


Reviewed by Paul A. S. Harvey, Osaka University.

Opening Philip Edward’s edition of *Last Voyages* at random, one might be forgiven for wondering why on earth an Englishman would ever want to leave his sixteenth century home. Antony Knivet (c. 1592) gives us a glimpse of how unpleasant it could be to try to visit foreign lands. Here is the description of his experience in the straits of Magellan:

> I had very sorry clothes, the toes of my feet full of lice, that (God is my record) they lay in clusters within my flesh, and of many more besides myself. I had no cabin, but lay upon a chest. (Edwards: 90)

Subsequently, Knivet lost his toes to frostbite. But the English did leave their homes and as these three studies show, they did so in increasing numbers and for an increasing variety of motives in the two centuries between the death of Elizabeth and the publication of Wordsworth’s *Lyrical Ballads.*

Travel is the theme that unites these three books, although the treatment of travel in each is significantly different and each of the authors writes from a different standpoint. Philip Edwards, until recently King Alfred Professor of English Literature at the University of Liverpool, is a Shakespearean scholar.¹ He was recently in Japan and gave a paper at the 28th annual convention of the Shakespeare Society of Japan.²


Stoye was for many years Fellow and Tutor in Modern History at Magdalen College, Oxford. He was a member of the History Faculty at Oxford and specialised in European History in the seventeenth century.\(^1\) Ian Ousby is best known for *The Cambridge Guide to Literature in English*. He has also published literary guides and guide books.\(^2\)

All three authors have different scholarly backgrounds and this is reflected in the books themselves. Edwards is a literary scholar and his interest in travel narratives lies partly in the extent to which those writings can be considered *literature*. Stoye is an historical scholar and *English Travellers Abroad*, an acknowledged classic, is concerned to recover and detail the experience of English travellers in Europe in the seventeenth century. Ian Ousby, a specialist in nineteenth century fiction, has drawn on his experience of the past few years producing various types of literary guide and sketched a changing history of tourism which complements the studies by Edwards and Stoye.

Edwards has put together narratives and letters centring on three famous voyages: Cavendish in 1591–93, Hudson 1610–11 and Ralegh 1617–18. Each of the voyages led to the death of the principal, though in Ralegh's case this occurred some months after his return. The voyages are notable in that they all ended tragically and are at the same time well documented.

*Last Voyages* is a modern-spelling edition which leads to some difficult decisions with regard to variant spellings of place names. Edwards admits that there are problems with compromise and consistency. This can be seen in various places. The second narrative of the Cavendish voyage is cut: "Some chauvinistic reflections and poor puns are here omitted." (Edwards: 52) Later, Antony Knivet's narrative is likewise cut. The Ralegh voyage, unlike the Hudson and Cavendish voyages, is narrated only through Ralegh's own writings, which diminishes the multifaceted appeal. The footnotes are helpful, though occasionally marred by reactions to the personalities involved: "Trust Cavendish to go for them with a rope's end." (Edwards: 91)

In the case of Hudson and Cavendish, by supplying different versions of the same voyage Edwards allows the reader to question the truth content of the narratives. We can witness this in action in the reports of the Cav-


endish voyage. Cavendish employs a Portuguese pilot (whom he had captured earlier) to guide the ships into Vitória on the Brazilian coast. In Cavendish’s words:

He came unto me and told me upon his life that he would take upon him to carry both my ships over the bar at Spiritus Sanctus . . . he willed me to take his life if ever the ships came in less water than 5 fathom . . . (Edwards: 66)

Later, in the report by Antony Knivet, we learn the sequel:

At length we came to an anchor in the road . . . and we found not half the depth that the Portugal said we should find. The General [Cavendish] thinking that the Portugal would have betrayed us, without any trial caused him to be hanged, the which was done in a trice. (Edwards: 92)

Cavendish clearly wanted to suppress this incident. He emerges as a ruthless and impetuous leader and his insistence that the Portuguese pilot “willed me to take his life” is decidedly sinister. These texts arranged in counterpoint in this way give us a precious opportunity to view the motives of a man like Cavendish in as vivid a way as is usually only accomplished in fiction. This is rendered the more engrossing by the fact that these narratives purport to be true.

