion of England under the Stuarts, p.232.

7. Capp, Cromwell's Navy, p.396.

8. For further details see Geoffrey Holmes, The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and Early Georgian Britain, 1660-1772, (London: Longman, 1993), p.59-61.

9. There were two important refinements to the precedents of 1651. Firstly, instead of the unworkable prohibition of all imports carried in foreign ships, there were now introduced selective prohibitions such as double customs duties on 'alien' goods if they were transported in non-English ships. Moreover, the majority of the goods completely banned were bulk goods which had previously normally been carried by the Dutch, a policy designed to encourage English shipping. Secondly, there were changes in the 1651 provisions relating to transatlantic plantations and commerce with Asian and African trading stations. All imports into England from these regions were reserved for English ships and all the most important colonial goods - including materials like cotton-wool and dyestuffs - could only be directly shipped to England or Ireland or to another English plantation. Consequently this legislation served to strengthen both England's shipping and the nation's function as an entrepôt. See Holmes, The Making of a Great Power, p.60.

10. For further details see Michael Hunter, Science and Society in Restoration England, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.36.

11. Oldenburg to van Dam, 23 Jan. 1663, from The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg, ed. A.R. Hall and M.B. Hall, 10 vols., (Madison and Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965-75), II, p.13-14.

12. Thomas Sprat, History of the Royal Society of London, for the improving of natural knowledge, ed. J.I. Cope and H.W. Jones, (London: Routledge, 1959).

13. Joseph Glanvill, Plus Ultra: or, the progress and advancement of knowledge since the days of Aristotle, ed. J.I. Cope, (Gainseville: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1958).

14. For further details see Charles Webster, The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-1660, (London: Duckworth, 1975), p.94-99.

15. See Webster, The Great Instauration, p.88-99; see also, Henry Lyons, The Royal Society 1660-1940: A History of its Administration under its Charters, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1944), p.1-18; Dorothy Stimson, Scientists and Amateurs: A History of the Royal Society, (New York: Henry Schuman, 1948), p.46-80; Charles Richard Weld, A History of the Royal Society, 2 vols., (London: John Parker, 1848), I, p.30-71; K. Theodore Hoppen 'The Nature of the Early Royal Society', in British Journal for the History of Science, 9 (1976), 1-24.

16. For further details of these groups see Hunter, Science and Society in Restoration England, p.21-29; Webster, The Great Instauration, p.32-99.

17. For further biographical details see Charles Webster, Samuel Hartlib and the Advancement of Learning, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

18. For further details see Webster, The Great Instauration, p.46-47.

19. For further details see Webster, The Great Instauration, p.46.

20. Macaria has been erroneously attributed to Samuel Hartlib; as Webster has convincingly demonstrated, the most likely author was Gabriel Plattes. For further details see Charles Webster, 'The Authorship and Significance of Macaria', Past and Present, 56 (1972), 34-48.

21. Gabriel Plattes, A Description of the Famous Kingdom of Macaria, reprinted in The Harleian Miscellany: A Collection of Scarce, Curious and Entertaining Pamphlets and Tracts, ed. W. Oldys, 8 vols, (London: Thomas Osborne, 1744-46), IV, p.564-569 (p.564).

