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HENRY NEVILLE'S *THE ISLE OF PINES* AS LITERARY HOAX

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Abstract

For a story which has been described as "one of the most successful literary hoaxes in the English language," Henry Neville's *The Isle of Pines* has received little critical attention. This thesis will exhume this long-forgotten story by acknowledging the radical fecundity and complexity of a groundbreaking novella in English literary history. Similar to the settlers of the Imperial British Empire, who began to record their own histories, the fictional history of George Pines is also transmitted to England following one-hundred years of isolated, albeit accidental occupation, making it one of the first post-colonial texts. For my critical analysis of the text, my theoretical method employs the post-colonial theories of Bill Ashcroft and Frederic Jameson, and for the sexual themes in the text I use theory of Michel Foucault and Jonathan Dollimore.

For purposes of analysis, I consider the story an androcentric utopia and I examine the text from this assumption. Chapter one examines the rhetorical mode of the pamphleteer. Neville, like his contemporaries uses rhetorical tricks such as exotic locations with exotic descriptions, epistolary testimonials, explicit geographical details and illustrations to persuade the reader that the narrative is factual and not fictional. In chapter two, I discuss the politics of colonization where English absolutist and patriarchal social structures are draconically maintained on the exotic locale of the island. When the utopia is threatened order is quickly restored — "restoration" of order is the key metaphor in this chapter. Chapter three deals with Neville's political and pornographic agenda. The exoticness of the story introduces both polygyny and interracial sexual relations

as well as sexually charged diction to convey meaning. Although Neville's text can be interpreted in a number of different ways, the intention of the final chapter and this thesis is to focus on the erotic level to which the text engages the reader.

Acknowledgements

Mihi crede, hoc mihi magis quam tibi nocet.[1]

Immo vero, serio[2] I wish to thank many people over the course of this thesis, not to my entire academic tenure thus far. First and foremost, thanks to my parents for all their help and fiscal support when it was desperately needed. Many thanks to my Aunt Jane for all her encouragement over the years. And finally, an especially huge thank you to Kate for her unfailing support, the best smile in southern Ontario, and her love and friendship.

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[1] Believe me, this hurts me more than it hurts you.

[2] No, but seriously...

An extra special thank you to Drs. Chris Bullock, Jonathan Hart, Jo-Ann Wallace, and Janice Williamson at the University of Alberta for their direction and guidance and support over my undergraduate years (not to mention the umpteen reference letters they've written on my behalf). Thank you also to my students in Sections 77 & 78 for the many happy memories of teaching — the most rewarding aspect of my year here at Mac. Almost finally, thank you to Fiona Pitt-Kethley for reprinting the first edition of *The Isle of Pines* in her *A Literary Companion To Sex*, (it was a gift, honest). Yet another contemporary testimony to the saucy libertinism of Neville! Without Pitt-Kethley's recent reproduction of the story, I might have never read Neville's little known-text, and consequently, this thesis may never have been written. I appreciate the cooperation and assistance I received from the Interlibrary Loans staff at McMaster University and the University of Alberta and special thanks to the Bodleian Library for permitting me to reprint *The Isle of Pines* with this thesis.

Lastly, I cannot omit a number of colleagues and friends who have been supportive here in Stealtown, Doug *age*. *Fac ut gaudeam*[3] Gessell, Rob *Proeliator fuissem*[4] Brazeau, Neil *Tu, rattis turpis*[5] Stubbs, and Neville *Ita vero, esne comoedus?*[6] Newman. I know I have missed many people from my list but if your listening, *labra lege*[7] — there will be no new faxes. You know who you are. *Quae narravi, nullo modo negabo*.[8]

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[3] Go ahead. Make my day.

[4] I could've been a contender.

[5] You dirty rat.

[6] A comedian, huh?

[7] Read my lips.

[8] That's my story and I'm sticking to it.

I dedicate this thesis to the memory of my father Gordon Edward Schwanke (1924-1981) who never had the opportunity of attending university, but who recognized its importance and value. I think he would be proud of my academic accomplishments thus far.

Introduction

> Though nothing suffocates humour more swiftly than a thesis, the comic muse will never lack commentators.
>
> — Walter Nash *The Language of Humour*

1668 was an eventful year for cultural and scientific achievements in England. In this year John Dryden became poet laureate of England, Issac Newton constructed the first reflecting telescope, and Aphra Behn published *Oroonoko*. 1668 also marks the year that Henry Neville published his literary hoax, *The Isle of Pines*. Although his political tracts such as *Plato Redivivus* earned him a philosophical reputation as opposed to any trace of literary respectability, the prose fiction of Henry Neville has been ignored or dismissed by many critics over the centuries.

The Isle of Pines was Neville's fifth publication,[1] and by far his most successful. The story is a fanciful blend of travel narrative, utopian fiction, male fantasy, and a shipwreck tale. For this thesis I place *The Isle of Pines* in the encompassing genre of androcentric utopian travel narrative. Although the central character George Pines's journey is short-lived before being cast permanently onto the island, the intrepid Dutch Traveller, Cornelius Van Sloetten's own journey consumes the greater part of the text.

After examining a number of his works and recognizing the wit and complexity of the carefully written texts, I found the epithet "hack" an unjustified

[1] For the purposes of this thesis, I accept the DNB and the NUC's suggestion that Neville wrote the texts in question.

term to be levelled against the seventeenth-century pamphleteer. "Hack writer" is a misnomer applied to Neville because the term implies that a writer employs his talents in pursuit of money and not art. Neville's social position, however, contradicts the hack label because his economic status enabled the writer and politician to write for enjoyment and for art's sake, and not financial gain as the "hack" critics argue. Like John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, Neville was a wealthy amateur writer — "Rochester aptly compared their lot to that of a whore: enjoyment and ejection."[2] Neville, of course, would not have been offended with such a comparison since a number of his lampoons concerned the avails of prostitution as well as the excesses and the many diseases of the orifices attendant thereto. However, Neville would have been offended by the label "hack" because a hack writer produces dull, unimaginative, and trite work. If anything, Neville's canon is the antithetical embodiment of its hack associations. Indeed, *The Isle of Pines* is not the work of a literary drudge as many critics have made it out to be. True, with his coarse lampoons such as *The Parliament of Ladies* and *Newes From the New Exchange* , Neville was certainly one *enfant terribles* of the Restoration. But as I will argue, Neville's reputation does not mean that this "Grub Street News"[3] is the product of a childish mind. On the contrary, the fraudulent pamphlet was a complicated and highly successful hoax in its own day, and its effects were still felt in Europe a century after its release.[4]

For any hoax to be successful, the writer's fabricated story must contain an element of truth. *The Isle of Pines* is such a story. Neville's fictional deception depends on probabilities and consequently, it is based partially on fact. Neville's

[2] See Roger Thompson's *Unfit For Modest Ears* p. 197.

[3] In his *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, Francis Grose defines **Grub Street News** as "lying intelligence."

[4] See W. C. Ford's *The Isle of Pines 1688: An Essay in Bibliography* p. 19.

rhetorical form would be later emulated by other writers such as Daniel Defoe, Aphra Behn, and Jonathan Swift. The association made between Defoe and Neville was first noticed in 1719 when *Robinson Crusoe* and *The Isle of Pines* were printed together.[5] For purposes of intertextual contrast I will allude to these famous English writers as well as other famous and not-so-famous sixteenth and seventeenth-century writers including, Thomas Dekker, John Donne, John Dryden, Richard Head, Thomas Hobbes, Shackerley Marmion, John Marston, John Milton, Thomas Nashe, Samuel Pepys, Alexander Scott, and William Shakespeare.

A post-colonialist theoretical reading of Neville's text is the most appropriate analytical paradigm to employ because George Pines establishes a British colony, albeit a consanguinous one, of his own. Unlike most colonial outposts, however, the Isle of Pines, being subsequently unvisited, remained hermetically sealed for over one-hundred years until the Dutch explorers arrived. Another important marked difference between the Isle of Pines and that of other former British colonies such as Canada, Australia, or New Zealand, is that Neville's island setting has no previous indigenous population to segregate or oppress. In this sense, the Pines become the transplanted indigenous inhabitants; free from having to construct their own "indigeneity," because where "the colonial settlers had to create the indigenous,"[6] the Pineans are the indigenous culture.

Every colony contains a colonizer, and the colonizer of this fictional

[5] According to the Library of Congress, Neville's story appeared "With Defoe, Daniel. *The life and strange surprising adventures of Robinson Crusoe*... 3rd edition. London, W. Taylor, 1719" (NUC Vol. 412 104).

[6] Bill Ashcroft states that "white European settlers in the Americas, Australia, and New Zealand faced the problem of establishing their 'indigeneity' and distinguishing it from their continuing sense of their European inheritance" (*The Empire Writes Back* 135).

history is George Pines. By observing the dictates of Old Testament parables and being guided by the hierarchical structure of English society, George Pines establishes himself ruler and patriarch of the Pines. Within a short period of time, Pines constructs his own new Eden or new England, whichever you prefer, on his own self-interested terms. Enlightened by the biblical reason of the Puritans and consumed by the absolute power advocated by the royalists, Pines becomes king and patriarch of his dominion. By our own contemporary terms, Pines can be classified as a polygynist, a racist, an elitist, and a patriarchal bigot amongst other possibly unpleasant categories. Under his progenitorial rule he controls the population without any corrupting foreign or even English influences. Without any outside interference the Isle of Pines becomes a highly populated country in its own right, if one considers the short amount of time it takes Pines and his progeny "to breed apace" into a swelling population of 1789 people by the time of his death.

By instituting the Adamic patriarchy of the Old Testament on the island, class and gender roles become increasingly defined. Through primogeniture the throne passes to his eldest sons who prove to be successful monarchs in their own right. And through patrimony, the Pinean palace becomes property of the princes. By the end of George Pines's life a monarchical utopian regime is fully secured. And like other utopian stories which tend to be threatened by dystopian elements before some assemblance of order is restored, *The Isle of Pines* is in this tradition. In a sense, the story goes a full Miltonic circle as a paradise found — a paradise lost — and a paradise regained.

In order to understand how and why Neville came to write *The Isle of Pines*, it is important to know his life and his context. Henry Neville, the second son of Sir Henry Neville (d. 1629), was born in 1620 on his family estate in

Billingbeare, Berkshire. Among his many characteristics, Neville was a gentleman, writer, wit, landowner, republican, councillor, parliamentarian, political exile and political prisoner, an accused atheist and blasphemer. At a young age, Neville's marriage was arranged; he wed Elizabeth Staverton before attending university.[7] At fifteen years of age, he matriculated at Oxford and became a commoner of Merton College. Following several years' residence, he left without a degree and travelled to the continent "to advance himself much as to the knowledge of the modern languages and men."[8] Upon returning to England, Neville embarked on a lengthy career in politics which began in 1645 when he stood at Abingdon in Berkshire as a recruiter for the Rump of the Long Parliament. In 1649 he sat on the Goldsmiths' Hall committee on delinquents and in November 1651, when he was still a favourite of Oliver Cromwell, Neville was selected to serve on the Council of State. His political friendship with Cromwell was short-lived, however. In April 1653, Neville's term was not renewed and "with the rest of his fellow members, he was ejected from St. Stephen's by Oliver Cromwell and his troopers."[9] After Cromwell's death in 1658, Neville was elected burgess for Reading and entered Richard Cromwell's parliament.[10] During the last twenty years of his life, Neville continued to write. He travelled to Italy and was befriended by an Italian Duke named Cosmo (a distant cousin to Charles II). Neville never returned to reside in his native

[7] Caroline Robbins notes that "At a very early age, long before he went to university, Henry's marriage to Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Richard Staverton (d. 1636), of Heathley Hall in Warfield, was arranged" (*Two Republican Tracts* 5).

[8] See Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses* Vol. IV p. 409.

[9] See Robbins's *Two Republican Tracts* p. 7.

[10] C. Robbins notes that, "for Richard Cromwell's Parliament, Neville and the republican Daniel Blagrave (1603-68) were 'unanimously' elected, and formed part of that lively and eloquent Commonwealth group" (Ibid. 8).

Berkshire, but remained in London where he lodged in Silver-street near the Bloomsbury market. Predeceased by his wife, Henry Neville died in 1694 without issue and was buried at Warfield in Berkshire.

Neville lived in politically turbulent times and was described as a "factious and turbulent spirit."[11] For his republican beliefs and actions, he was disliked by both the Protectorate and the royalists. His words, both written and spoken, continued to offend his adversaries. And his adversaries retaliated by words and by deeds. In an attempt to remove Neville from Parliament in 1659, he was charged with atheism and blasphemy. Two lampoons, *Chipps of the Old Block* and *A Proper New Ballad,* were penned by his rivals and appeared in 1659, further accusing Neville of apostasy. These attempts to remove Neville from Parliament failed but others would follow.

Although he was raised a protestant, Neville was a rationalist at heart.[12] Guided by his own secular reason, Neville's words and deeds began to be targeted more severely by the royalists toward the close of the 1650's. Following the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, Neville found life extremely difficult because at this time "every republican was suspected of conspiracy."[13] In 1663, to avoid prosecution by the royalists, Neville returned to Italy in a self-imposed exile. Between August, 1667 and prior to July, 1668, marks the period when Neville returned to England and wrote his infamous hoax *The Isle of Pines.* Fortunately for Neville, the text passed through the watchful hands of the Surveyor of the Sheets, Sir Roger L'Estrange,[14] without incident on July 4, 1668.

[11] See Maurice Ashley's *John Wildman, Plotter and Postmaster* p. 132.

[12] A. L. Morton notes that Neville "was an outstanding representative of the rationalist element in the English Revolution" (*The English Utopia* 85).

[13] See Robbins's *Two Republican Tracts* p. vii.

[14] L'Estrange was a noted Tory who took over the censorial position in 1663 and he

Like most political gadflies, Neville had many more enemies than friends. The personal friends he did have were loyal while his adversaries were consistently venomous. Perhaps the most notable of his cohorts was James Harrington, author of the republican utopia *Oceana*, on which it is said that Neville had some considerable influence.[15] It has been suggested that without his sway, *Oceana* might never have been written for it was Neville who persuaded Harrington to pursue political writing instead of poetry.[16] Along with Harrington, Neville was one of the leading members of the Rota Club, the republican fraternity devoted to political discussion.[17] It was an open club which counted Samuel Pepys,[18] John Wildman, Sir William Petty, Roger Coke, John Aubrey, Andrew Marvell and John Milton's friend Cyriack Skinner[19] among its members.

Apart from his precarious political career, Neville found time to write pamphlets. From philosophy to political tracts, from hoaxes to lampoons, Neville had a diverse repertoire. Out of his political frustration, Neville was

earned himself the nickname "the Devil's bloodhound" for his many percutions of writers and publishers. Ford describes him as "a character of picturesque uncertainty and spasmodic action, Roger L'Estrange, half fanatic, half politician, half hack writer..." (*The Isle of Pines 1688: An Essay in Bibliography* 4).

[15] Ashley notes that "while Neville claimed no credit for it, there can be little doubt that he contributed in a large measure to the production of Harrington's great work" (*John Wildman, Plotter and Postmaster* 132).

[16] According to J. G.A. Pocock, "Neville's dissuasion of Harrington from wasting his time on poetry occurred in the second half of 1658" (*The Political Works of James Harrington* 101).

[17] In Ashley's estimation, the Rota Club's "sole avowed purpose was to discuss the theoretical problems of government and of political science, but it is easy to guess that the strong desire which then prevailed for some permanent form of republican rule lent point to its meetings (*John Wildman, Plotter and Postmaster* 145).

[18] According to Charles Blitzer "the list of those who regularly attended its meetings is an impressive one; even Pepys paid eighteen shillings to 'be entered in the club'" (*An Immortal Commonwealth* 59).

[19] See Z.S. Fink's *The Classical Republicans* p. 87.

likely to produce a satirical text like *The Isle of Pines*. Like many of his republican comrades, Neville had a habit of getting himself *in media res*. When his troubles didn't arise out of the political arena, they arose out of his political prose. Having despised both the monarchy and Cromwell's Protectorate, Neville made his feelings public through pamphleteering. To protect himself, Neville wrote under an array of pseudonyms, which were sometimes successful and other times not. Although *The Isle of Pines* never brought him any political difficulties, his *Shuffling, Cutting and Dealing in a Game of Picquet* [1654] did. For writing this pamphlet, Neville was banished from London by Oliver Cromwell.[20] The political exile from London lasted a period of four years.

Banishment was not the only form of political sanction he would suffer, however. During the reign of Charles II, Neville was imprisoned in the Tower for his supposed role in the so-called Yorkshire rising. Due to lack of evidence against him, Neville was released fourteen months later.[21] In comparison to the fates suffered by some of his fellow republicans Neville was rather fortunate. Algernon Sidney, for example, was executed for publicly declaring his political beliefs.[22] During the Restoration republicanism was disliked by both the Puritans of the Protectorate and the royalists who supported an absolutist monarch. Following the Restoration, Neville was himself threatened with

[20] Ford notes that "Neville either avowed the authorship of [*Shuffling, Cutting, and Dealing in a Game of Picquet*] or it was traced to him, and the displeasure of Cromwell and banishment from London followed. (*The Isle of Pines 1688: An Essay in Bibliography* 33).

[21] During Neville's exile in Italy, "in 1666, he was distressed by news of the great fire of London and in worried about the fate of documents entrusted to his care. Even at the risk of hanging, he wrote he wanted to return...." (*Two Republican Tracts* p. vii).

[22] Ashley notes that "Algernon Sidney answered Filmer's Biblical arguments at enormous length, and in his *Discourses Concerning Government* (published posthumously in 1698), the book for which he perished on the scaffold... he went on to argue that the best form of government varies according to the conditions of the country. (*John Wildman, Plotter and Postmaster* 164-65).

hanging if he returned to England during his exile.[23]

To say Neville enjoyed a career in politics is misleading. It would be better to say he experienced a frustrating political career "which bridged successive generations, from the earlier crises of Revolution and Restoration to the Exclusion Crisis, Revolution of 1688, and beyond."[24] In Parliament Neville had many more failures than successes. His greatest political disappointment grew out of his futile efforts to achieve a republican commonwealth with a new constitution.[25] Neville and the republicans wanted to rid England of the monarchy or at the very least, retain a sovereign with little, if any power. His dream of a reinstated commonwealth was destroyed when the royalists restored Charles II to the throne in 1660. Politically dejected, Neville retired from active politics and devoted his time to writing translations and political tracts. During his retirement he published translations of Macchiavelli's "The History of Florence," "The Prince," and "The Life of Castruccio Castracani," as well as some of Machiavelli's prose work in 1675. Six years later Neville published *Plato Redivivus, or a Dialogue concerning Government* [1681], "an un-Platonic dialogue developing a scheme for the exercise of the royal prerogative through councils of state responsible to parliament, and of which a third part should retire every year."[26] *Plato Redivivus* proved to be Neville's final work of any renown before he faded into the penumbra of obscurity.

[23] See C. Robbins's *Two Republican Tracts* p. 13.

[24] See N. Von Maltzahn's "Henry Neville and the Art of the Possible." *The Seventeenth Century*, Spring 1992, Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 94.

[25] According to Robbins, "Neville did not wish to restore the old constitution, the Stuart or Oliverian; he wanted to force a reconsideration of government, evolving and implementing, if not an Oceana, at least an arrangement reflecting changed social conditions. In Parliament his efforts were futile" (*Two Republican Tracts* 10).

[26] See DNB p. 260.

Almost three-hundred years after his death, Henry Neville remains a shadowy figure of Restoration literature.[27] Unlike many of his political and literary contemporaries, he has no single biographical work devoted to his life or his achievements. Separate and distinct from many contemporary and archaic critics who consider Neville little more than a political agitator and hack writer of the Restoration period, I bestow Neville with considerable more dignity and credit because Neville had many more attributes than a "hack." Furthermore, I will argue that as a hoax, *The Isle of Pines* operates on a number of levels of political and sexual meaning which have not been previously explored.

Now I invite you, the gentle reader, to explore the Isle of Pines[28] along with me. Peel off that literary life jacket and walk across Grub Street to the fertile shores of this seventeenth-century fantasy island. With a willing suspension of disgust read on, and as George Pines says, may "God bless with the dew of heaven, and the fat of the earth. Amen!"

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[27] My research has revealed a number of conflicting dates regarding Neville's life. For the purposes of this thesis, I base my biographical study on the dates which appear in the DNB p. 259, and in Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses* Vol. IV p. 409.

[28] I have included the entire text of *The Isle of Pines* in this thesis. The story appears on page 141.

List of Abbreviated Works

AMP	*A Modest Proposal*
APoL	*A Parliament of Ladies: With Their Lawes Newly Enacted.*
DNB	*The Dictionary of National Biography*
GT	*Gulliver's Travels*
IAY	*Inkle and Yarico Album*
NFtNE	*Newes From the New Exchange*
NUC	*The National Union Catalog*
OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary*
Oo	*Oroonoko: or, The Royal Slave. A True History*
PMLA	*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*
PT	*The Pardoner's Tale*
RC	*Robinson Crusoe*
TDC	*The Dutch Courtesan*
TDL	*The Dutch Lover*
THM	*Elegy 19 To His Mistress Going to Bed*
TIoP	*The Isle of Pines*
TLaST	*The Ladies, A Second Time, Assembled in Parliament.*
TSH	*The Shoemakers' Holiday*
TUT	*The Unfortunate Traveller or The Life of Jacke Wilton*
WW	*The Western Wonder or, O Brazeel, an Inchanted Island Discovered*

Chapter One
The Rhetorical Mode of the Hoax Pamphleteer

Persuasion hung upon his lips.
— Laurence Sterne *Tristram Shandy*, bk. 1, ch. 19

Perhaps what baffles today's readers and critics about *The Isle of Pines* is exactly how this hoax became "one of the most popular romances of the seventeenth-century."[1] The answer lies in the fact that Neville's story is a triumphant use of narrative rhetoric. From the enticing title page to the humorous postscript, from the farcical Dutch pseudonym to the explicit polygyny, Neville convinced many readers that the Isle of Pines truly existed, while more sophisticated readers recognized the satirical or humorous elements. By adapting the classical art of persuasion to fiction, Neville, writing under the pen name Henry Cornelius Van Sloetten, duped his readers with this sexually fantastic yet believable tale.

Though *The Isle of Pines* was regarded by some as "a sham" (TIoP ii) according to a handwritten comment on the Bodleian Library copy of *The Isle of Pines*, the story was nevertheless taken seriously by many English readers, even up to the nineteenth century.[2] The story caught the attention of other Restoration writers, causing them to react to Neville's sexual themes. At least two prominent Restoration writers, John Dryden[3] and Richard Head,[4] allude

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[1] See A. Owen Aldridge's "Polygamy in Early Fiction" *PMLA* 1950, p. 464.

[2] In a letter to the academic publication, *Notes and Queries*, a certain W.S. asked about *The Isle of Pines*, "Is this curious history fact or fiction?" See *Notes and Queries Second Series*, Vol II, Mar. 16, 1861.

to Neville's infamous story in works of their own. Curiously, however, Neville's story was most successful not in England but across the Channel, where it "was believed all over the continent."[5] Confirmation of the story's popularity is proven in the fact that in total, the work went through over thirty different issues, "including six in English, three in French, one in Italian, four in Dutch, ten in German, six in Danish,"[6] one in Portugese,[7] and at least two American editions in Puritan New England and Massachussetts. Through gaining a wider readership, especially on the Continent, Neville continued to fool the European audiences who were most interested in the sexual content of the story; for they were unaware of the political implications of the text, and perhaps the translations were less sensitive to the rhetorical tricks that Neville uses for this hoax. In some translations, Neville's text took on a life of its own, as publishers and translators added their own rhetorical touches to the story.

To enhance the rhetorical analysis of the text, this chapter will examine the polyvocal narrative and the epistolary testimonials which help convince the reader of the truth of the story. Through his pseudonym Van Sloetten, Neville buttresses the story's realism with testimonies from another Dutchman, Abraham Keek, and with narratives purportedly by the island's original

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[3] Neville's book obviously caught the attention of John Dryden. In his play, *The Kind Keeper; or Mr. Limberham*, Dryden makes mention of the sexual nature of George Pines: [*Mrs. Pleasance* to *Mrs. Brainsick*] "Tis likely a proper fellow, and looks like he could people a new Isle of Pines" (*Limberham* III i).

[4] In 1674 Richard Head's *Western Wonder* picked up on Neville's story with his own "Inchanted Island." Head distances himself from Neville's hoax as he refers to *The Isle of Pines* as a "monstrous Fiction." Using the same rhetorical strategy, however, Head emulates Neville by including a similar-looking frontispiece in *Western Wonder*.

[5] See Henderson's *Shorter Novels: Seventeenth Century* p. xii.

[6] See A. Owen Aldridge's "Polygamy in Early Fiction" *PMLA* 1950, p. 464.

[7] See NUC Vol. 412 p. 106.

patriarch George Pines, and his grandson the governor William Pines. My examination will also compare Neville's rhetorical tactics with those of other writers such as Jonathan Swift, Aphra Behn, Daniel Defoe, and Richard Head. Finally, I will address what I refer to as Neville's use of utopian rhetoric, which intends to persuade the reader of the existence of such an island. This analysis will also explore the persistent presence of God in the text as well as the exotic descriptions Neville offers in regard to his exceptional setting.

I
The Uses and Abuses of Classical Rhetoric

Like other successful hoax writers, Neville used rhetorical tactics to convince the reader of the story's credibility. The well-educated Neville would have studied rhetoric if not during his public school education, then most certainly during his tenure at Oxford University. Moreover, Neville was a seasoned politician and his experiences of debating in the Rump Parliament would have further refined his rhetorical talents. Through his experiences and education, Neville applied his rhetorical skills to his fiction and nonfiction. Neville was also well-versed in Platonic philosophy, so much so, that his fellow Rotarians referred to him as "Plato Neville."[8] Although Neville's political tracts are overshadowed by those of his closest friend and fellow Rotarian, James Harrington, the writer of *Oceana*, Neville pursued many innovative political ideas on his own.[9] Neville's *Plato Redivivus*, for example, is an "un-Platonic

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[8] See Robbin's *18th Century Commonwealthman*, p. 33.

[9] According to J.G.A. Pocock, "Neville, whose originality as a thinker should not be lightly dismissed, has advanced at a stride to a view of feudal government as a balance between despotism and anarchy which is nearer to the interpretation of Hume in the next century than to Harrington's 'wrestling ground' on which it is a refinement" (*The Political Works of James Harrington* 134).

dialogue,"[10] of which John Locke possessed a copy during the period when he was writing his own *Two Treatises of Government.*[11] Another admirer of Neville's *Plato Redivivus* was Thomas Hobbes, who suggested that Neville contributed to *Oceana.*[12] Moreover, *The Isle of Pines* is very much a political text which confronts the politics of colonization.[13] Neville's knowledge of classical texts afforded him the ability to borrow from classical writers in a number of his own works. In his *A Parliament of Ladies,* for example, Neville borrows the Roman jest which he derived "from the *Ecclesiazudsai* of Aristophanes, about the rumour that the Senate had decreed that men in Rome could have two wives."[14]

Apart from his own political conceptions, the political philosophy of Machiavelli proved to be a particular favourite of Neville's; by 1675 he had "published an excellent translation of Machiavelli's works."[15] Neville's political training combined with his multilingual talents permitted him to develop a penchant for translating Italian philosophical tracts. Indeed, Neville's familiarity with Machiavellian philosophy truly acquainted the writer with rhetoric itself.

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[10] Ashley notes that "Neville's book was written in the form of a Socratic discussion between an Englishman, a doctor and a noble Venetian. The argument begins by pointing out that neither the prince nor the people is to be blamed for the decay of government; for this is caused by no account having been taken in the constitution of recent changes in the distribution of property. All governments are liable to become corrupt if the State fails to make political power accord with the actual division of property within the community. Hence a civil war can provide no remedy for the evils from which England is suffering...." (*John Wildman, Plotter and Postmaster* 224-25).

[11] According to John Locke's journal, Locke had lent Neville's political tract to "James Tyrell in May 1681" (See Laslett's *John Locke: Two Treatises of Government* 141). Robbins notes that "Locke and Neville had a mutual friend in Tyrell" (*Two Republican Tracts* 18).

[12] Neville's *Plato Revividus* was in turn much admired by Thomas Hobbes (*DNB* 260).

[13] In Chapter 2, I will develop the political implications of colonization on *The Isle of Pines.*

[14] See Thompson's *Unfit For Modest Ears* p. 107.

[15] See DNB p. 260.

As Richard Cook notes, "rhetoric is essentially a Machiavellian art — it deals primarily with what is effective and only secondarily with what is right."[16] During the creative process of writing *The Isle of Pines*, Neville emulated the rhetorical stance of his Italian idol because he conceived a hoax which was chiefly effective and patently false.

Aristotle warned that rhetoric can and would be used toward evil ends, and although Neville was dishonest in creating the story, the hoax was intended for a good laugh and not for evil purposes. Aristotle also separated rhetoric into two divisions: artistic and inartistic work. Like the Classical rhetoricians who used Aristotle's topoi — twenty-eight topics to use in lines of persuasive argument — the calculating Neville exploits ethos and logos to varying degrees in order to persuade his readers with an artistic proof that his incredible story is legitimate. Classical rhetoricians also regarded brevity as a virtue and Neville's own conciseness is demonstrated in the fact that *The Isle of Pines* is a novella and not a novel. Furthermore, the polyvocal narrative structure of the text does not permit long and tedious narrative passages. On the contrary, the narrative voices are exceedingly short, and the mass of adventure is compressed into a novella that is only 31 pages long.

In *The Isle of Pines*, Neville uses another common rhetorical subterfuge employed by hoax writing pamphleteers: the trick title page. The pamphlet was a small book without a jacket cover, and consequently, the less discriminating readers would purchase the publication providing the title page was racy enough or of a violent nature; pamphlets recording the trials, bloody crimes, and the subsequent graphic executions of condemned criminals were extremely popular. Restoration pamphleteers resorted to employing shocking or violent

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[16] See Cook's *Jonathan Swift As a Tory Pamphleteer*, p. 34.

titles in order to capture the reader's attention and money. Owing to the stiff competition, the pamphleteers had to perform much the same way as our own contemporary tabloid papers operate: by exploiting tragedies with gory headlines, and complimenting the story with pictures. In the July 27, 1668 version of *The Isle of Pines*, Neville includes a frontispiece with four pictorial panels which depict momentous occasions in the narrative.

Although Neville used the same tactics as his "hack" contemporaries, his motives were invariably different. Whereas the impetus for most hack writers was economic survival, this was not the case for Neville. Indeed, such writers earned the epithet "hack" because they sold and cheapened their art for the sake of money. For most anonymous hacks, however, "survival rather than fame was no doubt their prime consideration."[17] Neville, being of the leisured class, a Berkshire gentleman and landowner, clearly never wrote for money, since most writers were paid about £2 for their work.[18] Although Neville never wrote for money, one cannot assume that he was motivated by fame, because his coarse lampoons as well as *The Isle of Pines* were all anonymously written.[19] In order to protect himself from libel suits or imprisonment, Neville wrote under an array of psuedomyms: "O.P. [Oliver Protector] and others," "Mrs. Martha Peele Messenger," "George Pines," and "Henry Cornelius Van Sloetten" amongst others. For the most part, Neville wrote his pamphlets in order to get under the political skin of his Tory rivals, and one assumes for his own and his cronies' amusement. Indeed, if anyone stood to profit from pamphleteering it was the

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[17] See Thompson's *Samuel Pepy's Penny Merriments* p. 14.

[18] Thompson notes that "Writers were paid only about £2 for their work, and most of them were probably exploited denizens of Grub Street." Ibid., p. 12.

[19] Worthington Chauncey Ford notes that "it was proper for an author to omit his name from the publication if he desired to remain unknown" (*The Isle of Pines 1688: An Essay in Bibliography* 23).

publisher, not the writer. The sentiment most writers had for their publishers was well put by Thomas Nashe at the end of the sixteenth century: "Printers are madde whoorsons, allowe them some of them for napkins" (TUT 13).

Printers made their profits by selling pamphlets. The larger the sales, the bigger the profit. To secure large sales, the printer and the writer had to create eye-catching titles to procure the widest readership possible. Thus, the Restoration period was rife with outlandish tales and bloodcurdling headlines. Take, for example, the watery tale entitled, *A TRUE RELATION OF THE STRANGE APPEARANCE of a man-fish about three miles within the river of Thames* [1642], or the sadomasochistic trial of *THE WHIPSTER OF WOODSTREET, or A true account of the barbarous and horrid murther committed on the body of Mary Cox* [168-?]. For a more domestic dysfunctional yarn there is *THE UNNATURAL GRANDMOTHER* [1659], or the truly chilling tale *A TRUE RELATION OF A GREAT NUMBER OF PEOPLE FROZEN TO DEATH NEAR SALISBURY* [1685]. For the most part, incredible or shocking stories were accepted as fantasy and not as seriously as Neville's. Even for all its fantasy, *The Isle of Pines* still managed to remain in the realm of the possible, owing to the fact that shipwreck stories were becoming a fact of life in the seventeenth century with the expansion of trade world wide. Curiously, in our own contemporary society, regardless of how believable or unbelievable a story might appear, people still like to be even consciously hoaxed, a fact which is reflected with the presence of poorly written and wildly unbelievable tabloid papers in practically every supermarket in North America.

When Neville first released *The Isle of Pines* in June 27, 1668, it had the long-winded title:

The Isle of Pines, Or, A late Discovery of a fourth Island in Terra Australis,

> *Incognita. Being A True Relation of certain English Persons, Who in the dayes of Queen Elizabeth, making a Voyage to the East India, were cast away, and wracked upon the Island near to the Coast of Terra Australis, Incognita, and all drowned, except one Man and four Women, whereof one was a Negro. And now lately Anno. Dom, 1667. a Dutch Ship driven by foul weather there by chance have found their Posterity (speaking good English) to amount to ten or twelve thousand persons, as they suppose. The whole Relation follows, written, and left by the Man himself a little before his death, and declared to the Dutch by his Grandchild.*

With a title that reads like a plot summary, the reader was given enough information in order to be drawn in. Following the success of the first edition, a month later the story was rereleased with a much compressed title: *A New and Further Discovery of the Isle of Pines in a Letter from Cornelius Van Sloetten, a Dutchman (who first discovered the same in the year 1667), to a Friend of his in London.* With the release of the second expanded version of the story, Neville rode on the success of the original by adding the narrative of the Dutchman. Of the three English editions published in June and July of 1668, I refer principally to the third edition, licensed July 27, 1668, entitled

> *The Isle of Pines, or a late Discovery of fourth ISLAND near Terra Australis Incognita, by Henry Cornelius Van Sloetten,. Wherein it is contained. A True Relation of certain English persons, who in Queen Elizabeth's time, making a Voyage to the East Indies were cast away, and wracked near to the Coast of Terra Australis, Incognita, and all drowned, except one Man and four Women. And now lately Anno Dom. 1667. a Dutch Ship making a Voyage to the East Indies, driven by foul weather there, by chance have found their Posterity, (speaking good English) to amount (as they suppose) to ten or twelve thousand persons. The whole Relation (written, and left by the Man himself a little before his death, and delivered to the Dutch by his Grandchild) Is here annexed with the Longitude and Latitude of the Island, the scituation and felicity thereof, with other matter observable.*

and dated July 27, 1668. This is the largest English edition because it contains the original narrative of George Pines from the first edtion, an even longer narrative from the Dutchman, Cornelius Van Sloetten,[20] and is complemented with an

[20] According to Ford's exhaustive bibliographical study of *The Isle of Pines*: "The first

illustrated frontispiece entitled "A Description of Ye Isle of Pines" (TIoP i). Like soap manufacturers of our own context who continue to produce so-called new and improved products, the Restoration pamphleteers also used similar ploys to outrival their competitors. For travel narratives, the pamphleteers were in a constant game of one-upmanship for their share of the market. Neville was no exception to this literary pursuit, because the second edition is entitled "A **New and Further** Discovery of Isle of Pines."