Edwards is concerned to demonstrate that the narratives “are a special kind of writing with distinctive values of its own.” (Edwards: 1) He compares this form of reportage with other more obviously literary forms of writing and concludes that “its language and structure is usually much inferior to the better works of fiction of the period.” (Edwards: 3) He goes on to make an important distinction between writings that explicitly purport a truth content and those which are fictional, arguing that it is a distinction which is perilous to abandon. This is a good comment, although one might question why one should need to rank the travel writings against the consciously artistic fictional writings of the period. There is no comparison. The importance of these writings does not lie in pleasure deriving from artistic craft but in the fact that they purport to be true. They dispense a raw form of early modern English experience in a way that the plays of Shakespeare do not. The importance for the literary scholar lies not in the way these writings resemble literature but the way the travel writings allow us to glimpse a particular reality.

It is the reality of travel in Europe in the seventeenth century that John Stoye is concerned to document in English Travellers Abroad. In the preface to the book he tells us how he came to find his subject. He recalls com-
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ing across a worn old volume in 1939: it was James Howell’s *Familiar Letters Domestic and Foreign* (1705). This led him to examine the papers of Englishmen abroad and was the seed from which the study grew. It was first published in 1952 (London: Jonathan Cape) and he has now brought out the revised edition. At the time of its first appearance it was an unorthodox historical study: political history was very much in the ascendant. In the intervening years, however, the explosion in social history and the history of mentalités has allowed the originality and importance of Stoye’s study to be fully appreciated. His work has not been superseded and remains the authority in its particular area.

Stoye’s hope is that the book will contribute to the “general history of the English people.” (Stoye: 3) The broad structure of the work shows a growing distinction between public and private areas of experience in the lives of the élite. In Elizabethan times it was far less common to travel for private reasons in Europe, and the state took an interest in what Englishmen were doing abroad. As the regime changed, however, and conditions in Europe made it easier to travel, the state ceased to take as much interest. Stoye charts an increase in the numbers of the élite who saw travel as a means of education rather than as a means of serving the state and gaining preferment. In pursuing his inquiries he finds that the Grand Tour had its origins much earlier than had previously been supposed. He has based his study on two chief sources: the State Papers Foreign from the Public Record Office and manuscript diaries of English travellers, many of which are in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

His study is limited to a particular type of English traveller: those who used the well known routes in Europe, chiefly France, Italy, Spain and the Netherlands. He lists the variety of English persons outside England at that time:

... the colonies and plantations; exile colleges of priests, nunneries, and communities of Separatists; bands of neglected soldiery, ships and crews at sea, factors and their servants in foreign parts; the ambassadors’ households, the gentry learning languages in Siena and Saumur, and even individual wanderers, scholars, musicians and jewellers. (Stoye: 3)

His discussion of travel is to be differentiated from the narratives in *Last Voyages*. The overriding motive for leaving England for Cavendish and Ralegh, and even Hudson (who was personally committed to finding the north-west passage) was gold. The circumnavigations of Drake and Cavendish are celebrated as feats of great seamanship but their chief significance for their contemporaries was how rich they made the survivors. Stoye’s travellers are men who have money or who have attached themselves to
men with money: they go over to the European mainland as tutor to a young aristocrat or maybe as a diplomat or simply to become more cultured.