22. Plattes, Macaria, p.566.

23. Plattes, Macaria, p.565.

24. Plattes, Macaria, p.566.
25. Benjamin Worsley, Proffits humbly presented to this Kingdome, reprinted in Charles Webster, The Great Instauration, p.539-546.
26. Webster, The Great Instauration, p.460.
27. For further details of the interval between aspirations and achievement in Sprat's text see Hunter, Science and Society in Restoration England, p.29-31; see also Paul B. Wood, 'Methodology and Apologetics: Thomas Sprat's History of the Royal Society', British Journal for the History of Science, 13 (1980), 1-26.
28. Thomas Sprat, History of the Royal Society, p.99.
29. Abraham Cowley, 'Ode to the Royal Society', from History of the Royal Society, Sig B^r.
30. Sprat, History of the Royal Society, p.112.
31. Sprat, History of the Royal Society, p.110.
32. Sprat, History of the Royal Society, p.75.
33. Sprat, History of the Royal Society, p.86.
34. Samuel Butler, 'The Elephant in the Moon. A Satyr - in short verse', from Samuel Butler: Satires and Miscellaneous Poetry and Prose, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), p.3-16.
35. Butler, 'The Elephant in the Moon', p.9.
36. Butler, 'The Elephant in the Moon', p.12.
37. Butler, 'The Elephant in the Moon', p.15-16.
38. For biographical information concerning Neville, see D.N.B., XL, 259-260; see also, Caroline Robbins, Two English Republican Tracts, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p.3-20.
39. Henry Neville, The Isle of Pines, ed. Worthington Chauncey Ford, (Boston: The Club of Odd Volumes, 1920).
40. Neville, The Isle of Pines, p.67.
41. The first part was licensed in England by the Company of Stationers on June 27th 1668. 'Van Sloetten' dated the second part July 22nd 1668, and the issue of the combined edition was licensed five days later on July 27th 1668. For further details of the early publishing history of Neville's text see Ford, 'Introduction', p.3-24.
42. See Ford, 'Introduction', p.15-22.
43. Ford, 'Introduction', p.12.

- 44.Cited by Ford, 'Introduction', p.12.
- 45.For further details of contemporary reactions to Neville's text see A. Owen Aldridge 'Polygamy in Early Fiction: Henry Neville and Denis Verais', PMLA, 65 (1950), 464-72; see also Ford, 'Introduction', p.39-47.
- 46.Neville, The Isle of Pines, p.77.
- 47.Pedro Fernandez de Queiros, Terra Australis incognita, or A new Southerne Discouverie, containing a fifth part of the World, (London: John Hodgetts, 1617).
- 48.Neville, The Isle of Pines, p.65-66.
- 49.For further details of the distinctions between different forms of ideal society see J.C. Davies, Utopia and the Ideal Society : A Study of English Utopian Writing 1516-1700, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.11-40.
- 50.Neville, The Isle of Pines, p.66, p.67.
- 51.Neville, The Isle of Pines, p.75-76.
- 52.'The Life of the Admiral by his son, Hernando Colon', The Four Voyages of Christopher Columbus, ed. & trans. J.M. Cohen, (London: Penguin, 1969), p.93.
- 53.Robert Hooke, Micrographia: or Some Physiological Descriptions of Minute Bodies made by Magnifying Glasses, ed. Brian Vickers, English Science: Bacon to Newton, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.99-132 (p.100).
- 54.Neville, The Isle of Pines, p.70.
- 55.For further details of representations of black people and the fears of miscegenation in the Renaissance see Karen Newman, '"And Wash the Ethiop White": Femininity and the Monstrous in Othello', in Fashioning Femininity and English Renaissance Drama, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p.71-93.
- 56.John Dryden 'Annus Mirabilis: The Year of Wonders, 1666', in John Dryden, ed. by Keith Waller, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p.23-70.
- 57.Dryden, 'Annus Mirabilis', p.69.
- 58.Dryden, 'Annus Mirabilis', p.52-53.
- 59.For further details of the imperial theme in Dryden's work, particularly in relation to 'Annus Mirabilis', see David Bruce Kramer, The Imperial Dryden: The Poetics of Appropriation in Seventeenth-Century England, (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1994), p.68-74.

60. Neville opposed the Protectorate. He lived under it in semi-forced retirement. He wrote a tract against Cromwell, Shuffling, Cutting and Dealing in a Game of Piquet (1659) which attacked the despotism of the Protector and army grandees. For further details see Robbins, Two English Republican Tracts, p.7-9.

61. For further details of Neville's actions during the 1660s, see Robbins, Two English Republican Tracts, p.13.

62. Dryden, 'Annus Mirabilis', p.36.

63. For a similar analysis see David Bruce Kramer, The Imperial Dryden, p.72.

64. David Armitage, 'John Milton: Poet Against Empire', in Milton and Republicanism, ed. Armand Hiny and Quentin Skinner, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 1995).

65. For more information concerning the time and manner of composition see, 'Introduction to Paradise Lost', The Poems of John Milton, ed. John Carey and Alastair Fowler, (London: Longman, Green & Co, 1968), p.422-423.