Traditionally, the printed word carries with it its own credibility. Many Restoration readers no doubt assumed that once something was in print it became authoritative. Apart from the fact that it was in print, and therefore had its own authority, Neville's narration also establishes its ethos, or credibility, through its fictitious characters' intelligence, virtue, and goodwill. The intelligence of the various narrators is illustrated by the experience and knowledge they disseminate with regard to both the sea journey to the Isle of Pines and the island itself. Thus, the tone of Dutch narrators, Van Sloetten and Keek, appears honest and sincere.[21]

The Dutch narrators' virtue is continually reinforced throughout the text. Van Sloetten emphasizes that although he is "more a Seaman than a Scholler" he "shall briefly yet full give you a particular account thereof, with a true copy of the relation itself; desiring you to bear with my blunt Phrases" (TIoP 2). In this instance, Van Sloetten attempts to secure his virtuousity through the humility of

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part was licensed June 27, 1668. Van Sloetten dated the second part July 22, 1668, and the issue of the combined parts was licensed five days later, July 27... In the space of just four weeks all three tracts were licensed, and the actual publication must have occurred within the same period of time" (Ibid. 20).

[21] As a satirist and a hoax writer, however, Neville uses the national identity of the Dutchmen cunningly to subvert the validity of the narrative. But since this chapter is devoted to Neville's rhetorical agenda, I will develop the subversion of the Dutch narrators in the final chapter where I discuss Neville's political and pornographic agenda.

his unlearned yet genuine seaman narrative, and by claiming his account is based on a "true copy." Van Sloetten is emphasizing the fact that he has neither the need nor the desire to disseminate false information. The reader is tricked by this Restoration "read my lips" statement, as we continue to be today. Van Sloetten's rallying cry at the story's conclusion is that honesty is the best policy: "Thus Sir, have I given you a brief, but true Relation of our Voyage, Which I was the more willing to do, to prevent false Copies which might be spread of this nature" (TIoP 30). Van Sloetten simply claims to tell the truth, but no one can either prove or disprove his claim.

To help verify his claim, Van Sloetten requires an upstanding and virtuous citizen. Fortunately, as a writer of fiction, Neville is able to create one. By naming his adventurer "Henry Cornelius Van Sloetten," Neville might be punning on the name of an earlier seventeenth-century English explorer, Cornelius Schouten, whose own colonial exploits were published in England for nationalistic ends.[22] In any case, Van Sloetten's story is supported by a fellow Dutchman known as Abraham Keek. Like Van Sloetten, Keek only appears in print and not in the flesh. To support his "Friend and Brother" (TIoP iii) Keek provides not one, but two letters of support and encouragement to Van Sloetten because he believes the Pinean narrative is one of those stories that must be told. In a similar manner, Jonathan Swift goes one giant leap further than Neville by pouring on copious amounts of ethos, as Swift's fictitious publisher, Richard Sympson claims: "the Author of these Travels, Mr. Lemuel Gulliver, is my intimate and antient Friend" (GT xiv).

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[22] According to Marie Davies, "the relation of the journey of Cornelius Schouten [was] published to whet the English appetite for competition in naval matters. Schouten had reached the Pacific by sailing south of the Straits of Magellan" (*Reflections of Renaissance England* 122).

Through the epistolary structure of the story, Van Sloetten expresses his goodwill by reinforcing his own credibility as well as his story's with "Two Letters concerning the Island of Pines to a Credible person in Covent Garden" (TIoP iii) by Abraham Keek. Van Sloetten's role in the story began as his Dutch ship was driven by bad weather to the island in 1667. To confirm his earnestness, Keek expresses a certain hesitancy in revealing the story because of its fantastic nature. As Keek says, "This story seems very fabulous, yet the Letter is come to a known Merchant, and from a good hand in France, so that I thought fit to mention it" (TIoP iii). Hence, by the third page of the novella, the story of an English family is already confirmed by two Dutchmen, a French Merchant ship and its crew. Van Sloetten and Keek are fictional characters, but Neville manages to buttress the story's integrity with these apparently credible, albeit fabricated witnesses. Swift's Sympson makes an equally persuasive plea as he writes, "By the Advice of several worthy Persons, to whom, with the Author's Permission, I communicated these Papers, I now venture to send them into the World" (GT xv). Clearly, both Keek and Sympson argue that they must share these true and valid stories with the world. In doing so, their motives appear purely culturally motivated, and who would argue with that?

With the arrival of the amiable Dutch at the Isle of Pines, William Pines realizes that he can trust Van Sloetten enough to reveal the history of the Pines family, so the history can be returned to the known world. When Pines passes the story to Van Sloetten, he insists that the story must be retold: "you being the first people, which (besides our selves) ever set footing in this Island, I shall therefore in obedience to my Grandfathers and Fathers commands, willingly impart the same to you" (TIoP 6). Thus it is out of paternal duty that Pines reveals his story to the trustworthy Dutch travellers. And it is out of the interests

of history and a fabulous story that Van Sloetten's story reaches the Restoration reader. It is, finally, through the prurient imagination of the reading public that the text becomes a bestseller.

Both Van Sloetten and Keek acknowledge and consider the audience's skeptical viewpoint by defending their claims to the wary reader. To prove his honest intentions, Keek observes that he is pursuing the matter further and he tells Van Sloetten that as soon as he receives the French letter, Van Sloetten will be the first one to know. As Keek says, "when it cometh, or any further news about this Island, I shall acquaint you with it" (TIoP iii). Van Sloetten avoids confrontation by maintaining his innocence in spite of the opposing arguments he claims will be levelled against him: "such Nullifidians as will believe nothing but what they see, applying that Proverb unto us, That Travelors may lye by authority" (TIoP 30). In Van Sloetten's estimation, no matter how truthful his story may be, it will be held up to scrutiny because he will be perceived as the archetypal lying traveller. In *The Unfortunate Traveller*, Thomas Nashe bemoans similar Van Sloettenesque sentiments in regard to the traveller:

> He that is a traveller must have the backe of an asse to beare all, a tung like the taile of a dog to flatter all, the mouth of a hogge to eate what is set before him, the eare of a merchant to heare all and say nothing: and if this be not the highest step of thraldome, there is no libertie or freedom. (TUT 94).

In an attempt to persuade his readers that he is different from the other "lying" travellers, Van Sloetten flaunts his innocence by emphasizing, "But Sir, in writing to you, I question not but to give Credence, you knowing my disposition so hateful to divulge Falsities" (TIoP 30). Clearly, Van Sloetten expresses a personal disdain for falsities, and thus it logically follows that he has a penchant for truth.

Neville was enlightened enough to recognize that no rhetoric is convincing without a certain amount of logic. The text's logic is founded on empirical claims. Neville's textual claims are backed by firsthand, albeit fabricated data, complete with precise dates as well as the names of the islanders. In his story, Neville appeals to ignorance as he preys on the fact that the audience is unable to disprove his claims at this time. Hence, Neville offers proofs of the island's existence that are convincing, yet which remain ultimately unverifiable. The unverifiabilty is rather convenient since the French ship that can confirm the story is at sea and is "on her way to Zealand" (TIoP iii).

Although Neville's rhetoric is deceptive, it is nonetheless successful; the implicit logic contained in *The Isle of Pines* includes such geographical markers as are needed to make any travel narrative as empirical or, in Van Sloetten words, as "matter observable" (TIoP i), as possible. The island of Pines is described as "A late Discovery of a Fourth ISLAND near Terra Australis, Incognita" (TIoP 1). To lend a more scholarly or intellectual legitimacy to the story, the coast near the Isle of Pines is given the Latin epithet "Terra Australis, Incognita" — "unknown southern land." Although Latin is not widely used, Van Sloetten's description of his voyage includes references to the "Isles of Cape Verd, or Insulae Capitus Viridis" (TIoP 2). The insistent use of Latin for geographical identification informs the readers that the narrator intends to convey the most precise names possible. Neville is cunning in his renaming and clarifying of the various points of interest; Latin is the language of learned men, and anyone reading the pamphlet would no doubt have been impressed with the use of Latin as opposed to some common vernacular term such as "Van Diemen's Land,"[23] which Swift

[23] According to the *OED*, Vandemonian, also Van Diemen's Land, the original name of Tasmania, given by its discoverer Tasman in 1642 in honour of Anthony Van Diemen (1593-1645), governor of the Dutch East Indies. (OED XIX 425).

uses in *Gulliver's Travels*.[24] By using Latin, therefore, Neville further enhances the authority of the text.

One common rhetorical device used in travel narratives concerns the inclusion of maps. The sole purpose of maps was to provide empirical evidence of presumably real, yet fictitious islands. Swift and his publishers were masters of this rhetorical finery because various editions of *Gulliver's Travels* included maps of the fictitious islands Gulliver visited. Although Neville included a frontispiece to adorn his original versions of *The Isle of Pines*, he failed to provide a map. Jacob Stichter, however, who produced one of the Dutch editions of *The Isle of Pines* in 1688, probably recognized that Neville's story, although extremely successful on its own, would gain in believability with a map. With some poetic license of his own and motivated at the thought of cashing in on improved sales of the already best-selling story, Stichter took the liberty of adding a detailed map to this Dutch translation of *The Isle of Pines*.[25] No longer in Neville's English hands, *The Isle of Pines* was beginning to take on a life of its own. At the creative mercy of the interpreters and printers, and much to the delight of the willing readers, Neville's text was becoming a controversial book in several European languages.

To remind readers of the temporal structure of the narrative, Van Sloetten refers to the uncharted paradise as "A late Discovery of a Fourth ISLAND" (TIoP 1). This was not an uncommon rhetorical ploy during this

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[24] During Gulliver's voyage to Lilliput, the adventurer mentions "that in our Passage from thence to the East-Indies, we were driven by a violent Storm to the Northwest of Van Diemen's Land" (GT 6).

[25] Ford notes that one of the Dutch editions "made at Amsterdam by Jacob Stichter... [illustrates that] Stichter was possessed of some imagination and decorated his title page with a map of a part of the island, showing ranges of hills, a harbor or mouth of a river, with conventional surroundings and two towns or settlements" (*The Isle of Pines 1688: An Essay in Bibliography* 14).

period. John Sadler, for example, used the same strategy in his pamphlet, *Olbia: The New Island Lately Discovered* [1660]. Neville's choice of "late discovery" suggests an important disclosure which is up to the moment. Moreover, a new precedent is set with this discovery because now there are not only three islands near Terra Australis Incognita, but a fourth. Of course, the discovery of Van Sloetten and his Dutch voyagers is, in fact, the rediscovery of the island, because the Englishman George Pines was the original discoverer one hundred years earlier. The title page also makes clear that the story is current by dating the tale as "And now lately Anno Dom. 1667" (TIoP i); "now lately" conveys the immediacy of finding this new-found land. To further establish the currency of his story, Van Sloetten informs his "friend in London" (TIoP 1) that he is acting as swiftly as possible. According to Van Sloetten, he is replying immediately after he "received your [Keek's] Letter of this second instant" (TIoP 1). By describing his punctual response as of the "second instant," that is, "the second day of the month," Neville molds the reader into believing that this is not old news, but an account which is most topical, and for the seventeenth-century intents and purposes, by return of mail. Indeed, even the existence of a "POST-SCRIPT" (TIoP 31) at the story's conclusion enhances the impact of Neville's constant urge to continually update the story. Finally, the "FINIS" (TIoP 31) adds a further air of officiality, as it signifies a conclusive end to an exclusive story, while implying that there may be more to come in the future.

Neville's temporal accuracy of the story is further assured through his meticulous attention to dating various sections of the text. Fixing the time within the text is integral to legitimizing the fiction, and Neville's insistence on entering exact dates is most pervasive in Van Sloetten's journal entries. At the center of the story, George Pines's journal is also antedated "Anno Dom. 1569" (TIoP i).

Like Van Sloetten, Pines's story gives a daily account which soon progresses into a monthly and a ultimately yearly report. In his own travel narrative, Van Sloetten offers the reader a log-like account which commences on "April the 26th, 1667" (TIoP 2), the year previous to the release of the story, and ends fifteen months later. The title page verifies that the story was "Licensed July 27, 1668" (TIoP i), only five days following Van Sloetten's final entry on "July 22, 1668" (TIoP 30). This span of five days would likely cover the time required for the process of both licensing and printing the story.[26] This carefully constructed delay offers advanced proof of Van Sloetten's unhesitating expediency in getting the story out to an awaiting public because it is a story which has to be shared with the world as soon as humanly possible.

Keek's "Two Letters concerning the Island of Pines" (TIoP iii) which are dated "June the 29th, 1668" and "July the 6th, 1668" (TIoP iii) serve to further substantiate Van Sloetten's claims. By spacing the letters one week apart, the second letter updates Keek's previous pledges to verify the story. Unfortunately, Keek cannot make good on his promises, but the second letter nonetheless conveys his honest intentions — at least he is pursuing the matter further for his "Friend and Brother" Van Sloetten. Locating Keek's letters in Amsterdam is of particular significance; in doing so, Neville intends to enhance the international merit of his story, because verification cannot be made in England, but rather must be imported from Amsterdam. Of course, Neville is ironic here; Amsterdam is a libidinous city, and its significance as "authority" is problematic.

Through the implications of narrative authority and by drawing upon the

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[26] According to Eyre and Rivington, *The Isle of Pines* was registered on July 4th, 1668 by the printers Master Allen Bankes and Master Charles Harper, and was Entered... under the hand of Master Roger L'Estrange A copie or Pahmphlett intituled [sic], *The Isle of Pines, or a late discovery of a fowerth Island in Terra Australis, Incognita,* & c. (*A Transcript of the Register* Vol II, 388).

techniques of classical rhetoric, Neville successfully manipulated many seventeenth-century readers into believing the veracity of his story. Having established the credibility of his Dutch characters through letters and deeds Neville's next step was to create more factual authority in order to convince the reader of the plausibility of his story.

II
A Fiction Stranger Than Truth

Establishing the validity of one's claims is an important part of any argument. The denial of falsehood is intended to establish the narrator's high principles. By appearing trustworthy, a presumedly incorruptible narrator has only one agenda: to convey the truth. Of course, merely claiming that one is conveying the truth does not mean that one is. For example, on the first page of *The Isle of Pines*, Neville claims that "Henry Cornelius Van Sloetten, in a Letter to a friend in London, declares the truth of his Voyage to the East Indies"[27] (TIoP 1). Although we are told Van Sloetten is "declaring the truth," the "truth" of Van Sloetten's tale is that the story is fiction and not fact. Forcing the reader to separate fact from fiction became a rhetorical trick in its own right during the Restoration. Of course, some element of truth enhances any argument, and although Neville's tale is fictitious there were two actual islands known as "the Isle of Pines." The first factual Isle of Pines could be found on a sixteenth-century map of the West Indies[28] and the other in an early American map.[29]

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[27] Of historical interest: a few months prior to the publication of *The Isle of Pines* on March 27, 1668, Bombay passed under the control of the English East India Company. (*Chronology of the Expanding World* 358).

[28] Ford notes that Hakluyt (III. 617) prints a 'Ruttier' for the West Indies, without date, but probably of the end of the sixteenth century, which contains the following: "The markes of Isla de Pinos. The Island of Pinos stretcheth it selfe East and West, and is full

Moreover, by placing the Isle of Pines "near to the coast of Terra Australis Incognita" would have captured the attention of Restoration readers, because of its phonetic likeness to "Terra Australis nondum cognita"[30] — the great southern continent which had not yet been discovered during the time of Pines's narrative. By weaving the presence of factual islands and possible continents into the text, Neville put the Isle of Pines on the watery seas of cultural and literary believability.

To distract their readers, some pamphleteers preferred to separate their own accounts from other bizarre stories through scapegoat tactics. Perhaps the strongest proponent of this tactic was Richard Head, whose *Western Wonder* flatly denies any falsity to his own outlandish story. Instead, Head prefers to point the finger at other pamphleteers such as Henry Neville. This rhetorical strategy is known as a psychological fallacy, wherein Head takes an ad hominem approach by presenting a personal attack on other writers of equally fantastic stories. Head's appeal to prejudice is voiced when he claims "That our present Discourse of this New Discovery of O Brazeel, may not be suspected of the like lying Reports" (WW 1). The lying reports to which Head is referring are stories such as

of homocks, and if you chance to see it at full sea, it will shew like 3 Islands, as though there were divers soundes between them, and that in the midst is the greatest; and in rowing with them, it will make all a firme lande: and upon the East side of these homocks it will shewe all ragged; and on the West side of them will appeare unto you a lowe point even with the sea, and oftentimes you shall see the trees you shall discerne the point" (*The Isle of Pines 1688: An Essay in Bibliography* 28).

[29] According to Ford, a second Isle of Pines appears in American waters: "being near the Golden Island, which was situated in the harbor of bay on which the Scot Darien expedition made its settlement of New Edinburgh" (Ibid. 28).

[30] James Williamson notes that "Until nearly the end of the sixteenth century the world-maps compiled by the great geographers are unanimous in showing the southern portion of the earth as covered by a great land-mass, whose coastline runs in an irregular circle round the globe in lattitudes varying from 20° to 60° S. This great southern continent — the Terra Australis nondum cognita — was thought to form the southern shore of the Straits of Magellan, and the maps show a northward projection of it in the region since found to be occupied by Australia" (*A Short History of British Expansion* 231).

The Isle of Pines. Clearly, Head attacks Neville and other travel writers when he claims one should avoid

> the abuse of Belief, occasioned by such monstrous Fictions as the *Isle of Pines, A New World in the Moon,* with the like Lunatick Stories, by which the credulous world has been misguided into a faith wholly preposterously erroneous and ridiculous. (WW 1).

Indeed, Head is pleading that his story, however incredible, is not like those other dubious Nevillesque pamphlets.

In *Oroonoko,* Aphra Behn's narrator attempts the same rhetorical approach, and although she is somewhat less convincing than some of her male counterparts, her narrator makes a strong case nonetheless. In a less histrionic tone than Head, she claims, "I was myself an Eye-witness to a great part of what you will find here set down; and what I cou'd not be Witness of, I receiv'd from the Mouth of the chief Actor in this History, the Hero himself" (Oo 1). In this instance, Behn suggests her story is reliable and closest to the truth because none of the story is second-hand information. In reality, Behn's story is more credible because her story's claim, unlike Neville's, has some truth in its basic plot-line, as some critics and biographers of Behn have suggested.[31] What Behn, as narrator, could not have known personally, the hero Oroonoko himself provides. Behn, of course, does not admit that whether one is a hero or a villain, humans have a tendency to embellish our stories, often twisting simple events out of proportion and transforming a dull moment into a more exciting version. Therefore, even a "true" narration is to a degree fictional; the boundaries between history and fantasy may not be as fixed as is commonly thought. *Robinson Crusoe* is, after all, based on the "real" adventure of Alexander Selkirk. In some ways, the hoax

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[31] According to W.J. Cameron, "There is every likelihood that Aphra did in fact meet a negro in London who supplied her with the story of Oroonko's abduction. (*New Light on Aphra Behn* 7)

pamphleteers were precursors to modern day media, who manipulate information in order to hype or deemphasize events if they so desire. Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* is not above a similar rhetorical ploy either. Like Neville's Keek, Gulliver has a friend, Richard Sympson, verify the author's story. In a polite, yet critical tone, Sympson declares "the Style is very plain and simple; and the only Fault is, that the Author, after the Manner of Travellers, is a little too circumstantial" (GT xv). Ironically, Sympson's only complaint with the text has to do with Gulliver's attention to detail. Swift's intention here is obviously to distract the reader by criticizing the style of *Gulliver's Travels* as opposed to its incredible content.

Like Neville, European translators were also aware that scapegoat tactics could sway disbelieving readers. A Continental attack on a translator of Neville appears in the third Dutch edition of the text by Joannes Naeranus at Rotterdam.[32] In this embellished Dutch edition, an added apologia appears:

> To the Reader
>
> A part of the present relation is also printed by Jacob Vinckel at Amsterdam, being defective in omitting one of the principal things, so we give here a true copy which was sent to us authoritatively out of England, but in that language, in order that the curious reader may not be deceived by the poor translation, and for that reason this very astonishing history fell under suspicion. Lastly, admire God's wondrous guidance and farewell.[33]

The key to the publisher's rhetorical strategy here is to establish that he alone possesses the ability to translate Neville's story accurately and legitimately. By blaming "Jacob Vinkel"[34] for distributing a "defective" translation, Naeranus's

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[32] This translated edition of *The Isle of Pines* is entitled: *Oprecht verhaal van't eiland van Pines, on des zelfsbevolking; of Laatste ontdekking van een vierde eiland in Terra Australis, incognita... Gedrukt tot Rotterdam, (na de copijo van Londen, bij S.G. voor Allen Banks, en Charles Harper...) Bi j Joannes Naeranus... 1668.* (NUC Vol. 412 106).

[33] This translation is Ford's. See *The Isle of Pines 1668: An Essay in Bibliography* 14.

copy claims that it is the only "true copy." Naeranus further accuses Vinkel for his sloppy interpretation which resulted in the "poor translation" in the first place. In so doing, Naeranus establishes that his copy was "sent... authoritatively out of England," and not out of a seedy Dutch printing house. With the polemics of truth and falsehood firmly, albeit falsely entrenched in the narrative ethos, Naeranus leaves the rest of the textual persuasiveness up to George Pines.

To be convinced by any hoax, Restoration readers, like most readers, require an authentic demonstration of the story's claims. To achieve this artistic proof, Neville uses geographical data and a pictorial account of the Isle of Pines to provide verisimilitude by a display of plausible information. The geographical details begin on Neville's title page, where Van Sloetten claims the story, "Is here annexed with the Longitude and Latitude of the Island, the scituation [sic] and felicity thereof, with other matter observable" (TIoP i). Geographic markers are also presented by Keek in his opening letter, where he offers to the reader some rather imprecise, yet impressive nautical calculations showing that the island is "about 2 or 300 Leagues Northwest from Cape Finis Terre" (TIoP iii). Although his description is admittedly imprecise, Keek acknowledges this shortcoming by saying that "it may be that there may be some mistake in the number of the Leagues, as also of the exact point of the compass" (TIoP iii). The expressed inexactedness is a rhetorical subterfuge used by Neville to convey honesty by having Keek admit to his inaccuracies. In *Gulliver's Travels,* Jonathan Swift employs the same tactic as Neville, when Swift offers Gulliver's description of the city of Lorbrulgrud. Using some rather humorous-sounding

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[34] Although the printers had a tendency to lie and embellish, there was, in fact, a Jacob Vinkel whose text was entitled: *Ontdeckinge van't eylandt van Pines, zinjde een waerachtige beschryvinge van't vierde eylandt in't zuyder onbekent lant, zo van desselfs vruchten, dieren, gelegentheyt, als mede de voort-teelinge der Engelse natie, & c. op't selve eylandt. Uyt het Engels vertaalt.* (NUC Vol. 412 106).

Lilliputian measurements, Gulliver describes this city which "contains above eighty thousand Houses. It is in Length three Glonglungs (which make about fifty four English Miles) and two and a half in Breadth, as I measured it myself" (GT I 167). By admitting to a surmise in his calculations, Neville's Keek, like Swift's Gulliver, earns the trust of the audience by honestly expressing the potential defiencies of his information. In a similar fashion, a French translation of 1668 by the King's Printer Sébastian Mabre-Cramoisy also employs conjectural latitudes and longitudes. The French text, however, offers some very different measurements from Neville's original text. Entitled *Novvelle decovverte de L'isle Pines située au delà de la ligne æquinoctiale. Faite par vn nauire hollandois l'an 1667,* [35] Marbe-Cramoisy's edition adds his own measurements in the half-title as "below the equinoctal line" and in the text as "XXVIII or XXIX degrees of Antartique latitude."[36] Like other European translators, Marbe-Cramoisy's version embellishes Neville's story and ventures several nautical miles away from the original text.

Neville's careful attention to detail, both verbal and non-verbal, is also a rhetorical achievement. The cunning writer's varied details are subtle, yet they have the undeniable imprint of prestige and authority. The prime example of non-verbal authority in the text is the representation of royal scroll work found on page one. At the top of the page, an imposing ensign helps give the story the clout of a royal edict. The intricate detail of the scroll-work is deliberately emblematic and is intended to represent the royal dominion of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. The emblem appears as an elaborately ornate trinity consisting of a rose, a thistle, and a fleur-de-lis. This hallmark is of symbolic

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[35] Ibid. p. 106.

[36] This translation is Ford's. See *The Isle of Pines 1668: An Essay in Bibliography* p.15.

importance: the rose is the national emblem of England, the thistle is the national emblem of Scotland, and the fleur-de-lis the emblem of France. The three crowns which appear above each of the emblems represent the power residing in the monarch. Curiously, the identical scroll-work appears in another sea adventure entitled *A RELATION of the Re-taking of the ISLAND OF S^TA HELENA, And Three Dutch East-India SHIPS* [1673]. This variation on Neville's scroll-work may attest to the authoritative importance of such an ensign. Printers exchanged and reused stamps with similar insignias in order to convince their own readers with this mark of prestige and Neville's printers are no exception to this tradition.

One other appeal to the persuasive detail found in the story concerns Neville's scrupulous vigilance with particulars. The presentation of the text was ultimately a decision made by the publisher, although Neville might have had some input as he maintained the same publisher throughout his writing career.[37] Both enlarged and ornamental letters have survived from medieval times, and were used by Renaissance and Restoration printers to add a divine or definitive touch to their texts. Although Neville does not use an ornamental letter in *The Isle of Pines*, he does begin Van Sloetten's narrative with an enlarged "I" (TIoP 1). Neville did, however, incorporate ornamental letters for persuasive ends in his *The Ladies, A Second Time, Assembled in Parliament* and in his *Newes From the New Exchange,* as does Richard Head in his *Western Wonder*. One final example of the textual appeal to authority is evidenced in Neville's paraphrasing of the bold, black typeface of Van Sloetten's **Wat Eylant is dit?** Although the statement is mildly humorous, the phrase commands respect because it apparently records

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[37] Although *The Isle of Pines* was printed by Allen Banks and Charles Harper, Neville continued to use Harper as his publisher once Harper and Banks parted company. According to Ford, "Harper was Neville's publisher in 1674 and in 1681, a fact which may indicate a personal relation" (Ibid. 25).

the question in the Dutch language phonetically, while the old-style typeface suggests a continental appearance, so radically different from the typeface of the rest of Neville's text.

Neville's reliance on the non-verbal dimension of the story is confirmed in the frontispiece which accompanies *The Isle of Pines*. Entitled "A Description of Ye Isle of Pines," the panels recreate shipwreck and island scenes, much like the frontispiece which appears in Richard Head's *Western Wonder*. Neville's pictures, for the most part, however, misrepresent and satirically undermine the narrators' claims of truth. These crude, hand-drawn pictures, distort his subjects through various methods. In the first panel, "How they were cast away" (TIoP i), the panoramic view of the sea coast contains a series of events compressed into one frame. In the panel's foreground, the ship appears as Pines describes it, "having endured two or three blows against the Rocks, being now broken and quite foundered in the Waters" (TIoP 8). In the same picture, George Pines is safely on shore whilst the ship is smashed upon the rocks and is listing starboard forward. One has to assume that the person standing on the island is none other than George Pines, as the island is uninhabited and Pines is the only male to survive the wreck. Moreover, the anonymous illustrator seems to burlesque the story because in the face of this tragic moment Pines is happily waving his hat to the crew of the sinking ship. In the same illustration, five persons are sitting astride one of the masts which has broken off and drifts into a creek which is situated over the port side of the ship. This description seems to reflect Pines's account of this incident: "we having much ado gotten our selves on the Bowspright, which being broken off, was driven by the Waves into a small Creek, wherein fell a little River" (TIoP 8). On the horizon, there appears to be a billowing fire with three people huddled around it. The fire is most probably the

one started by Pines, with his "Tinder-box and Flint" (TIoP 9) and "the help of some old rotten Wood which we got together, we kindled a fire and dryed ourselves" (TIoP 9). It is not unusual for book illustrations to collapse the various events of a tale into a single scene — for example, the illustration to Tonson's famous Dryden's *Ovid's Metamorphoses* [1717] comes to mind. In Neville's case, however, the juxtaposition of the sinking ship and the cheerfully saluting George Pines appears to deconstruct rather than valorise the text, making the illustration comic rather than harrowing.

The illustrator also misrepresents Neville's representations of nature, because the drawings do not accurately reflect the narrators' descriptions of the island's geography and physical landscape. The illustrator again appears to be mocking Van Sloetten's descriptions as he says, vegetation on the island "grow[s] by the production of Nature, without the help of Art" (TIoP 21). The representations of nature in the panels, however, require the help of art because they do not resemble the textual account in any way. The lushness of the island is replaced by barrenness which is sparsely dotted with a few trees. Moreover, by the final panel, there are no trees whatsover, just an overpopulated island with people who appear to be fenced in like cattle. Neville might also be further ridiculing the vulgar Dutch when one compares the aesthetically ornate and friendly English ship with the tastelessly plain and heavily armed ship of the Dutch; it seems as if the English appear culturally superior because of their stylish good taste and their honest intentions.

The text describes a temperate or tropical climate, but this is not necessarily reflected in the frontispiece either. According to Van Sloetten's account, the isle of Pines is somewhere "scituate [sic] under the Southern Tropick" (TIoP 2). Moreover, the island's epithet, "Near to the Coast of Terra

Australis, Incognita" (TIoP 1), also lends a tropical dimension to its locality. According to the text, the "countrey [is] so very pleasant, being always clothed in green, and full of pleasant fruits, and a variety of birds, ever warm, and never colder then [sic] in England in September" (TIoP 11). In the panels, there are no birds, fruit, long grass or moss. "A Description of Ye Isle of Pines" shows a dominant presence of conifers — apparently pine trees — within the scenes. In this instance, the illustrator appears to be imposing a literal interpretation onto the text, making the island of Pines a veritable island of "pines." Curiously, however, palm trees are mixed in with the few pine trees situated in the illustrations. The warm, relaxing climate of the island, so stressed in the text, is misrepresented in the illustrations. Thus the reader is left to ponder whether the artistic adulteration is deliberate irony or mere incompetence. Furthermore, in this invariably warm island, Pines and his wives are portrayed with warm English clothing. The representation of clothing — which according to the text the Pines do not have because the whole island population is naked — not only undercuts the realism of the story, but would also make Pines and his montage uncomfortably warm. Like the European translators who took great liberties with Neville's text, the illustrator is committing a similar violation.

Although the frontispiece often distorts the narrative claims, this visual subversion is also part of the hoax. Even with all its distortions, the rather poorly drawn "Description of Ye Isle of Pines" is unable to fully undermine the sincerity of the characters because Neville's rhetorical machinations force the reader to focus on the story's elements of truth. With two actual islands of Pines and the possibility of having discovered the illusive continent "Terra Australis Incognita," the reader devotes his or her attention to the narrative appeals to authority and the textual finery that supports such allegations as opposed to

dwelling on the humorous illustrative perversions.

III
Utopian Rhetoric

The utopian world which is depicted in *The Isle of Pines* was by no means a new literary construct. Plato's *Republic* was one of the first utopian books to appear in print.[38] Thomas More presented the first utopian milieu in English literature in 1551 with the publication of his *Utopia*.[39] One hundred and nine years later, Francis Bacon published his scientific utopia, *New Atlantis* [1627], and forty-one years following, Neville published his male utopia, *The Isle of Pines*. The history of George Pines was not Neville's only attempt at utopian fiction, however. According to a number of his contemporaries, Neville also had his hand in other utopian writings during the Restoration. Thomas Hobbes, for example, claimed that Neville had a hand in James Harrington's republican utopia *Oceana*.[40]

Although utopian societies such as the perfect state of things portrayed in More's *Utopia* are virtually unattainable, paradisiacal stories like *The Isle of Pines* were believable because they could conceivably occur. By exploiting the possibilities of the now-common occurrences of shipwrecks in the pursuit of world trade in the later seventeenth century and by injecting an Adamic

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[38] Plato was a particular favourite of the republican Neville, which is confirmed in his political leanings as well as in his pamphlet *Plato Redivivus*.

[39] According to Baker, "More's *Utopia* was first published in Latin, in 1518, and then in an English translation by Raphe Robinson, in 1551" (*The History of the English Novel* Vol. II 264).

[40] According to John Aubrey "Mr. T. Hobbes was wont to say that Mr. Nevil had a finger in that pye [Harrington's *Oceana*], and tis like enough. That ingeniose Tractat, together with his an H. Nevill's smart discourses and inculcations, dayly at Coffee-houses, made many Proselytes" (*Aubrey's Brief Lives* 124).

patriarchy, Neville's story convinced generations of readers with its supportable claims. I refer to Neville's story as a male or androcentric utopia because it is only a perfect world for George Pines, not the female inhabitants. On the island, George Pines is not only surrounded with an abundance of women,[41] he is also encircled with an abundance of nature. Guided by the principles of this overwhelming plenitude, Pines is confoundingly satiated. The natural plentitude of the island, therefore, feeds Pines's physical appetite, whilst the feminine plenitude fulfills his sexual appetitive urges, or in Thomas Hobbes's phrase, Pines's unquenchable desire for "carnall Pleasure."[42] Although the women voice no complaints, the four must share Pines amongst themselves, while Pines has the choice of all four at his leisure. Thus *The Isle of Pines* can be considered a utopian story chiefly for two reasons: it is the embodiment of both patriarchy and paradise. The Isle of Pines is described in comparative terms to England because although the new island is similar in some ways, it is different in many others. Although the fecundity of the island and its female inhabitants is incredible, through his rhetoric, Neville does his best to ensure that the story, however fantastic, remains within the realm of the possible.

