

THE PURCHAS  
HANDBOOK. STUDIES  
OF THE LIFE, TIMES  
AND WRITINGS OF  
SAMUEL PURCHAS,  
VOLUME I

L.E. Pennington



THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

ASHGATE EBOOK

# The Purchas Handbook

Studies of the Life, Times and Writings of  
Samuel Purchas, 1577–1626, Volume I

Edited by  
L.E. PENNINGTON

ASHGATE

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VOLUME I

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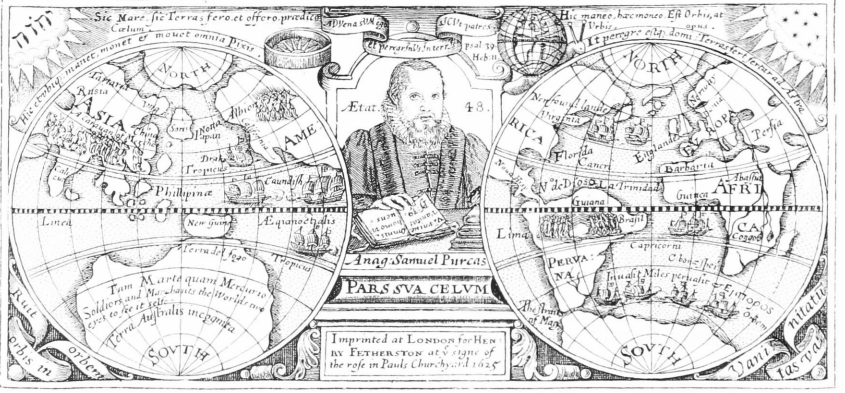
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Contayning a His tory of the World, in Sea voyages & lande Trauells, by Englishmen & others. Wherein Gods Wonders in Nature & Providence, The Artes, Arts, Varieties, & Vanities of Men, w<sup>th</sup> a world of the Worlds Rarities, are by a world of Eminent Authors, Related to the World.

Some left written by M. Hakluyt at his death, More since added, His also perused, & perfected. All examined abridged, Illustrated w<sup>th</sup> Notes, Enlarged w<sup>th</sup> Discourses. Adorned w<sup>th</sup> pictures, and Expressed in Mapps, In fouer Parts. Each containing five Bookes.

By **SAMVEL PVRCHAS** B.D.



Engraved title-page of *Purchas his pilgrimes* (1625)

# THE PURCHAS HANDBOOK

**Studies of the life, times and writings of Samuel Purchas  
1577–1626**

*With bibliographies of his books and of works about him*

Edited by

L. E. PENNINGTON

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THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

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Among the individuals who have who have worked most closely with us are

## PURCHAS HANDBOOK

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### *Usages and abbreviations*

'u' and 'v', 'i' and 'j' have been converted (except in chapter 18) to their modern usage in both printed and manuscript citations and in titles.

English books are printed in London unless otherwise noted.

Reference to Purchas's works are to the original edition throughout. For convenience of reference a concordance of *Pilgrimes* (1625) with *Pilgrimes* (1905–7) is given on pp. xvi–xvii. Citations to *Pilgrimes* (1625) are by volume, book, and page (e.g., I.iv.238), the style used in the margins of the MacLehose Glasgow 1905–7 edition (*Hakluytus postumus, or Purchas his pilgrimes*, Hakluyt Society, extra ser., nos 14–33).

References to marginal notes in Purchas's works are designated by mn following the page number; notes at the bottom of the page are designated by n.

In manuscript citations, contractions are expanded and indicated by italics.

|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| BL                       | British Library   |
| CSP                      | <i>Calendar of state papers</i>   |
| DNB                      | <i>Dictionary of national biography</i>   |
| ed.; eds                 | editor, edited by; editors  |
| HH                       | <i>The Hakluyt handbook</i> , ed. D. B. Quinn (2 vols, Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., nos. 144–5, 1974) |
| <i>Pilgrim</i>           | Samuel Purchas, <i>Purchas his pilgrim</i> (1619)   |
| <i>Pilgrimage</i> (1613) | Samuel Purchas, <i>Purchas his pilgrimage</i> (1613)  |
| <i>Pilgrimage</i> (1614) | Samuel Purchas, <i>Purchas his pilgrimage</i> (1614)  |