66. Armitage, 'John Milton: Poet Against Empire', forthcoming.

67. Milton, Paradise Lost, from Milton: Poetical Works, ed. by Douglas Bush, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), II, 346, 891-893. See also Jonathan Sawday, The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture, (London: Routledge, 1994), p.246-248.

68. For further details see John S. Tanner, '"And Every Star Perhaps a World of Destined Habitation": Milton and Moonmen', Extrapolation, 30 (1989), 267-279.

69. Abraham Cowley, 'Ode to the Royal Society', in Thomas Sprat, History of the Royal Society, Sig B2^r.

70. Armitage, 'John Milton: Poet Against Empire', forthcoming.

71. John Milton, Paradise Lost, XI, 519, p.435.

72. Jonathan Sawday, The Body Emblazoned, p.237.

73. Charles Webster, The Great Instauration, p.62-63.

74. Aphra Behn, A Discovery of New Worlds, from The Works of Aphra Behn, ed. Janet Todd, 4 vols, (London: Pickering & Chatto, 1993), IV, p.71-168.

75. Behn, 'Essay on Translated Prose', from Works, IV, p.77.

76. Aphra Behn, Works, IV, p.77.

77. Aphra Behn, 'To the Unknown Daphnis on his Excellent Translation of Lucretius', Works, I, p.25-28 (p.25).

78. For further details see Behn, Works, IV, p.77; see also, Kathleen Jones, A Glorious Fame: The Life of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, (London: Bloomsbury, 1988), p.121.

79. For a biography of Cavendish see Kathleen Jones, A Glorious Fame: The Life of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, 1623-1673. For current critical assessment of Cavendish see Lisa T. Sarason, 'A Science Turned Upside Down: Feminism and the Natural Philosophy of Margaret Cavendish', Huntington Library Quarterly, 47 (1984), 299-307; Catherine Gallagher, 'Embracing the Absolute: The Politics of the Female Subject in Seventeenth-Century England', Genders, 1 (1988), 24-39; Rachel Trubowitz, 'The Reenchantment of Utopia and the Female Monarchical Self: Margaret Cavendish's Blazing World', Tolsa Studies in Women's Literature, 11 (1992), 229-245; Lee Cullen Khanna, 'The Subject of Utopia: Margaret Cavendish and Her Blazing World', Utopian and Science Fiction by Women, ed. by Jane L. Donawerth & Carol A. Kulmerton, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994), p.15-34.

80. S. Mintz, 'The Duchess of Newcastle's Visit to the Royal Society', Journal of English and German Philology, 51 (1952), 168-176.

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83. Samuel Pepys, The Diary of Samuel Pepys, ed. Robert Latham & William Matthews, 11 vols., (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1970-1983), VIII, p.243; John Evelyn, The Diary of John Evelyn, ed. E.S. de Beer, 6 vols., (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), III, p.482-483.

84. Pepys, Diary, 30th May, 1667.

85. Margaret Cavendish, The Blazing World, in An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Fiction, ed. Paul Salzman, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p.249-348.

86. Cavendish, The Blazing World, p.267.

87. Cavendish, The Blazing World, p.272, p.269; Paul Salzman, An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Fiction, xviii.