Unlike the English settlers of Australia, America, New Zealand, and Canada, the Pines constitute a transplanted indigenous culture because they are the island's first human inhabitants: they displace no indigenous group. With regard to discourse on the island, the Pines are a monoglossic linguistic group.[43]

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[41] In Chapter 2, I specifically address the polygynous dimensions of life on the Isle of Pines.

[42] Hobbes claims that "Love of Persons for Pleasing the sense onely, [is] Natural Lust" (*Leviathan* I 6 124).

[43] Bill Ashcroft claims that "Monoglossic groups are those single-language societies using English as a native tongue, which correspond generally to settled colonies, although despite the term, they are by no means uniform or standard in speech" (*The Empire Writes Back* 39).

As an indigenous culture, the Pinean lexicon, although predominately English, cannot adequately describe their immediate environment. To overcome this linguistic shortcoming, the Pines create a number of neologisms to describe animals which, although similar to English animals, cannot be referred to by the same term. The presence of Pines's animal neologisms such as "Marde" and "Reval" allows one to define *The Isle of Pines* as a post-colonial text.[44] In a similar fashion, Van Sloetten's narrative also introduces a new term — "Oraizons" (TIoP 20) to the text.

In *The Isle of Pines*, Neville, like Defoe, uses what I refer to as utopian rhetoric in order to persuade the readers of the story's plausibility. Utopian and travel writers alike often create parallels between the real world and their fantasy world to create believability. While exotic animals emerge in an exotic fictional landscape of the utopian writer, he or she describes both plant and animals with reference to his or her own English setting. Writers create vegetation and beasts on their fictional islands which are usually similar to the English species, yet somehow different. Neville is no exception to this literary tradition, and like other travel writers, he conjures up a number of curiously delicious God-given vertebrates and invertebrates of his own for the healthy appetites of his stranded characters.

The tropical landscape of the Isle of Pines is described as lush: "the ground very fertile in Trees, Grass, and such flowers, as grow by the production of Nature, without the help of Art" (TIoP 21). In Van Sloetten's estimation, there

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[44] According to Ashcroft, "One very specific form of syntactic fusion is the development of neologisms in the post-colonial text. Successful neologisms in the English text emphasize the fact that words do not embody cultural essence, for where the creation of new lexical forms in English may be generated by the linguistic structures of the mother tongue, their success lies in their function within the text rather than in linguistic provenance" (Ibid. 71).

is no doubt of the island's potential: "no question had but Nature here the benefit of Art added unto it, it would equal, if not exceed many of our Europian [sic] Countries" (TIoP 11). Even without the help of art, the vegetation on the Isle of Pines can more than feed its inhabitants. From George Pines's documentary, there were "Woods round about being full of Briers and Brambles" (TIoP 9), as well as "a sort of Nuts, as big as a large Apple, whose kernel being pleasant and dry, we made use of instead of bread" (TIoP 9). The "wild fruit" available to Crusoe is much more eclectic and varied than Pines's meagre selection. At his fingertips, Crusoe has a cornucopia of undomesticated fruits, consisting of an "Abundance of Cocoa Trees, Orange, and Lemon, and Citron Trees... Limes... [and a] Heap of Grapes" (RC 80). Both Pines's "sort of Nuts" and Crusoe's "wild fruit" both indicate that these tropical island foodstuffs are like those which are available in England, but the island fruit is not quite the same, for it is "wildly" distinct from any previously known equivalent.

With the presence of lush forests, one usually finds diverse wildlife. In *The Isle of Pines*, and *Robinson Crusoe*, there are a number of indigenous creatures which resemble English animals, but yet are somehow dissimilar. The remarkable likeness of the local fauna to English wildlife in Neville's story is clearly voiced by George Pines. Like Crusoe, Pines too, finds food in the air, sea, and land. When he does refer to the fowl and goats, as well as fish and shell-fish which he and his consorts are able to consume for their own sustenance, Pines, as well as Crusoe, describes the animals in comparison to their English equivalent. Richard Head's *Western Wonder* also has a unique collection of animals. According to Head, "The Beasts in general are but small, yet such (as are for food) much more indulge the palate, than any flesh in other parts" (WW 22-23).

Within a short period of time, birds are an established Pinean culinary

favourite, as Pines mentions his first fortunate find, which is "a sort of fowl about the bigness of a Swan, very heavie and fat, that by reason of their weight could not fly, of these we found little difficulty to kill" (TIoP 10). The dodo-like swan, however, isn't the only fowl at Pines's disposal because, "there was [also] a sort of "foul [sic] much like our Ducks, which were very good meat" (TIoP 10). Crusoe, too, finds a fowl identifiable with an English analog: "I found a Kind of wild Pigeons... I frequently found their nests, and got their young ones, which were very good meat" (RC 62). Not one to be outdone, the fearless Dutchman Van Sloetten captures a fowl of his own to take on his sea journey home to Holland. According to Van Sloetten's account, "We took also with us alive, divers Fowls which they call Marde, about the bigness of a Pullet, and not different in taste, they are very swift of flight, and yet so fearless of danger, that they will stand still till such time as you catch them" (TIoP 27). Although all three men are successful in acquiring these varied creatures of flight, in keeping with the Restoration prejudices, the Dutchman undoubtedly has the most sullied reputation of the three characters.[45]

Considering that *Robinson Crusoe* is a much more complex work than *The Isle of Pines*, it is no surprise that Crusoe inhabits a much more diverse ecological system than George Pines. Indeed, the bird life on Crusoe's island extends well beyond that of Pines's island; there is "an infinite Number of Fowls, of many Kinds, some which I had seen and some which I had not seen before, and many of them very good Meat; but such as I knew not the Names of, except those call'd Penguins" (RC 87). The unlimited assortment of bird life, therefore, makes Crusoe's island a veritable ornithological paradise in comparison to Pines's island. These primitive attempts at ornithological descriptions in Defoe and

[45] Indeed, the English would probably refer to the Dutchman as a pheasant plucker.

Neville add further to the empirical intent of the text. Apart from being good eating, birds were becoming a topic of great scientific interest during the seventeenth century. This Baconian impulse to classify and define creatures of flight came into prominence during the 1660's — coinciding with the publication of *The Isle of Pines*. One of the first ornithologists, Frances Willughby, was busy travelling and compiling his catalogue of birds at this time. His work was posthumously published in his *Ornithologiae libri tres* [1676] and stands testament to the difficulties involved with the classification and division of birds.[46] With such keen interest in birds during this period, therefore, the reader would have become further intrigued by the feather-filled texts.

On both the Isle of Pines and Crusoe's island the bird appears first and the egg shortly thereafter. Predictably, the exotic birds have exotic eggs. For Pines, this means he can whet his appetite on "a sort of water-fowl like Ducks and their eggs" (TIoP 11). Where Pines limits his appetite to bird's eggs, however, the somewhat more daring Crusoe takes some eggs from the sea. As Crusoe recalls, "I made my supper of three of the Turtle's Eggs, which I roasted in the Ashes, and eat [sic], as we call it, in the Shell" (RC 73). Although the idea of eating turtle eggs might be met with considerable apprehension by the English reader, at the same time, the traditional fried egg, black pudding-type reader would recognise that Crusoe's choice was, after all, an egg: different yet similar. Eggs appear to be a perennial favourite in the two stories, and especially for the Dutch seaman who has a particular penchant for the proverbial "hen apple." As the more conventional Van Sloetten prepares for his journey, he and his shipmates stock up on a sizeable quantity of eggs given to them by William Pines. According to Van Sloetten's estimation, their company had "about two

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[46] See E. Stresemann's *Ornithology From Aristotle to the Present* p. 42-48.

bushels of eggs, which I conjecture were the Mards eggs, very lussious [sic] in taste, and strengthening to the body" (TIoP 27). The remarkable eggs Van Sloetten acquires are not only exotic Mards' eggs, but they are an invigorating and revitalizing food. On both islands, Defoe's and Neville's characters transcend the limitations of life in England as they indulge themselves with Mards and Turtles. Although the food is alien, the victuals are, as one would expect in a utopia — perfectly delicious.

Neither Neville or Defoe is simply prepared to put his eggs into the foodbasket by themselves, especially when there are four-legged creatures about. Within time, both men prove they are carnivores. Of the two stranded inhabitants, Crusoe is by far the more experimental only because his island plays host to many more types of species than Pines's. When one indulges in a wide variety of foods, however, the law of averages dictates that every choice will not necessarily be satisfactory. In Crusoe's case, he bemoans the fact that "I found in the low Grounds Hares, as I thought them to be, and Foxes, but they differ'd greatly from all the other Kinds I had met with; nor could I satisfy myself to eat them, tho' I killed several" (RC 73). Pines's diet is more pleasing to the palate; as a basic goat and potatoes kind of person, he does not experiment with a wide variety of animals. Unlike Crusoe, Pines limits his own red meat content to "a beast about the size of a Goat, and almost such a like creature, which brought two young ones at a time" (TIoP 11). To be fair to Crusoe, he recognizes the benefits of a goat as well and develops a herd of them. Indeed, the ingenious domesticator claims that, "I not only had Goats Flesh to feed on when I pleas'd, but Milk too" (RC 116). Hence, Crusoe manages to have his goat's milk and eat it too. The Dutchman also expresses Crusoean sentiments regarding his desire for animal flesh. Whilst stocking up for his next journey beyond Pines, Van Sloetten

takes a "good store of the flesh of a Beast which they call there a Reval, being in tast [sic] different either from Beef or Swines-flesh, yet very delightful to the Pallate, and exceedingly nutrimental" (TIoP 27).

As a utopian milieu, the natural habitat poses no risks to the Pineans: "neither was there any hurtful beast to annoy us" (TIoP 11). With their safety and well-being secured, Pines ventures into the island hinterland in an attempt to procure some fresh meat for himself and his company. Shortly thereafter, the reader is made aware that the Isle of Pines plays host to a number of species, ripe for the taking, and always pleasing to the palate. Through the plentiful combination of plant and animal life on the island, Pines happily confesses "that we wanted nothing to keep us alive" (TIoP 10). Fortunately, Robinson Crusoe also finds himself in the same favoured position as Pines, as Crusoe thankfully proclaims the copiousness of nature: "I possess'd infinitely more than I knew what to do with" (RC 102).

With regard to the various types of plant and animal life, Crusoe's, Pines's, and Van Sloetten's descriptive "sort of" phrases are used to persuasive ends. Through the rhetoric of similarity, both Defoe and Neville pass off their respective natural habitats with the language referential to England. The previously unknown plants and animals are "much like," or resemble a "sort of" English breed or species. By employing this rhetorical method, both writers not only convey the images they desire, but they also convince the reader of the plausibility of these new and different natural island ecosystems. As Crusoe notes, "there were divers other Plants which I had no Notion of, or Understanding about" (RC 78-9) — that is, he cannot recognise or describe them, so he ignores them.

Although Pines, Crusoe, and Van Sloetten were all quick to define and

exploit the wildlife they came across, later generations of Pines are not as perceptive as our bold adventurers. Unlike the experienced travellers, the Pines are, in fact, quite inept when it comes to comprehending something they have never witnessed before. So asinine are they, that the islanders believe a set of bagpipes is a beast. This amusing episode appears in the postscript, where Neville takes a parting shot at the intelligence of not only the Pinean population, but also the Irish as well. In a waggish scene, the Pines appear dumbfounded when an "Irish man named Dermot Conelly [appears] who had formerly been in England, and had learned there to play on the Bag-pipes... yet so un Englished he was, that he had quite forgotten your language" (TIoP 31). Fortunately, although he was unable to converse with the Pines, Conelly manages to entertain the island populace semiotically, for he still

> retained his Art of Bagpipe-playing, in which he took ordinary delight; being one day on Land in the Isle of Pines, he played on them, but to see the admiration of those naked people concerning them, would have stricken you into admiration; long time it was before we could perswade them that it was not a living creature, although they were permitted to touch and feel it... (TIoP 31).

Clearly, Van Sloetten's point here is that the English Pines are so detached from English civilization that they mistake a musical instrument for an animal. Although the sound the bagpipes produce have been likened by hostile cultures to the squeezing of a cat under one's arm and biting on its tail, in no way does this wind instrument visually resemble a living, breathing, or even suffering, for that matter, creature. Hence, when Van Sloetten represents the Pinean population as "very intelligible, retaining a great part of the Ingenuity and Gallantry of the English Nation," (TIoP 31) we can assume that the Dutch narrator is being facetious because they do not know a bagpipe from a banshee.

Chapter Two
The Politics of Colonization

> Shall quips and sentences and these paper bullets of the brain awe a man from the career of his humour? No; the world must be peopled.
> — William Shakespeare *Much Ado About Nothing*, II, iii

For an Englishman like George Pines, a utopian colony requires an English utopian social structure. By importing English ideologies to his new island home, Pines takes the traditional English patriarchal social structure to extremes. In doing so, the once-humble bookkeeper becomes a ruling elitist, racist, and polygynist colonizer. The dogmatic beliefs held and voiced by the narrator George Pines do not necessarily reflect those of the writer Neville, however. Because "theoretically, the utopia should be a criticism of actualities by a hypothetical criterion, the utopian state,"[1] Neville is engaging in a critique of English politics. By extending commonly-held English notions, such as the Great Chain of Being,[2] to their outermost limits, his literary hoax indirectly and ironically criticizes the dominant bigoted patriarchal ideologies of seventeenth-century England through the island society.

The highly stratified racist and classist ideologies that are imported into

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[1] See Ernest Baker's *The History of the English Novel* Vol. II p. 264.

[2] According to Arthur O. Lovejoy, the "Great Chain of Being was composed of an immense, or — by the strict but seldom rigorously applied logic of the principle of continuity — of an infinite number of links ranging in hierarchical order from the meagerest kind of existents, which barely escape non-existence, through "every possible" grade up to the ens perfectissimum — or, in a somewhat more orthodox version, to the highest possible kind of creature, between which and the Absolute Being the disparity was assumed to be infinite" (*The Great Chain of Being* 59).

the Isle of Pines and enforced by the island's patriarch lend themselves well to analysis from a post-colonial perspective, as Pines builds his very own consanguinous colony on the island. Although the story's exotic and isolated setting is far removed from the urbane world of the intended English audience, this narrative distancing does not alienate the reader. On the contrary, the intriguingly exotic fantasy of utopian fiction would have been extremely attractive to someone living in Restoration England. Undoubtedly, the seventeenth-century metropolitan reader would have found Neville's tale a most titillating story for a number of reasons, as the book's huge success proves.

The patriarchal theme which pervades *The Isle of Pines* is obvious. Although Pines does not rule with an iron fist or forcibly rape or hurt the women, he nonetheless is the undeniable ruler of the women. I will begin the first section by describing the Adamic patriarchy and subsequent patrimony on the Isle of Pines. In this section I will allude to both the *Bible* and Sir Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha,* and illustrate the intertextual similarities between these texts and Neville's.

Although Pines and the women are cast into Paradise, this Edenic island requires a certain amount of order to make the Pinean society "civill." Consequently, Pines takes charge of the island and establishes a class structure akin to that of his native England. In this section, I will examine the social system that Pines enforces on this new-found colony — a class structure that any Restoration reader would easily recognize as his or her own.

In Pines's estimation, the women are vulnerable and need his help; they "were very much troubled for want of me" (TIoP 9). The mutual desire expressed by both male and female eventually results in the establishment of a polygamous society. For the less tolerant critic who might claim that the story is

pornographic, in its polygynous content, it is politically-correct pornography, for it expresses a mutual desire between Pines and the women. True, the women are at a direct marital disadvantage for there is only one male to share amongst themselves. Soon, however, the women overcome this sexual drawback and make themselves content with the lone Pines. Thus, by virtue of their isolated condition and their human biological desires, Pines has no need to force himself on the women; on the contrary, the women are "content" and "longing for their share." In many ways, Pines's position resembles the court of Charles II —"the merry monarch who loves fucking much."[3] This section will concentrate on the courtly libertinism of the text — a common theme in Restoration literature.

What makes the content of the story even more exotic is the presence of a black woman and her subsequent offspring with Pines. Known as Phillipa because she has no surname, the female slave is the last woman to be impregnated by Pines and the first one to be sexually abandoned by Pines after she has left childbearing. Although her children do not resemble blacks, or even mulattoes for that matter, the children, known as the Phills, have a bad habit of causing trouble. As a result, two generations of Phills rise up against first Henry Pines and then William Pines. The insurrections are put down by the other Pines and the black leaders, Henry and John Phill, are put to death for their crimes. Thus the implicit patriarchalism of the story is linked to the implicit racism which assumes inferiority and treachery in the black race. This section is devoted to the cause of the cursed Phills who are unable to escape the symbolic attachment they have inherited from their black mother.

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[3] According to Harold Weber, "Even at the licentious court of Charles II, where both men and women indulged in the generous sexual freedoms initiated by [Charles] — the double standard of sexual morality put women at a direct disadvantage" (*Restoration Rake Hero* 147).

I
Patriarchy or *Patriarcha*?

It was through "Divine assistance" (TIoP 6) that George Pines arrived safely on the island paradise, and it is through the same "Divine assistance" that he rules the island. The ruling class ideology in England during the seventeenth century was grounded in concepts of order and the Great Chain Of Being. With this ideology, the monarchical throne was largely a theocratic one — the rulers being divinely chosen. Inherent with a divinely elected monarch are divine powers, better known as the divine right of kings. Numerous tracts were written arguing for the divine rule of the sovereign throughout the seventeenth century. Indeed, one of Neville's contemporaries, Thomas Hobbes, in his well-known *Leviathan* argued for the divine right of the sovereign. But without doubt, the most extreme form of patriarchal and monarchical system to appear in any seventeenth-century text was Sir Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha or a Defence of the Natural Power of Kings Against Unnatural Liberty of the People* [1680].

One cannot read *The Isle of Pines* without being reminded of Filmer's *Patriarcha*. Although *Patriarcha* was not published until 1680, this handbook of royalist propaganda was written before 1640, predating *The Isle of Pines* by twenty-eight years. Filmer's royalist views were common knowledge to parliamentarians like Neville. Even if Neville did not have knowledge of the bulk of *Patriarcha*, he certainly had knowledge of royalist doctrines which he despised greatly. Prior to the Restoration, Filmer was a well-published pamphleteer who spread his Old Testament views during the seventeenth century as the gospel truth, and a republican such as Neville was painfully aware of this fact.

Through the Adamic patriarchy established by George Pines on the Isle

of Pines, Neville was likely lampooning the royalists. If one considers Neville's text the tale of a patriarchal monarch, it echoes Filmer's tract. The nexus of power in Filmer's text was founded on "the Old Testament and the supposed monarchical power conferred by God on Adam in the Garden of Eden, which had passed down by way of Noah and the Ark until it safely ended up with the Stuarts."[4] In many ways, George Pines's patriarchal monarchy is as contrived as Filmer's because like the restored Stuart and Noah,[5] Pines sails across the ocean to create his own Adamic paradise.

In theory, Neville and Filmer had polemic concepts of utopia. In *Patriarcha*, "Filmer tried to demonstrate that democracy had disastrous consequences."[6] With *Oceana*, Neville and Harrington envisioned a democratic regime which would be beneficial not for the monarch but for the English populace. Unlike the authoritarian power base proposed by Filmer, Neville and the republicans remained committed to establishing a democratic parliament. Where the royalists assumed it was "natural" for the monarch to seize power, Neville believed it was "natural" to seize back the power and put it into the hands of the Parliament. In keeping with his political ideology, Neville flatly rejected the notion of monarchical absolutism. Neville's ideal republic was founded in an "Oceana," a utopia where parliament, not the monarch, makes the laws and enforces them. With this in mind, it is obvious that Neville would have loathed the regime George Pines establishes for himself.

If Pines had formed an "Oceana" on the island, the political situation would have been very different. Given the opportunity of a free election in the

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[4] See Maurice Ashley's *John Wildman, Plotter and Postmaster* p. 164.

[5] The biblical Noah was also accompanied by four women.

[6] See J. Sommerville's "Introduction" to *Patriarcha and Other Writings* p. xxiii.

early days of the island, there is a good possibility that Pines might not have been elected because from a democratic point of view, Pines is outnumbered by women four to one. Much to Filmer's and Pines's horror, one of the Pinean "consorts" might have been chosen to lead. Such a situation is reminiscent of Neville's *A Parliament of Ladies* where the ladies take charge of the government. Back on the Isle of Pines, however, this was not the case because the women remain disenfranchised as they were back in England. In a similar fashion to Filmer's first Stuart who "naturally" became king, Pines was neither freely elected but assumed monarchical power as the Stuarts did. Neville, with his patriarchal character George Pines, exposes Pines's unchallenged ascension to the throne. In all likelihood, Neville would have condemned Pines's claim to power, because as a republican he would have politically preferred an elected Parliament of Ladies over the patriarchal absolutism of Pines.

Neville's public disdain for both Filmer and his book was made apparent in the Republican refutation of *Patriarcha*. In his *Plato Redivivus* [1680], Neville "outlined the extreme royalist doctrines of divine right and non-resistance"[7] inherent in Filmer's text. Neville was not alone in his dislike for Filmer and his royalist cronies. After Neville's death, John Locke continued the attack with his outrage at royalist absolutism with the publication of *Two Treatises of Government* [1698]. Locke's treatises were a direct response to *Patriarcha*. Similarly to Neville, Locke ridiculed Filmer's notion of the "derivation of all kings' authority."[8] If one considers the position of George Pines as absolute ruler, then, Neville's text seems to not only parody Filmer, but also the monarchy itself. In the story, Pines has the power to exercise his will

[7] See Maurice Ashley's *John Wildman, Plotter and Postmaster* p. 225.

[8] See Austin Woolrych's "Political Theory and Political Practice" in G.E. Aylmer's *The Historical Background: The Age of Milton* p. 46.

over both his progeny[9] and his women. The luxurious comfort enjoyed by Pines mirrors the lascivious court of Charles II. For Pines and Charles, whether it is food or sex, these indulgences are only an arm's or an "arbor's" length away.

To fully understand the political infrastructure of the Pinean throne, one must examine its religious implications. Christianity is a patriarchal religion which would support both the male dominance on the island as well as the primogeniture Pines establishes. By extracting parables from the *Old Testament,* Filmer's patrilineal inheritence of power handed down to the eldest son was one of the important foundations of *Patriarcha*: "Younger brothers were inferior to elder brothers because they came after them in time, but elder sisters were inferior to younger brothers because women were in all situations inferior to men."[10] The patrimony of this elitist monarchical tradition is continued with Pines's eldest son, whom Pines eventually makes "king and governor of all the rest" (TIoP 15). To preserve the sanctity and power of the divine throne, William Pines echoes the patriarchal plea of his grandfather "not to let Religion die with him" (TIoP 16) because the dictates of religion will ensure that the monarchy prevails if and when it is challenged. Coinciding with the primogeniture of power is the transferrence of property. Although there is no form of money on the island, there is a "pallace" and maids and servants which will be inherited by the future Pinean monarchs. This concept of patrimony established on the island is completely reversed in one of Neville's earlier texts, *A Parliament of Ladies With Their Lawes Newly Enacted*. In this pamphlet, Neville's "Ladies" supplant patrimony with matrimony through parliamentary legislation: "If the Husbands

[9] Filmer claims that "indeed not only Adam but the succeeding patriarchs had, by right of fatherhood, royal authority over their children," which included killing one's children if the father thought it necessary. (*Patriarcha and Other Writings* 6).

[10] See Laslett's Introduction to *Patriarcha and Other Political Writings of Sir Robert Filmer* p.12.

be ours, then be their goods ours, then be their Lands ours, their Cash and Coyne ours, and all the immoveables" (APoL 7). Using the phallic logic of Filmer, Neville satirically undermines patrimony with *A Parliament of Ladies*, and a similar sarcasm is at work in *The Isle of Pines* as well.

With *The Isle of Pines*, Neville was indirectly attacking the monarchy itself. Considering the time-scheme of George Pines's life, this means a masked verbal assault on Queen Elizabeth. In the story, Neville explicitly locates the importance and all-ruling status of Queen Elizabeth when he mentions that the ship is under the "Queen's royal licence" (TIoP 7), and that "Eliz. [herself] furnisht out for those parts four ships" (TIoP 7). To place the historical context of the story, Pines registers the year "Anno Dom. 1589," during Elizabeth's reign — 1558-1603. Indeed, the reason Pines finds himself cast adrift is due to the imperialist expansion of the Empire into the "East Indies." By placing *The Isle of Pines* in the historical context of the late-sixteenth-century England, Neville articulates deliberate political allusions to the Elizabethan glory days, as Harold Weber has noted.[11] Perhaps Pines indirectly blames Queen Elizabeth for his estranged condition, isolated not only from England but from English society itself. Pines's "great terror" and separation is owing to Elizabethan expansionism. In this sense, the patriarchal behaviour of George Pines might be seen as attacking Elizabeth for what she represents — matriarchy. After all, "her presence in the title does remind us that Pine's elaborate fantasy takes place at a time when a woman, not a man, exercised royal power in England."[12] In

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[11] According to Harold Weber, "by the Restoration, Elizabeth's long reign had come to represent a distant Golden Age, and her glorious rule, called up by the title's allusion to the overseas expansion that England enjoyed under her, easily transcends and encompasses Pines's little sovereignity" ("Charles II, George Pines, and Mr. Dorimont: The Politics of Power in Restoration England" 205-6).

[12] Ibid., p. 205.

retaliation against matriarchal convention, then, Pines ensures that he is the patriarchal monarch of his self-titled isle. Clearly, both the fictional Elizabethan Pines and the living Restoration author Neville have their anti-monarchical political agendas. Unlike Neville, Pines's anti-monarchist position is short-lived as the hypocrite becomes a monarch of sorts himself.

As with decadent or paradisal societies such as the Roman Empire or Eden in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, the Isle of Pines suffers its own fall of sorts. When the island eventually "falls" in the Biblical sense of the term, the story assumes a didactic Puritan tone. As the Christian William Pines recalls,

> But it is impossible, but that in multitudes disorders will grow, the stronger seeking to oppress the weaker; no tye of Religion being strong enough to chain up the depraved nature of mankinde, even so amongst them mischiefs began to rise, and they soon fell from those good orders prescribed them by my Grandfather (TIoP 17).

According to Pines, a number of the islanders fall into depravity because they no longer attend the monthly bible readings which are part of the general meeting of the entire island population. Furthermore, Pines expresses the inherent wickedness of humankind — a Puritan notion. Having ignored this moral "Christian instruction" (TIoP 17), the fallen Pines suffer because the "sense of sin being quite lost in them, they fell to whoredoms, incests, and adulteries" (TIoP 17). At this point in the story the erotic nature of the text becomes mildly pornographic as Pines recounts the lewd descriptions of this perverted lot. The narrative reads much like a hell-fire and brimstone sermon of a Puritan clergyman: "Nay not confining themselves with the bound of any modesty, but brother and sister lay openly together; those who would not yield to their lewd embraces, were by force ravished, yea many times endangered of their lives" (TIoP 17). Through the god-fearing narrative, the reader shares the disturbing

horror of William Pines, who seeks some form of redress for the carnal sins committed by this debased group. Fortunately, by the grace of God, the Christian moral majority rises up and quashes the immoral uprising. Predictably, in keeping with the distinctly racial, Elizabethan tone of the story, "the grandest offender of them all was taken, whose name was John Phill, the second son of the Negro-woman" (TIoP 17). It appears that although John Phill has white skin, he has inherited the genetic "evil" of his black race. As a result, Phill is sentenced to death for his moral crimes as a warning to those who transgress the unwritten laws.

Recognizing that the island had no written laws, William Pines "with the advice of some few others of his Counsel, ordained and set forth these Laws to be observed by them" (TIoP 18). What his counsel creates is a set of six laws with draconian punishments dealt to those who fail to follow the written code. Four of the punitive measures result in death, while the remaining two result in the "loss of Limb" (TIoP 19) and "whipping with rods" (TIoP 19). For the first offense, failing to "hear the Bible read" (TIoP 18) one is "kept without any victuals or drink, for the space of four days" (TIoP 18). For the first offense of adultery, "the Male shall lose his Privities, and the Woman have her right eye bored out" (TIoP 18). For second offenses in both cases, one receives the death penalty. The death penalty for adultery might seem draconian by our own standards; however, English Puritans of the seventeenth century were proponents of such a punishment, if one recalls the Adultery act of 1650.[13] Being well-aware of the Puritans' Adultery Act, Neville is likely lampooning the

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[13] Roger Thompson notes that "the very emphasis that Puritans placed on marital fidelity and premarital chastity... was strikingly demonstrated through their so-called Adultery Act of 1650, which stipulated death for the crime, and the increased penalties for fornication" (*Unfit For Modest Ears* 53-4).

religious harshness in the form of Pines's barbarous moral code.

In keeping with the satirical nature of the text, Neville's analogy for the imposition of such harsh measures obviously has its scatalogical intonations: "Now as Seed being cast into stinking Dung produceth good and wholesome Corn for the sustentation of mans life, so bad manners poduceth [sic] good and wholesome Laws for the preservation of Humane Society" (TIoP 18). Pines's 'good and wholesome laws' are not humane in essence, however. On the contrary, Pines's punitive patriarchal measures constitute cruel and inhumane suffering, and those who fail to abide will, in a purely Nevillesque tone, find themselves in deep "Dung," as one would in *Patriarcha*. Unfortunately for the Pines, the fear of God and draconian punishments are not enough to deter yet another Phill from breaking the law. In this particular instance, the accused is one "Henry Phill, the chief Ruler of the Tribe or Family of the Phils, being the Off-spring of George Pines which he had by the Negro-woman" (TIoP 25). History repeats itself and order is restored as Henry Phill is brought to justice and put to death for ravishing "the Wife of one of the principal of the Family of the Trevors" (TIoP 25).

Apart from offering suggestions to punish lawbreakers with, religious references also recur throughout the length of *Patriarcha* and *The Isle of Pines*. Similarly to Filmer's and Neville's texts, religious overtones also pervade Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. Like Neville's Edenic paradise, Defoe's island is also blessed with natural plenitude by the grace of God. The abundant nature in both *The Isle of Pines* and *Robinson Crusoe* is divinely given, as are the fates of Crusoe and Pines gifts of God. Continually, the reader is reminded that the safety and good fortune of the shipwrecked characters does not occur by chance, but by divine providence. The references made to God's glory are not merely haphazardly

thrown in; they serve a rhetorical purpose. The personal histories of both Neville and Defoe show them to have been suspect in religious matters. Neville was charged for atheism and blasphemy,[14] while Defoe's *The Shortest-Way With The Dissenters: Or Proposals for the Establishment of the Church* (1702) caused him to be jailed for seditious libel.[15] One assumes, therefore, that each writer is being somewhat satirical with the intensive religious intonations which appear in their respective texts.

In *Patriarcha, The Isle of Pines,* and *Robinson Crusoe,* then, one can view the religious references as a special pleading to capture the attention of the religiously-minded reader. By relying on the doctrines of divine grace, Neville and Defoe allied themselves to the reformed religion, while Filmer appealed to the royalist anglicans. Persistent pleas to God for his help, and thanks when he comes through, occur in *The Isle of Pines* and in *Robinson Crusoe.* In *Patriarcha,* although God is omnipresent, He and the *Bible* are used by the divinely inspired Filmer in his argument for the divine right of kings. Similarly, both Crusoe and Pines are also divinely guided, as each one manages to salvage bibles from their respective wrecks. Like Filmer, the Bible brings comfort and peace of mind to both devoutly religious fictional characters. However, while Filmer and Pines cling to the Old Testament, Defoe embraces the New Testament. Evidence of

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[14] Caroline Robbins notes that "in Richard Cromwell's Parliament, Neville's friends were prominent, but his enemies were numerous enough to make trouble. On 16 February, 1658, these debated for five hours the matter of his religion or lack of it. If it were established that he was an atheist and blasphemer, then he ought to be ejected" (*Two Republican Tracts* 8-9).

[15] According Geoffrey Tillotson, "Defoe's anonymous pamphlet offended both the Conservative Anglicans and the Protestant Non-conformists. Charged with seditious libel, he was tried and found guilty in July 1703. Consequently, Defoe's pamphlet was ordered burned by the public hangman, and a warrant issued for his arrest. Defoe was harshly punished — condemned to stand three times in the pillory and detained indefinitely because he could not afford the heavy fine that would have gained his release" (*Eighteenth Century Literature* 234)

Crusoe's devotion appears in his journal: "In the Morning I took the Bible, and beginning at the New Testament, I began seriously to read it, and imposed upon my self to read a while every Morning and every Night" (RC 77). Like Filmer, Pines is as equally convinced of the moral value of the *Old Testament.* In the autumn years of his life Pines leaves the treasured *Bible* to his progeny: "for I had left still the Bible, I charged it should be read once a moneth [sic] at a general meeting... and charged them to remember the Christian religion" (TIoP 14-15). With God's words in print, the stranded men need no further divine proof of the almighty's power. Having enough to eat and being safe from wild beasts, both men give thanks to the Lord for this special grace. Although it is unclear to exactly which denomination Pines belongs, Crusoe separates the apostles from the apostates and has some neophytic converts of his own: "My Man Friday was a Protestant, his Father was a Pagan and a Cannibal, and the Spaniard was a Papist" (RC 188).

For further confirmation of a divine presence, God is reified in nature. Both Crusoe and Pines continually refer to God and his power. Like Crusoe, Pines has a continual habit of praising God's glory. Prior to arriving to the island he survives the deadly sickness aboard the ship "by Gods blessing" (TIoP 7). Of course the Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away, and after experiencing calm weather, "it pleased God... we were overtaken and dispersed by a great storm of Wind" (TIoP 7). The storm which eventually kills the entire crew does not drown Pines and the four women. On the contrary, as Pines says, "God was pleased to spare our lives, as it were by miracle" (TIoP 8). After living a long life, Pines thanks "God for his Providence and goodness" (TIoP 14), for God has blessed Pines so much he has a multitude of children "of all sorts" (TIoP 14). Pines prays "to God to multiply [his family], and send them the true light of the

Gospel" (TIoP 15). Lastly, in the glorious sermon-like finale of his narrative, Pines closes his tale with a truly pious tone, as he prays for the English Pines, "whom God bless with the dew of Heaven, and the fat of the Earth, AMEN" (TIoP 15). The religious fervour and zeal expressed by George Pines enhances the rhetorical agenda of Neville; by having such a devout character, Neville lends credibility to the story, for such a blessed person must be telling the truth.