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- Pilgrimage* (1617) Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his pilgrimage* (1617)
- Pilgrimage* (1626) Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his pilgrimage* (1626)
- Pilgrimes* Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his pilgrimes* (1625) (the engraved additional title-page in some copies reads: *Hakluytus Postumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes*)
- Pilgrimes* (1905–7) Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus postumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (20 vols, Hakluyt Society, extra ser., nos. 14–33, 1905–7)
- PN* (1589) Richard Hakluyt, *Principall navigations* (1589)
- PN*, (1965) Richard Hakluyt, *Principall navigations* (1965), ed. D. B. Quinn and R. A. Skelton (2 vols, Hakluyt Society, extra ser. nos. 39a–b. 1965)
- PN*, I (1598) Richard Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, I (1598).
- PN*, II (1599) Richard Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, II (1599)
- PN*, III (1600) Richard Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, III (1600)
- PN* (1903–5) Richard Hakluyt, *Principal navigations* (12 vols, Hakluyt Society, extra ser., nos. 1–12, 1903–5)
- PRO* Public Record Office
- SPB* Secondary Purchas bibliography (chapter 19)
- STC* *Short-title catalogue of English book (1476–1640)*, ed. A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave (3 vols, 2nd ed., 1986–91).

In addition to the above abbreviations, chapters 16, 18, and 19 include lists of abbreviations peculiar only to each of those three chapters.

## CONCORDANCE

Concordance between *Purchas his pilgrimes* (4 vols, 1625) and  
*Hakluytus postumus or Purchas his pilgrimes* (20 vols, 1905–7)

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>I (1625)</p> <p>To the Most High and Excellent<br/>Prince, Charles, Prince of Wales</p> <p>Sig. [*]3–3v</p> <p>To the Reader</p> <p>Sig. [*]4–6</p> <p>A Note touching the Dutch</p> <p>Sig. [*]6–6v</p> <p>First pagination</p> <p>Pages 1–186</p> <p>Second pagination</p> <p>Pages 1–205</p> <p>Pages 206–413</p> <p>Pages 414–631</p> <p>Pages 631–748</p> | <p>I (1905)</p> <p>pages xxxvii–xxxviii</p> <p>pages xxxix–xlviii</p> <p>pages xlix–l</p> <p>pages 1–505</p> <p>II (1905)</p> <p>pages 1–549</p> <p>III (1905)</p> <p>pages 1–570</p> <p>IV (1905)</p> <p>pages 1–572</p> <p>V (1905)</p> <p>pages 1–303</p> <hr style="border: 1px solid black;"/> <p>V (1905)</p> <p>pages 305–6</p> <p>pages 307–529</p> <p>VI (1905)</p> <p>pages 1–543</p> <p>VII (1905)</p> <p>pages 1–572</p> <p>VIII (1905)</p> <p>pages 1–593</p> |
| <p>II (1625)</p> <p>To the High and Mightie Prince, George,<br/>Duke, Marquesse, and Earle of Buckingham</p> <p>Sig. [*]2–2v</p> <p>Pages 749–831</p> <p>Pages 832–1036</p> <p>Pages 1036–1245</p> <p>Pages 1245–1462</p>   |  |

CONCORDANCE

|  |  |
|--|--|
| Pages 1463–1670  | IX (1905)<br>pages 1–570                 |
| Pages 1671–1860  | X (1905)<br>pages 1–526                  |
| III (1625)   | XI (1906)                                |
| To the Right Honorable and<br>Right Reverend Father in God:<br>John, Lord Bishop of Lincolne<br>Sig. [*]2–2v<br>pages 1–231                                      | pages 1–3<br>pages 5–649                 |
| pages 231–460  | XII (1906)<br>pages 1–633                |
| To the Reader<br>Pages 461–2<br>Pages 462–668<br>[There are no pages 669–698]  | XIII (1906)<br>pages 1–4<br>pages 4–559  |
| Pages 699–917  | XIV (1906)<br>pages 1–592                |
| Pages 918–1140   | XV (1906)<br>pages 1–568                 |
| IV (1624)  | XVI (1906)                               |
| To the Most Reverend Father in God,<br>George, Lord Arch. of Canterburie<br>Sig. [*]3–4<br>Pages 1141–1347   | pages 1–3<br>pages 5–579                 |
| Pages 1347–1538  | XVII (1906)<br>pages 1–550               |
| Pages 1538–1733  | XVIII (1906)<br>pages 1–540              |
| Pages 1733–1926  | XIX (1906)<br>pages 1–549                |
| Pages 1927–69<br>The Conclusion of the Worke,<br>With some later advertisements<br>Touching His Majesties Care for Virginia<br>Pages 1980[ <i>recte</i> 1970]–73 | XX (1907)<br>pages 1–129<br>pages 130–35 |