88. Cavendish, The Blazing World, p.269.

89. Cavendish, The Blazing World, p.269.

90. Cavendish, The Blazing World, p.251.

91. Cavendish, The Blazing World, p.251.

92. Cavendish, The Blazing World, p.252.

- 93.Cavendish, The Blazing World, p.252.
- 94.Cavendish, The Blazing World, p.252.
- 95.Cavendish, The Blazing World, p.254.
- 96.Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, ed. by K.R. Minogue, (London: J.M. Dent, 1983), p.367-368.
- 97.Cavendish, The Blazing World, p.313.
- 98.Cavendish, The Blazing World, p.253.
- 99.Catherine Gallagher, 'Embracing the Absolute', p.27-28.
- 100.Gallagher, 'Embracing the Absolute', p.29.
- 101.Ronald Hutton, The Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales 1658-1667, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p.182-184.
- 102.Cavendish, The Blazing World, p.260.
- 103.For further information about the 'Rainbow' portrait see Roy Strong, The Cult of Elizabeth, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), p.46-54.
- 104.For a similar argument see Trubowitz, 'The Reenchantment of Utopia and the Female Monarchical Self', p.234.
- 105.For further details see Roy Strong, Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), p.135-141.
- 106.Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, 8 vols., (London: J.M. Dent, 1927).
- 107.Margaret Cavendish, Poems and Fancies, (Menston, Yorkshire: Scolar Press, 1972), p.45.
- 108.William Newcastle, 'To the Duchess of Newcastle on her New Blazing World', The Blazing World, p.251
- 109.William Newcastle, 'To the Duchess of Newcastle on her New Blazing World', The Blazing World, p.251
- 110.Richard Hakluyt, The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, ed. E.G.R. Taylor, 2 vols., (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), II, p.243.
- 111.Edward Hayes, The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, ed. D.B. Quinn, 2 vols., (London: Hakluyt Society, 1940), II, p.387.

112.Cited by J.H. Elliot, The Old World and the New, (Cambridge: Canto, 1992), p.102.

AFTERWORD

English writers' desires to secure colonial territory and, simultaneously, to debate domestic political and cultural concerns continued long after the great 'Age of Discovery' in Europe. The enduring popularity of texts such as Jonathan Swift's Gulliver's Travels (1726) and Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe (1719) are testament to the continued importance of fantasy voyage literature.¹ Remote geographical settings and bizarre inhabitants, it seems, possess considerable imaginative appeal for English readers. Though now often perceived as children's books and, to an extent, emptied of political content, Swift's and Defoe's fictions are, as critics have shown, suffused with discussion about English foreign and domestic policies.² Indeed, as expressions of dissatisfaction with English regimes - as Thomas Thorowgood and Francis Bacon's texts demonstrate - foreign settings have a distinct advantage. Exotic locations allow a writer to construct cryptographic critiques of eminent individuals and domestic cultural practices with relative impunity.

Voyage narratives, as well as allowing writers to debate the merits of domestic policies, also expose the difficulties European culture experienced when it attempted to assimilate another culture. Thorowgood's misunderstanding of native Americans' ways of life in Jewes in America, as he labels their religious and cultural practices as 'Jewish', reveals this struggle. Furthermore, Jean de Léry, whilst describing his travels in Brazil in 1568, acknowledged his frustration

that he was not, he felt, able to represent adequately the Brazilians he had encountered. He concluded: 'Their gestures and countenances are so different from ours, that I confess to my difficulty in representing them in words, or even in pictures. So, to enjoy the real pleasure of them, you will have to go and visit them in their country.'³ Here, de Léry's invitation that Europeans merely 'visit' Brazil sanitises what was, in fact, a ruthless conquest. We can glimpse, however, European imperiousness in de Léry's phrase 'to enjoy the real pleasure of them'. The Brazilians are presented as exotic spectacles for consumption by a European gaze. What, though, were the reactions of the Brazilians de Léry encountered? Similar to the native Americans Columbus encountered in 1492 - whose reactions to Columbus's taking possession of their land for Spain, Stephen Greenblatt argues, were, in one fleeting moment, summarised and erased by the Genoese explorer's phrase 'and I was not contradicted' - the Brazilians were denied a voice by their European 'visitors'.⁴ But what happened when such a situation was reversed and native Americans visited Europe?

Southampton Records' Office, amongst other holdings concerning the long history of the port, possesses an extraordinary letter, 'Indian sachems to the L^d Abp of Canterbury', dated 1710 (see Figure 17). Ostensibly, this document is a 'thank you' letter written on the return of the native American 'kings' (sachems) to Boston, gratefully acknowledging the hospitality of the Archbishop, Thomas Tenison, but also reminding him of his promise to send missionaries, a fort and supplies to America. Written by an