With this hoax, Neville successfully executes a veiled attack on the monarchy and religion, and the patriarchy which supports it. His disdain for Puritanism and enthusiasm was well-known by his colleagues and his adversaries. Neville's rationalist and secularist leanings and his contempt for royal authority caused him to be imprisoned because he advocated a monarch-free Oceana. Thus one conclusion we can draw from *The Isle of Pines* and the life of Neville is that Henry Neville, if anything, is the antithesis of George Pines. Through his character George Pines, therefore, Neville is ironically criticising this patriarchal utopia.

II
Concordia Discourse

Thrust into this paradisal new world by God, Pines is obliged to impose order on this chaotic, uninhabited and "unCivill" milieu. With a total of five shipwrecked persons, civil society on the Isle of Pines begins. Being familiar with English society, having been raised in it and achieving the status of "bookkeeper," Pines deems it best to reconstruct a similar social system on his new "colonial" island home.

Social class is also an implicit part of the natural order of the Great Chain of Being; the next link below the status of the queen is the "master." Pines's

master is an English merchant in charge of the ship who was "encouraged by the great advantages arising from the Eastern commodities [and desires] to settle a factory there to the advantage of trade" (TIoP 7). The colonial intentions of the English aristocracy are both historically and textually undeniable, as Pines admits that "my master being sent as a factor to deal and negotiate for them, and to settle there, took with him his whole familly" (TIoP 7). Indeed, before being killed in the storm, the merchant intends to establish a colony in the East Indies at the request of the monarchy, not only for his own advantage. Pines, being next in line for the magisterial throne, becomes the unchallenged patriarch in charge of this new domain — the women and the island. Thus, before the surviving members disembark from the ship which was "broken and quite foundered in the waters" (TIoP 8), Pines carefully constructs the updated social hierarchy now that his master has perished. His list is hierarchically described: "onely myself, my Masters Daughters [sic], the two Maids, and the Negro were left on board" (TIoP 8). Listing himself above the women emulates both the *Bible* and the Great Chain of Being, placing men above women on the divine order. But more than Pines's patriarchal attitude is in operation here; the deliberate ordering of the women suggests social female strata as well, upholding, with some calculated adjustment, the archetypical class structure of seventeenth-century England.

A pecking order is established as Pines's narrative deliberately and methodically arranges the status of the women. Predictably the middle-class "master's daughter, Sarah English" is ranked above all the other women. Next, the two working-class "maids, Mary Sparkes and Elizabeth Trevor" are listed because they constitute the next lower class on the social scale. Finally, the lowest rung on the social scale is mentioned at the bottom of the list: the negro

slave, whose Christian name was "Philippa, she having no surname" (TIoP 16). Much in the way that Pines elevated himself from bookkeeper to master, Pines promotes the two maids along with himself. This social change does not occur until after Pines has mated with the two woman, however. Following Pines's claim that he "perswaded the two Maids to let me lie with them" (TIoP 12) first, a new social order emerges. To complete his mating of all the women, Pines next choice is his Master's daughter, while the final conubial act occurs with the only remaining female — Philippa.

Crucial to understanding Pines's hierarchical shift is the order of mating, because the ordering of wives is of particular cultural and textual importance.[16] The "first lady" of Pines, (Pines refers to her as "my first Wife") is his "beloved," Mary Sparkes. Pines's second wife is the other previous "Maid," Elizabeth Trevor. The most affected by this class shift is Sarah[17] English. English was once the master's daughter, but now she is no more than Pines's "third" wife. Least affected by the class disruption in Pines's colony is Philippa, for her status as "black slave" remains unchanged throughout the story.

Because he has ratified the English social hierarchy to his own benefit, it seems plausible to conclude that Pine's re-ranking of the subordinate women is, therefore, hierarchically discriminatory, in Jonathan Dollimore's terms:

> Discrimination descends through a hierarchy of the subordinate. Or, more accurately, hierarchies, including those of class, race, and gender, and within each of which subject is situated differently. Discrimination works through the asymmetry of subject positioning, and the plurality of hierarchies, as well as the brute fact

[16] In polygamous sects of the Muslim faith, for example, the first married wife is generally referred to as "the great lady, marking her off as the true wife" (*The Bible and Polygamy* 7).

[17] Of intertextual interest to the *The Old Testament*, Abraham had a chief wife Sarah, and two lesser wives. Neville is more than likely playing with names here. See Genesis 16: 3; 25: 1.

of inequality institutionalized in hierarchy itself.[18]

Dollimore's suggestion of "subject positioning" is of interest in relation to the illustration "A Description of Ye Isle of Pines." In the panel entitled "Pine Numbring his People" the subject positioning reveals the classes of the five pioneers. In the immediate foreground stands the patriarch George Pines, in the background, the symbol of domestic bliss, harmony and family values — the home.

The positioning of Pines front and center signifies that he is in charge of both his people and his "wives." But the positioning of the characters also signifies the social hierarchy of the principal characters. In this sense, the illustration follows the narrative of Pines.[19] Consistent with the text, Pines's "first Wife" Mary Sparkes appears to the immediate left of and in closest proximity to the patriarch. To the rear of both Pines and Sparkes stand the three remaining wives. To Pines's far right stands Elizabeth Trevor. Although Trevor appears farther from Pines due to her lateral placement, she is the spearhead of the trio, because she is socially above the other two women. Almost directly behind Pines is Sarah English. Although she appears slightly closer to Pines, she is, in fact, slightly back of Trevor. Somewhat "sandwiched" between Trevor and English and forced further to the rear is Philippa. The island hierarchy is, therefore, inscribed in both the narrative and in the illustration. Even when "death does them part" the subject positioning of the Pinean corpses still places Philippa on the outside:

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[18] See Dollimore's *Sexual Dissidence* p. 337.

[19] Although Pines mentions that the women were "attractive when they had clothes" the illustrator's conception of the Pinean women is not very flattering. Their features are drawn two-dimensional and too patently unattractive.

> but my Masters Daughter... at length she died also, so I buried her also next the place where I purposed to be buried my self, and the tall Maid my first Wife next me on the other side, the Negro next without her, and the other Maid next my Masters Daughter. (TIoP 15)

The overwhelming population of the island and its hierarchy are also noted by the visitor Van Sloetten. The Dutchman reports that even in spite of all their cultural misgivings, the Pines are "retaining a great part of the Ingenuity and Gallantry of the English Nation" (TIoP 4). The two English traits to which Van Sloetten is undoubtedly referring is the ability to cunningly perpetuate the immoral and slightly modified English class structure on the island.

With George Pines long dead, his ruling sons eventually become gentrified. Although William Pines is described as "though he had nothing of Majesty in him, yet had he a courteous noble and deboneyre spirit, where with your English Nation (especially those of the Gentry) are very much indued" (TIoP 4), he exerts sufficient authority in his inherited position, and becomes, through his inherited estate, a member of the "gentry." The "majesty" which William Pines seems to lack can be traced back to his grandfather's low birth, because when George Pines took charge of the island, he turned the traditional English class structure upside down. In this new world order, the first new master declared his right during the first days of occupation: "I being now all their stay in this lost condition" (TIoP 9). With no master above him, the working-class bookkeeper transcended the traditional social barriers which existed back in England by filling the ruling vacancy himself. The overturning of authority can be interpreted as somewhat of a republican fantasy since Pines is the bookkeeper who would be king.

One cannot, however, rule a country without a population of subjects. Always prepared for a challenge, George Pines overcomes this problem by

establishing a colony single-appendagedly: "proceeding from his Loyns one thousand seven hundred eighty nine children, which he had by them four women" (TIoP 16). Although Pines is ruler of the island, his bookkeeping days linger in his thoughts as he finally decides to make an accurate account of his familial accomplishments, in a sort of book-keeper's guide to sex. Pines's continual habit of ordering and numbering is perhaps a reflection of his previous occupation — bookkeeping. Although he is not an average accountant, Pines's tendency to figures is mildly comic and it conveys a certain distancing from the text. In this sense, Pines is foreshadows Swift's narrator in "A Modest Proposal." Confronted with his own Irish breeders, Swift's narrator reflects the tone of Pines: "I calculate there may be about Two hundred Thousand Couple whose Wives are Breeders; from which Number I subtract thirty thousand Couples who are able to maintain their own Children" (AMP 503). In a similar Swiftian tone Pines claims:

> Thus having lived to the sixtieth year of my age, and the fortieth of my coming thither, at which time I sent for all of them to bring their children, and there were in number descended from me by these four Women, of my Chrildren [sic], Grand-children, five hundred sixty five of both sorts... (TIoP 14).

For both narrators, numbering and counting are of significance. The insistent enumerating and totalling of the populace further adds to the satirical dimension of the text. The numbering of the tribes has, of course, its scriptural echo, as Pines becomes a new Moses:[20] "And now one for all, I summoned them to come to me, that I might number them" (TIoP 15). Furthermore, the illustrated panel "Pine numbring his people" also reflects a Moses-type character complete with a long beard and tablets for counting.

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[20] See the *Bible*: Numbers 37: 41; I Chronicles 21: 2; 2 Samuel 24: 1, etc.

Like Pines numbering his own people, Robinson Crusoe is also proud of his own newly populated island, even though the total population constitutes only four people. According to the boastful Crusoe, "My island was now peopled, and I thought my self very rich in Subjects; and it was a merry Reflection which I made, How like a King I look'd" (RC 188). Of course, the difference between populating Pines's island and Crusoe's island is that for Pines, population is a seminal issue, whereas for Crusoe, the manner is through the subjugation of his fellow islanders.

Unlike his predecessors, William Pines is referred to as the possessor of three different positions of authoritative power. Indeed, Van Sloetten indicates that William Pines is not only "Lord" (TIoP 24), but "Prince" (TIoP 25) and "Governour" (TIoP 26) of the island populace. The tripartite position suggests that William fills an absolutist position: master/ruler (as "Lord"), a ruler of a small state (as "Prince"), and one who governs (as "Governor"). The title "Prince" has a Machiavellian echo: Neville was not only an admirer of the Italian political philosopher, but was also one of the first English translators of "The Prince." Evidence in support of Pines's royal authority is further voiced by Van Sloetten, who claims of William, "now was he attended after a more Royal manner then [sic] we ever saw before, both for number of Servants, and multiplicity of Meat" (TIoP 24). William Pines "had about a dozen Servants of which to attend on him" (TIoP 25). Although there is no form of monetary currency on the island, Pines wields sufficient power to possess servants and the luxury of all the island spoils. Similarly, his immediate family share his status and its privileges, which by their very nature involves the subordination of other, lesser families: "his Lady or Wife, came likewise forth of their House or Pallace, attended on by two Maid Servants" (TIoP 4).

Van Sloetten and the Dutch crew, who are well familiar with royalty in their own nation, quickly realize that the Pinean conception of a palace is not suitable for a true monarch. With the Dutch implements aboard their ship, therefore, the foreign visitors are able to construct a home more befitting a "Prince"[21] such as William Pines. As Van Sloetten recounts the moment, "we got all our cutting Instruments on Land, and fell to hewing down of Trees, with which, in a little time, (many hands making light work) we built up a Pallace for this William Pines the Lord of that Countrey" (TIoP 23-24). But Pines's "Pallace" is not a Windsor, St. James, Hampton, or even an Oatlands. On the contrary, Van Sloetten expresses the limitations of construction in the isolated community: "though much inferiour to the houses of your Gentry in England [yet,] to them which never had seen better, it appeared a very Lordly place" (TIoP 24). Thus, by the third generation of occupation, the Pines's not only have an established monarch in charge of their civil society, but they also have the symbolic home which befits a monarchical leader.

III
The Polygyny of George Pines

Like other English monarchs before him, George Pines has more than one wife. But unlike the authentic English monarchs[22] who divorced or decapitated (in some cases both) their wives, Pines has four wives all at the same time — making Pines a polygynist. Where there was a multitude of both sexes back on

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[21] The kindness of the Dutch has a Macchiavellian motif: "It is a frequent custom for those who seek the favor of a prince to make him presents of those things they value most highly or which they know are most pleasing to him" (*The Prince* 3).

[22] Perhaps the most famous of English monarchs, Henry VIII, had a total of six wives, not including mistresses.

his native island of Britain, there is little alternative to the polygynous arrangement on the Island of Pines; the utopian colony needs populating and the only colonizer capable of providing the seminal issue is George Pines. By being physically outnumbered in terms of gender, Pines is unable to maintain a monogamous relationship with one woman. Moreover, according to his narrative he can fulfill the fantasies of all English and European polygamophiles by cohabitating and copulating with his four wives. With this androcentric utopia, Neville radically diverges from the marital customs set in two previous English utopias because "Thomas More banned polygamy from his *Utopia* and Francis Bacon from his *New Atlantis*."[23] If one accepts Neville's utopia as an "other" country, the Isle of Pines is an amoral milieu — both male and females are guided by naturalism.

Of course, polygamy did not begin with the British, nor did it begin in the seventeenth century. Polygamy is a term which denotes a marriage where there are more than two partners. The most common form of polygamy is polygyny — where a man has more than one wife — while the least common form is polyandry — where a woman has more than one husband. But George Pines was not the first Briton to practice polygyny. The first distant relatives of Pines, the patriarchal forefathers of ancient Briton, practiced if not polygyny, then certainly plural marriages. Caesar documented this absence of monogamy during his British campaign: "ten and even twelve have wives common to them."[24] If one considers Pines's return to an Edenic island as a return to ancient Briton, Neville is perhaps adding a bit of nostalgia to Pines's paradise — much like the early days of pre-Christian Jerusalem Dryden spoke of in *Absalom*

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[23] See Leo Miller's *John Milton Among the Polygamophiles* p.52.

[24] See E. Parrinder's *The Bible and Polygamy*, p. 6.

and Achitophel: "In pious times ere priestcraft did begin, / Before polygamy was made a sin."[25]

For certain cultures, past and present, polygamy is not considered a sin.[26] In Neville's context, however, monogamy was the marital code of the status quo. Although Thomas Hobbes was not an ethnographer, his *Leviathan* acknowledges the marital differences of other cultures and shies away from the ethnocentric view of the western Europeans: "in some places of the world, men have the Liberty of many wives; in other places such Liberty is not allowed."[27] Neville, having travelled in Europe and being acquainted with the domestic and continental controversies of polygamy, utilized polygyny in his story to incite interest and controversy.

Although there are no formal marriages (in the traditional Christian sense of the term) made on the Isle of Pines, the sexual order does contain a symbolic polygynous sexual hierarchy. In a political sense, the established patriarchal power relations on the Isle of Pines are in keeping with the English imperialist policy of divide and rule, or as Kathleen Barry would contend, "sex colonization."[28] The absolute power of the patriarch/monarch is illustrated as Pines divides and sexually conquers his subjects (the four women) and rules them through polygyny. Although the sexual format of the text is gentle, there is power in it. In this male power fantasy, however, the three white women are

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[25] See Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* [1680]pt. 1 lines 1-2.

[26] Parrinder notes that the Semitic and Islamic peoples have known much polygamy, as well as a number of African communities. See *The Bible and Polygamy*. p. 7.

[27] See Hobbes's *Leviathan* II Ch. 21.

[28] According to Kathleen Barry, "sex colonization is insidious. Not only are women dominated as a group — socially, politically, and economically — but unlike any other colonized group, they must share the homes and beds of the colonizer" (*Female Sexual Slavery* 165).

complacent and complicit.[29] Although there is no suggestion that the women are ravished, they are, nevertheless, "perswaded" by Pines to "lie" with him. The extent of what exactly Pines's "perswasion" entails is unclear; however, persuasion suggests influence and enticement, and ultimately, this is for the reader to determine.

Upon arriving on the island, Pines begins to establish his polygynous hierarchy by referring to the women as "my consorts" (TIoP 12), though they are perhaps better described as Pines's concubines in this veritable harem.[30] Once impregnated with his children, the women are referred to as "my women [and] my wives" (TIoP 14). George Pines is not only in control of the island, but his sexual power over the four women[31] is also undeniably patriarchal in essence. Interestingly, four wives is also an appropriate number put forth by John Selden in his *Uxor Ebraica*, a book which Neville was probably familiar with.[32] Neville creates Pines's character as an insatiable young male with four equally wanton young females. Outnumbered, Pines decides that he must satisfy all four of the women, and the women, we are told, want to be satisfied by him. In this sense,

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[29]According to David Spurr, "Colonial domination thus is understood as having a salutary effect on the natural excesses and the undirected sexual energies of the colonized" (*The Rhetoric of Empire* 172).

[30] In their study of colonial women, Yvonne Kniebiehler and Régine Goutalier maintain "Everything takes place as if the colonies were the harems of the West" (*The Rhetoric of Empire* 170). See also *La Femme au Temps des Colonies* p. 21.

[31] According to Kathleen Barry's historical study of polygynous societies, "in polygynous families there is conflict among and between the wives for goods and services from their husband. For control over women the optimal number of wives is said to be four" (*Female Sexual Slavery* 140).

[32] A. Owen Aldridge suggests that Neville's "selection of four as the number of Pines's female companions was based probably on knowledge of contemporary Mohammedan practice and of Old Testament customs upon which the Mohammedan practice was based. Neville may very well have known John Selden's explanation that a limit of four wives was imposed upon the patriarchs as the most proper to allow for the regular and recurrent fulfillment of the husbandly duty" ("Polygamy in Early Fiction" *PMLA* p. 467).

Pines seems to mirror the notion put forth by Kate Millet that "patriarchal myth and belief have always assumed greater sexual capacity in the male and argued from it a greater need which lent sanction to the double standard and perhaps even to polygyny."[33]

The polygynous import of the text might best be related to the political nature of Neville's own Parliamentary experience wherein polygynous legislation was introduced on two occasions.[34] But the Commonwealth Parliament was not the only venue for dialogue on polygamy, however. Based on *Old Testament* readings,[35] polygyny was argued for, and sometimes practiced by, men of various religious leanings. In seventeenth-century England, a few morally corrupt religious leaders, such as Abiezer Coppe[36] and Lawrence Clarkson,[37] made polygamy and adultery a public spectacle. From writers to theologians, from travellers to philosphers, polygamy became coffee-house talk during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The theologian Martin Luther and the continental philosopher and discoverer of calculus, Gottfried Leibniz, as

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[33] See Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics* p. 119.

[34] Aldridge notes that two bills were actually introduced to legalize polygyny. "The first was introduced in 1658, in a session in which Neville himself sat as a member, as a remedy for the murder of illegitimate children by their mothers. The other, presented in 1675, was designed to foster a more effectual peopling of the nation and to prevent the pernicious use of women" ("Polygamy in Early Fiction" PMLA 466).

[35] The *Old Testament* contains a number of polygamous households: Abraham had a wife named Sarah as well as two lesser wives (Genesis 16.3; 25.1); Jacob had two wives and two concubines (Genesis 29. 23-30; 30. 4-9); Gideon also had many wives (Judges 8. 30); but Solomon is the most prodigious of them all with his seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines (1 Kings 11. 3).

[36] According to Roger Thompson there were men like "Abiezer Coppe who preached naked, was 'commonly in bed with two women at a time' and kissed his neighbor's wife 'without sin'" (*Unfit For Modest Ears* 46).

[37] Thompson notes that "Lawrence Clarkson preached that there was no sin in adultery if it was done in the faith. Believing that 'all is pure to the pure' he proceeded to seduce girls all over the country" (Ibid. 46).

well as the English explorer Sir Walter Raleigh were all polygamophiles of some renown.[38]

Public discourse as well as published pamphlets also fueled the polygamous controversies of the seventeenth century. Bernardo Ochino's *Protestant Dialogue on Polygamy,* for example, published in 1657, "further stimulated serious argument about the topic, which the imbalance of the sexes in the middle years of the century had made an important issue."[39] This redressing of the gender "imbalance" on the Isle of Pines seems to correlate with Ochini's dialogue, owing to the male deficit on the island because the women outnumber the men four to one. Whatever the source of Neville's influence, polygyny is obviously practiced by Pines because he is the sole male who is equipped with a seemingly unquenchable sexual appetite.

One of the lesser-known proponents of polygyny was John Milton. Apart from the polygynous themes conveyed by both authors, Milton was similar to Neville on the political front. Both men had made their Republican leanings public — Neville in *Plato Redivivus*, and Milton in *The Ready and Easy Way to Establish A Free Commonwealth.* When it came to political beliefs and the achievement of a Commonwealth in England, therefore, Neville and Milton were more than unified. Though both writers were united politically, Neville's approach to polygamy was satirical, while Milton's was serious. Out of his own frustrated efforts at obtaining a divorce from his wife who abandoned him, Milton went to great lengths in trying to achieve a permanent and legal separation from his wife which would permit him to remarry. Milton's struggle resulted in considerable research and the written notes concerning this

[38] For an even more expanded and exhaustive list of celebrity polygamophiles throughout history see Miller's *John Milton Among the Polygamophiles.*

[39] See Thompson's *Unfit For Modest Ears* p. 100.

investigation are contained in his private *Commonplace Book.*[40] Although divorce was his primary intention, Milton came to realize that polygamy also provided a solution to his marital problems. Moreover, Milton's *Treatise on Christian Doctrine* devotes considerable effort to argument in favor of the "lawfulness of polygamy," as Leo Miller has clearly documented.[41]

As a Restoration writer, Milton was not the only proponent of polygamy. Another famous writer, John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester can be added to "the roster of polygamophiles."[42] Moreover, the polygamous dimension of Denis Veiras's *The History of the Sevarites or Sevarambi*, published in 1675, is said to be influenced greatly by *The Isle of Pines.*[43] In a similar Nevillesque tone, the Augustan writer Jonathan Swift, did not share the polygamous sentiments of Rochester, Milton or Veiras either. On the contrary, Swift was vehemently opposed to such a practice, and openly attacked others for entertaining such notions. While Neville lampooned the polygamophiles of his own generation, Swift's target of satirical abuse was Lord Chancellor William Cowper.[44]

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[40] Leo Miller's comprehensive examination of John Milton as a polygamophile contains explicit excerpts from the writer's *Commonplace Book,* which detail his polygamous leanings. See *John Milton Among the Polygamophiles* p. 4.

[41] Miller notes that "a few contemporaries knew Milton's private opinion on polygamy. His public opinion on polygamy was contained in the *Treatise on Christian Doctrine* , but Milton died before it was revised. The text remained undiscovered for 150 years, because when Milton's acquaintance Daniel Skinner tried to have it printed, the manuscript was seized and suppressed by the regime in power." Ibid., p. 4.

[42] Gilbert Burnet suggested that Rochester was a polygamophile: "The restraining of a Man from the use of Women, Except one in the way of Marriage, and denying the remedy of Divorce, he thought unreasonable impositions on the Freedom of Mankind." Ibid., p. 321.

[43] Aldridge devotes an entire article to the intertextual similarities between Neville and Veiras. See "Polygamy in Early Fiction: Henry Neville and Denis Veiras" *PMLA* 1950, p. 464-72.

[44] William Cowper, Earl of Cowper, 1664-1723, first Lord Chancellor of the united realm of Great Britain, "was reputed to have been a bigamist and to have allegedly written a treatise defending plural marriage. In *The Examiner* of January 4, 1710/1711, Number

Polygamy was not a theme Neville reserved soley for *The Isle of Pines,* however. In his *Parliament of Ladies With Their Lawes Newly Enacted,* for example, Neville inverts his polygamous process by introducing polyandry as opposed to the Pinean polygyny. Unlike the parliamentary-free milieu of the isle of Pines, back in England, the Ladies in this pamphlet control the government. While the "Ladies" hold Parliament "Mrs. Tattle-well" puts forth her argument for polyandry:

> Mrs. Tattle-well that spak [sic], who said, that it was not only fitting but necessary, that every woman should have two husbands; for said she, was not every woman born with two legs, two hands, two eyes, two eares; and every deep Well ought to have two Buckets, while one is coming up, the other going down. (APoL 4).

Where polygyny was unavoidable for George Pines, for Neville's Mrs. Tattle-well, polyandry is purely a matter of logic and not morality. The consensus of the Parliament appears unanimous as the speaker celebrates the utility of the new motion:

> It is fully agreed upon by us Women, who are here present, which find in better for us women to have 2 husbands, that if one be sick, the other may be well, one abroad, another at home: and this was Miss Tabitha Tireman, and al [sic] giving out it may be a great means to abolish the old custom of making cuckolds. (APoL 5-6).

Cuckoldry was a common theme in seventeenth-century English literature, and with this polyandrous law, the "Ladies Parliament," as Tabitha Tireman suggests, would eliminate this social evil completely. With the enactment of this law, the women or Ladies of London can freely indulge themselves with more than one spouse, as George Pines does on the Isle of Pines.

The extent to which Neville convinced the public with his polygamous tale can be found in a Polish reaction to *The Isle of Pines* during the early

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21, Swift refers to Cowper as 'Will Bigamy,' amongst other things." See (*John Milton Among the Polygamophiles* pp. 139-40).

eighteenth century.[45] In an attempt to convince his readers of the practicality of polygyny, a Polish pamphleteer used George Pines for an analogy. Published support for these unbalanced marital arrangements continued throughout and past the seventeenth century. The eighteenth-century English writer, Frances Blackburne, who wrote *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis,* claimed that that the inherent polygyny in *The Isle of Pines* was a "serious representation of the happiness that might accrue to society by following the dictates of nature."[46] As fantastic as it might sound, polygynous relationships did in reality take place on isolated islands in the eighteenth century. What's more, some of the polygamists were English. Perhaps the most well-known of these non-fictional stories concerns the mutineered crew of Captain Bligh's "Bounty." On the Polynesian island of Pitcairn, John Adams transcends George Pines's fictional tally of four wives; after much commotion, the mutineer claimed a total of nine women.[47] Thus, by the close of the eighteenth century, Pines's outrageous tale of polygyny was actually being reenacted by nonfictional English explorers, albeit corrupt ones. For better or worse, therefore, eighteenth-century readers were not skeptical of George

[45] Miller notes that Neville told his tale so aptly that a Warsaw pamphlet of 1715 by C. Wiernowsky, entitled *Consideration Inculpata,* cited *The Isle of Pines* as a type of good evidence justifying polygamy. Ibid., p. 244.

[46] See A. Owen Aldridge's "Polygamy in Early Fiction" PMLA p. 466.

[47] Greg Dening notes that "originally, the community,if that is the word to describe the traumatized group, was divided into four polygamous households. Adams had four women and their children in his house; Young had three women, McCoy and Quintal had two. Three years later, in 1797, McCoy, in delirium from drink, threw himself off the cliffs, with a rock tied around his neck. Five years on, one of Quintal's women was accidentally killed while gathering seabird's eggs. Beserk with liquor, Quintal demanded that he should have Christian's former wife. She was living now with Edward Young. Adams and Young agreed it would be safer to exterminate Quintal. Young killed him with an axe as he lay in a drunken stupor. A year after this, in 1800, Young himself died, the first of the mutineers to die a natural death. He wheezed his way asthmatically into eternity. John Adams, at the age of thirty-three years was now alone with nine Polynesian women, one eleven-year-old Polynesian girl, and twenty-three children born on the island (eleven girls and twelve boys)" (*Mr. Bligh's Bad Language* 320).

Pines's claims, because historical reality began to lend further plausibility and actuality to his story.

Of course, one has to assume that Neville's portrayal of polygyny in *The Isle of Pines* is satirical. Throughout the writer's life, there is never any mention that he was a proponent of polygyny, nor are there any serious pamphlets written by him in support of the practice. Knowing his own personal disdain for the Protectorate and Cromwell,[48] and religious practices in general, Neville was probably mocking the concept of polygyny along with those who supported such libidinousness nonsense. In his *A Parliament of Ladies With Their Lawes Newly Enacted*, Neville turns the polygamous table around and puts it in the hands of the "Ladies," jokingly illustrating the ridiculous motives and outrageous realities that coincide with polygamous practices. With both pamphlets, therefore, Neville undoubtedly lampoons polygamy for both sexes.

A.L. Morton suggests that "the history of Utopia... reflect[s] the conditions of life and the social aspirations of classes and individuals at different times."[49] If one considers Aldridge's suggestion that *The Isle of Pines* is a "romantic Utopia," then, Neville's story is parodic, for it was created in times of polygynous controversy. With polygamophiles such as John Milton, whose "social aspirations" led him to argue for the legal institution of polgyny, Neville's story is with little doubt parodying the Adultery Act of the Puritans, as well as the poets, priests and politicians who publicly advocated bigamy and plural marriages in England during the seventeenth century.

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[48] Aldridge notes that "in 1658 a writer seriously proposed to Cromwell that he should introduce polygamy, and on January 22, 1658, Cromwell ordered a Committee to consider the book concerning polygyny and report" ("Polygamy in Early Fiction" *PMLA* 466).

[49] See Morton's *The English Utopia*, p. 11.

IV
The Plight of the Phils

Much as in seventeenth-century England, the racial stratification on the Isle of Pines is undeniable. The extreme racial prejudice levelled against the "negro" Philippa is representative of the English slave-holder mentality of both Pines's Elizabethan ethos as well as Neville's Restoration milieu. This inherent racism directed against non-whites is not unique to Neville, but appeared in many travel narratives prior to and following the writer's career. Stories such as Richard Ligon's *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes* [1657], which provided inspiration for Richard Steele's *Inkle and Yarico* [*Spectator* 1711], as well as a host of other related stories, conveyed racial themes that included miscegenation. Although Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* and Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* fail to make mention of interracial copulation, both contain racial overtones. One consequence of these fictional representations in exotic locales meant that during the seventeenth century in England, blacks were usually portrayed as a highly sexual race[50] and of the lowest rank of humanity.[51] Such racial biases were, of course, in keeping with commonly held English religious-based beliefs of the time.[52]

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[50] According to Anthony Barthelemy, "early English and European travellers always reported on the supposed libidinousness of Africans. Recall that Leo Africanus [*History and Description of Africa*] reports 'no nation vnder heauen more prone to venerie' than 'Negroes'" (*Black Face Maligned Race* 12).

[51] The disgust the English held against the blacks is not only a product of English society, but can be traced back through the religious history of Christianity, as Barthelemy notes: "in the Christian tradition, whiteness is desired, blackness is condemned. White is the color of the regenerated, of the saved; black is the color of the damned, the lost. This allegorical reading of white and black finds repeated expression from the earliest of Christian exegeses to the present" (Ibid. 3).

[52] Keith Thomas notes that "although polygenism (the concept of different human species) was an uncommon sentiment during the seventeenth century, the pervasive monogenism of the period did not prevent the emergence of notions of racial inferiority, for blackness was usually regarded as a deformity and it was common to explain the different varieties of men in the world by saying that the blacks had degenerated from

The racial overtones in *The Isle of Pines* are overt and unmistakably discriminatory. Pines's own racial bias is revealed early in the story when he and the four women are first washed up onto the island: "we had the opportunity to land ourselves, though almost drown'd, in all four persons, beside the negro" (TIoP 8). Neville's use of the exclusionary term "beside" is indicative of the fact that Pines does not consider the black woman to be a person fully worthy of human status. Pines's outspoken bigotry would not have been out of the ordinary because at this time, racism in England was rife, and such prejudicial notions went unquestioned for the most part. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Queen Elizabeth expressed her desire to have black residents legally transported out of England: "a royal edict of 1601 expresses discontent 'at the great number of "Negars and blackamoors" which are crept into the realm.'"[53] Pines does not mention Queen Elizabeth's personal disdain for persons not English and not white, but his narrative expresses a racist ideology similar to Elizabeth's.

Pamphlets such as Neville's were not the only cultural medium of expression for disseminating racist beliefs; the Restoration stage of Neville's context teems with racial stereotypes of blacks, and derogatory representations also pervaded the Elizabethan stage of Pines's time. Indeed, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, "as moral exempla, they [Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists] warn the audience of the blackness that results from sexual licence and the sexual licence that seems to accompany blackness."[54] On the Isle of Pines, George Pines seems to reflect the Elizabethan notions of negroes during

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their common ancestor, Adam, while the whites had stayed constant or even improved" (*Man and the Natural World* 135-36).

[53] See Dollimore's *Sexual Dissidence* p. 155.

[54] See Barthelemy's *Black Face Maligned Race* p. 120.

his short contemplative monologues concerning his negro wife, Philippa.

With regard to human bondage, Neville's story is, in some ways, remarkably similar to Richard Ligon's *True and Exact History of the Barbadoes*. In *The Isle of Pines*, Philippa is first described as the "negro female slave" (TIoP 7), yet as the story progresses, the "slave" becomes the possession of George Pines. Soon into his narrative and through to the story's conclusion he refers to her as "my negro." Although Philippa is one of Pines's four wives, Ligon's Thomas Inkle manages to maintain a monogamous relationship with his Indian slave Yarico during their time together. As Philippa was before coming to the Isle of Pines, Yarico becomes a human commodity and is eventually sold into slavery:

> To be short, Mr. Thomas Inkle, now coming into English Territories, began seriously to reflect upon his loss of Time, and to weigh with himself how many Days Interest of his Mony [sic] he had lost during his Stay with Yarico. This Thought made the Young Man very pensive, and careful what Account he should be able to give his Friends of his Voyage. Upon which Considerations, the prudent and frugal young Man sold Yarico to a Barbadian Merchant; notwithstanding that the poor Girl, to incline him to commiserate her Condition, told him that she was with Child by him: But he only made use of that Information, to rise in his Demands upon the Purchaser. (IAY 8).

Fortunately for Philippa, Pines is unable to sell her to a stranger (because no foreigners arrive during Pines's lifetime), but for all intents and purposes, she remains a slave on the island and is labelled as such. On a social level, Philippa is doubly disqualified: she is not only of the lowest class — a slave — she is also black and accordingly sanctioned against within Pines's racist colonial social structure. Of particular social and historical interest with regard to the black female is the concept of human ownership, as Pines becomes a veritable slave-holder himself, and Philippa is exploited as sex-object and mother.

The accompanying frontispiece "A Description of Ye Isle of Pines"

illustrates the semiotic blackness of Philippa. So emphasized is her dark skin, that the woman appears as little more than a non-descript shadow of a woman. Unlike the three white women who have been drawn with distinct facial features, Philippa is portrayed as a dark void. Her blackness is so over-exaggerated that one cannot even see the whites of her eyes. Moreover, the woman has not only been spatially placed behind George Pines, but also behind his three white wives as well. Thus, the illustration in this particular instance follows the racial narrative tone of the text which pushes Philippa to the rear of the white majority — she is the least desired, and without her eyes she can't even see it.

With regard to the sexual domain on the island, Philippa proves to be the least desirable of Pines's wives. Prior to Pines's sexual encounter with Philippa, the lusty male first has intercourse with the three white women. To complete his sexual conquest of the island, Pines has only the negro left to seduce, since there were "none now remaining but my negro, who seeing what we did, longed also for her share" (TIoP 12). The attraction that the yearning or pining negro has for Pines is not mutual, because, unlike the case of the attractive white females, Pines's narrative makes no mention of any romantic longings for Philippa. As a result of Pines's initial rejection of the negro, therefore, Philippa must trick Pines into having coitus with her:

> One night, I being asleep, with the consent of the others, my negro got close to me, thinking in the dark to beguile me, but I awaking and feeling her, perceiving who it was, yet willing to try the difference, satisfied myself with her, as well as with one of the rest. (TIoP 12).