Although the motives of the English travellers in ships, or on foot or by horse in Europe were all different, there are important points of similarity in the writings they produced. The most significant is that these travellers participated in and contributed to the growing importance of the eye-witness account. Samuel Purchas, in his huge collection of travel writings published in 1625, explicitly states this aspect of the writings on his title page: it is a selling point. In 1625, as Stoye relates, Peter Heylin crossed the channel to compose an account of France: he fused his own eye-witness experience with previous descriptions and published his *Survey of the Estate of France* in 1656. Earlier, both Fynes Moryson and George Sandys had done the same in 1617 and 1615 respectively. Heylin, previous to his visit to France, had given a series of lectures at Magdalen College, Oxford which had led to *Microcosmus*, printed in 1621. For his description of France he had relied entirely on the descriptions of others. It can be seen that *being there* was becoming more of a prerequisite for the informed description of a foreign place.

On the European mainland Englishmen went with their eyes wide open and Stoye documents what they saw. The principal difference between such a traveller then and now was an interest in displays of wealth and military strength. Stoye comments:

It is again worth emphasis that the *treasure*, at Florence, Rome, Loreto and Venice, likewise the *arsenals* of Genoa, Rome and Venice received a measure of enthusiastic attention, in the seventeenth as in earlier centuries, which has long since declined. (Stoye: 131)

In the 1640s John Evelyn spent about ten days in Florence, in the 1650s Francis Mortoft spent five but “the Duke’s treasury appears nearly always to have interested them more genuinely than the Cathedral... treasure, in the literal meaning of the word, justified to them in a more authentic manner the great name of the Grand Dukes of Tuscany.” (Stoye: 126) But the travellers also went to increase knowledge and to bring back culture from the mainland: in the early 1640s Nicholas Stone the elder instructed his son to acquire examples of Italian workmanship for the instruction of a wide circle of clients. Roger Pratt visited Italy in 1645 and his notes for a book on architecture show that he insisted on foreign travel for educating those who intended to live in a good modern building. As early as 1665 Joseph Hall described a journey to Spa in Belgium. He had not been interested in health but chiefly “to satisfy ‘the great desire I had
to inform myself ocularly of the state and practice of the Romish Church; the knowledge whereof might be no small use to me in my holy station. Such an experience helped him in handling religious controversies later on." (Stoye: 207) It was going and seeing for oneself that had been important: the experience of seeing and then taking that knowledge back home.

Stoye’s discussion of English travel on the continent is impossible to summarise in any satisfactory way: his account is simply too full of too many travellers. His second edition has an updated bibliography which is good and updated notes but it also has more than 40 misprints. At one point an entire line is misplaced. (Stoye: 164/5) The proof-reading was careless. Nevertheless, it is an attractive and well-documented study. Clearly the author himself has a love for the places that his travellers have visited. Stoye quotes an Elizabethan’s response (1587) to Venice in his notes:

The seat of Venice when I beheld it in my gondola as I came from Marghera me thought resembled some Flemish painted table of Landskipt or some mathematical demonstration in prospective: the towers and monasteries in the sea and especially of Muran divided from Venice resembled it so well. (Stoye: 336)

How much longer will the modern tourist be able to appreciate such sights?

Ian Ousby’s *The Englishman’s England* looks at the growth of English tourism during the eighteenth century. It is a much less substantial study than that of Stoye and relies heavily on secondary sources. It comprises four chapters dealing respectively with literary shrines, the country house, ruins, and natural scenery. Almost incidental to his main purpose Ousby is charting a growth in national confidence. In Edwards and Stoye the English person was leaving England for all sorts of reasons: to get rich, to find land, to become cultured, to view the origins of European culture, to buy the best French or Italian products. The English traveller gazed in amazement at the visible strengths and riches of the more powerful European nations. In Ousby, however, we can see evidence of an increasingly positive evaluation of the English historical and physical landscape. Ousby discusses this in terms of “showing how movements in taste have led to patterns of travel, and how these patterns of travel have in turn been expanded and systematised into a tourist industry.” (Ousby: 5)

In the first sections of the chapter on literary shrines Ousby discusses the history behind Poet’s Corner in Westminster Abbey. He looks at the way it became more difficult to qualify for interment. Later in the chapter
he discusses the Shakespeare cult as it developed at Stratford. There are some amusing moments. In 1753 New Place, the house where Shakespeare retired from the London stage, was bought by the Rev. Francis Gastrell. Gastrell had had no idea of the connection with Shakespeare and became irritated by the constant tramp of people to his door: they were coming to see the mulberry tree in the garden, supposedly planted by Shakespeare. He chopped it down and sold the wood to a local tradesman: and thus was started the first Shakespeare relics industry: an inexhaustible stream of toothpicks, snuff-boxes and knick-knacks all made from the original tree and produced over a period of forty years!