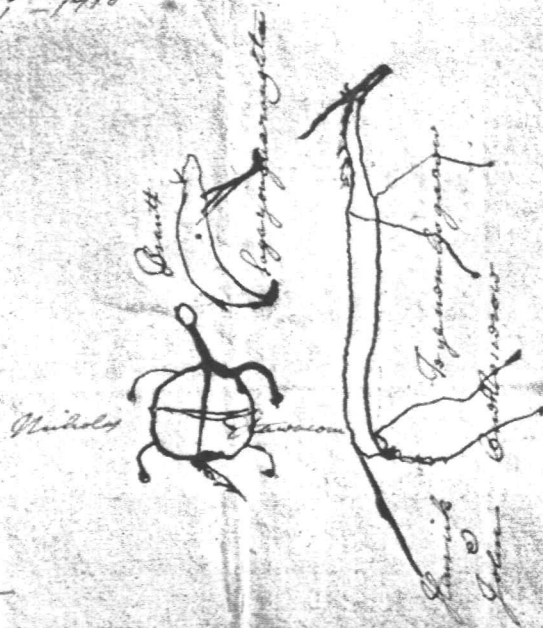
May it please Your Grace

Wishing God be thanked safely arrived
upon our Native Continent can not forget Your
Grace and Society's favour and kindness to us
when in Britain and Your kind promise of providing
us the Missions to be settled at a Port in
Virginia and hence for them to pray God's Grace
and Society not to be forgetful of

We pray that Madagascar We are Your Graces
and Society's may find and Society's Society
this Letter -

Boston in New England
July 2^d 1710

Most Humble Duty



17. Indian sachems to the L^d Abp of Canterbury,
1710.
Held at Southampton Records Office

unknown hand - though possibly that of Colonel Francis Nicholson who accompanied the native Americans on their month long visit to England and undertook much correspondence on their behalf - the letter is signed with both the sachems' totem marks and their English names of 'Hendrick' and 'John' of the wolf clan, 'Brant' of the bear clan, and 'Nicholas' of the tortoise clan.⁵

This document is held at Southampton because the sachems landed and departed from the port. Through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Britain's ports - including Bristol, Liverpool, and Southampton - developed trade networks with an increasing number of British colonies in America - New England and Chesapeake, the Carolinas and Georgia, and the Middle Colonies of New Jersey and New York.⁶ For example, exports to England from New York and Pennsylvania rose from a total of £127,600 in the years 1701-10 to £240,000 in 1711-20; imports from England soared from £381,000 to £641,800 in the same years.⁷

The sachems' letter forms part of a larger political and nationalist debate about English colonial territory in North America in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. For the first time, in the 1690s, colonial warfare was caused by inter-European rivalries rather than conflict with native peoples. England and France increasingly competed for trade in areas extending to the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. From now on support of the Iroquois Confederacy - the five 'nations' of Seneca, Cayuga, Oneida, Onondaga and Mohawk - for a particular European power was decisive in ensuring victory.⁸

Throughout the first decade of the eighteenth century, English settlers in America wanted to attack French Canada, particularly Port Royal, a harbour only four days' sail from Boston which the French often used as shelter prior to attack on English commerce. Despite repeated pleas for assistance to the English government, it was not until 1708 that the state agreed to send warships, men, and experienced military commanders.⁹ However, these promises were not fulfilled and the colonial troops mustered at Boston, awaiting the arrival of reinforcements from the homeland, became idle and restless. Consequently, in 1709, a Congress of Governors representing the colonies decided to send emissaries to Queen Anne to plead for the urgency of the situation, including 'a Sachim of each tribe of the five Nations'.¹⁰

On 19th April 1710, four native American sachems were received by Queen Anne at St. James's Palace. Through an interpreter, the Congress of Governors' envoy Captain Schyler, the sachems explained their mission: 'The motive that induc'd us was, that we might see our GREAT QUEEN, and relate to her those things we thought absolutely necessary for the Good of HER and us Her Allies, on the other side of the Great Water.'¹¹ They then reminded the Queen of former Iroquois support for the English against the French, explained that the expected assistance from England in the current campaign had not materialised, and requested that missionaries be sent to accelerate the rate of native American conversion to Protestantism.¹²