What is most provocative about this passage is Pines's possessive description of "his" negro as a woman who is somehow less than human and "different." Although it is dark, Pines claims he can "perceive" and "feel" the "difference" of

the black woman in comparison to the white women; a kind of instinctual response is what Pines seems to be suggesting here. This hesitance or fear, combined with the curious desire that Pines expresses in regard to Philippa is a phenomenon described by Frantz Fanon.[55]

In a similar tone to Pines, Thomas Inkle expresses an aversion for negro women. Inkle explains his definite preference for Indian slaves over the negro: "the [Indian] women who are better verst in ordering the Cassavie and making bread than the Negroes, we employ for that purpose" (IAY 7). Like Pines, Inkle finds a similar "difference" with his slave Yarico in regard to her "Indian" physiology: "We had an Indian woman, a slave in the house, who was of excellent shape and colour... small brests [sic], with the niples [sic] of porphyric colour, this woman could not be woo'd by any means to wear cloaths" (IAY 7). Ligon's narrator is much more erotic, even flattering in describing Yarico's uniqueness when compared with George Pines, who bemoans the fact that not only Philippa, but even the white women were unattractive naked: "the truth is, they were all handsome Women when they had Cloathes" (TIoP 12).

Confused by his proactive response to the black woman, Pines distances his sexual interest in Philippa by calling it curiosity; as he says, he was "willing to try the difference." This paradoxical mixture of reluctance and sexual interest Pines expresses with regard to Philippa is also part of his seventeenth-century English social ideology. Pines views the negro as a seductress and himself a willing victim because the negro is somehow deceitful as she "beguiles" Pines into coitus. After sexually "satisfying" himself with Philippa, Pines quickly

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[55] Fanon "stresses the white person's fear of and fascination with the imagined sexual potency of the negro; 'For the majority of white men the Negro represents the sexual instinct (in its raw state). The Negro is the incarnation of a genital potency beyond all moralities and prohibitions'" (*Sexual Dissidence* 345). See also Fanon's *Black Skin White Mask*.

moves on, however. In an attempt to prove Philippa's inadequacies as a mate, as well as his own sexual potency, the insatiable Pines satisfies himself with one of the white women.[56] The white woman he chooses, however, seems to be of little significance since Pines doesn't bother to mention her name. Moreover, Pines fails to mention whether or not Phillipa has been satisfied; but then, as Weber notes, on the Isle of Pines, "female desire hardly exists in its own right."[57] Pines's immediate sexual shift onto one of the white women might also be considered an act of reclamation. By "satisfying" himself with another, Pines is reclaiming the power of desire from Philippa and exercises it himself over one of the white women. In this sense, Pines the colonizer is using sex as power over the women to prove his authority.[58] After fornicating with the negro woman, Pines essentially absolves himself from the responsibility for his actions; unable to resist the duping temptations of Philippa, he was "beguiled" during the night into copulation. This notion of the black woman as a threatening deceiver was a popular theme in Pines's Elizabethan England.[59]

On the island, Pines finds Philippa sexually threatening because she is

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[56] Pines's phrase "as well as with one of the rest" is admittedly ambiguous. "As well as" does not necessarily mean "and also with" but might also mean "as completely as." In this sense, Pines might be using a comparative idiom to express the sexual similarity between the black and white women.

[57] See Harold Weber's "Charles II, George Pines, and Mr. Dorimont: The Politics of Sexual Power in Restoration England." *Criticism*. Spring 1990, Vol. XXXII, No. 2, p. 203.

[58] According to Michel Foucault, "sexuality has been tied to recent devices of power; it has been expanding at an increasing rate since the seventeenth century; that has sustained it is not governed by reproduction; it has been linked from the outset with the intensification of the body — with its exploitation as an object of knowledge and an element in relations of power" (*History of Sexuality* Vol. 1 107).

[59] According to Anthony Barthelemy, "male weakness stands out in stark relief against a background of beleaguered virtue. When we recognize this, we see more clearly the danger that black women present to the community. Although white men may recast the virtues and attractions of black women, these same men do not always prove themselves successful at controlling their own libidinousness, affections, and desires" (*Black Face Maligned Race* 146).

the aggressor — it is Philippa who pursues Pines, as opposed to what one traditionally has come to expect. The aggressive nature of exotic women is also found in *Gulliver's Travels*, when Gulliver is literally attacked by a female Yahoo who sees him bathing in the nude:

> It happened that young Female Yahoo standing behind a Bank, saw the whole Proceedings: and inflamed by Desire, as the Nag and I conjectured, came running with all Speed, and leaped into the Water within five Yards of the Place where I bathed. I was never in my Life so terribly frighted; the Nag was grazing at some Distance, not suspecting any Harm; She embraced me after a most fulsome Manner; I roared as loud as I could and the Nag came galloping towards me, whereupon she quitted her Grasp, with the utmost Reluctancy, and leaped upon the opposite Bank, where she stood grazing and howling all the time I was putting on my Cloaths. (GT IV 438-9).

Unlike Pines, who views himself as a willing victim, Gulliver sees himself as an unwilling victim at the mercy of the atavistic young Yahoo. But unlike Pines, who overcomes his aversion and mates with Philippa, the horrified Gulliver would never sink to Pines's level because, as he forthrightly states, "I could not reflect without some Amazement, and much Sorrow, that the Rudiments of Lewdness, Coquetry, Censure, and Scandal, should have Place by Instinct in Womankind" (GT IV 433).

Although the generous Pines allows this "longing negro" to get her share and be impregnated like the other white women, she is not equally regarded. According to Pines, it is solely out of the desire to reproduce that he sexually "meddles" with Philippa. Once pregnant, Philippa is treated differently from the white women, because Pines would "not lie with the black at all after she was with child" (TIoP 12). Moreover, Philippa is portrayed as a veritable birthing machine. Unlike the white woman who experiences some discomfort, and "who being something fat sped worse at her labour" (TIoP 1), Philippa "had no pain at

all" (TIoP 13). With this description Philippa is more beastlike in her nature. Apart from his gestative disdain, Pines's initial repulsion for Philippa continues to haunt the black woman for her entire life. Even at the height of his sexual prowess, Pines insists that he would only have sex with Philippa under the cover of darkness: "I lay with her, which was in the night and not else, my stomach would not serve me, although she was one of the handsomest blacks I had seen" (TIoP 13). Despite Philippa's apparent "handsomeness" Pines cannot overcome his racially-based aversion for the black woman. Pines's disgust is so deeply rooted, in fact, that he claims he would become physically ill if he saw Philippa when they are engaged in intercourse. Lemuel Gulliver voices similar Pinean sentiments in regard to the aggressive female Yahoo he observes and although Gulliver is repulsed by the physical sight of the Yahoo, it is apparent that his nose cannot overcome the overwhelming pheromonal stench either. Moreover, *Gulliver's Travels* also mocks the concept of a bigamous, if not polygamous society, because the sexual exploits of both the male and female Yahoos are similar to the hedonistic and polygynous actions of George Pines and Philippa. In some ways, Pines's random mating of the four women resembles the indiscriminate mating habits of Swift's Yahoos:

> a Female Yahoo would often stand behind a Bank or a Bush, to gaze on the yound Males passing by, and then appear, and hide, using many antick Gestures and Grimaces; at which time it was observed, that she had a most offensive Smell; and when any of the Males advanced, would slowly retire, looking often back, and with a counterfeit Shew of Fear, run off into some convenient Place where she knew the Male would follow her. (GT 432-33).

Though Swift's description of Yahoo mating is much more indelicate than Neville's on the Isle of Pines, in both texts the female's sole purpose is for pleasure and for reproduction. Where Pines bemoans the fact that "my stomach

would not serve me" when he is with Phillipa in the light, Gulliver claims an equally unnerving complaint with regard to the unattractiveness of a young female Yahoo, "which might have been some Excuse of an Appetite a little irregular" (GT IV 439). For Gulliver, it is not only the unflattering appearance of the female Yahoos whose "Dugs hung between their forefeet" (GT IV 361), but it is also the "most offensive Smell" of the Yahoos which turns his stomach. However, to what extent Neville might agree with Pines's actions is unknown, owing to the fictional, as well as the hoax dimension of the text.

For both Pines and Gulliver, then, the exotic women, although highly sexual, are unappealing, and yet, as with Philippa, Gulliver has some residual feeling — as in his description of his Yahoo as young and not quite as repulsive as the rest: "[she was] black as a Sloe, and her Countenance did not make an Appearance altogether so hideous as the rest of the Kind; for, I think, she could not be above Eleven Years old" (GT IV 439). Contrary to Pines, however, it is the young Yahoo's blackness that makes her tolerable to Gulliver: "Neither was the Hair of this Brute of a Red Colour" (GT IV 439). The tolerant attitudes both Gulliver and Pines exhibit with regard to the exotic females they encounter illustrate that although their characters claim dislike for the women, there is nevertheless a curious interest expressed for these unusual members of the opposite sex.

After Philippa gives birth to twelve of his "very fleshy" offspring (TIoP 13), Pines denies the transgression of the racial taboo by insisting that his mulatto offspring are "fine white" infants and "her children were as comly [sic] as the rest" (TIoP 13). Deny as he might, however, Pines cannot shake his true feelings for the post-natal Philippa: "My negro having had twelve, was the first that left childbearing, so I never meddled with her more" (TIoP 14). From Pines's

narrative, it is clear that he has little compassion or feeling of love for Philippa. Pines's emotional detachment from the black woman is ultimately exhibited when there is no remorse expressed when Philippa untimely expires. Instead he merely offers a description: "my Negro died suddenly, but I could not perceive any thing that ailed her" (TIoP 14). If we accept that, in seventeenth-century literature at least, people in good health and middle years did not suddenly die, without symptoms or prior warning — the conventional phrase is "sickened and died" — then Pines's peevishly self-centred comment on Philippa's death suggests that he was not paying attention to her. By virtue of Pines's tone, therefore, Philippa performs little more than a utilitarian function on the Isle of Pines: she is a suspicious black baby producer who curiously produces white babies "with no pain at all" (TIoP 12). If one examines Philippa strictly in the role of mother and mate, then, her redeeming virtue is founded in her colonial duty as an exotic handmaiden to the populator of the state, George Pines.

The reactions voiced by both Pines and Gulliver in regard to the foreign women are not unique to either man, however. In seventeenth-century England, interracial sex to the English was considered an abhorrent, yet somewhat exotic male fantasy. English society dictated that it was not proper to intermarry, but for many Englishmen, George Pines and Thomas Inkle amongst them, the outlandishness of such an act daringly draws them into the sexual relationship. Of course, more conservative elements were at work in England that upheld the status quo's disgust at interracial intercourse. Such sexual horror is uttered earlier in the seventeenth century by Shakepeare's Iago, who says, "your daughter and the Moor are now making the beast with two backs."[60] Shakespeare handled the matter of interracial sexuality in *Othello* coarsely by

[60] See Shakespeare's *Othello* I. i. 114.

using a "bestial" metaphor to make the Elizabethan view as explicit as possible.[61] But however repugnant Pines's or Iago's racial indignations might appear in our own contemporary context, the bigoted ideology each character espouses merely reflects the religious and social conventions of his time, and is not necessarily specific to the author.

The exotic nature of the black woman resurfaces also in nonfictional English travel narratives later into the eighteenth century with Captain Cook and his crew. Much like the desert island of Pines, Cook's Tahiti only reinforces the common racial stereotypes of the black woman. On Tahiti, there lived the black queen Oberea who was known as "a 'hooty tooty queen' for her easy morals."[62] Indeed, "Purea, or 'Queen Oberea' entered English imagination because she had, it was said, a tattooed bum, because she orchestrated a public copulation, because she watched while a young girl danced naked."[63] Although Purea might be considered sexually permissive or 'morally loose,' she is representative of the Tahitian aristocracy and not the populace. As royalty, Queen Oberea more resembles King Charles's polymorphously perverse body[64] than Philippa's fertile black body. Moreover, Purea's powerful position as 'matriarchal leader' is ignored when the story is retold back in England. Instead, the English only become acquainted with the black woman's erotic impulses and her taste for the potent white male as "she slept with Banks [one of Cook's men] while he had his

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[61] Barthelemy notes that "Blackes, in addition to being thought sinful, were also thought to be bestial" (*Black Face Maligned Race* 4).

[62] See Greg Dening's *Mr. Bligh's Bad Language* p. 267.

[63] Ibid., p.264.

[64] Weber argues that "a related tension can be found in the late seventeenth century, when Charles's promiscuous sexual behaviour calls into question some of the assumptions about social hierarchy, gender, and the erotic that support the monarchical throne" ("Charles II, George Pines, and Mr. Dorimont: The Politics of Sexual Power in Restoration England." *Criticism.* Spring 1990, Vol. XXXII, No. 2, p. 216).

clothes stolen."[65]

Although black women were often the target of abuse in travel narratives, black males often suffered a worse fate. The equation of blackness with libidinousness and savage sexuality is a common theme which rises in *The Isle of Pines*. Two generational descendents of George Pines by his negro wife Philippa lead violent insurrections on the island. The first, "John Phill, the second son of the Negro Woman... proved guilty of diverse ravishings & tyrannies committed by him, was adjudged guilty of death" (TIoP 17). In the next generation, Henry Phill stands accused of raping one of the purely "white" female Pines. According to Van Sloetten, "Henry Phil, the chief Ruler of the Tribe or Family of the Phils, being the Off-Spring of George Pines which he had by the Negro-woman; this man had ravished the Wife of one of the principal of the Family of the Trevors" (TIoP 25). In his narrative, Van Sloetten is all too conscious of emphasizing that the man in charge of this "Insurrection" (TIoP 25) is of part negro descent (a Phil), who has assaulted one of the purely white English Pines, (a Trevor). Like Shakespeare's monster Caliban, who complains "O ho, O ho! Would't had been done! / Thou didst prevent me; I had peopled else / This isle with Calibans,"[66] the monster Henry Phil must be prevented from populating the island with his demon seed.[67]

The act of naming the families is important on the Isle of Pines, because the Phils inherit their black past not by any physical features but by a purely etymological legacy. George Pines has insisted throughout his narrative that Philippa's offspring are white; consequently, the only way of differentiating the

[65] See Greg Dening's *Mr. Bligh's Bad Language* p. 264.

[66] See Shakespeare's *The Tempest* I. ii. 48-50.

[67] According to Barthelemy, "Black characters inherit their sinfulness directly from their Black progenitor Satan" (*Black Face Maligned Race* 131).

inferior family is by a cognate: the "Phils." Through the process of cultural denigration,[68] the Phils are marked as "different" if not by nature, by name. Although not a visible minority, the Phils become an oppressed one through the manichean dichotomy achieved by naming. Unlike the Englishes, the Sparks, or the Trevors, the Phils are the lowest ranking "fourth" (TIoP 19) family in Pines's order. Moreover, the Phils are a cursed lot; even though they have not acquired the black skin of their mother, the tribe has inherited and bequeath the sexuality associated with black people. Indeed, although Henry Phil has inherited his surname from his slave mother Philippa, one cannot ignore the cognate similarities between "Phils" and "Philistines." The Biblical link between the two groups seem plausible since the Phils, like the Philistines, embody the hostile antithesis to civilized culture. Moreover, the Phils' "ravishing" attack on the white woman merely reinforces the commonly held notions of Elizabethan and Restoration England concerning the sexual powers of the black male.

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[68] According to Bill Ashcroft, **cultural denigration** is "the conscious or unconscious oppression of the indigenous personality and culture by a supposed superior racial or cultural model" (*The Empire Writes Back* 9).

Chapter Three
Neville's Political and Pornographic Agenda

A smile is the chosen vehicle for all ambiguities.
— Herman Melville *Pierre* bk. IV

Although modern critics consider Neville's story a novella or novelette, *The Isle of Pines* was printed and sold as a pamphlet. During the seventeenth-century, the distribution of pamphlets rapidly became widespread as these inexpensive publications circulated amongst all the classes. Pamphlets became a growing cultural phenomenon, and were regularly exchanged and traded for both interest and profit. A great part of the commercial success of the pamphlets coincided with a growing literate public.[1] More people than ever before now had both the ability, the desire, and the economic resources available to indulge their fantasies in affordable stories such as *The Isle of Pines*.

The pamphleteering trade went far beyond England's borders. The British exchange of cultural ideas and capitalist commodities with Europe meant not only an exchange in books, but an exchange in pamphlets as well. With this intellectual and fictional free trade, it is clear, as David Foxon notes, "that England was very closely involved in the outburst of libertinism on the Continent."[2] The Restoration era, when Henry Neville wrote, marks the

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[1] Norman St. John-Stevas claims that one result of the increase popularity of reading was a lowering of literary standards and the creation of an new class of hack writers. The Licensing Act after repeated renewals (1664, 1685, 1692) finally expired in 1695, when parliament refused to renew it. This change was not due to liberalism but to the general conviction that the Act was unenforcable. (*Obscenity and the Law* 20-21).

[2] See D. Foxon's *Libertine Literature in England 1660-1745* p. x.

beginning of libertinism in English literature; it was during this period that both fictional and non-fictional pamphlets with explicit sexual themes were becoming more predominant in popular print. Like many Restoration writers as well as publishers, Neville took great risks in publishing literature which was considered offensive if not obscene. The rude familiarity with continental erotica meant that publishers "were quick to import and naturalize it in England and ran the risk of successful prosecution in doing so."[3] Indeed, it was the introduction of libertine attitudes from the Continent that provided the inspiration and influence necessary for English writers to create English erotica[4].

Although *The Isle of Pines* was originally published in England, the text was translated and transported to Europe where the story was a celebrated success, especially in Holland, "the European centre of dirty book publishing in the later seventeeth-century."[5] Considering the reputation the Dutch suffered during the seventeenth century, Neville undoubtedly thought it most scandalously fit to have a Dutchman or two narrate the story and further enhance the hoax.

Neville was undoubtedly influenced by European erotica, and imported the candid sexuality of the European texts and created his own erotic realism[6]

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[3] Ibid., p. 4.

[4] Roger Thompson emphasizes that the inventiveness of Restoration eroticists makes a pitiful spectacle. There was no original English pornography; it all had to be imported from France and Italy. (*Unfit For Modest Ears* 212).

[5] Ibid., p. 23.

[6] Richard Randall defines the term 'erotic realism' as that which expresses the artist's or writer's 'healthy assertion' by portraying, even emphasizing, erotic aspects of life, in detail if necessary. Unlike pornography, it 'limits itself strictly to the description of the realistic aspects of life. It does not aim at exciting sexual passion, nor does it act as a psychological aphrodisiac, except in the coincidence of context. Its only real goal is to depict life as it is, including man's basic biological needs. (*Freedom and Taboo: Pornography and the Politics of a Self Divided* 70).

with *The Isle of Pines*. Although in our own contemporary terms *The Isle of Pines* is minimally erotic, in his own context, Neville represented a risqué *avant garde* movement in English literature at this time: Restoration libertinism. But Neville's libertine theme was not only imported from the continent; the iconoclastic behaviour in the story epitomises the current state of the morally bankrupt government and monarchy during the Restoration.[7]

As one of the more abrasive Restoration pamphleteers, Neville quickly established for himself a reputation for irritating his targeted audience — the various opponents of the Republican Commonwealth, namely Cromwell's Protectorate and the royalist faction that wanted to restore a monarch to the throne. His efforts to offend were, of course, premeditated and deliberate, and most often successful. Indeed, the extent of Neville's effect on Restoration political culture is reflected in the fact that he was jailed, exiled, and threatened with execution for his political beliefs and actions. Neville's personal and political affiliations got him into trouble — especially his association with James Harrington's republican group, the Rota Club, which made his life politically difficult, yet emotionally satisfying.

As with a membership to any club, Neville was often associated with those he associated with — other republicans. One such friend was the republican pamphleteer Henry Marten, who had "the doubtful distinction of being called a whoremaster by both Charles I and Cromwell."[8] Although Neville has been given a number of unpolite titles during his own pamphleteering tenure, "whoremaster" was not one of them. With his

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[7] According to Roger Thompson, "not only was Whitehall a cess-pit of scandals but its pervasive philosophy of libertinism served to undercut restraint and inhibition. Debauchery had become the badge of loyalty" (*Unfit For Modest Ears* 16).

[8] Ibid., p. 42.

previously sullied reputation, Neville's *The Isle of Pines* was a complex and ambiguous text for its Restoration readers. Consequently, Neville's highly problematic text has been referred to as a dirty book, a mere sham or piece of drollery[9], and pornographic primitivism,[10] to name but a few. And yet the controversy that surrounded *The Isle of Pines* is surprising, because the story is one of Neville's least offensive works, and his treatment of sexuality is much more delicate than in some of his other more coarse lampoons, such as *Newes From the New Exchange.*[11]

I
Double Dutch

Although *The Isle of Pines* concerns the perilous and paradisiacal times of the island's patriarch George Pines, this "True Relation of certain English persons" (TIoP ii) is retold by an intrepid Dutch adventurer named Henry Cornelius Van Sloetten. While it seemingly lends credibility to the "very fabulous" (TIoP iii) story, the polyvocal narrative voice gives the text several layers of irony, through the import of the intrusive Dutch narrative. In total, the reader confronts four narrative voices: Henry Cornelius Van Sloetten, Abraham Keek, William Pines, and George Pines. Thus the narrative, according to nationalistic lines, is half-Dutch and half-English.

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[9] Anthony Wood says, that "when *The Isle of Pines* was first published, it was looked upon as a meer sham or piece of drollery." (Bliss, *Athenae Oxonienses* iv. 410).

[10] See A. Owen Aldridge's insightful article, "Polygamy in Early Fiction: Henry Neville and Denis Veiras" where Aldridge examines the polygamous sexual dimensions of *The Isle of Pines* as a romantic utopia, in *PMLA* 1950, pp. 464-472.

[11] Roger Thompson claims that with *Newes From the New Exchange* that Neville is scraping a very slimy barrel... the excuse for this parade of filth is the new freedom of women. (*Unfit For Modest Ears* 104).

Neville's story begins with a detailed title page which reads much like a plot summary. Apart from the specifics of the voyage and the discovery of the island, there is a deliberate and prominent emphasis on the Dutch involvement in the story: "a Dutch ship making a Voyage to the East Indies, driven by foul weather there, by chance have found their Posterity, (speaking good English) to amount to (as they suppose) ten or twelve thousand persons" (TIoP i). As an English text, *The Isle of Pines* cannot be considered a heroic or patriotic story, because it is the Dutch and not the English who rediscover the isle of Pines in "Anno Dom. 1667" (TIoP i), and it is the Dutch who deliver the story to England.

Having inscribed the Dutch connexion, the inclusive celebratory opening of the recent discovery is followed by an epistle from another Dutchman, Abraham Keek. Keek is a crony of Van Sloetten, and the purpose of his presence in the text is solely to confirm the veracity of Van Sloetten's claims. The narrative finally gets underway on the following page, but the central story of George Pines does not. Instead, the reader first has to wade patiently through Van Sloetten's own episodic adventures, as the Dutch buccaneer relives his own hazardous voyage before getting to the main story: the shipwreck of the Pines. The text is well advanced before the reader confronts the first English narrator. Chronologically, the third narrator is William Pines, the grandson of George Pines, the fourth and definitive narrator of the text. It is William Pines who gives the principled Van Sloetten George Pines's presumably irrefutable history, written in the patriarch's own hand: "The whole Relation (written, and left by the Man himself a little before his death, and delivered to the *Dutch* by his Grandchild)" (TIoP ii). William Pines trusts Van Sloetten enough to take the story back to England, where its truth can be shared with an eagerly awaiting English public. The notion of the Dutch as *raconteur* is not far from the truth

during the Restoration. Indeed, the maritime distribution of stories by the Dutch became a common occurrence in the 1660's — a sight English seamen were too familiar with, much to the chagrin of the government.[12] Similarly, the Dutch had their own interests in stories such as *The Isle of Pines*, which is exemplified in the fact that the Holland was the first country outside of England to possess and translate Neville's story.[13]

The significant Dutch presence was purposely chosen by Neville. Having a Dutchman retell the story of an Englishman suggests the possibility of a bawdy satire. While overtly making the story more believable, Neville implicitly reinforces the pernicious reputation of the Dutch nation. During the Restoration, as in other English literary epochs, national prejudices were a way of differentiating the English from other so-called "vulgar" foreign countries. Most often, such associations were highly disparaging. One anonymous pamphlet, *A Brief Character of the Low-Countries* [1660], even described the Dutch landscape in a demeaning manner by referring to Holland as "the buttock of the World, full of veins & blood, but no bones in't."[14] Another of the most popular methods employed by English writers for separating the Dutch from themselves was to depict their Dutch rivals as a highly sexual and drunken nation.[15] The self-

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[12] According to George Kitchin, "official complaint was made of the dispersal of seditious pamphlets by the Dutch among the English seamen they fell in with in the Channel and the North Sea" (*Sir Roger L'Estrange* 170).

[13] Worthington Chauncey Ford notes: "From London the tract soon passed to Holland, which had ever been a greedy consumer of voyages of discovery, for the greatness of that nation depended upon the sea, at once its most potent enemy and friend" (*The Isle of Pines 1688: An Essay in Bibliography* 13).

[14] See James Henke's *Gutter Life and Language* p. 46.

[15] Judith Neaman documents that DUTCH CHEER, for example, refers to liquor and the merry mood associated drinking it. A noteworthy series of terms linking drinking and drunkeness with the Dutch was one of the legacies of the seventeenth-century war between England and Holland. Best known among these today is DUTCH COURAGE, the false courage or bravado inspired by drink and, a DUTCH FEAST is a drinking

explanatory titles of some of the more flattering English pamphlets concerning the Dutch during this period include: *The Dutch boare dissected* [1665]; *Dutch bloody almanack* [1653]; *Dutch ingratitude exemplified* [1672]; *The Dutch Nebuchadnezzar* [1666]; *Dutch Whore* [1690]; and *The Dutch rogue* [1683]. Hence, taking into consideration that *The Isle of Pines* is a sexually racy story (by seventeenth-century standards), Neville realised that a despised Dutchman was the most obvious choice to repatriate the immodest story back to Britain.

The mocking contempt for the Dutch was not limited to the pamphleteering trade, however, for it also surfaces in popular drama of the seventeenth century. In *Holland's Leaguer* [1632] by Shackerley Marmion, for example, the playwright exploits the libidinous possibilities of "Holland's Leaguer," a well-known seventeenth-century London brothel.[16] A contextual review of the unrestrained Dutch impulses voiced in Marmion's play are salaciously summarized by a nineteenth-century Piccadilly bookseller.[17] Although seventy years apart, Aphra Behn's *The Dutch Lover* [1673] and John Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan* [1603] also attest to the drunken sexual nature of the Dutch which characterize the century. Behn's fop, "Haunce van Ezel, the Dutch Lover of Euphemia," is the embodiment of the unpolite Restoration Dutch stereotypes: "*Haunce* [to *Gload*]. 'Thou art a Fool, I never made love so well as

party. (*A Dictionary of Euphemisms* 92).

[16] According to James Henke, Holland's Leaguer "was the most famous and luxurious brothel in England in the first half of the seventeenth century. Located in Paris Garden on the Bankside, it derived its name from the famous whore-turned-madam, Elizabeth Holland, or as she was better known, Donna Britannica Hollandia. Dame Hollandia catered only to the elite and among her customers were numbered James I and the Duke of Buckingham" (*Gutter Life and Language* 125-6).

[17] Bernard Quaritch, Bookseller, Piccadilly, has Marmion's play described thus: "Holland's Leaguer, or a Historical discourse of the life and actions of Dona Britanica Hollandia, the Arch Mistris of the wicked women of Eutopia, wherein is detected the notorious sinne of Pandarisme, and the execrable life of the luxurious Impudent, with the rare frontispiece of the celebrated brothel" (*The Dramatic Works of Shackeley Marmion* 3).

when I was drunk; it improves my Parts, and makes me witty; that is, it makes me say any thing that comes next, which passes now-a-days for Wit'" (TDL III ii). Moreover, Marston's Dutch courtesan, Franceschina is a professional prostitute: "*Franceschina* [to *Malheureux*]. No, No, I'll make you chew your pleasure vit love; De more degrees and steps, de more delight, De more endeared is de pleasure height" (TDC V i 29-31). Clearly, English writers portrayed both female and male Hollanders as sexually active characters: for pleasure and for business.

Of course, the Dutch weren't the only nation the English despised. In Neville's *Newes From the New Exchange*, for example, Neville mocks the Italians. By referring to "Italian tricks" in his pamphlet, Neville "is referring to anal intercourse."[18] The French were not spared nationalistic insults either, because in the seventeenth century, "to learn French" meant "to become infected with syphilis, the 'French' disease."[19] Apart from the libidinousness associations made with the French and the Dutch, the Spanish are also made mention of in Neville's *Newes From the New Exchange*: "And now we talk of a Stroke, I can tell you of a notable Striker, one Mistress L—— who has blown up and broke so many French, Dutch, and Spanish Merchants"[20] (NFtNE 10). By grouping the European nations together, Neville insults the sexual habits of all three with one "foul" swoop. For Neville, like many other English writers, nationalism separated the English from those other less-civilized European countries.

The deep-seated hatred the English had for the Dutch had its roots in both trading and naval warfare. As Eric Partridge notes,[21] the Restoration

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[18] See Henke's *Gutter Life and Language* p. 134.

[19] Ibid. p. 105.

[20] "Strike," as Partridge notes, refers to "copulation" and "blow" refers to "a sexual stroke or thrust" (*Shakespeare's Bawdy* 193 & 67).

[21] Partridge notes that the English use of Dutch "as both a noun and adjective were, in

attitude as well as the Elizabethan disposition toward the Dutch was one of disdain. The Dutch were not only portrayed as highly sexual, but were also painted as a violent and untrustworthy lot. An excellent example of the cut-throat nature of the Dutch is found in Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* [22] when Gulliver finds himself at the mercy of some swashbuckling Dutch pirates:

> I observed among them a Dutchman, who seemed to be of some Authority, although he were not Commander of either ship. He know us by our Countenances of be Englishmen, and jabbering to us in his own Language, swore we should be tyed Back to Back, and thrown into the Sea. (GT 241).

The anti-Dutch sentiments voiced by Swift, a Tory, during the Augustan Age would have undoubtedly been equally welcome in the Restoration. Some of the more common Restoration put-downs of the Dutch are also found in Neville's own *News From the New Exchange,* where the writer makes mention of a certain "Lady S——" by comparing her own drunken debauchery to that of a Dutchman: "She [Lady S——] out-drinks a *Dutch-Man,* out-jilts a *Courtesan,* and is good at all *Games,* but loves none like *In and In,* and sometimes she is for *Passage*" (NFtNE 7). Neville's own equation of lewdness with Dutchness not only exists in *News From the New Exchange,* but satirically underlies *The Isle of Pines* as well; the inattentive reader might fail to recognize that Neville is actually satirizing the stereotypical Dutchman, and so fall for the hoax. The more attentive reader would recognize the peculiar nature of the textual transmission.

Neville's subtle attack on the Dutch does not stop at mere sexual suggestiveness, however. The unforgiving Neville also mimics the Dutch language itself. A humorous verbal assault on the Dutch vernacular occurs as

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C. 17 — early 18 (owing to trade rivalry and naval jealousy)." (*Dictionary of Slang* 250).

[22] In the 1731 reprint of Neville's *Newes From the New Exchange,* a direct reference is made to Swift's Gulliver: "Printed by Tho. Edlin, for Captain Gulliver, near the Temple; and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1731" (NFtNE i).

Van Sloetten recalls his first encounter with the islanders of Pines. Like Gulliver, who mocks the Dutch pirate for "jabbering to us in his own Language" (GT III 241), Neville's Dutch crew does some uproarious jabbering of their own. As Van Sloetten retells the story, "approaching the shore, [we] asked them in our Dutch Tongue *Wat Eylant is dit?* to which they returned this Answer in English, *That they knew not what we said*" (TIoP 3). Although there is a discernable gap in communication[23] in the story, Neville's humour suggests a slapstick scene, unmistakably reminiscent of an Elizabethan or Jacobean play, such as Thomas Dekker's *The Shoemakers' Holiday*. In Dekker's play, the character Rowland Lacy disguises himself as a Dutch shoemaker, Hans Meulter and utters an equally humorous phrase "Yaw, yaw, yaw, ick can dat wel doen" (TSH I. IV 84). What unites Dekker and Neville is the fact that both writers have fabricated Dutch characters who speak double-Dutch for purely comedic effect, and in the process the writers make an even further mockery of the nefarious Netherlanders.

To further insult the Dutch, Neville exposes the sly underhandedness of Van Sloetten's story. Van Sloetten claims that there was only "One of our Company named Jeremiah Hanzen who understood English very well" (TIoP 3). But Van Sloetten's assertion virtually undermines the entire story's credibility, because if Hanzen were the only person on board who had a proficient understanding of English, it seems inconceivable that Van Sloetten could have written the story in English when he doesn't even speak the language! Hence, as Thomas Dekker might say, "Yaw, yaw, yaw, dat ist goed satire Meister Neville!"

The stereotyped baseness of the Dutch did not end nor begin with Restoration culture. Contempt for the Dutch is a tradition in English literature which began in the fourteenth-century. In Chaucer's *The Pardoner's Tale*, for

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[23] The correct Dutch grammatical phrase should read: "Welk eiland is dit?"

example, one gets a sense of the Dutch as a nation of riotous inebriates: "In Flaundres whilom was a compaignyè / Of yonge folk that hauteden folye, / As riot, hasard, styews, and tavérnes, / Where as with harpes, lutes, and gyternes / They daunce and pleye at dees, bothe day and nyght (PT 175-179). Chaucer's portrayal of the Dutch as unbalanced drunkards was coupled with lewd sexual overtones as the centuries passed. During the Elizabethan period, William Shakespeare picked up this debauched representation of the Dutch in a number of his own dramatic works. When Shakespeare used "holland," for example, it denoted "the anal area... the pun being Holland: Hole land,"[24] and when he referred to "the Netherlands" he used the word as a slang term which denoted "the pudendum and adjacent area."[25] Further evidence of Shakespeare's contempt for the Dutch is found in *The Comedy of Errors,* where he writes "I could find out countries in her... Where stood... the Netherlands? — O, sir, I did not look so low."[26] Shakespeare's emphasis here is on the word "low," suggesting that Holland is a "low country" full of vulgarians.