# Part One

PURCHAS THROUGH FOUR CENTURIES

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1

*Samuel Purchas*  
*His reputation and the uses of his works\**

L. E. PENNINGTON

On 16 March 1852, Henry David Thoreau rose before dawn, took breakfast, and made his way to the Harvard College Library, where he spent the day browsing the stacks. When he returned home that evening, he wrote in his journal:

The volumes of the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries, which lie so near on the shelf, are rarely opened, are effectually forgotten and not implied by our literature and newspapers. When I looked into Purchas's Pilgrims, it affected me like looking into an impassable swamp, ten feet deep with sphagnum, where the monarchs of the forest, covered with mosses and stretched along the ground, were making haste to become peat. Those old books suggested a certain fertility, an Ohio soil, as if they were making a humus for new literatures to spring in. I heard the bellowing of bullfrogs and the hum of mosquitoes reverberating through the thick embossed covers when I had closed the book. Decayed literature makes the richest of all soils.<sup>1</sup>

Thoreau's claim that the works of Samuel Purchas had been neglected was a gross exaggeration, but his contention that those works provided 'a humus for

\* The purpose of this chapter is three-fold: (1) to trace the evolution of the Purchas reputation through four centuries; (2) to give some indication of the great variety of ways in which scholars have both used and interpreted his works; and (3) to provide a guide to 'A secondary Purchas bibliography' (SPB) in volume II of this work. Works identified by author and/or title in the text are cited in the notes by the last name of the author and date of publication as they appear in the SPB, works appearing only in the notes are cited by the full name of the author and the date of publication as they appear in the SPB. In both cases where a title seems necessary for clarity or where an author has more than one work in a single year, a short title is added. Works cited but not listed in the SPB because they contain nothing directly on Purchas are given the usual full citation. The chapter's division by centuries makes for some clumsiness, and to avoid breaks and repetitions, subjects such as the relationship between Purchas and Captain John Smith, which have been written about in more than one century, are discussed in the century in which they first appear.

<sup>1</sup> Bradford Torrey, ed., *Writings of Henry David Thoreau: Journal*, III (1906), 352-3.

new literatures to spring in' certainly was not. Over nearly four centuries Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, and to a lesser extent the four editions of his *Pilgrimage*, have been mined by hundreds of scholarly and popular authors in fields ranging from history and geography to economics, anthropology, archaeology, literature, navigation, technology, biology, and medicine. Most have been content to use Purchas's works for informational purposes only and have subjected them to little or no critical analysis. But since the beginning of the eighteenth century, analysis and criticism of his works, some of it favourable, more of it unfavourable, has proceeded apace, and has reached its peak here in the twentieth century.

### *The seventeenth century*

In 1983, Robert Silverberg published his novel *Lord of darkness*. Its protagonist is Andrew Battell, and it is based loosely on Battell's account in *Pilgrimes*. In the conclusion, Silverberg imagines Battell describing his first encounter with Purchas:

Elizabeth has brought a man to see me, a little dreary pedantic man named Samuel Purchas, who is the vicar in Eastwood, that is two miles from Leigh. This Purchas is a dry and pious fellow, forty or fifty years of age, that has his degree in divinity out of Cambridge [*sic*], and pretends to scholarship. He has inherited the papers of Master Richard Hakluyt ... and ... means to put together a new work, even larger.