Their primary mission completed, the sachems, during the next month, attended a variety of social occasions and

performed various other diplomatic functions. Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury and President of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, dealt with the Sachems' request for missionaries. It was agreed that two missionaries and an interpreter would be sent to the Iroquois, and that the Society would finance the construction of a chapel and defensive fort.¹³ Through late April and early May, the sachems were entertained by an assortment of the aristocracy such as the Duke of Ormonde, visited famous sites and monuments in the metropolis, and went to the Queen's Theatre in Haymarket to see William D'Avenant's version of Shakespeare's Macbeth.¹⁴

The interest the native Americans' visit generated was prodigious. The Queen commissioned the Dutch artist John Verelst to paint whole-length portraits of the sachems, which were on show in Kensington Palace by October 1710.¹⁵ Other artists, including Bernard Lens and John Faber the elder, produced representations of the native Americans. A host of ballads also circulated commemorating the visit. For example, the anonymous ballad 'The Four Indian Kings', after describing the audience with Queen Anne, then charted the progress of an unsuccessful romance between one of the kings and a beautiful English girl.¹⁶ Some publications expressed a more overt political message. In 1711, Elkanah Settle, for example, wrote a 'Pindaric Poem, on the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts', praising the work of Society as he compared their activities to the Crusades.¹⁷

And now, my Muse, America survey,
You'll find the Phosphor of advancing Day
In our Plantations gratefully arise
And Jesus dawning thro the Indian Skyes.

The English miter sent it's Envoys there
 To chase the Vapours from that Cloudy Sphere,
 And the exterminated Shades supply
 With the bright Aspect of the British Sky.
 See there their Indian Majesties on Knees
 Waiting for Heav'ns, & Royal Anne's Decrees:
 The swarthy Monarchs, negligent of Gold,
 And trifling Gems, & whatso'er
 We Christians hold so Dear,
 And with devouring Eyes, and Captive Hearts behold,
 Look above Mines, & what the Mines produce
 For Treasure of a more exalted Use,
 For Light to shew the Heav'nly Way,
 And guide 'em with a friendly Ray
 Where the Road leads to Everlasting Day.¹⁸

Here, Settle jubilantly celebrated the transference of a 'British sky' to America. However, Settle's text revealed a distinct unease concerning the motivation behind other European states' colonisation. Reverting to an earlier rivalry for colonial territory between England and Spain, Settle's praise of the 'swarthy monarchs'' disregard for temporal wealth served as an indictment against 'Christians'' (by which he meant Spanish) greed.

So happy these Honour'd Americans from the Reception of such generous European Visitants amongst them, beyond their once more hard-fated Indian Neighbours when first visited by the barbarous Spaniard. Yes the Benign BRITANNIA to the Immortal Honour of her Sovereign MISTRESS sends no Cortesian Tyrants, no Bloody Streamers to hang out amongst them. Ah no, our British Voyagers carry not only the Flag, but GOD of PEACE along with them.¹⁹

Settle appeared to make a distinction between the missionary motive for colonisation as typified by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which he applauded, and the gold-hungry 'barbarous Spaniard' conquistadors, whom he despised.

How should we read this remarkable interest in the native American 'kings' visit to England? John Oldmixon's 1735 statement that, for their Royal audience, the sachems were 'cloath'd by the Playhouse Taylor, like other Kings of the

Theatre' indicates that America's indigenous 'royalty' were seen as an exotic spectacle.²⁰ Such a representation is identical to de Léry's 1568 description of the Brazilians he encountered. Indeed, according to a 1710 pamphlet, though these 'kings' were dressed in European finery, 'well form'd' and 'their Features regular enough', their 'brown Complexions' and 'the Marks with which they disfigure their Faces' revealed the sachems' unassailable differences from their European hosts.²¹ Yet these physical and cultural differences, though profound, for this pamphleteer, were overridden by the political accord established between the native Americans and the English:

They feed heartily, and love our English Beef before all other Victuals that are provided for 'em; of which they have Variety at the Charge of the Publick, with the best of Wines; but they seem to relish our fine pale Ales before the best French Wines from Burgundy or Champaign.²²