Neville is not content with one Dutch voice, however. For a more powerful comedic effect, Neville doubles the satirical levels of the story by having the Dutchman Abraham Keek (whose name means 'to cackle') lend legitimacy to Van Sloetten's story. Keek, according to Neville, writes "Two Letters concerning the Island of Pines to a Credible person in Covent Garden" (TIoP iii). From the very title of the letter, it is apparent to the attentive reader that Neville is being ironic when he suggests that a Dutchman such as Abraham Keek is "credible," considering the ill-repute of the Dutch. Moreover, by

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[24] See Partridge's *Shakespeare's Bawdy* p. 121.

[25] Ibid. p. 153.

[26] See Shakespeare's *The Comedy of Errors* III. ii. 112-135.

associating Keek with Covent Garden, he suggests an even more explicit illicit connection; Covent Garden was rapidly becoming renowned (at the close of the seventeenth century) as a brothel district. The more popular licentious associations of Covent Garden during the Restoration have been well documented by Eric Partridge,[27] and by Francis Grose in his *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* [1785].[28] Thus, Neville's "Credible person in Covent Garden," (TIoP iii) in actual fact, is little more than an incredible and highly suspect bawdy character in an equally licentious environment.

The venery of Covent Garden, as well as the theme of sexually-transmitted diseases, run throughout Neville's *News From the New-Exchange*, and the complex provenance of *The Isle of Pines* is presented as a kind of parody of transmitted infection. Neville's *News From the New-Exchange* voices the most offensive references to syphillitic occurrences. "Imprimus, on Purge for a Clap she [Lady F——] had from Sir Harry Mildmay, which was much invenomed by one he caught the Morning before from Bess the Cinder-Wench" (*NFtNE* 10). Neville also suggests a cure for what ails Lady F ——, "Item, an Astringent for a Ghonorrhea, given her by Master Scot, which has been intailed upon him, and his Family, ever since he strained at the Brewer's Daughter, behind the Ale-Fat" (NFtNE 10). As a hoax, some readers would not have picked up on Neville's anti-Dutch agenda. But by combining the loathed status of the Dutch with an insidious brothel district,[29] Neville's satiric purpose is clear.

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[27] Partridge notes that "Covent Garden ague" was "a venereal disease" and the expression "to break one's shins against Covent Garden rails [meant] to catch a venereal disease" (*A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*184-85)

[28] Grose records "**Covent Garden Abess**, a bawd, and **Covent Garden Nun**, a prostitute" in *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*.

[29] According to Judith Neaman, "one only need look at the many terms for sex — DUTCH WIVES [not a synonym for spouses], DUTCH HUSBANDS, DUTCH WIDOWS — and the fact that the sexual devotee may often find him or herself in Dutch" (*Kind*

Through Van Sloetten's voice, Neville can also mock the prudery and pretensions of the English themselves. He is surprised to "find in such a strange place, so many that could speak English, and yet go naked" (TIoP 3). For Van Sloetten, the idea of the naked English person is inconceivable, yet much to his initial horror and ultimate delight, he soon becomes accustomed to, if not fascinated by, the omnipresent nudity on the island. For a sizeable portion of his narrative, Van Sloetten becomes exercised over the states of female dress, in particular, the complicated vegetable cover worn by William Pines's unnamed wife: "Her privities were hid with some pieces of old Garments, the Reliefs of those Cloaths (I suppose) of them which first came hither, and yet being adorned with Flowers those very rags seemeth beautiful" (TIoP 4). His aesthetic response to Mrs. William Pines's floriated genitalia suggests his heterosexuality. The Dutchman is at a loss when it comes to describing the covering worn by the male islanders, but he obsessively observes of the female population:

> indeed modesty so far prevaileth over all the Female Sex of that Island, that with grass and flowers interwoven and made strong by the peelings of young Elms (which grow there in great plenty) they do plant together so many of them as serve to cover those parts which nature would have hidden. (TIoP 5).

In Van Sloetten's rubbernecking estimation, it is through a union of modesty, grass, flowers, and the peelings of young elms, that the Pinean feminine population naturally cover those "privities" which should be hidden.[30] Van Sloetten's own adventures take up much of the text. Like the shipwrecked Pines, the Dutchman has a few close encounters with danger himself, which he is all-too-willing to impart to his readers. Taking into account that this is supposed

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Words: A Thesaurus of Euphemisms 215).

[30] One might also conclude that Van Sloetten's botanical descriptions of the Pinean vegetative apparel gives a whole new meaning to Dutch elm disease.

to be a story about the Isle of Pines, Van Sloetten's long-winded prologue of events before he even nears the Pinean coast is a rude intervention in what is supposed to be Pines's story, and serves to augment the preconceived Restoration notions of the boorish Dutch disregard for others. Van Sloetten is delighted by his flirtations with disaster, and tells further exotic adventures of his own, even after he has completed his history of the Pines's.

The Isle of Pines is not the only location with strange customs that Van Sloetten visits. While enroute home, the Dutch ship has to stop in India for supplies and Van Sloetten soon finds himself in Calcutta. The sailors make some serious repairs to their ship, which, according to Van Sloetten, "caused us to stay there a full Moneth [sic], during which space, at leisure times I went abroad to take a survey of the City" (TIoP 27). Predictably, the wanderer finds himself surveying more than just the landscape. Venturing into the anthropological entrails of "Calcute" (TIoP 27), for example, Van Sloetten describes his observations of a curious Indian custom, concerning "persons whom they call Brachmans, being their Priests or Teachers whom they much reverence" (TIoP 27). Although the Brachmen are socially revered:

> It is custome here for the King to give some of those Brachmain [sic], the hanselling [sic] of his Nuptial Bed; for which cause, not the Kings, but the Kings sisters sons succeed in the Kingdom, as being more certainly known to be of the true Royal blood: And these sisters of his choose what Gentleman the please, on whom to bestow their Virginities; and if they prove not in a certain time to be with child, they betake themselves to these Brachman Stalions [sic], who never fail of doing their work. (TIoP 27-28)

The Brachmen somewhat resemble Swift's Houyhnhnms in that they have horse-like, or "stallionesque" qualities. Although the term "Brachman" is an "obsolete form of Brahmin,"[31] brach is also a derogatory term which denotes a

[31] See OED Vol. II, p. 472.

kind of hound which hunts by scent.[32] Neville's epithet for the male breeders is sexually suggestive because in the seventeenth century a stallion also referred to a man of lascivious life [and] a woman's hired paramour.[33] Thus the Brachmen never fail to inseminate the vestal virgins of Calcutta.

Throughout a considerable portion of his narrative, Van Sloetten demonstrates his receptivity to the sexual dimension of humanity. From full-frontal nudity to amoral nuptial beds, Van Sloetten witnesses a number of curious sexual practices, and although he apparently fails to get directly involved in the libidinous actions he observes, the keen eye of this Dutch seafarer ensures that he never fails to miss a stroke of the action.

II
Restoration Libertinism

Like James Harrington and other members of London's Rota Club, Henry Neville was a member of the Restoration's leading intelligentsia. As with any club or party which challenges a small but powerful ruling minority, members of that club become game for parodies and jokes. One of the standing jokes at this time was coined by "Samuel Butler, the Restoration poet, [who] suggested that Harrington should be allowed to go to Jamaica and establish his Commonwealth there."[34] The jokes directed at Neville and his colleagues only helped to inspire the writer to continue his own parodic

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[32] 1611 MARKHAM *Countr. Content.* (1649) 27 When your Bratch is neere whelping... you shall separate her from the other hounds. 1686 *Gentl. Recreat.* II. 27 in *Cath. Angl.* 39 A brach is a mannerly name for all hound-bitches. (OED II 472).

[33] 1676 SHADWELL *Virtuoso* IV, What are you, her Stallion and her Bravo too? 1680 R. MANSELL *Narr. Popish Plot* 99 Her Mistress had got an ill Repute, by keeping Willoughby for her Stallion. (OED XVI 476).

[34] See Ashley's *John Wildman, Plotter and Postmaster* p. 147

attack on the royalists as well as the absolutist monarchy. Indeed, the island of Jamaica would prove similar to the tropical Isle of Pines where George Pines populates his own Commonwealth.

As a well-educated and multilingual pamphleteer and parliamentarian, Neville possessed the desire and the knowledge to read and translate Machiavelli from the Italian vernacular to English. Like other English writers such as Daniel Defoe, who used "historical writing, lives of celebrities, narratives of travel in unknown regions, and other accounts of real or alleged facts"[35] for his fiction, Neville was undoubtedly influenced by what he read, and in all probability, he consciously borrowed the desert island plot for *The Isle of Pines* from earlier sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers. Neville not only borrowed from the genre of shipwreck tradition, but he appropriates his erotic fervour and naturalism from English and Continental writers. According to Richard Weber,

> While the scepticism of the English libertine depended on the naturalism of Machiavelli and Hobbes — a tradition concerned with human self-interest, aggression, and conquest — it also recognized the primitivist's Golden Laws of Nature and a belief in the individual's natural affinity for freedom, indulgence, and pleasure.[36]

By virtue of the sheer popularity and accessiblity of erotica in Europe during the latter half of the seventeenth-century, the well-read Neville must have been exposed to bawdy literature during the European excursions which he took for pleasure, or for which he was sent into exile. Neville's transparent awareness of such erotic European texts undoubtedly influences and pervades the sexual content of *The Isle of Pines*, which had a popular continental reception. From a purely erotic point of view, the success of *The Isle of Pines* may be owing to the

[35] See Ernest Baker's *The History of the English Novel* Vol. III p. 130.

[36] See Harold Weber's *The Restoration Rake Hero* p. 53.

fact that Neville perhaps presents the first *menage a cinque* in the history of English literature.

Although there is little open eroticism in the text, the concept of a lone male copulating with four young females is undeniably sexual and erotic in essence. As a story written by an English writer, Neville no doubt shocked an English readership with his risqué subject matter: nudity, interracial sex, and polygamy. Although such lewd stories were commonplace in the more liberal atmosphere of the Continent, where eroticism was more widely read, in England eroticism was frowned upon as vulgar by the literate upper-classes and was often prosecuted, although many sophisticated people read such works, including Samuel Pepys and John Locke.[37] The impact of Neville's story was felt across the Atlantic, where it was considered especially sexually offensive in Puritan America. The extent of the sexual force of the text is especially obvious when American printers attempted to reprint the story in Massachusetts in 1668,[38] and in New England 1669.[39] Although Neville was unquestionably

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[37] In the same year of publicationas *The Isle of Pines*, Samuel Pepys's diary describes his own experiences with reading European erotica. On 13 January and 8 & 9 February 1668, Pepys read *L'escholle de Filles* and relates his "disgrace" and "shame" at being sexually aroused by literature, which, according to Pepys, "did hazer my prick para stand all the while, and una vez to decharger." See R. Latham and W. Matthews, eds., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Vol. IX pp. 21, 57-9. John Harrison also notes that John Locke, "whose favourite reading, when he could lay down his everlasting books of travel, was French romance, some of it salacious." See J. Harrison and P. Laslett, eds., *The Library of John Locke* p. 29.

[38] Roger Thompson notes that Marmaduke Johnson, a printer in Cambridge, Mass. from 1660 to 1674 "was closely connected to the Marsh group in London, who probably sent him Henry Neville's *Isle of Pines*. Johnson had already been convicted of attempted bigamy; he was now, in 1668, fined for attempting to reprint Neville" (*Contrast and Connection* 40).

[39] Ford suggests that *The Isle of Pines* was a groundbreaking story in Puritan New England: "the publication of a somewhat coarse work, *The Isle of Pines*, involved the printer in penalties more sufficient to compensate for his pleasure in nurturing this earliest plant of humor brought into New England from the more tolerant mother state" (*The Boston Book Trade 1679-1700*).

aware that his pamphlet would offend the ruling elite for the most part, this is one of the chief reasons he wrote the text. Thus his radicalism as a political agitator and proponent of an English Commonwealth is reflected in the radical sexual nature of the text. Not only is Neville exploiting a taboo subject such as public copulation and group sex; he is also challenging Restoration norms by even discussing sexuality at all in his various narrative voices. Neville was well-known for his coarse lampoons such as *A Parliament of Ladies*, and *Newes From the New Exchange*, and although he is comparatively much more subtle and less offensive in *The Isle of Pines*, he nevertheless continues his explicit sexual themes.

Although finding direct references to other texts from which Neville might have borrowed in the creation of *The Isle of Pines* is difficult, George Pines's menage of four women is somewhat reminiscent of a mid-sixteenth-century poem by the notorious Alexander Scott. Scott's poem "Ane Ballat Maid to the Derisioun and Scorn of Wantoun Women," in its own vulgar way, captures the hedonistic mood of the "handsome Women" (TIoP 12) on the island of Pines. Scott's poem parallels the erotic feminine mood of early life on Pines's island, as the poet writes, "Farewell to chastity / when girls take to fondling, / three things follow / which cause them to go fooling around; / embracing, groping, plucking [or ploughing], / These four, the truth to tell, / will get them to fucking."[40] Scott's poem not only echoes Pines's lustful desires "for enjoying the women" (TIoP 12), but it also captures the erotic spirit of the four wanton women who must be contented with sharing the same mate: the virile George Pines. As in the mid-sixteenth-century poem, Pines's proven rude familiarity with the four women enables him to do some "fooling around" of his own. In a salacious tone

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[40] This translation is Allan's. See *Euphemism and Dyphemism* p. 93.

similar to that of Scott, George Pines writes of the sexual contagion that is starting to spread: "beginning now to grow more familiar, I had perswaded the two Maids to let me lie with them, which I did at first in private, but after, custome taking away Shame (there being none but us) we did it more openly" (TIoP 12). Clearly, with the gentle persuasion of the lone male Pines, the four women on the island soon, as Scott would say, "get... to fucking."

If one considers Pines as a lone male colonizer, his sexual license also mirrors John Donne's "Elegie: To His Mistris Going To Bed." Similarly to Neville's colonizer, Donne's colonizer experiences the same difficulty in restraining his sexual impulses:

> License my roving hands, and let them goe
> Behind, before, above below.
> Oh my America, my new found lande,
> My kingdome, safeliest when with one man man'd,
> My myne of precious stones, my Empiree,
> How blest am I in this discovering thee.
> (THM 19)

Although Pines is not in America, he is the only male in his own "new found lande." And as his "roving hands" have proven, Pines's extremities openly go to extremes, "Behind, before, above [and] below," impregnating the "precious" women in the process of populating his own "Empiree."

This public display of coitus on the island makes the story a libertine text, for the Pineans follow their hedonistic inclinations *ad libitum* — as Pines says, "our Lusts gave us Liberty" (TIoP 12). Thus, lust is an emancipating force for the stranded group because it offers the islanders their "liberty." Lust is a human experience discussed by another of Neville's contemporaries, Thomas Hobbes, who referred to "Natural lust" as the "Love of Persons for Pleasing the sense onely."[41] By giving into his own Hobbesian form of

"natural lust," George Pines didactically claims, "living idlely, and seeing us at Liberty to do our wills, without hope of ever returning home made us thus bold" (TIoP 12). He recognizes that idle hands truly lead to mischief, that liberty leads to libertinism, and that boldness is equal to shamelessness. Hence, the unrestrained sexuality makes the island a sexual utopia, the ideal sexual state where one can copulate at one's own leisure as often as one desires and with whoever desires. Of course, the women are at a direct disadvantage here since there is only one male to share amongst themselves. In this sense, the Isle of Pines is an androcentric utopia, for it is the male who is at a direct advantage, and since there is no mention or suggestion of male or female homosexuality on the island, we must assume that the isle of Pines is a strictly heterosexual domain. The island, therefore, is only a utopian milieu if one is male.

Within time, fornication becomes the driving force behind other actions on the island, such as construction work. With carnal excess on his mind and excess time on his hands, Pines soon constructs a series of mini dens of iniquity for the sole purpose of *coitus commodus*. According to the freethinking Pines, "(for having nothing else to do) I had made me several Arbors to sleep with my Women in the heat of the day, in these I and my women passed the time away, they never willing to be out of my company" (TIoP 12). In the adulterous mind of the virile Pines, then, the sexual desires between man and women are mutual, for the women too become obsessed with Pines and are "never willing to be out of his company." With little else to do, apart from giving birth, the women can pander to Pines's sybaritic longings as a full-time occupation. Thus, the building of the arbours serve one specific sexual purpose: to satisfy the sexual desires of

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[41] See Hobbes's *Leviathan* I 6 pp. 123-4.

the inhabitants.

Pines proves himself to be extremely well-endowed for populating the island. Although he is unable fully to correct the male deficit on the island, Pines goes to great lengths to correct the gender imbalance to the best of his abilities, "having by my several wives, forty seven Children, Boys and Girls, but most Girls" (TIoP 13). On the island, childbirth itself is as regular as the seasons as Pines keeps his four wives unshod and pregnant: "all my women were with child by me, and they all coming at different seasons, were a great help to one another" (TIoP 12). Childrearing, however, proves to be much more simple and painless than childbearing, since the children on Pines are raised with the virtues of independence; once they are past breastfeeding, they are immediately abandoned: "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" (TIoP 12). Pines's procreative capacities are indisputably proven following his first sixteen years on the island as his progeny "were like to be multitude" (TIoP 14).

During this sixteenth year, another libertinistic or perhaps voyeuristic dimension of island life is revealed by Pines. In predictable patriarchal tradition, the island's patriarch passes the sexual torch on to his eldest son. "Till perceiving my eldest boy to mind the ordinary work of nature, by seeing what we did, I gave him a mate" (TIoP 14). On the Isle of Pines, Pines sets sexual precedence by establishing the age of consent, as well as the age of marriage, at sixteen. To some degree, the narrative tone sublimates the eroticism of sexual congress by referring to it as "the ordinary work of nature." On the other hand, Pines makes an unmistakably sexual point when he claims that the boy had witnessed Pines and his wives fornicating in public view, "by seeing what we

did." Furthermore, as time passes, the libertine sexuality on the island becomes commonplace as Pines's progeny follow their father's example by beginning "to breed apace" (TIoP 14) themselves. To validate his own claims to success, Pines demographically divides his progenitive abilities: "My first wife brought me thirteen children, my second seven, my master's daughter fifteen, and the negro twelve, in all forty-seven" (TIoP 14). The need for precision here can be explained, in part, by Pines's previous occupation as a bookkeeper.

To varying degrees, libertinism unites *The Isle of Pines* with *Oroonoko, Robinson Crusoe, Gulliver's Travels,* and *Western Wonder.* All five stories are travel narratives, and each story stresses nudity. On Van Sloetten's first sighting of the Isle of Pines, he is overcome with the nudity on the island. Indeed, the islanders Van Sloetten first discovers are not only naked, but they are described as unbridled hedonists; he claims, "we saw several persons promiscuously running about the shore" (TIoP 3). By identifying the running islanders as "promiscuous" implies that the people are indulging in frequent and diverse sexual relationships.

In all five stories, nudity is a common state for the island inhabitants. As in most English travel narratives, it is nudity which separates the savage from the civilized European. This barbarous association of nudity is in keeping with seventeenth-century English notions, which held that, "nakedness was bestial, for clothes, like cooking, were a distinctively human attribute."[42] In the seventeenth century, as well as in our own contemporary society, societal conventions dictate that one must cover or "hide" one's private parts with clothing. For purposes of analysis, it is of particular interest to examine how the clothed European visitors to each of these islands comment on the nudity which

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[42] See Keith Thomas's *Man and the Natural World* p. 38.

they are confronted with.

On *The Isle of Pines*, nudity is an established habit: partly a matter of the situation of splendid isolation and partly a matter of personal choice. Although the island provides an abundant quantity of food and sustenence, the Isle of Pines apparently cannot properly clothe its people. For both Van Sloetten and George Pines, the initial reaction to nudity is one of repugnance, because the men have inherited and desire to maintain their European customs. The European tradition regarding nudity, therefore, prescribes that one must, as Van Sloetten states, "cover those parts which nature would have hidden" (TIoP 5). At first, neither Pines, Van Sloetten, or the reader can abandon the European institutions which sanction against those who expose their genitalia in public view. George Pines resigns himself: "wanting nothing now but Cloathes, nor them much neither, other than for decency, the warmth of the Countrey and Custome supplying that Defect, we were well satisfied with our condition" (TIoP 12) Pines's comments regarding nudity do not stop here, however. For the island's first patriarch, nudity is initially met with apprehension, albeit limited. Although Pines eventually fornicates with all four women, he expresses his aversion to nakedness and his aesthetic preference for the clothed state: "the truth is, they were all handsome Women when they had Cloathes" (TIoP 12).

While the later generations of male islanders remain unclothed, the more "modest" Pinean female population do their best to cover themselves with "grass and flowers interwoven and made strong by the peelings of young Elms (which grow there in great plenty) they do plant together so many of them as serve to cover those parts which nature would have hidden" (TIoP 5). The agrarian cover worn by the female population in a vain attempt to avoid total nudity illustrates that the desired legacy of George Pines is eventually culturally

entrenched. As a result, the women now adorn their privates with foliage in order to appear more "handsome," as Pines would say.

For the natives depicted in *The Isle of Pines, Robinson Crusoe, Oroonoko, Gulliver's Travels,* and *Western Wonder,* nudity is a matter of utility and tradition. In Neville's story, it is clear that even though the islanders are naked, fortunately, the climate is temperate, "ever warm, and never colder then [sic] in England in September" (TIoP 5). The principle of nudity as comfortable utility is also found in Behn's *Oroonoko.* She describes the Indians as "all naked; and we were dress'd, so as is most commode for hot Countries" (Oo 55). In Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe,* Crusoe abhors the naked Savages who visit his island. Although nudity is not the only practice that Crusoe finds offensive (since the black savages are cannibals), one cannot ignore his repeated comments on the subject. On his own "Island of Despair" (RC 56), Crusoe refers to the black visitors as "naked Savages" (RC 133); moreover, much to Crusoe's social horror, even "the Women were as stark Naked as the Men" (RC 27). In *Western Wonder* the unnamed narrator claims in his dream about the as-yet-undiscovered Brazeel, "I saw Men, Women and Children ascend out of the bowels of the earth (as I thought) who were all naked, very white, well-featur'd" (WW 7). Nudity is a theme also raised by Swift. While in the land of the Houyhnhnms, Gulliver records a more scientific and horrified description of the naked inhabitants. "The Females were not so large as the Males; they had long lank Hair on their Heads, and only a Sort of Down on the rest of their Bodies, except about the Anus, and Pudenda" (GT IV 361). Unlike the other fictional islanders, the female Yahoos make no attempt to cover themselves as "their Dugs hung between their fore Feet, and often reached almost to the Ground as they walked" (GT IV 361). For all five writers then, it is obvious that there is something typically unEnglish about living naked.

For Neville, Swift, and Defoe, clothing has a semiotic significance. When some Spanish captives arrive on Crusoe's island, for example, Crusoe is able to separate the savage from the European by the test of clothing. He sees "a white Man who lay upon the Beach of the Sea, with his Hands and his Feet ty'd, with Flags, or Things like Rushes; and that he was a European, and had Cloaths on" (RC 182). For Crusoe as well as the consensus of the English, the clothes make the man. The same can be said of Van Sloetten's attitude, who echoes Crusoean sentiments when he arrives at the isle of Pines: "you would have blest your self to see how the naked Islanders flocked to us, so wondering at our ship, as if it had been the greatest miracle of Nature in whole world" (TIoP 3). Van Sloetten's rather condescending tone suggests that the Pineans cannot comprehend the concept of a ship full of fully-clothed Dutchmen, as "great numbers of them flocking about us, admiring at our Cloaths which we did wear" (TIoP 3).

For Swift's Lemuel Gulliver, clothes are what separate him from the beastly Yahoos. When he is stripped, Gulliver laments, "I had hitherto concealed the Secret of my Dress, in order to distinguish myself as much as possible, from that cursed Race of Yahoos; but now I found it in vain to do so any longer" (GT IV 381). Like Swift's Yahoos, the Pines also have a human form, and consequently, when the clothed Van Sloetten arrives on Pines, he too is struck as to how there could be "so many that could speak English, and yet go naked" (TIoP 3).

Nudity is a moral problem which Crusoe, unlike George Pines, quickly conquers. Although Crusoe laments, "that there was no need of Cloaths, yet I could not go quite naked; no, tho' I had been inclin'd to do it, which I was not, nor could not abide the thoughts of it tho' I was all alone" (RC 105-6). To prevent further embarassment to himself and others, Crusoe creates an entire wardrobe

with goat skin, even though "they were of a Length and Shape monstrous enough, and such as in England would have pass'd for frightful" (RC 118). Although perhaps he is unfashionable, Crusoe nevertheless manages to cover himself, thereby concealing his privates. Where Pines resigns himself to his unclad condition, Crusoe holds a deep disgust for even solitary nudity. The extent of Crusoe's disdain is expressed when he attempts to further civilize his slave Friday, giving him "a pair of Linnen Drawers" (RC 162) to cover his privates. Like Crusoe, the Pines have wild beasts, whose skins could have been used as clothing. Whether the Pines lacked the technology, the ingenuity, or the tools for making clothing (or perhaps George Pines was proud of his presumably large penis), is not explained in the text. The Pines limit themselves to using plant cover for clothing, while they continue to kill and consume an abundance of leather-clad beasts on the island.

For Neville, Defoe, and Swift, large penises become somewhat of an obsessive theme. Take, for example, the myth of the well-endowed black male. Indeed, Crusoe describes the black Friday much in the way Neville depicts the white George Pines, as "a lusty strong Fellow" (RC 187). In Crusoe's case, the embarassment might be two-fold, however, for he not only detests the sight of male genitals in full public view, but he also despises the thought of being less of a male by virtue of his smaller, albeit white privates. The abnormally large exotic penis is also observed by Van Sloetten while in Calcutta. Van Sloetten makes mention of the "Brachman Stalions [sic] who never fail of doing their work" (TIoP 28). These Brachmen perform the role of breeder in Calcutta to the royal household. In the event that a husband cannot impregnate his wife the Brachman steps in. Neville sexually empowers the Brachmen Stallion by naming, because "Stallion" suggests a male horse used specifically for breeding

whilst "brach" is a hound-bitch. Although Van Sloetten does not specifically view the Brachmen naked, the very title of the human breeders suggest that the Brachmen Stallions are, for all intents and purposes, "hung like horses."

Although Neville may have take the penile motif to extremes during the seventeenth century, his appropriation of the appendage would become vastly overshadowed in the following century by Jonathan Swift. Indeed, Swift was not a writer to be outdone, and when he wrote *Gulliver's Travels*, the male penis took a whole new dimension. In the history of eighteenth-century English literature, the fictional character with the largest privates has to be Lemuel Gulliver during his residence in Lilliput. Although he possesses a giant of a penis (literally), the shy Gulliver, like Crusoe, is not about to flaunt his copulatory organ either, except in case of an emergency.[43] Even as the tiny soldiers pass between Gulliver's legs the adventurer laments that the wandering eyes of the fighting men afford them an excellent view of his gargantuan penis: "to confess the Truth, my Breeches were at that Time in so ill a Condition, that they afforded some Opportunities for Laughter and Admiration" (GT 42). Thus for Neville, Defoe, and Swift, exposing one's penis in public remains a deplorable act. Yet there is obviously a curious voyeuristic element at work here because although the narrators do not like what they see, they manage to look at penises and describe them in great detail nevertheless.

Pictorial art helps to subvert the libertine text. The illustrated panels which accompany the original text of *The Isle of Pines* seem to verify what Michel Foucault might refer to as a repressed Restoration libertinism.[44] Abraham Keek

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[43] When fire breaks out, the diueritic Gulliver puts his abnormally large bladder to work as he uses his penis like a firehose: "The Heat I had contracted by coming very near the Flames, and by my labouring to quench them, made the Wine begin to operate by Urine; which I voided in such a Quantity, and applied so well to the proper Places, that in three Minutes the Fire was wholly extinguished" (GT I 66).

claims that there were "found about 2000 English people without cloathes, only some small covering about their middle" (TIoP iii) but in the panel entitled "Pine numbring his People" (TIoP i), it is obvious that the offspring are fully clothed in the illustration. Moreover, after fifty-nine years of life on the island, Pines and his wives appear as if they have just emerged not from the run-down hut that they stand beside, but from a clothing shop with clean and freshly pressed finery. Although the publisher was brave enough to publish Neville's erotic words, perhaps he wasn't valiant enough to adorn the pamphlet with pictures which represent the actual salacious nature of the text. This pictorial bowdlerization of *The Isle of Pines* might suggest that the English literary audience would have been too offended with a illustrated representation of such lewd proportions, or perhaps the publisher feared severe repercussions for such an immoral artistic and literary offence. Whatever the case, the frontispiece does not realistically reflect the inherent sexuality contained within the story. By including the frontispiece Neville seems to be expressing Foucault's conception of a repressed libertinism; but since this story is a hoax, the artistic subversion is probably as intentional as it is non-representational.

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[44] Michel Foucault claims that, "the seventeenth-cen tury, then, was the beginning of an age of repression emblematic of what we call the bourgeois societies, an age which perhaps we have not completely left behind. Calling sex by its name thereafter became more difficult and more costly. As if in order to gain mastery over it in reality, it had first been necessary to subjugate in speech, expunge it from the things that were said, and extinguish the words that rendered it too visibly present" (*History of Sexuality* Vol. I 17).

III
The Ambiguities of Language

When examining a libertine work such as Neville's, one must conduct a heuristic reading in order to reveal and understand the multiplicity of meaning the writer has injected into the work through the sexual images and metaphors. To date, no critic has conducted such a reading. Moreover, the few critics who have examined the text do not acknowledge or recognize the intricacy of Neville's carefully chosen words and their sexually loaded meanings. Consumed solely with the English cultural milieu, most critics ignore the fact that Neville's real success seems to have occurred in Europe.

Perhaps those most affected by *The Isle of Pines* were the European readers who focused on the exotic and erotic content of the narrative. For the most part, the continental audience would have been unaware of the political implications of the text,[45] and less sensitive to Neville's word play. To further distance Neville's text from the original, the subsequent European translations which followed were not translated from the vernacular of the story, but from Dutch versions. The continental translators transcribed not only for their own cultural ethos, but for their own creative ends. Consequently, different countries emphasized different aspects of the narrative.[46] Apart from foregrounding certain dimensions of the text, some translators took great liberties with Neville's

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[45] In Chapter Two, "The Politics of Colonization," I discuss the political implications of the text in great detail.

[46] The transcribed title pages of the European editions suggest that each nationality foregrounds different aspects. For example, the Dutch highlight the English indebtedness to the Dutch for discovering the Isle of Pines, the Italians stress the copiousness of Pines's progeny, the French intensify the discovery of an island populated with many people, the Portugese emphasize shipping and trade , while the Germans dwell on the historical period of Queen Elizabeth and the commercial enterprise of the East India Company. This is a brief examination of the translations. A more comprehensive view would be worthwhile, but I have been unable to undertake an exhaustive understanding of all the translations available in the Library of Congress.

story. One of the later German translations is so embellished, in fact, it claims "Joris Pines" is Irish.[47]

For most critics and readers alike, Neville's story is difficult to interpret. As a hoax writer, Neville manipulates both the language and the content of the text, by using a variety of devices ranging from puns and anagrams to *double entendres*. Of course, the extent to which Neville's sexual innuendoes are deliberate or unconscious is difficult to determine; my intention here is to suggest the implicit and explicit sexual diction Neville might be using to convey his meaning.[48]

To undertake a detailed reading, one must historicize. By historicizing one can identify the connotations and denotations of sexually-charged words in their own historical context. Frederic Jameson refers to the historicizing process as the "political unconscious" which "explore[s] the multiple paths that lead to the unmasking of cultural artifacts as socially symbolic acts."[49] Much of Neville's diction has symbolic value attached to it, and it is my intention to reveal or unmask the meanings Neville might have intended. Historicism is the best critical approach to engage here because, as Greg Dening eloquently puts it:

To be culturally literate about the past we must recognize that words

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[47] This 1726 German edition is known as *Wahrhaffe und merckwürdige Lebens-Beschreibung Joris Pines von Dublin... worinnen dessen Ankunft un 70. jähriger Auffenthalt auf einer wüsten Insul Süd-Landes mit seinen vier Weibern... beschreiben wird. Aud dem Englishchen Ubersetzet.* (NUC Vol. 412 p. 107).

[48] Judith Neaman notes that "after the Puritan revolution, with the restoration of an aristocratically oriented monarch in 1660, the restrictions against overtly sexual language were relaxed. A burst of linguistic inventiveness and a host of new and colorful terms for body parts and sexual practices were audible on the stage and in the new literature. But political language was still leashed and was to remain so, inspiring a continuing and growing number of political works that used elaborate circumlocutions and indirections to disguise references to political parties, policies and persons" (*A Dictionary of Euphemisms* 5).

[49] See Frederic Jameson's *The Political Unconscious* p. 20.

> themselves have histories across time, across space. There is not a word that does not hold some surprise. History, since its object of observation is words, is always working the surprises in them, the *double entendres*, the novelties created by the ever-changing context of their expression. And since words expressed take on a life of their own, have their meaning in the reading of them or the hearing of them, who knows where their life ends? [50]

Indeed, if there is one constant in *The Isle of Pines*, it has to be Neville's ability to dupe an unsuspecting audience and surprise his suspecting audience with his cunning use of language.

Although many sea stories contain wretched accounts of rum, sodomy, and the lash, for George Pines the more scandalous adventures are reserved for the island occupation and not the journey. The perverted dimensions of the mission begin to take form early in the story, as Pine recalls, "we on the fourteenth of May had sight of the Canaries, and not long after of the Isles of Cape Vert or Verd, where [we took] in such things as were necessary for our voyage, and some fresh provisions" (TIoP 7). Although the passage seems straight forward and nonsexual, Neville's choice of "Cape Vert" in all likelihood has a sexual connotation.[51] Neville also toys with scatalogical references with regard to the sailing journey of Van Sloetten: "and having a good wind, we on the fourteenth day of May had sight of the Canaries" (TIoP 7). "Wind," of course, is a euphemism for flatulence, and although Neville is relating wind to the sailing of Van Sloetten, Neville's reputation for coarse lampooning makes the reference to "wind" an ambiguous and highly suspect term. Indeed, Neville is no stranger to scatalogical references in his other works. Consider his sarcastic

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[50] See Greg Dening's *Mr. Bligh's Bad Language* p. 341.

[51] In Judith Neaman's estimation, "a vert" is "one of many British euphemisms for a person who engages in inconventional sexual practices, Vert (probably a shortening of 'pervert') is a general term" (*Kind Words: A Thesaurus of Euphemisms* 248).

scatalogia in *News From the New Exchange*, for example, where Neville is much more literal with fecal matter: "Like the old Witch, who, being being consulted to discover a Thief, could not smell out who had shit at her own Door" (NFtNE 32).