Now I have read the Hakluyt books, and a great epic they are, the work of a supreme compiler; and I do not think Purchas can fashion their equal, for though he is industrious he also seems haphazard and hasty of ambition. He talks of 'abridging the tedious' from his narratives, by which he means to take out all the details of routes and pilotage, and leave only the wonders and marvels. Master Hakluyt was wiser. But Master Hakluyt is dead and Purchas is our only hope for bringing our tales to print ... .

And he will take my big book and slice it down, to put in his collection of voyages, and I think he will mangle my words into some silly garboil, and put everything out of order, for that seems to be his way ... . But we shall see.<sup>1</sup>

Silverberg's assessment of Purchas projects back into the seventeenth century the opinion of Purchas's character and editing methods expressed by most writers of the last three hundred years. But this opinion is based on inferences as to Purchas's personal character taken from his writings, and the judgments of his writings are based on the standards of a later day. The fact is we have no direct assessment of Purchas's character by any of his contemporaries who knew him personally. The indirect evidence we do have indicates that he was not, as he is so often described, a cringing, unctuous, and unpleasant parson,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Silverberg (1983), pp. 557–8.

<sup>2</sup> For a typical example see SPB entry for A. L. Rowse (1959), p. 59.

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but an outgoing, industrious, and highly respected member of the Anglican clergy and London intellectual circles. The publication beginning in 1613 of the first of four ever-expanding editions of *Pilgrimage* brought him a wide circle of friends and acquaintances, many of whom were more than willing to assist him in his collecting activities.<sup>1</sup> He was probably a member of the 'Worshipfull Fraternitie of Sireniacal Gentlemen that meet the first Fridaie of every moneth at the signe of the Mere-Maid in Bread-Street', and may even have served as its High Seneschall.<sup>2</sup> He had connections among important members of both the Virginia Company of London (of which he was made free in 1622) and the East India Company.<sup>3</sup> Though he never achieved the status of Richard Hakluyt as a consultant to the movers and shakers of English overseas activities, it is clear that by the time of his death in 1626 he had acquired a substantial personal reputation.

Purchas's publishing career lasted only from 1613 to 1626, a mere thirteen years, and it is not surprising that his works were seldom a source for other English writers during his lifetime. The first significant use of Purchas's works came in 1621 when Peter Heylyn published the first edition of what would become his very popular *Microcosmus, or little description of the great world* in which he cited *Pilgrimage* more than twenty times for his descriptions of lands in Asia, Africa, and North America.<sup>4</sup>

It was not until the late 1620s and 1630s that Purchas's works began to be used extensively by English writers. The earliest of these was Purchas's long-

<sup>1</sup> For Purchas's circle of acquaintances, see David Ransome, below, *passim*. See also E. G. R. Taylor, 'Samuel Purchas' (1930), p. 537; and Taylor, 'Review of Parks' (1929), pp. 572-4.

<sup>2</sup> Evidence of Purchas's membership in the Mermaid Club is based on Thomas Coryate's *Thomas Coryate: Traveller for the English wits* (1616; reprinted 1968), pp. 37-47, which includes (pp. 37-42) a letter to the High Seneschall of the Sireniacals. Purchas is not identified as the High Seneschall, possibly because Coryate did not know who held the office at the time, but Purchas, though he never directly claims he was the High Seneschall, does state (*Pilgrimes*, l.iv.595mn) that Coryate's letter to that worthy 'was delivered to my self'. The contention that Purchas was a member of the Sireniacals was first made by Foster Watson ((1924), p. 80), and the same contention, along with the claim that Purchas was High Seneschall, has been advanced by Michael Strachan ((1962), pp. 287, 294-5) and David Ransome, below, p. 346. But I. A. Shapiro, who attempts to identify the members of the group, thinks it improbable Purchas was among them (Shapiro (1950), pp. 8-9). See also SPB entry for Thomas Coryate (3 vols, 1776), III, sigs. q2-y4v.

<sup>3</sup> For Purchas's admission to and membership activities in the Virginia Company of London, see Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed. (4 vols, 1906-33), II, 20, 26, 103, 485, 498, 512, 518, 519, 533; III, 65. See also SPB entry for David R. Ransome (1990). The frequent claim that Purchas was unknown to the East India Company when in 1622 he asked for permission to use certain Company records is based on the fact that in the Company minutes detailing his request, he is referred to as 'one Purchas' (W. Noel Sainsbury, ed. (1878; reprinted 1964), p. 18). It is possible he was unknown to the person taking down the minutes, but to suppose on such scant evidence that he was unknown to the generality of members present is, to say the least, far-fetched.