In chapters two and three Ousby considers the country house and picturesque ruins. Stoye of course has documented earlier tourism (though not called by such a name at that time) in France and Italy in the seventeenth century. Visiting the great houses in England is an extension of seventeenth century tourism abroad: seeing how the great and wealthy live; viewing the works of art with which they display their wealth. But the fact that it is being done in England underscores an increased confidence in the English elite. The interest in English ruins is of the same order, indicating a belief that England has an antiquity to parallel the antiquity of the continental cultures. Ousby gives a brief sketch of the history of Stonehenge as a tourist attraction dating from 1655 when the first book length study of the monument appeared, written by Inigo Jones and published by his pupil John Webb. Interestingly, Jones felt that the sophistication of the ruins was proof that it could not be native work and concluded that it must be a Roman temple. Jones was paying Stonehenge a compliment, linking it with the Neo-classicism which would come to dominate English taste. In 1740 William Stukeley discussed Stonehenge as a temple of natural religion used by druids and predating the Romans. Ousby discusses this shift as part of the adjustment that came to be called Romanticism: wild-eyed druids preferred to classical order and symmetry.

Englishmen keen to visit natural wonders were not uncommon in the seventeenth century and Ousby discusses a few examples, notably the Devil’s Arse in the Peak District. But it was with a change in the perception of mountain scenery that nature began to have a new meaning. In English Travellers Abroad Stoye comments on the alpine route into Italy taken by Inigo Jones in 1613: it was not popular and the mountains inspired fear rather than wonder. And yet by the late eighteenth century such places were where the imagination might soar, uplifted by a vision

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of power beyond man's comprehension. Wordsworth added his own idiosyncratic vision of nature to the changing taste in landscape, and the Lake District became by the early nineteenth century both a literary shrine and a place where Nature might be appreciated in the raw. It is astonishing that Wordsworth was receiving up to 500 hundred people a year at Rydale Mount in the 1840s. (Ousby: 180)

The Englishman's England is a stimulating work, marred unfortunately by notes which are incomplete: not all sources are referenced. The notes are identified "not by numbers but by the relevant phrase from the text" and are "confined to giving the sources of quotations and making acknowledgments." (Ousby: 2) The books written by Inigo Jones and William Stukeley discussed above are not in the bibliography or notes. However, the book has a large number of excellent illustrations which contribute greatly to the pleasure of reading the text.

Travel is an extraordinarily rich area of inquiry and this is evidenced by these three studies. Stoye and Ousby are concerned primarily with what the travellers went to see; and Edwards gives us the texts of three particular voyages. Reading the books in sequence one is left with the reflection that travel was an arduous and uncertain activity: uncertain in arrival and less certain in return. We have much to be thankful for.

David Loewenstein: Milton and the Drama of History: Historical Vision, Iconoclasm, and the Literary Imagination


David Loewenstein and James Grantham Turner (eds.): Politics, Poetics, and Hermeneutics in Milton's Prose


今世紀後半の Milton 研究最大の事業であった全八巻から成る Complete Prose Works of John Milton (1953-82) の Yale 大学出版局からの刊行が完結して十年になる。歴史的文脈の中に各作品を位置づけることを目的とするこの散文全集の登場によって、文学にとどまらず政治・神学・歴史学と多岐にわたる分野を自在に横断する文筆家であった Milton の全貌が明らかになりつつある。このような研究動向の中で、例えば、Nicholas von Maltzahn, Milton's "History of Britain": Republican Historiography in the English