More certainly, Neville makes a *double entendre* on the word "Canaries," for although they are a group of islands off of West Africa, "canaries" is also a euphemism for harlots.[52] Moreover, the very title of the story "the ISLE of PINES OR, A late Discovery of a fourth ISLAND near *Terra Australis, Incognita,*" contains sexual meaning, because "Incognita" suggests a disguised harlot.[53] The *double entendres* contained in *The Isle of Pines* are complex and meticulously interwoven in the text, making a close reading an arduous and speculative task.

What further problematizes a close reading of *The Isle of Pines*, apart from the *double entendres*, is that the sexual metaphors Neville does employ are difficult to detect, because they are expressed in the form of either puns or anagrams. Anagrams and puns are endemic to the English language, and the Restoration writers of Neville's ethos were some of the greatest abusers of such techniques. With regard to Neville, one only has to examine the title itself, *The Isle of Pines,* which contains a seminal anagram, as Aldridge notes: "In the same year with its publication, a German critic gave the work a symbolic erotic interpretation, suggesting that the name of the island is an anagram on the male organ of generation, penis."[54] If one can also take Neville's "Isle" as an anagram of "lies," his story becomes "The Lies of Penis," or perhaps "The Penis of Lies" if one is so inclined.

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[52] According to Eric Partridge "canaries" are a slang euphemism for "harlots." See Partridge's *Dictionary of Slang* p. 123.

[53] Partridge notes that "Incognita" was a slang term for "a disguised harlot" (Ibid. 422)

[54] See Aldridge's "Polygamy in Early Fiction" PMLA 1950, p. 466.

The penis proves to be a popular sexual appendage for Neville; it is a recurring lietmotif that appears elsewhere in the writer's canon. In *Newes From the New Exchange,* for example, Neville jokes about the Jewish tradition of circumcising the penis: "Rossiter is a Jew extraordinarily circumcised, Root and Branch" (NFtNE 29). "Root and branch" obviously refer to Rossiter's penis and testicles, implying that the man has been radically circumcised; in fact, Rossiter has been castrated, not to mention emasculated. Puns on the word "penis" also arise elsewhere in the *The Isle of Pines*. Through Neville's punning on the word penis, the phallus most often connotes some form of comestible. Evidence of the phallus-as-food is found when George Pines claims, "We carried out of England certain hens and cocks to eat by the way. Some of these when the ship was broken, by some means got to land, and bred exceedingly" (TIoP 10). Literally, the cock or rooster is generally associated with a hen, yet the "cock" is also a term for the male penis, even in Neville's own context.[55] The "hen" is not a term to be overlooked either, for it has sexual implications as well; it was a term used for a wife, woman, and a female during the seventeenth-century.[56] Curiously, the critic Philip Henderson acknowledges the fantastical nature of the text, yet completely dismisses the sexual implications of Neville's diction. According to Henderson, "For all its illusion of reality, the story has a certain fantastic air, especially when we are gravely assured that cocks and hens brought from England had, when the ship was wrecked survived... such a thing would be impossible."[57] Henderson's analysis not only falls short of recognizing the

[55] According to the OED, "cock" has been used as a phallic term in "1618 [by] N. Field[in] *Amends for Ladies*1, Oh man what art thou? When thy cock is up? [and in] 1714 *Cabinet of Love,* View my sore cock, his tender wounded head" (OED III 407).

[56] According to the OED, "hen" has been used in "1632 [in] Brome['s] *North. Lass* I. v. Wks. 1873 III. Are you the Cockbawd to the Hen was here? [and in] 1785 [in] Grose['s] *Dict. Vulg. T.*, Hen, a woman. A cock and hen club; a club composed of men and women" (OED VII 139).

erotic nature of the text; it also fails to acknowledge Neville's deliberate choice of the sexually loaded terms. Moreover, Henderson also dismisses the explicit sexual suggestion that the rational animals, George Pines and his "female company" (TIoP 10), will eventually "br[e]ed exceedingly" (TIoP 10) themselves, much like the domestic fowl represented in the text. Indeed, the naturalism of Pines and the four women openly breeding suggests their animal nature.[58]

The sexual cock and hen theme also exists in Neville's *A Parliament of Ladies With Their Lawes Newly Enacted*. Listed as one of "The Chiefe Heads of the Ladies Laws," Neville writes, "Item , That no Yeoman or Husbandman shall keep, or suffer to be kept in their house, Barne, or Stable, and Cocke or Cockes, that will not tread his Hens: especially, when the Hens thrust their heads under the Cockes necke, &c" (APoL 14). Clearly, Neville's sexual suggestiveness is made much more explicit in this earlier work and attests to the peckish Neville's bawdy insistence on pouleting the reader's leg.

Returning to the subtextual penile motif, "nut" is another term used by Neville as in "The woods afforded us a sort of nuts" (TIoP 11). The nut, however, is also an obscene term for the glans penis. Van Sloetten also describes in great detail a hunting incident that has impressive sexual overtones. According to Van Sloetten, one of the Dutchmen "discharged his Peece, sending a brace of Bullets into his belly, which brought him to the ground" (TIoP 21). This hunting scene can also be interpreted as a lewd masturbatory scene where a male is portrayed ejaculating or "discharging"[59] his "bullets"[60] or sperm, from his "Peece" or

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[57] See Henderson's *Shorter Novels* p. xii.

[58] Keith Thomas notes that during the seventeenth century, "a pregnant woman was commonly said to be 'breeding'" (*Man and the Natural World* 43).

[59] Partridge notes that discharge is to effect a seminal ejaculation: 2 *Henry IV*, II iv 112-115, *'Falstaff.* Do you discharge upon mine hostess. — *Pistol.* I will discharge upon her, Sir John, with two bullets'; by a pun on Pistol's name. (*Shakespeare's Bawdy* 94).

penis, into the "beast's" or recipient's "belly."[61] This is also phallically reminiscent of the bawdy Elizabethan idiomatic expression "a pistol in his codpiece,"[62] wherein a man's penile erection is portrayed as a loaded weapon. Moreover, Pines refers to his female company as "consorts," a Restoration term which implied, during the Restoration period, a desire "to have intercourse with" (OED 171).

Menstruation is yet another term which is alluded to through Neville's euphemistic usage of the word. With the term "hamocks" (TIoP 11), for example, Neville might be alluding to a common Restoration catch-phrase 'the hammock is swung,' indicating that a "woman is experiencing the menses."[63] Moreover, Neville's use of "flowers" also contains some menstrual connotations.[64] When Van Sloetten describes a Pinean burial scene, he writes, "When the party was dead, they stuck his Carkass [sic] all over with flowers" (TIoP 23). Thus, according to Judith Neaman's terminology, Van Sloetten might be euphemistically saying that the mourning Pines are covering the deceased's body with menstrual blood.

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[60] '*Falstaff* [to *Pistol*]. Do you discharge upon mine hostess — *Pistol.* I will discharge upon her, Sir John, with two bulets — *Falstaff.* She is pistol-proof, sir... *Hostess*. Come, I'll drink noproofs no more bullets.' According to Partridge, the ostensible or primary allusion: *balls* is a synonym for bullets, but also for testicles; secondary or hidden allusion is to semen. (Ibid. 73).

[61] The "belly," according to Partridge represents the womb and the pelvic region, with especial reference to the genitals. 'She sinketh down, still hanging by his neck, He on her belly falls, she on her back', *Venus*, vv 593-594. (Ibid. 65).

[62] "Codpieces were highly conspicuous and decorative bagged appendages attached tothe front of close fitting breeches in the fifteenth and sixteenth-centuries to highlight a man's cods (genitals)." See *Euphemism and Dyphemism* p. 225.

[63] See Richard Spears's *Slang and Euphemism* p. 102.

[64] Judith Neaman claims that, the monthly FLOWERS, a somewhat romantic term for a woman's PERIOD, has been used in England since the fifteenth-century. It is from the Latin *fluere*, "to flow." (*Kind Words: A Thesaurus of Euphemisms* 57).

As Pines ages, he expresses the desire that his children no longer "pester" (TIoP 14) him with their own lewd sexuality on this highly permissive island. According to Pines, "growing myself into years, I liked not the wanton annoyances of young company" (TIoP 14). Clearly, it is apparent that the "pestering" to which Pines is referring to is disturbing in a sexual sense. Owing to his own impotence or plain lack of desire to fornicate, Pines does not want to watch his children copulate either. To prevent this sexual disturbance, Pines claims "as fast as we married them, I sent and placed them over the river by themselves severally" (TIoP 14). At this point, the island's pun on the verb "to pine" seems undeniable; Pines was finding himself overwhelmed by the lascivious culture around him. Indeed, he found his children not only "annoying," but also the embodiment of "wanton annoyances" (TIoP 14). Pines's selective choice of the word "wanton" manifests the sexual extent of his childrens hedonistic habits, since wanton suggests a lewd and libidinous image. Within a short period of time, the children of Pines prove themselves to be equally adept at reproducing themselves, because like their father, their own idleness begets a desire in themselves for enjoying one another. The extent of the childrens' reproductive capabilities is demonstrated by Pines, who says he "found the estimate to contain, in or about the eightieth year of my age, and fifty-ninth of my coming there, in all of all sorts, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine" (TIoP 15). Bearing the rapidly expanding population of the island in mind, it seems plausible that the Christian theme conveyed throughout the text, is for the most part, satirical. The irony of Pines praying to "God to multiply them" (TIoP 15) seems redundant — his children are making sure of multiplying on the island without any divine inspiration or intervention.

Conclusion

Hear him debate of commonwealth affairs,
You would say it hath been all in all his study.
— William Shakespeare *King Henry* V I i 41

This thesis has intended to stress that there is much going on beneath the surface of *The Isle of Pines* than a literal reading suggests. In writing this hoax, Neville had a political and a pornographic agenda. His political agenda attacked the ideology of the monarchy, while his pornographic agenda attacked the religion that supported the sovereign and the Protectorate. For a Restoration writer who devoted his talents to writing political tracts and satirical diatribes about the puritannical Protectorate and the loyalist royalists, it seems inconceivable that *The Isle of Pines* is purely a utopian fiction. As a politically-motivated author writing during a period of political strife and instability, his satires and lampoons usually concerned sexual and social themes, often highly charged with political and religious meaning. In this sense, *The Isle of Pines* is no exception to Neville's canon. What makes this post-colonial text much more complex and different from his previous pamphlets, however, is that this story contains the politics of colonization and sovereignty.

Why was this apocryphal text so successful in its day? There are a variety of possible explanations. Travel and travel narratives were becoming more common during the seventeenth century. Furthermore, the conquest of foreign lands was at a premium at this time. If a country discovered an island like the Isle of Pines, that nation would lay claim to the new territory. Neville's

suggestion of a newly discovered island would have not only attracted the English but the interest of other European powers as well. With the expansion of trade, new lands meant more wealth and expansion — imperialism. And with a new territory came the inevitable exploitation of that land, whether it was for raw materials or people (slaves were in great demand at this time — the presence of Philippa can attest to that). While some European cultures were attracted to Neville's text because of its potential for trade and expansionism, other nations and readers were attracted to its polygynous libidinousness. One final reason for its success could be due to the fact that the sheer adventure and intrigue of a shipwreck and isolated island occupation would have captured the attention of the seventeenth-century book buyer.

Throughout this thesis I have argued that *The Isle of Pines* is a "naughty" text, but can one consider Neville a Restoration pornographer? The libertinism of the text, although tame by late-twentieth century standards, was considered very racy during the Restoration. One male and a menage of four women copulating in full public view was without doubt "hard core" by English standards at this time. As a hoax, however, it was Neville's intention to catch most readers' attention with the mild pornography of the text. The amorality of the island distracted his audience by forcing the reader to fasten onto the lewdness of George Pines, thus allowing Neville to execute his carefully veiled his political attack on the monarchy without any legal repercussions.

Was George Pines a symbol for the throne of Charles II? Historical sources indicate that Charles II certainly had the libidinous traits of George Pines. By contemporary and Restoration standards George Pines and Charles II were extremely naughty persons. With Pines's character, Neville was attacking the very foundations any monarchy was built upon — the inbreeding, the rigid

social divisions of class, the sexual power and control of a monarch, and above all, the insistence of a "divine right" to rule. Neville found the Old Testament arguments for the divine right of kings even more offensive than Puritanism. This is understandable since the Royalists were using religion — "the divine right of kings" as an argument for an absolutist ruler. It was no secret that Neville disliked royalty, thus with the character George Pines the reader experiences a surreptitious attack on the monarch. Like Dryden's *Mr. Limberham* which "attacks the patriarchism of a sexually corrupt court, the blind hedonism of the nobility, and the hypocrisy of the Dissenters,"[1] Neville's story, in its own way, denounces the royal court and religion he opposed.

From what we know about Neville as a person, his republican political leanings suggest that he was parodying the monarchy with this text. If one wonders why Neville would have created a racist, polygynist, and religious colonizer one only had to look to the monarchy and the religion that supported it. The pornography subverts and exposes the hypocrisies of religion. In my estimation, what Neville attempted was to portray the court of Charles II, his mistresses and the excesses of the court thereof. Indeed, if one considers that Pines is not legally wed to any of the woman, his "wives" are, in fact, his concubines. In this sense, Pines could be Charles II. Although Charles had many mistresses and Pines had only four, both men fathered many children, but each died without legitimate issue. Moreover, if one accepts *The Isle of Pines* as an androcentric utopia, it is evident that Pines is the almighty father — the Adamic patriarch held dear to the hearts of the royalists. Through his power and his licensed roving hands, George Pines is the unchallenged Filmerian monarch who lives a long and prosperous life in his new-found realm. Similar

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[1] See *The Oxford Companion to English Literature* p. 675.

to Charles, Pines is free to exercise his indiscriminate will and his passion over his subjects as often as he desires.

Like other Old Testament patriarchs, Pines fruitfully multiplies the island with his seed and his many wives. With this paradisically polygynous new Eden, perhaps Neville was mocking not only the Bible, but *Paradise Lost* [2] and its author as well. Of course, as I have argued Milton was not the only prominent member of English society who actively pursued polygynous legislation while Neville was a member in Parliament. Milton was joined by none other than politicians, thus Neville's hoax is no doubt lampooning all polygamophiles.

Were the Pinean religious institutions puritannical? For a man who "declared a preference for reading Cicero to the Bible,"[3] the strict religious code of the island as well as Pines's continous praise to God for thanks is parodic in essence. Neville was not a supporter of any religion.[4] As a secular thinker he was wary of all religions, especially the Puritanism of Oliver Cromwell because he was a rationalist who even found Enthusiasm distasteful.[5] Neville undoubtedly considered the Puritans and their Adultery Act an absurd idea as Pines's six laws demonstrate. The continual religious overtones throughout the story, therefore, serve satirical ends.

Neville disliked the inhumanity and suffering of war caused by revolution and aggression. In Parliament, he spoke out against England's

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[2] Milton's *Paradise Lost* was published in 1667, one year before *The Isle of Pines*.

[3] See Robbin's *Two Republican Tracts* p. 9.

[4] Woolrych notes that Neville had "advanced opinions [which] were purely secular in inspiration and tended towards libertinism. See "Political Theory and Political Practice." *The Age of Milton* p. 231.

[5] See Robbin's *Two Republican Tracts* p. 9.

intervention in the war between Sweden and Denmark.[6] His republic was willing to avoid revolution by allowing to retain a symbolic but virtually powerless monarch. This didn't happen. Charles II was restored to the throne in 1660 and Neville became an enemy of the state for his republican beliefs. Following the Restoration, a number of his cronies were executed and he was threatened with the same fate if he remained in Britain. To avoid certain death, Neville returned to Italy and waited for the political situation to calm. Returning in 1668 and recognizing that his former lampoons would get now him killed, Neville would have to be more creative and more cunning with his attack on the ruling monarch. Thus, *The Isle of Pines* was born.

Like most other hoaxes, this deceptive story was written for and intended to incite reaction. Sadly, most contemporary critics continue to refer to Neville's canon as little more than the work of a hack. Ignored are Neville's intellect, not only as a political theorist, but also as a talented writer of fiction. Some critics have compared Neville with the likes of Daniel Defoe and Jonathan Swift, and I have so argued. Indeed, Neville used Defoe-like narrative techniques and prose style well before Defoe did. Using many of Neville's rhetorical tricks, Jonathan Swift fooled many readers with his famous hoax *A Modest Proposal*. Somewhat more offensive and perhaps even more disturbing than Neville's polygamy, is Swift's narrative suggestion that the rich should eat the impoverished children of Ireland. Similar to *The Isle of Pines,* Swift's own travel narrative *Gulliver's Travels,* satirizes some of the customs and institutions of the time, receiving the deserved critical acclaim Neville rarely received. While Swift continues to be regarded as one of the English language's greatest satirical writers, Neville gets overshadowed, even though he was an innovator of the hoax form in English

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[6] See DNB p. 259.

literature. As a notable writer of early English libertinism and a lampoon writer of considerable renown, Henry Neville does not deserve the epithet of "hack."

Can this story be considered great literature? Although *The Isle of Pines* is no *Pilgrims Progress*, it is not Grub Street bumfodder[7] either. Regardless of how one might read *The Isle of Pines*, there is no denying the text created considerable controversies in the cultures it reached. Indeed, once the text was imported to Europe it took on a life of its own: in Poland, the text was cited as a legal document for polygamy; an eighteenth-century German edition claimed Pines hailed from Dublin and not England; and the English writer, Frances Blackburne found Neville's story an accurate representation of an ideal society following the dictates of nature. Through Neville's rhetorical wit, the hoax was made above all else, extremely convincing in its time.

Perhaps *The Isle of Pines* offers more questions than answers. If one agrees that *The Isle of Pines* is a utopian fiction, the Pinean milieau is a utopian paradise for the Elizabethan George Pines, not the republican Henry Neville. For a republican, Pines's island paradise is the embodiment of a dystopian republic: *Patriarcha* revisited. Much like *Patriarcha*, the island plays host to a non-democratic monarchical regime — the antithesis of what Neville believed in and aspired to. And unlike the two previous English utopias, *Utopia* and *New Atlantis* which outlawed polygamy, the Pinean utopia disregards monogamy.

Although Neville was not as prolific or as well known as other pamphleteers of his generation, the works he left behind are of both historical and literary interest. Removing a text such as *The Isle of Pines* from its historical context and interpreting it on a literal level grossly oversimplifies the depth of

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[7] Bumfodder was "a seventeenth-century form of toilet paper" (*Gutter Life and Language* 43).

Neville's story. As I have argued, Neville's hoax is a much more complicated text than it has been given credit and as the frontispiece clearly indicates — you cannot judge this book by its cover.

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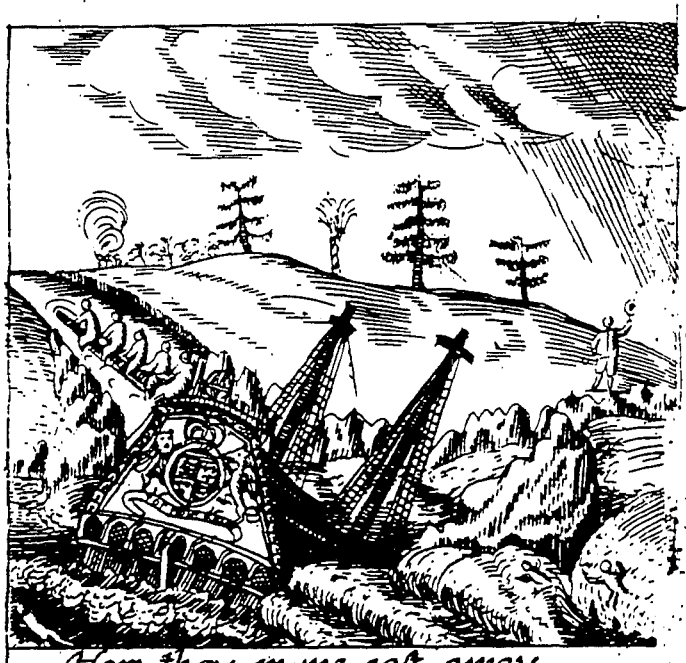
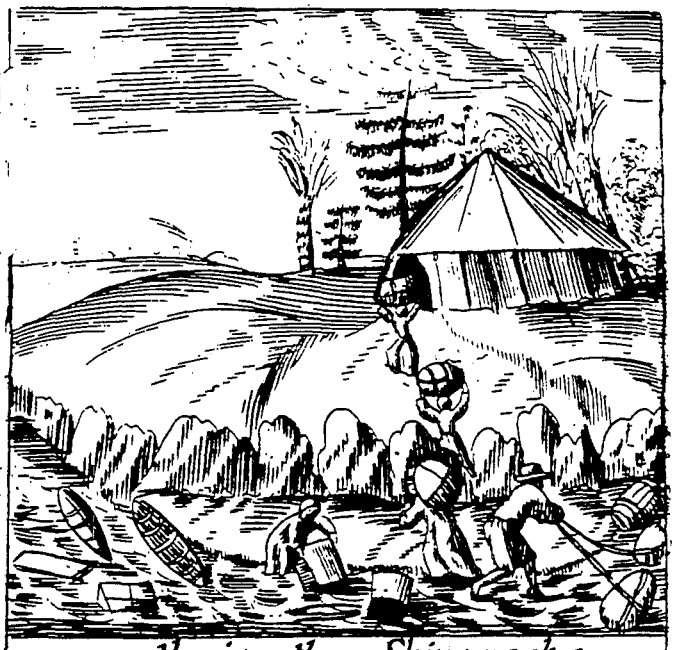
A DESCRIPTION OF Y^E ISLE OF PINES



How they were cast away



gathering there Ship wracke

Pine Numbring his People

y^e Dutch Ship taking y^e-writing

The ISLE of
PINES,
OR,
A late Discovery of a fourth ISLAND near
Terra Australis, Incognita
BY
Henry Cornelius Van Sloetten.

Wherein is contained.

A True Relation of certain *English* persons, who in Queen *Elizabeths* time, making a Voyage to the *East Indies* were cast away, and wracked near to the Coast of *Terra Australis, Incognita*, and all drowned, except one Man and four Women. And now lately *Anno Dom.* 1667. a *Dutch* Ship making a Voyage to the *East Indies*, driven by foul weather there, by chance have found their Posterity, (speaking good *English*) to amount (as they suppose) to ten or twelve thousand persons. The whole Relation (written, and left by the Man himself a little before his death, and delivered to the *Dutch* by his Grandchild) Is here annexed with the Longitude and Latitude of the Island, the scituation and felicity thereof, with other matter observable.

Hen. Nevill the Author.

Licensed *July* 27. 1668.

LONDON, Printed for *Allen Banks* and *Charles Harper* next door to the three Squerrills in *Fleet-street*, over against St. *Dunstans* Church, 1668.

w^n this was first published
I was look'd upon as a sham

Two Letters concerning the Island of Pines *to a Credible person in* Covent Garden.

Amsterdam, *June* the 29th 1668.

IT *is written by the last Post from* Rochel, *to a Merchant in this City, that there was a* French *ship arrived, the Master and Company of which reports, that about* 2 *or* 300 *Leagues Northwest from* Cape Finis Terre, *they fell in with an Island, where they went on shore, and found about* 2000 English *people without cloathes, only some small coverings about their middle, and that they related to them, that at their first coming to this Island (which was in* Queen Elizabeths *time) they were but five in number men and women, being cast on shore by distress or otherwise, and had there remained ever since, without having any correspondence with any other people, or any ship coming to them. This story seems very fabulous, yet the Letter is come to a known Merchant, and from a good hand in* France, *so that I thought fit to mention it, it may be that there may be some mistake in the number of the Leagues, as also of the exact point of the Compass, from* Cape Finis Terre; *I shall enquire more particularly about it. Some* English *here suppose it may be the Island of* Brasile *which have been so oft sought for, Southwest from* Ireland, *if true, we shall hear further about it; Your friend and Brother,*

Abiaham Keek.

Amsterdam, *July* the 6th, 1668.

IT *is said that the ship that discovered the Island, of which I hinted to you in my last, is departed from* Rochel, *on her way to* Zealand, *several persons here have writ thither to enquire for the said Vessel, to know the truth of this business. I was promised a Copy of the Letter that came from* France, *advising the discovery of the Island abovesaid, but it's not yet come to my hand; when it cometh, or any further news about this Island, I shall acquaint you with it,*

Your Friend and Brother,

A. Keek.

The Isle of PINES,

DISCOVERED

Near to the Coast of *Terra Australis Incognita*, by *Henry Cornelius Van Sloetten*, in a Letter to a friend in *London*, declaring the truth of his Voyage to the East *Indies*.

SIR,

I Received your Letter of this second instant, wherein you desire me to give you a further account concerning the Land of *Pines*, on which we were driven by distress of Weather the last Summer, I also perused the Printed Book thereof you sent me, the Copy of which was surreptiously taken out of my hands, else should I have given you a more fuller account upon what occasion we came thither, how we were entertained, with some other circum-

ſtances of note wherein that relation is defective. To ſatisfie therefore your deſires, I ſhall briefly yet fully give you a particular account thereof, with a true Copy of the Relation it ſelf; deſiring you to bear with my blunt Phraſes, as being more a Seaman then a Scholler.

April the 26*th* 1667. We ſet ſail from *Amſterdam*, intending for the *Eaſt-Indies*; our ſhip had to name the place from whence we came, the *Amſterdam* burthen 350. Tun, and having a fair gale of Wind, on the 27 of *May* following we had a ſight of the high Peak of *Tenriffe* belonging to the *Canaries*, we have touched at the Iſland *Palma*, but having endeavoured it twice, and finding the winds contrary, we ſteered on our couſe by the Iſles of *Cape Verd*, or *Inſulæ Capitis Viridis*, where at St. *James*'s we took in freſh water, with ſome few Goats, and Hens, wherewith that Iſland doth plentifully abound.

June the 14. we had a ſight of *Madagaſcar*, or the Iſland of St. *Laurence*, an Iſland of 4000 miles in compaſs, and ſcituate under the Southern Tropick; thither we ſteered our courſe, and trafficked with the inhabitants for Knives, Beads, Glaſſes and the like, having in exchange thereof Cloves and Silver. Departing from thence, we were incountred with a violent ſtorm, and the winds holding contrary, for the ſpace of a fortnight, brought us back almoſt as far as the Iſle *Del Principe*; during which time many of our men fell ſick, and ſome dyed, but at the end of that time it pleaſed God the wind favoured us again, and we ſteered on our courſe merrily, for the ſpace of ten days: when on a ſudden we were encountered with ſuch a violent ſtorm, as if all the four winds together had conſpired for our deſtruction, ſo that the ſtouteſt ſpirit of us all quailed, expecting every hour to be devoured by that mercileſs element of water, ſixteen dayes together

did

did this ſtorm continue, though not with ſuch violence as at the firſt, the Weather being ſo dark all the while, and the Sea ſo rough, that we knew not in what place we were, at length all on a ſudden the Wind ceaſed, and the Air cleared, the Clouds were all diſperſed, and a very ſerene Sky followed, for which we gave hearty thanks to the Almighty, it being beyond our expectation that we ſhould have eſcaped the violence of that ſtorm.

At length one of our men mounting the Main-maſt eſpyed fire, an evident ſign of ſome Countrey near adjoyning, which preſently after we apparently diſcovered, and ſteering our courſe nigher, we ſaw ſeveral perſons promiſcuouſly running about the ſhore, as it were wondering and admiring at what they ſaw: Being now near to the Land, we manned out our long Boat with ten perſons, who approaching the ſhore, asked them in our *Dutch* Tongue **Wat Eylant is dit?** to which they returned this Anſwer in Engliſh, *That they knew not what we ſaid.* One of our Company named *Jeremiah Hanzen* who underſtood *Engliſh* very well, hearing their words diſcourſt to them in their own Language; ſo that in fine we were very kindly invited on ſhore, great numbers of them flocking about us, admiring at our Cloaths which we did wear, as we on the other ſide did to find in ſuch a ſtrange place, ſo many that could ſpeak *Engliſh*, and yet to go naked.

Four of our men returning back in the long Boat to our Ships company, could hardly make them believe the truth of what they had ſeen and heard, but when we had brought our ſhip into harbour, you would have bleſt your ſelf to ſee how the naked Iſlanders flocked unto us, ſo wondering at our ſhip, as if it had been the greateſt miracle of Nature in whole World.

We were very courteouſly entertained by them, preſenting us with ſuch food as that Countrey afforded, which indeed was not to be deſpiſed; we eat of the Fleſh both of Beaſts, and Fowls, which they had cleanly dreſt, though with no great curioſity, as wanting materials, wherewithal to do it; and for bread we had the inſide or Kernel of a great Nut as big as an Apple, which was very wholſome, and ſound for the body, and taſted to the Pallat very delicious.

Having refreſhed our ſelves, they invited us to the Pallace of their Prince or chief Ruler, ſome two miles diſtant off from the place where we landed; which we found to be about the bigneſs of one of our ordinary village houſes, it was ſupported with rough unhewn pieces of Timber, and covered very artificially with boughs, ſo that it would keep out the greateſt ſhowers of Rain, the ſides thereof were adorned vvith ſeveral ſorts of Flowers, which the fragrant fields there do yield in great variety. The Prince himſelf (whoſe name was *William Pine* the Grandchild of *George Pine* that was firſt on ſhore in this Iſland) came to his Pallace door and ſaluted us very courteouſly, for though he had nothing of Majeſty in him, yet had he a courteous noble and deboneyre ſpirit, wherewith your Engliſh Nation (eſpecially thoſe of the Gentry) are very much indued.

Scarce had he done ſaluting us when his Lady or Wife, came likewiſe forth of their Houſe or Pallace, attended on by two Maid-ſervants, ſhe was a woman of an exquiſite beauty, and had on her head as it were a Chaplet of Flowers, which being intermixt with ſeveral variety of colours became her admirably. Her privities were hid with ſome pieces of old Garments, the Relicts of thoſe Cloaths (I ſuppoſe) of them which firſt came hither, and yet being adorned with Flowers thoſe very rags ſeemeth beautiful; and indeed

indeed modesty so far prevaileth over all the Female Sex of that Island, that with grass and flowers interwoven and made strong by the peelings of young Elms (which grow there in great plenty) they do plant together so many of them as serve to cover those parts which nature would have hidden.

We carried him as a present some few Knives, of which we thought they had great need, an Ax or Hatchet to fll Wood, which was very acceptable unto him, the Old one which was cast on shore at the first, and the only one that they ever had, being now so quite blunt and dulled, that it would not cut at all, some few other things we also gave him, which he very thankfully accepted, inviting us into his House or Pallace, and causing us to sit down with him, where we refreshed our selves again, with some more Countrey viands which were no other then such we tasted of before; Prince and peasant here faring alike, nor is there any difference betwixt their drink, being only fresh sweet water, which the rivers yield them in great abundance.

After some little pause, our Companion (who could speak *Engl. sh*) by our request desired to know of him something concerning their Original and how that people speaking the Language of such a remote Countrey, should come to inhabit there, having not, as we could see, any ships or Boats amongst them the means to bring them thither, and which was more, altogether ignorant and meer strangers to ships, or shipping, the main thing conducible to that means, to which request of ours, the courteous Prince thus replyed.

Friends (for so your actions declare you to be, and shall by ours find no less) know that we are inhabitants of this Island of no great standing, my Grandfather being the first that ever set foot on this shore, whose native Countrey was

a place called *England*, far distant from this our Land, as he let us to understand; He came from that place upon the Waters, in a thing called a Ship, of which no question but you may have heard; several other persons were in his company, not intending to have come hither (as he said) but to a place called *India*, when tempestuous weather brought him and his company upon this Coast, where falling among the Rocks his ship split all in pieces; the whole company perishing in the Waters, saving only him and four women, which by means of a broken piece of that Ship, by Divine assistance got on Land.

What after passed (said he) during my Grandfathers life, I shall show you in a Relation thereof written by his own hand, which he delivered to my Father being his eldest Son, charging him to have a special care thereof, and assuring him that time would bring some people or other thither to whom he would have him to impart it, that the truth of our first planting here might not be quite lost, which his commands my Father dutifully obeyed; but no one coming, he at his death delivered the same with the like charge to me, and you being the first people, which (besides our selves) ever set footing in this Island, I shall therefore in obedience to my Grandfathers and Fathers commands, willingly impart the same unto you.

Then stepping into a kind of inner room, which as we conceived was his lodging Chamber, he brought forth two sheets of paper fairly written in *English*, (being the same Relation which you had Printed with you at *London*) and very distinctly read the same over unto us, which we hearkened unto with great delight and admiration, freely proffering us a Copy of the same, which we afterward took and brought away along with us; which Copy hereafter followeth.