<sup>4</sup> The citations to *Pilgrimage* are to be found only in Heylyn's first edition, and were dropped in the many succeeding editions, including those under the title *Cosmographie in foure books*, though

time friend and collaborator, Captain John Smith. From 1613 onward Purchas borrowed heavily from Smith's published works and manuscripts and in turn supplied Smith with materials for his writings. In 1624, Purchas contributed commendatory verses for Smith's *Generall history of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*.<sup>1</sup> Smith reciprocated in 1627 in his *Sea grammar*; after borrowing from Purchas an account of the depths of the sea, he concluded:

Now because he hath taken neere 100. times as much from me, I have made bold to borrow this from him, seeing he hath sounded such deep waters for this our Ship to sail in, being a gentleman whose person I loved, and whose memory and vertues I will ever honour.<sup>2</sup>

Smith's most extensive debt to Purchas's works came in his autobiographical *True travels* of 1630. Chapters 2 through 20 of the *True travels*, which cover Smith's adventures until his arrival in Virginia, are basically reprinted from *Pilgrimes*.<sup>3</sup>

The next major use of Purchas's works came in 1635 then Captain Luke Foxe published his *Northwest Foxe, or Foxe from the North-West Passage*. Before undertaking a narrative of his own voyage, Foxe included a lengthy history of northwest explorations from the voyages of Martin Frobisher through that of William Hawkridge in the form of abstracts, twelve of which were taken from Purchas.<sup>4</sup>

Though Purchas's works undoubtedly influenced a number of other seventeenth-century English works on the history or geography of travel and discovery, they mention him only in passing or not at all.<sup>5</sup> Rev. Samuel Clarke in his 1657 *Geographical description of all the countries in the known world*, seldom gives his sources directly<sup>6</sup>, but according to Colin Steele, he borrowed heavily from Purchas, particularly for his Spanish authors, and his account of Bartolomé de las Casas is taken word-for-word from *Pilgrimage*.<sup>7</sup> Clarke's later work on the English plantations in America uses *Pilgrimes* and to some extent

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materials from *Pilgrimage* continued to be included. That same year of 1620, William Slatyer's *History of Great Britanie* included convoluted verses by Purchas, as well as Slatyer's answer to Purchas in ninety lines of Latin verse, followed by Greek verses addressed to both Purchas and John Selden. I am indebted to David Ransome for information on Slatyer's work.

<sup>1</sup> Smith (1624), sig. A1.

<sup>2</sup> Smith (1627; reprinted 1968), pp. 51–2.

<sup>3</sup> For a thorough analysis of Smith's use of Purchas writings in his *True Travels*, see Philip Barbour, ed., *Complete works of Smith* (3 vols, 1986), III, 128–363 *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> The best edition of Foxe's work is in Miller Christy, ed., *Voyages of Captain Luke Foxe of Hull, and Captain Thomas James of Bristol* (2 vols, 1894). The twelve abstracts from Purchas are included in the first volume of that edition.

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of these works, see G. R. Crone and R. A. Skelton, (1946), pp. 67–78.

<sup>6</sup> Clarke (1657; reprinted 1671). Clarke's only two mentions of the use of Purchas (both from *Pilgimes*) are on pp. 41–2 and 50 of the 1671 edition.

<sup>7</sup> Steele (1975), pp. 68–9.