Indeed, the emphasis on the royal status of England's American visitors in all contemporary descriptions, signals that they could be partially assimilated by English culture. Whether amongst their own tribes they were 'kings' - historians have suggested it was unlikely - was unimportant; what was significant was that English people, from Queen Anne to the lowliest pot-boy in Cheapside, perceived that American royalty had travelled from 'the other side of the Great Water' to petition and supplicate themselves before the English monarch.²³ Certainly this was a message that was triumphantly proclaimed by a 1712 statue of Queen Anne by Francis Bird in St. Paul's Cathedral. Flanking the podium on which the Queen stood were four subservient female figures indicating the English monarch's dominion. Britannia held the Queen's

trident, Hibernia her harp, Gallia her crown, and America, complete with head-dress of feathers, a full quiver of arrows on her shoulder, and severed human head under one foot - bore the Queen's bow and arrow.²⁴

The sachems' visit to England, prompted by the colonial administration's dissatisfaction with English government support, was fashioned into an assertive imperial discourse. Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, no historical documentation survives detailing the sachems' reactions to all they saw and experienced whilst in England. In the same way that the reactions of indigenous peoples in 1492 have only survived through Columbus's fanciful translations, the only remaining traces of the sachems' own account of their momentous journey between cultures are their signatures of a bear, a wolf, and a tortoise.

1. Daniel Defoe, The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, ed. by Angus Ross, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985); Jonathan Swift, Gulliver's Travels, ed. Paul Turner, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).
2. See Pat Rogers, Robinson Crusoe, (London: Allen & Unwin, 1979), p.25-50; F.P. Lock, The Politics of Gulliver's Travels, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980); Brean Hammond, Gulliver's Travels, (Milton Keynes & Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1988); Howard Erskine Hill, Jonathan Swift: Gulliver's Travels, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p.11-21.
3. Cited by J.H. Elliott, The Old World and the New 1492-1650, (Cambridge: Canto, 1992), p22.
4. For further details of Columbus's ability to understand the language of the native peoples he encountered in 1492, see Stephen Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p.52-118 (p.58).
5. Richmond P. Bond, Queen Anne's American Kings, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1952), p.9. See also, J.W. Lydekker, The Faithful Mohawks, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), p.25-31.
6. For a history of England's American colonies see R.C. Simmons, The American Colonies: From Settlement to Independence, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1981); see also Peter Marshall and Glyn Williams (eds), The British Atlantic Empire before the American Revolution, (London: Frank Cass, 1980).
7. R.C. Simmons, The American Colonies, p.171.
8. For a history of inter-European rivalry see R.C. Simmons, The American Colonies, p.156-162.
9. For further details of this history see R.C. Simmons, The American Colonies, p.161; see also, Richmond P. Bond, Queen Anne's American Kings, p.17-65.
10. Quoted from Richmond P. Bond, Queen Anne's American Kings, p.37.
11. Quoted from Richmond P. Bond, Queen Anne's American Kings, p.1.
12. For further details see Richmond P. Bond, Queen Anne's American Kings, p.1-2.
13. Richmond P. Bond, Queen Anne's Indian Kings, p.7-9.
14. For further details see Richmond P. Bond, Queen Anne's Indian Kings, p.3-7.
15. Richmond P. Bond, Queen Anne's American Kings, p.66.

16.This text is reprinted in An American Garland: Being a Collection of Ballads Relating to America, 1563-1759, ed. by C.H. Firth, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1915), p.60-68.

17.Elkanah Settle, 'A Pindaric Poem, on the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. A Work of Piety So Zealously Recommended and Promoted By Her Most Gracious Majesty', (London, 1711), iii-iv.

18.Elkanah Settle, 'Pindaric Poem', p.13

19.Elkanah Settle, 'Pindaric Poem', iii-iv.

20.Quoted from Richmond P. Bond, Queen Anne's American Kings, p.97.

21.Cited by Richmond P. Bond, Queen Anne's American Kings, p.3.

22.Quoted from Richmond P. Bond, Queen Anne's American Kings, p.3.

23.For further details of the status of the American visitors in their own country see Richmond P. Bond, Queen Anne's American Kings, p.38-39.

24.For further details see Richmond P. Bond, Queen Anne's American Kings, p.91.

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