A Way to the East *India's* being lately discovered by Sea, to the South of *Affrick* by certain *Portugals*, far more safe and profitable then had been heretofore; certain *English* Merchants enceuraged by the great advantages arising from the Eastern Commodities, to settle a Factory there for the advantage of Trade. And having to that purpose obtained the Queens Royal Licence *Anno Dom.* 1569. 11. or 12. *Eliz.* furnisht out for those parts four ships, my Master being sent as Factor to deal and Negotiate for them, and to settle there, took with him his whole Family, (that is to say) his Wife, and one Son of about twelve years of age, and one Daughter of about fourteen years, two Maidservants, one *Negro* female slave, and my Self, who went under him as his Book-keeper, with this company on Monday the third of *April* next following, (having all necessaries for House-keeping when we should come there, we Embarqued our selves in the good ship called the *India Merchant*, of about four hundred and fifty Tuns burthen, and having a good wind, we on the fourteenth day of *May* had sight of the *Canaries*, and not long after of the Isles of *Cape Vert*, or *Verd*, where taking in such things as were necessary for our Voyage, and some fresh Provisions, we stearing our course South, and a point East, about the first of *August* came within sight of the Island of St. *Hellen*, where we took in some fresh water, we then set our faces for the Cape of Good hope, where by Gods blessing after some sickness, whereof some of our company died, though none of our family; and hitherto we had met with none but calm weather, yet so it pleased God, when we were almost in sight of St. *Laurence*, an Island so called, one of the greatest in the world, as Marriners say, we were overtaken and dispersed by a great storm of Wind, which continued with such violence many

days, that losing all hope of safety, being out of our own knowledge, and whether we should fall on Flats or Rocks, uncertain in the nights, not having the least benefit of the light, we feared most, alwayes wishing for day, and then for Land, but it came too soon for our good; for about the first of *October*, our fears having made us forget how the time passed to a certainty; we about the break of day discerned Land (but what we knew not) the Land seemed high and Rockey, and the Sea continued still very stormy and tempestuous, insomuch as there seemed no hope of safety, but looked suddenly to perish. As we grew near Land, perceiving no safety in the ship, which we looked would suddenly be beat in pieces: The Captain, my Master, and some others got into the long Boat, thinking by that means to save their lives, and presently after all the Seamen cast themselves overboard, thinking to save their lives by swimming, onely my self, my Masters Daughters, the two Maids, and the *Negro* were left on board, for we could not swim, but those that left us, might as well have tarried with us, for we saw them, or most of them perish, our selves now ready after to follow their fortune, but God was pleased to spare our lives, as it were by miracle, though to further sorrow; for when we came against the Rocks, our ship having endured two or three blows against the Rocks, (being now broken and quite foundred in the Waters, we having with much ado gotten our selves on the Bowspright, which being broken off, was driven by the Waves into a small Creek, wherein fell a little River, which being encompassed by the Rocks, was sheltered from the Wind, so that we had opportunity to land our selves, (though almost drowed) in all four persons, besides the *Negro*: when we were got upon the Rock, we could perceive the miserable Wrack to our great terrour, I had in my pocket

pocket a little Tinder-box and Steel, and Flint to ſtrike fire at any time upon occaſion, which ſerved now to good Purpoſe, for its being ſo cloſe, preſerved the Tinder dry, with this, and the help of ſome old rotten Wood which we got together, we kindled a fire and dryed our ſelves, which done, I left my female company, and went to ſee, if I could find any of our Ships company, that were eſcaped, but could hear of none, though I hooted and made all the noiſe I could; neither could I perceive the footſteps of any living Creature (ſave a few Birds, and other Fowls. At length it drawing towards the Evening, I went back to my company, who were very much troubled for want of me. I being now all their ſtay in this loſt condition, we were at firſt affraid that the wild people of the Countrey might find us out, although we ſaw no footſteps of any not ſo much as a Path; the Woods round about being full of Briers and Brambles, we alſo ſtood in fear of wild Beaſts, of ſuch alſo we ſaw none, nor ſign of any: But above all, and that we had greateſt reaſon to fear, was to be ſtarved to death for want of Food, but God had otherwiſe provided for us as you ſhall know hereafter; this done, we ſpent our time in getting ſome broken pieces of Boards, and Planks, and ſome of the Sails and Rigging on ſhore for ſhelter; I ſet up two or three Poles, and drew two or three of the Cords and Lines from Tree to Tree, over which throwing ſome Sail-cloathes and having gotten Wood by us, and three or four Sea-gowns, which we had dryed, we took up our Lodging for that night altogether (the *blackmoor* being leſs ſenſible then the reſt we made our Centry) we ſlept ſoundly that night, as having not ſlept in three or four nights before (our fears of what happened preventing us) neither could our hard lodging, fear, and danger hinder us we were ſo over watcht.

On

On the morrow, being well refreſht with ſleep, the winde ceaſed, and the weather was very warm; we went down the Rocks on the ſands at low water, where we found great part of our lading, either on ſhore or floating near it. I by the help of my company, dragged moſt of it on ſhore; what was too heavy for us broke, and we unbound the Casks and Cheſts, and, taking out the goods, ſecured all; ſo that we wanted no clothes, nor any other proviſion neceſſary for Houſekeeping, to furniſh a better houſe than any we were like to have; but no victuals (the laſt water having ſpoiled all) only one Cask of bisket, being lighter than the reſt was dry; this ſerved for bread a while, and we found on Land a ſort of fowl about the bigneſs of a Swan, very heavie and fat, that by reaſon of their weight could not fly, of theſe we found little difficulty to kill, ſo that was our preſent food; we carried out of *England* certain Hens and Cocks to eat by the way, ſome of theſe when the ſhip was broken, by ſome means got to land, & bred exceedingly, ſo that in the future they were a great help unto us; we found alſo, by a little River, in the flags, ſtore of eggs, of a ſort of foul much like our Ducks, which were very good meat, ſo that we wanted nothing to keep us alive.

On the morrow, which was the third day, as ſoon as it was morning, ſeeing nothing to diſturb us, I lookt out a convenient place to dwell in, that we might build us a Hut to ſhelter us from the weather, and from any other danger of annoyance, from wild beaſts (if any ſhould finde us out: So cloſe by a large ſpring which roſe out of a high hill over-looking the Sea, on the ſide of a wood, having a proſpect towards the Sea) by the help of an Ax and ſome other implements (for we had all neceſſaries, the working of the Sea, having caſt up moſt of our goods I cut down all the ſtraighteſt poles I could find, and which were enough for

for my purpoſe, by the help of my company (neceſſity being our Maſter) I digged holes in the earth ſetting my poles at an equl diſtance, and nailing the broken boards of the Caskes, Cheſts, and Cabins, and ſuch like to them, making my door to the Seaward, and having covered the top, with ſail-clothes ſtrain'd, and nail'd, I in the ſpace of a week had made a large Cabbin big enough to hold all our goods and our ſelves in it, I alſo placed our Hamocks for lodging, purpoſing (if it pleaſed God to ſend any Ship that way) we might be tranſported home, but it never came to paſs, the place, wherein we were (as I conceived) being much out of the way.

We having now lived in this manner full four months, and not ſo much as ſeeing or hearing of any wild people, or of any of our own company, more then our ſelves (they being found now by experience to be all drowned) and the place as we after found, being a large Iſland, and diſjoyned, and out of ſight of any other Land, was wholly uninhabited by any people, neither was there any hurtful beaſt to annoy us: But on the contrary the countrey ſo very pleaſant, being always clothed with green, and full of pleaſant fruits, and variety of birds, ever warm, and never colder then in *England* in *September*: So that this place (had it the culture, that skilful people might beſtow on it) would prove a *Paradiſe*.

The Woods afforded us a ſort of Nuts, as big as a large Apple, whoſe kernel being pleaſant and dry, we made uſe of inſtead of bread, that fowl before mentioned, and a ſort of water-fowl like Ducks, and their eggs, and a beaſt about the ſize of a Goat, and almoſt ſuch a like creature, which brought two young ones at a time, and that twice a year, of which the Low Lands and Woods, were very full, being a very harmleſs creature and tame, ſo that we could eaſily

take

take and kill them: Fish, also, especially Shell-fish (which we could best come by) we had great store of, so that in effect as to Food we wanted nothing; and thus, and by such like helps, we continued six moneths, without any disturbance or want.

Idleness and Fulness of every thing begot in me a desire of enjoying the women, beginning now to grow more familiar, I had perswaded the two Maids to let me lie with them, which I did at first in private, but after, custome taking away shame (there being none but us) we did it more openly, as our Lusts give us liberty; afterwards my Masters Daughter was content also to do as we did; the truth is, they were all handsome Women when they had Cloathes, and well shaped, feeding well. For we wanted no Food, and living idlely, and seeing us at Liberty to do our wills, without hope of ever returning home made us thus bold: One of the first of my Consorts with whom I first accompanied (the tallest and handsomest) proved presently with child, the second was my Masters Daughter, and the other also not long after fell into the same condition: none now remaining but my *Negro*, who seeing what we did, longed also for her share; one Night, I 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 feeling her, and perceiving who it was, yet willing to try the difference, satisfied my self with her, as well as with one of the rest: that night, although the first time, she proved also with child, so that in the year of our being here, all my women were with child by me, and they all coming at different seasons, were a great help to one another.

The first brought me a brave Boy, my Masters Daughter was the youngest, she brought me a Girl, so did the other Maid,

Maid, who being ſomething fat ſped worſe at her labour: the *Negro* had no pain at all, brought me a fine white Girl, ſo I had one Boy and three Girls, the Women were ſoon well again, and the two firſt with child again before the two laſt were brought to bed, my cuſtome being not to lie with any of them after they were with child, till others were ſo likewiſe, and not with the black at all after ſhe was with child, which commonly was at the firſt time I lay with her, which was in the night and not elſe, my ſtomach would not ſerve me, although ſhe was one of the handſomeſt Blacks I had ſeen, and her children as comly as any of the reſt; we had no clothes for them, and therefore 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, the Women never failng once a year at leaſt, and none of the Children (for all the hardſhip we put them to) were ever ſick; ſo that wanting now nothing but Cloathes, not them much neither, other then for decency, the warmth of the Countrey and Cuſtome ſupplying that Defect, we were now well ſatisfied with our condition, our Family beginning to grow large, there being nothing to hurt us, we many times lay abroad on Moſſey Banks, under the ſhelter of ſome Trees, or ſuch like (for having nothing elſe to do) I had made me ſeveral Arbors to ſleep in with my Women in the heat of the day, in theſe I and my women paſſed the time away, they being never willing to be out of my company.

And having now no thought of ever returning home, as having reſolved and ſworn each to other, never to part or leave one another, or the place; having by my ſeveral wives, forty ſeven Children, Boys and Girls, but moſt Girls, and growing up apace, we were all of us very fleſhly, the Country ſo well agreeing with us, that we never ailed any thing;

my *Negro* having had twelve, was the first that left bearing, so I never medled with her more: My Masters Daughter (by whom I had most children, being the youngest and handsomest) was most fond of me, and I of her. Thus we lived for sixteen years, till perceiving my eldest Boy to mind the ordinary work of Nature, by seeing what we did, I gave him a Mate, and so I did to all the rest, as fast as they grew up, and were capable: My Wives having left bearing, my children began to breed apace, so we were like to be a multitude; My first Wife brought me thirteen children, my second seven, my Masters Daughter fifteen, and the *Negro* twelve, in all forty seven.

After we had lived there twenty two years, my *Negro* died suddenly, but I could not perceive any thing that ailed her; most of my children being grown, as fast as we married them, I sent them and placed them over the River by themselves severally, because we would not pester one another; and now they being all grown up, and gone, and married after our manner (except some two or three of the youngest) for (growing my self into years) I liked not the wanton annoyance of young company.

Thus having lived to the sixtieth year of my age, and the fortieth of my coming thither, at which time I sent for all of them to bring their children, and there were in number descended from me by these four Women, of my Children, Grand-children, and great Grand-children, five hundred sixty five of both sorts, I took off the Males of one Family, and married them to the Females of another, not letting any to marry their sisters, as we did formerly out of necessity, so blessing God for his Providence and goodness, I dismist them, I having taught some of my children to read formerly, for I had left still the Bible, I charged it should be read once a moneth at

a general meeting: At last one of my Wives died being sixty eight years of age, which I buried in a place, set out on purpose, and within a year after another, so I had none now left but my Masters Daughter, and we lived together twelve years longer, at length she died also, so I buried her also next the place where I purposed to be buried my self, and the tall Maid my first Wife next me on the other side, the *Negro* next without her, and the other Maid next my Masters Daughter. I had now nothing to mind, but the place whether I was to go, being very old, almost eighty years, I gave my Cabin and Furniture that was left to my eldest son after my decease, who had married my eldest Daughter by my beloved Wife, whom I made King and Governour of all the rest: 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.

And now once for all, I summoned them to come to me, that I might number them, which I did, and found the estimate to contain in or about the eightieth year of my age, and the fifty ninth of my coming there; in all, of all sorts, one thousand seven hundred eighty and nine. Thus praying God to multiply them, and send them the true light of the Gospel, I last of all dismist them: For, being now very old, and my sight decayed, I could not expect to live long. I gave this Narration (written with my own hand) to my eldest Son, who now lived with me, commanding him to keep it, and if any strangers should come hither by chance; to let them see it, and take a Copy of it if they would, that our name be not lost from off the earth. I gave this people (descended from me) the name of the *ENGLISH PINES*, *George Pine* being my

name, and my Masters Daughters name *Sarah English*, my two other Wives were *Mary Sparkes*, and *Elizabeth Trevor*, so their severall Descendants are called the *ENGLISH*, the *SPARKS*, and the *TREVORS*, and the *PHILLS*, from the Christian Name of the Negro, which was *Philippa*, she having no surname: And the general name of the whole the *ENGLISH PINES*; whom God bless with the dew of Heaven, and the fat of the Earth, AMEN.

After the reading and delivering unto us a Coppy of this Relation, then proceeded he on in his discourse.

My Grandfather when he wrote this, was as you hear eighty yeares of age, there proceeding from his Loyns one thousand seven hundred eighty nine children, which he had by them four women aforesaid: My Father was his eldest son, and was named *Henry*, begotten of his wife *Mary Sparkes*, whom he apointed chief Governour and Ruler over the rest; and having given him a charge not to exercise tyranny over them, seeing they were his fellow brethren by Fathers side (of which there could be no doubt made of double dealing therein) exhorting him to use justice and sincerity amongst them, and not to let Religion die with him, but to observe and keep those Precepts which he had taught them he quietly surrendred up his soul, and was buried with great lamentation of all his children.

My father coming to rule, and the people growing more populous, made them to range further in the discovery of the Countrey, which they found answerable to their desires, full both of Fowls and Beasts, and those too not hurtful to mankinde, as if this Country (on which we were by providence cast without arms or other weapons to defend our selves, or offend others,) should by the same providence be so inhabited as not to have any need of such like weapons of destruction wherewith to preserve our lives.

But

But as it is impoſſible, but that in multitudes diſorders will grow, the ſtronger ſeeking to oppreſs the weaker; no tye of Religion being ſtrong enough to chain up the depraved nature of mankinde, even ſo amongſt them miſchiefs began to riſe, and they ſoon fell from thoſe good orders preſcribed them by my Grandfather. The ſource from whence thoſe miſchiefs ſpring, was at firſt, I conceive, the neglect of hearing the Bible read, which according to my Grandfathers proſcription) was once a moneth at a general meeting, but now many of them wandring far up into the Country, they quite neglected the coming to it, with all other means of Chriſtian inſtruction, whereby the ſence of ſin being quite loſt in them, they fell to whoredoms, inceſts, and adulteries; ſo that what my Grand-father was forced to do for neceſſity, they did for wantonneſs; nay not confining themſelves within the bound of any modeſty, but brother and ſiſter lay openly together; thoſe who would not yeild to their lewd embraces, were by force raviſhed, yea many times endangered of their lives. To redreſs thoſe enormities, my father aſſembled all the Company near unto him, to whom he declared the wickedneſs of thoſe their brethren; who all with one conſent agreed that they ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed; and ſo arming themſelves with boughs, ſtones, and ſuch like weapons, they marched againſt them, who having notice of their coming, and fearing their deſerved puniſhment, ſome of them fled into woods, others paſſed over a great River, which runneth through the heart of our Country, hazarding drowning to eſcape puniſhment; But the grandeſt offender of them all was taken, whoſe name was *John Phill*, the ſecond ſon of the *Negro-woman* that came with my Grandfather into this Iſland. He being proved guilty of divers raviſhings & tyrannies committed by him,

was

was adjudged guilty of death, and accordingly was thrown down from a high Rock into the Sea, where he periſhed in the waters. Execution being done upon him, the reſt were pardoned for what was paſt, which being notified abroad, they returned from thoſe Deſart and Obſcure places, wherein they were hidden.

Now as Seed being caſt into ſtinking Dung produceth good and wholeſome Corn for the ſuſtentation of mans life, ſo bad manners poduceth good and wholeſome Laws for the preſervation of Humane Society. Soon after my Father with the advice of ſome few others of his Counſel, ordained and ſet forth theſe Laws to be obſerved by them.

1. That whoſoever ſhould blaſpheme or talk irreverently of the name of God ſhould be put to death.

2. That who ſhould be abſent from the Monethly aſſembly to hear the Bible read, without ſufficient cauſe ſhown to the contrary, ſhould for the firſt default be kept without any victuals or drink, for the ſpace of four days, and if he offend therein again, then to ſuffer death.

3. That who ſhould force or raviſh any Maid or Woman ſhould be burnt to death, the party ſo raviſhed putting fire to the wood that ſhould burn him.

4. Whoſoever ſhall commit adultery, for the firſt crime the Male ſhall loſe his Privities, and the Woman have her right eye bored out, if after that ſhe was again taken in the act, ſhe ſhould die without mercy.

5. That who ſo injured his Neighbour, by laming of his Limbs,

Limbs, or taking any thing away which he poſſeſſeth, ſhall ſuffer in the ſame kind himſelf by loſs of Limb; and for defrauding his Neighbour, to become ſervant to him, whil'ſt he had made him double ſatisfaction.

6. That who ſl ould defame or ſpeak evil of the Governour, or refuſe to come before him upon Summons, ſhould receive a puniſhment by whipping with Rods, and afterwards be exploded from the ſociety of all the reſt of the inhabitants.

Having ſet forth theſe Laws, he choſe four ſeveral perſons under him to ſee them put in Execution, whereof one was of the *Engliſhes*, the Off-ſpring of *Sarah Engliſh*; another of his own Tribe, the *Sparks*; a third of the *Trevors*, and the fourth of the *Phills*; appointing them every year at a certain time to appear before him, and give an account of what they had done in the proſecution of thoſe Laws.

The Countrey being thus ſettled, my Father lived quiet and peaceable till he attained to the age of ninety and four years, when dying, I ſucceeded in his place, in which I have continued peaceably and quietly till this very preſent time.

He having ended his Speech, we gave him very heartily thanks for our information, aſſuring him we ſhould not be wanting to him in any thing which lay in our powers, whetewith we could pleaſure him in what he ſhould deſire; and thereupon proferred to depart, but before our going away, he would needs engage us to ſee him, the next day, when was to be their great aſſembly or monethly meeting for the celebration of their Religious Exerciſes.

Accordingly the next day we came thither again, and were courteouſly entertained as before, In a ſhort ſpace there was gathered ſuch a multitude of people together as made us to ad-

admire; and first there was several Weddings celebrated, the manner whereof was thus. The Bridegroom and Brideappeared before him who was their Priest or Reader of the Bible, together with the Parents of each party, or if any of their Parents were dead, then the next relation unto them; without whose consent as well as the parties to be married, the Priest will not joyn them together: but being satisfied in those particulars, after some short Oraizons, and joyning of hands together, he pronounces them to be man and wife: and with exhortations to them to live lovingly towards each other, and quietly towards their neighbors, he concludes with some prayers, and so dismisses them.

The Weddings being finished, all the people took their places to hear the Word read, the new married persons having the honour to be next unto the Priest that day, after he had read three or four Chapters he fell to expounding the most difficult places therein, the people being very attentive all that while, this exercise continued for two or three hours, which being done, with some few prayers he concluded, but all the rest of that day was by the people kept very strictly, abstaining from all manner of playing or pastimes, with which on other dayes they use to pass their time away, as having need of nothing but victuals, and that they have in such plenty as almost provided to their hands.

Their exercises of Religion being over, we returned again to our Ship, and the next day, taking with us two or three Fowling-pieces, leaving half our Company to guard the Ship, the rest of us resolved to go up higher into the Country for a further discovery: 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

and ſuch like ſtuffe to defend them from the Sun and Rain; and as we went along, they came out of them much wondering at our Attire, and ſtanding aloof off 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 gazing 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, nor could the perſwaſions of our Company, aſſuring them they ſhould have no hurt, prevail any thing at all with them, ſo that we were forced to paſs along without their company: all the way that we went we heard the delightful harmony of ſinging Birds, the ground very fertile in Trees, Graſs, and ſuch flowers, as grow by the production of Nature, without the help of Art; many and ſeveral ſorts of Beaſts we ſaw, who were not ſo much wild as in other Countries; whether it were as having enough to ſatiate themſelves without ravening upon others, or that they never before ſaw the ſight of man, nor heard the report of murdering Guns, I leave it to others to determine. Some Trees bearing wild Fruits we alſo ſaw, and of thoſe ſome whereof we taſted, which were neither unwholſome nor diſtaſtful to the Pallate, and no queſtion had but Nature here the benefit of Art added unto it, it would equal, if not exceed many of our *Europian* Countries; the Vallyes were every where intermixt with running ſtreams, and no queſtion but the earth

hath in it rich veins of Minerals, enough to ſatisfie the deſires of the moſt covetous.

It was very ſtrange to us, to ſee that in ſuch a fertile Countrey which was as yet never inhabited, there ſhould be notwithſtanding ſuch a free and clear paſſage to us, without the hinderance of Buſhes, Thorns, and ſuch like ſtuff, wherewith moſt Iſlands of the like nature are peſtered. the length of the Graſs (which yet was very much intermixt with flowers) being the only impediment that we found.

Six dayes together did we thus travel, ſetting ſeveral marks in our way as we went for our better return, not knowing whether we ſhould have the benefit of the Stars for our guidance in our going back, which we made uſe of in our paſſage: at laſt we came to the vaſt Ocean on the other ſide of the Iſland, and by our coaſting it, conceive it to be of an oval form, only here and there ſhooting forth with ſome Promontories. I conceive it hath but few good Harbours belonging to it, the Rocks in moſt places making it inacceſſible. The length of it may be about two hundred, and breadth one hundred miles, the whole in circumference about five hundred miles.

It lyeth about ſeventy ſix degrees of Longitude, and twenty of Latitude, being ſcituate under the third Climate, the longeſtday being about thirteen hours and fourty five minutes. The weather as in all Southern Countries, is far more hot than with us in *Europe*; but what is by the Sun parched in the day, the night again refreſhes with cool pearly dews. The Air is found to be very healthful by the long lives of

of the preſent inhabitants, few dying there till ſuch time as they come to good years of maturity, many of them arriving to the extremity of old age.

And now ſpeaking concerning the length of their Lives, I think it will not be amiſſe in this place to ſpeak ſomething of their Burials, which they uſed to do thus.

When the party was dead, they ſtuck his Carkaſs all over with flowers, and after carried him to the place appointed for Burial, where ſetting him down, (the Prieſt having given ſome godly Exhortations concerning the frailty of life) then do they take ſtones (a heap being provided there for that purpoſe) and the neareſt of the kin begins to lay the firſt ſtone upon him, afterwards the reſt follows, they never leaving till they have covered the body deep in ſtones, ſo that no Beaſt can poſſibly come to him, and this ſhift were they forced to make, having no Spades or Shovels wherewith to dig them Graves; which want of theirs we eſpying, beſtowed a Pick-ax and two Shovels upon them.

Here might I add their way of Chriſtening Children, but that being little different from yours in *ENGLAND*, and taught them by *GEOGE PINES* at firſt which they have ſince continued, I ſhall therefore forbear to ſpeak thereof.

After our return back from the diſcovery of the Countrey, the Wind not being fit for our purpoſe, and our men alſo willing thereto, we got all our cutting Inſtruments on Land, and

fell to hewing down of Trees, with which, in a little time, (many hands making light work) we built up a Pallace for this *William Pines* the Lord of that Countrey; which, though much inferiour to the houſes of your Gentry in *England*. Yet to them which never had ſeen better, it appeared a very Lordly Place. This deed of ours was beyond expreſſion acceptable unto him, loading us with thanks for ſo great a benefit, of which he ſaid he ſhould never be able to make a requital.

And now acquainting him, that upon the firſt opportunity we were reſolved to leave the Iſland, as alſo how that we were near Neighbours to the Countrey of *England*, from whence his Anceſtors came; he ſeemed upon the news to be much diſcontented that we would leave him, deſiring, if it might ſtand with our commodity to continue ſtill with him, but ſeeing he could not prevail, he invited us to dine with him the next day, which we promiſed to do, againſt which time he provided, very ſumptuouſly (according to his eſtate) for us, and now was he attended after a more Royal manner then ever we ſaw him before, both for number of Servants, and multiplicity of Meat, on which we fed very heartily; but he having no other Beverage for us to drink, then water, we fetched from our Ship a Caſe of Brandy, preſenting ſome of it to him to drink, but when he had taſted of it, he would by no means be perſwaded to touch thereof again, preferring (as he ſaid) his own Countrey Water before all ſuch Liquors whatſoever.

After we had Dined, we were invited out into the Fields to behold their Country Dauncing, which they did with great agility of body; and though they had no other then only

Vocal

Vocal Muſick (ſeveral of them ſinging all that while) yet did they trip it very neatly, giving ſufficient ſatisfaction to all that beheld them.

The next day we invited the Prince *William Pines* aboard our Ship, where was nothing wanting in what we could to entertain him, he had about a dozen of Servants to attend on him he much admired at the Tacklings of our Ship, but when we came to diſchárge a piece or two of Ordnance, it ſtruck him into a wonder and amazement to behold the ſtrange effects of Powder; he was very ſparing in his Diet, neither could he, or any of his followers be induced to drink any thing but Water: We there preſented him with ſeveral things, as much as we could ſpare, which we thought would any wayes conduce to their benefit; all which he very gratefully received, aſſuring us of his real love and good will, whenſoever we ſhould come thither again.

And now we intended the next day to take our leaves, the Wind ſtanding fair, blowing with a gentle Gale *South* and by *Eaſt*, but as we were hoiſing of our Sails, and weighing Anchor, we were ſuddenly Allarm'd with a noiſe from the ſhore, the Prince, *W. Pines* imploring our aſſiſtance in an Inſurrection which had happened amongſt them, of which this was the cauſe.

Henry Phil, the chief Ruler of the Tribe or Family of the *Phils*, being the Off-ſpring of *George Pines* which he had by the *Negro*-woman; this man had raviſhed the Wife of one of the principal of the Family of the *Trevors*, which act being made known, the *Trevors* aſſembled themſelves altogether to bring the offender unto Juſtice: But he knowing his crime to be ſo great, as extended to the loſs of life: ſought to defend that by

by force, which he had as unlawfully committed, whereupon the whole Iſland was in a great hurly burly, they being too great Potent Factions, the bandying of which againſt each other, threatned a general ruin to the whole State.

The Governour *William Pines* had interpoſed in the matter, but found his Authority too weak to repreſs ſuch Diſorders; for where the Hedge of Government is once broken down, the moſt vile bear the greateſt rule, whereupon he deſired our aſſiſtance, to which we readily condeſcended, and arming out twelve of us went on Shore, rather as to a ſurprize then fight, for what could nakedneſs do to encounter with Arms. Being conducted by him to the force of our Enemy, we firſt entered into parley, ſeeking to gain them rather by fair means then force, but that not prevailing, we were neceſſitated to uſe violence, for this *Henry Phill* being of an undaunted reſolution, and having armed his fellows with Clubs and Stones, they ſent ſuch a Peal amongſt us, as made us at the firſt to give back, which encouraged them to follow us on with great violence, but we diſcharging off three or four Guns, when they ſaw ſome of themſelves wounded, and heard the terrible reports which they gave, they ran away with greater ſpeed then they came. The Band of the *Trevors* who were joyned with us, hotly purſued them, and having taken their Captain, returned with great triumph to their Governour, who ſitting in Judgment upon him, he was adjudged to death, and thrown off a ſteep Rock into the Sea, the only way they have of puniſhing any by death, except burning.

And now at laſt we took our ſolemn leaves of the Governour, and departed from thence, having been there in all, the ſpace of three weeks and two dayes, we took with us good ſtore of the fleſh of a Beaſt which they call there *Reval*, being

in

in taſt different either from Beef or Swines-fleſh, yet very delightful to the Pallate, and exceeding nutrimental. We took alſo with us alive, divers Fowls which they call *Marde*, about the bigneſs of a Pullet, and not different in taſte, they are very ſwift of flight, and yet ſo fearleſs of danger, that they will ſtand ſtill till ſuch time as you catch them: We had alſo ſent us in by the Governour about two buſhels of eggs, which as I conjecture were the *Mards* eggs, very luſcious in taſte, and ſtrengthening to the body.

June 8. We had a ſight of *Cambaia*, a part of the *Eaſt Indies*, but under the Government of the great *Cham* of *Tartary*; here our Veſſel ſprung a leak, we were forced to put to ſhore, receiving much damage in ſome of our Commodities; we were forced to ply the Pump for eighteen hours together, which, had that miſcarried, we had inevitably have periſhed; here we ſtai'd five dayes mending our Ship, and drying ſome of our Goods, and then hoiſing Sail, in four days time more we came to *Calecute*.

This *Calecute* is the chief Mart Town and Staple of all the *Indian* Traffique, it is very populous, and frequented by Merchants of all Nations. Here we unladed a great part of our Goods, and taking in others, which cauſed us to ſtay there a full Moneth, during which ſpace, at leiſure times I went abroad to take a ſurvey of the City, which I found to be large and populous, lying for three miles together upon the Sea-ſhore. Here is a great many of thoſe perſons whom they call *Brachmans*, being their Prieſts or Teachers whom they much reverence. It is a cuſtome here for the King to give to ſome of thoſe *Brachmain*, the hanſelling of his Nuptial Bed; for which cauſe, not the Kings, but the Kings ſiſters ſons ſucceed in the Kingdom, as being more certainly known to be of the true Royal blood: And theſe ſiſters of his chooſe what Gentleman they

pleaſe,

pleaſe, on whom to beſtow their Virginities; and if they prove not in a certain time to be with child, they betake themſelves to theſe *Brachman Stalions*, who never fail of doing their work.

The people are indifferently civil and ingenious, both men and women imitate a Majeſty in their Train and Apparel, which they ſweeten with Oyles and Perfumes: adorning themſelves with Jewels and other Ornaments befitting each Rank and Quality of them.

They have many odd Cuſtoms amongſt them which they obſerve very ſtrictly; as firſt, not knowing their Wives after they have born them two children: Secondly, not accompanying them, if after five years cohabition they can raiſe no iſſue by them, but taking others in the[illegible]s: Thirdly, never being rewarded for any Military [illegible] unleſs they bring with them an enemies Head in their Hand, but that which is ſtrangeſt, and indeed moſt barbarous, is that when any of their friends falls ſick, they will rather chuſe to kill him, then that he ſhould be withered by ſickneſs.

Thus you ſee there is little employment there for Doctors, when to be ſick, is the next way for to be ſlain, or perhaps the people may be of the mind rather to kill themſelves, then to let the Doctors do it.

Having diſpatched our buſineſs, and fraighted again our Ship, we left *Calecute*, and put forth to Sea, and coaſted along ſeveral of the Iſlands belonging to *India*, at *Camboia* I met with our old friend Mr. *David Prire*, who was overjoyed to ſee me, to whom I related our Diſcovery of the Iſland of *Pines*, in the ſame manner as I have related it to you; he was then but newly recovered of a Feaver, the Air of that place not being agreeable to him; here we took in good ſtore of Aloes, and ſome other Commodities, and victualled our Ship for our return home.

After

After four dayes ſailing, we met with two *Portugal* Ships which came from *Lisbon*, one whereof had in a ſtorm loſt its Top-maſt, and was forced in part to be towed by the other. We had no bad weather in eleven dayes ſpace, but then a ſudden ſtorm of Wind did us much harm in our Tacklings, and ſwept away one of our Sailors off from the Fore Caſtle. *November* the ſixth had like to have been a fatal day unto us, our Ship ſtriking twice upon a Rock, and at night was in danger of being fired by the negligence of a Boy, leaving a Candle careleſly in the Gun-room; the next day we were chaſed by a Pyrate of *Argiere*, but by the ſwiftneſs of our Sails we out ran him. *December* the firſt we came again to *Madagaſcar*, where we put in for a freſh recruit of Victuals and Water.

During our abode here, there hapned a very great Earthquake, which tumbled down many Houſes; The people of themſelves are very Unhoſpitable and Treacherous, hardly to to be drawn to Traffique with any people; and now, this calamitie happening upon them, ſo enraged them againſt the Chriſtians, imputing all ſuch calamities to the cauſe of them, that they fell upon ſome *Portugals* and wounded them, and we ſeeing their miſchievous Actions, with all the ſpeed we could put forth to Sea again, and ſailed to the Iſland of St. *Hellens*.

Here we ſtayed all the *Chriſtmas Holy-dayes*, which was vere much celebrated by the Governour there under the King of *Spain*: Here we furniſhed our ſelves with all neceſſaries which we wanted; but upon our departure, our old acquaintance Mr. *Petrus Ramazina*, coming in a Skiff out of the Iſle *del Principe*, or the Princes Iſland, retarded our going for the ſpace of two dayes, for both my ſelf and our Purſer had Emergent buſineſs with him, he being concerned in thoſe Affairs of which I wrote to you in *April* laſt: Indeed we cannot but acknow-

ledge his Courteſies unto us, of which you know he is never ſparing. *January* the firſt, we again hoiſed Sail, having a fair and proſperous gail of Wind, we touched at the *Canaries*, but made no tarriance, deſirous now to ſee our Native Countrey; but the Winds was very croſs unto us for the ſpace of a week, at laſt we were favoured with a gentle Gale, which brought us on merrily; though we were on a ſudden ſtricken again into a dump; a Sailor from the main Maſt diſcovering five Ships, which put us all in a great fear, we being Richly Laden, and not very well provided for Defence; but they bearing up to us, we found them to be *Zealanders* and our Friends; after many other paſſages concerning us! not ſo much worthy of Note, we at laſt ſafele arrived at home, *May* 26. 1668.

Thus Sir, have I given you a brief, but true Relation of our Voyage, Which I was the more willing to do, to prevent falſe Copies which might be ſpread of this nature: As for the Iſland of *Pines* it ſelf, which cauſed me to Write this Relation, I ſuppoſe it is a thing ſo ſtrange as will hardly be credited by ſome, although perhaps knowing perſons, eſpecially conſidering our laſt age being ſo full of Diſcoveries, that this Place ſhould lie Dormant for ſo long a ſpace of time; Others I know, ſuch Nullifidians as will believe nothing but what they ſee, applying that Proverb unto us, *That Travelors may lye by authority*. But Sir, in writing to you, I queſtion not but to give Credence, you knowing my diſpoſition ſo hateful to divulge Falſities; I ſhall requeſt you to impart this my Relation to Mr. *W.W.* and Mr. *P.L.* remembring me very kindly unto them, not forgetting my old acquaintance Mr. *J. P.* and Mr. *J. B.* no more at preſent, but only my beſt reſpects to you and your ſecond ſelf, I reſt

Yours in the beſt of friendſhip,

July 22. 1668. *Henry Cornelius Van Sloetten.*

POST-SCRIPT.

ONe thing concerning the Isle of *Pines*, I had almost quite forgot, we had with us an *Irish* man named *Dermot Conelly* who had formerly been in *England*, and had learned there to play on the Bag-pipes, which he carried to Sea with him; yet so un-Englished he was, that he had quite forgotten your Language, but still retained his Art of Bagpipe-playing, in which he took extraordinary delight; being one day on Land in the Isle of *Pines*, he played on them, but to see the admiration of those naked people concerning them, would have striken you into admiration; long time it was before we could perswade them that it was not a living creature, although they were permitted to touch and feel it, and yet are the people very intelligible, retaining a great part of the Ingenuity and Gallantry of the *English* Nation, though they have not that happy means to express themselves; in this respect we may accounr them fortunate, in that possessing little, they enjoy all things, as being contented with what they have, wanting those alurements to mischief, which our *European* Countries are enriched with. I shall not dilate any further, no question but time will make this Island known better to the world; all that I shall ever say of it is, that it is a place enriched with Natures abundance, deficient in nothing conducible to the sustentation of mans life, which were it Manured by Agri-culture and Gardening, as other of our *European* Countries are, no question but it would equal, if not exceed many which now pass for praise worthy.

FINIS.