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*Pilgrimage* for chapters on strange plants, animals, fish, and birds.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Philipot's *The original and growth of the Spanish monarchy* (1664) makes considerable use of Purchas's works in its section on Spanish America.<sup>2</sup> John Ogilby, in his *America: Being the latest, and most accurate description of the New World* (1671) lists Purchas in the 'Catalogue of authors' but nowhere does Ogilby identify directly the sections of his work taken from Purchas.<sup>3</sup> According to its bookseller, John Ray's *Collection of curious travels & voyages* (1693) utilizes Purchas in its second volume, but again there are no specific references to his works.<sup>4</sup> In that same year, Philippe Avril's recent *Voyage en divers états d'Europe et d'Asie* was published in English translation by Timothy Goodwin. The original work contains nothing from Purchas, but the English edition includes a supplement 'out of Hacluyt and Purchas, Describing several Roads and Journeys over land to China'.<sup>5</sup> Purchas may also have influenced the style and themes of commercial treatises of the day, particularly Lewes Roberts's *Merchants mappe of commerce* (1639) and *Treasure of traffike* (1649), and John Evelyn's *Navigation and commerce* (1674).<sup>6</sup>

The remaining significant uses of Purchas's works by English authors of the seventeenth century were in fields other than history or geography. In 1657, Purchas's son Samuel published his *Theatre of political flying insects*, a treatise on bees throughout the world. The younger Samuel organized the work in much the same way as his father had done in *Pilgrimage*, including (in the second part), the theological and moral implications to be drawn from studying bees, and frequently cited his father's works for information on those insects in Europe, Africa, Asia, and the New World.<sup>7</sup> William Prynne cited both *Pilgrimage* and *Pilgrimes* in arguing the question of allowing Jews to migrate into England<sup>8</sup> and in his thousand-page diatribe against the drama used non-European examples from *Pilgrimes* to bolster his claim that plays and players promoted homosexuality.<sup>9</sup>

Perhaps ironically from Prynne's point of view, one of the most frequent uses of Purchas works by English writers during the sixteenth century was in

<sup>1</sup> Clarke (1670; reprinted 1671), chs II–VII.

<sup>2</sup> For Philipot's use of Purchas, see Steele (1975), p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> It is of some interest that Ogilby does not mention Hakluyt as among his sources. Ogilby's work is generally considered a plagiarism of Aldanus Montanus, *De nieuwe onbekende weereld* (Amsterdam, 1671).

<sup>4</sup> 'The Bookseller to the Reader', unpagged.

<sup>5</sup> Avril, (2 pts, 1693), pp. 155–78. The accounts from Purchas are those of Benedict Goes, Chaggi Memet, and Russian travellers to China.

<sup>6</sup> Ernst Schulin (Wiesbaden, 1969), pp. 120, 201, 223. For other seventeenth-century geographical works making use of Purchas see SPB entries for Nathaniel Carpenter (1625), *passim*; Edward Pellham (1631; reprinted 1968); and John Speed (2 vols in one, 1627; modern edition, ed. R. A. Skelton, 1966).

<sup>7</sup> Purchas (the younger) (1657), [pt 1], pp. 120, 140, 163, 165, 166–7, 203, 207.

<sup>8</sup> Prynne, (1656), pp. 61 (*recte* 81), 90.

<sup>9</sup> Prynne, (1633), pp. 200, 213, 218, 297, 383, 490, 678.

dramatic literature.<sup>1</sup> John Dryden based the characters and historical events of his *Indian Emperour* on Spanish conquest narratives in *Pilgrimes*.<sup>2</sup> It has also been claimed that Philip Massinger's plot for his play *The Bondman* was taken from a Russian account in Purchas.<sup>3</sup>

The most famous (and controversial) use by a seventeenth-century playwright was, of course, William Shakespeare's alleged use as a source for *The Tempest* of William Strachey's 'A true reportory of the wracke, and redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight; upon and from the Ilands of the Bermudas', first published in *Pilgrimes*,<sup>4</sup> though apparently earlier available to Shakespeare in manuscript. In the eighteenth century, the common view was that *The Tempest* was based on the accounts of the Magellan circumnavigation.<sup>5</sup> In 1808, Edward Malone first advanced the idea that the sources of the play lay in the Gates-Somers Bermuda literature, and particularly in the 'True reportory'.<sup>6</sup> While this has been disputed by a few writers,<sup>7</sup> it has until the present been the generally accepted opinion.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The best general discussion of the use of the voyage literature by Elizabethan dramatists is still Robert Ralston Cawley, *The voyagers and Elizabethan drama* (1938; reprinted 1966). It contains some 146 examples of materials in *Pilgrimage* and *Pilgrimes* that influenced the dramatists.

<sup>2</sup> Dougal MacMillan is the chief proponent of this idea. See MacMillan (1950), pp. 355–70. His argument is convincing, but it has been disputed by John Loftis and Vinton A. Deering, eds, *Works of John Dryden*, IX (1966), 310, 314.

<sup>3</sup> W. Gifford, ed., II (1813; reprinted 1966), 2n. Gifford's reference is unclear as to just which account of Purchas Massinger used.

<sup>4</sup> *Pilgrimes*, IV.ix.1734–58; as no other version of the 'True reportory' is extant, commentators have used the Purchas version to analyse Shakespeare's sources for the play. David G. Nuzum (1929), argues (p. 18) that the play was a promotional tract for the London Company in general and the Bermuda project in particular and (p. 20) that the Company suppressed the publication of the 'True reportory' until it was published by Purchas.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Frey, 'The *Tempest* and the New World', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, XXX (1979), pp. 29–30.

<sup>6</sup> Malone (1808). On Malone see John Gillies (1986), p. 676.

<sup>7</sup> For writings disputing the Gates-Somers sources of the play see SPB entries for Joseph Hunter (1845), pp. 123–89; George Lyman Kittredge, ed. (1939), pp. xii–xvii; and J. M. Nosworthy (1948). See also Edgar Elmer Stoll, 'Certain fallacies and irrelevancies in the literary scholarship of the day', *Studies in Philology*, XXIV (1927), 485–9, which contends that America was not the locale of the play and had nothing to do with Virginia; and K. M. Lea, *Italian popular comedy: A study in the Commedia dell'Arte, 1560–1620, with special reference to the English stage* (2 vols, Oxford, 1934; reprinted New York, 1962), II, 445–53, which relates the play to the Italian scenario. According to Peter Hulme ((1986), p. 290n), the *reductio ad absurdum* of source-hunting for *The Tempest* is Henri Grégoire, 'The Bulgarian origins of *The Tempest*', *Studies in Philology*, XXXVII (1940), 236–56, which finds the play's sources in a Bulgaro-Byzantino-Serb romance, now lost.

<sup>8</sup> For prominent works which have backed the Gates-Somers literature, including Strachey's 'True reportory', as the main source of the play see SPB entries for Geoffrey Bullough (1975); Robert Ralston Cawley (1926); Horace Howard Furness, ed. (1892; reissued, 1966); Charles M. Gayley (1917); Robert Graves (1949); D. G. James (1967); Frank Kermode (1958); Charles Richard Sanders (1949, 1953); and Alden T. and Virginia Mason Vaughan (New York, 1991).

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Since the late 1960s, with the increasing interest in cultural history, the anti-colonialism of the post-World War II period, and the onset of what would later be called the 'new historicism' with all of its various manifestations, the question is no longer whether Shakespeare used Strachey's 'True reportory' as a source for *The Tempest*. To this new wave of writers, Shakespeare's use of that account is an accepted fact, and to them the real question is (or should be), what does Shakespeare's use of the 'True reportory' (and the other colonial literature) tell us about the nature of the play and, more importantly, about the early European colonial encounter with the non-European world and its peoples?<sup>1</sup>

Of all the seventeenth-century English literary figures the one who made the most extensive use of Purchas's works was John Milton. Milton may have read Purchas when he was a student at Cambridge, and it is possible he met Purchas in 1626 when both were living on the same street in London and while Purchas was rector during the last few months of his life at All Hallows, Bread Street, the Milton family church.<sup>2</sup> Milton's most obvious debt to Purchas's works is in his *Brief history of Muscovia*, which was not published until 1682, though it was written some years earlier.<sup>3</sup> The *Brief history* merges various Russian accounts from Hakluyt's *Principal navigations* and Purchas's *Pilgrimes* into a coherent though not very inspiring whole,<sup>4</sup> but Milton does carefully cite his two sources in the marginal notes.<sup>5</sup> In 1648 Theodore Haak reported that Milton was planning an epitome of Purchas's works (probably *Pilgrimes*),<sup>6</sup> and the *Brief history* may have been the first (and only) installment.<sup>7</sup> From his

<sup>1</sup> For works leading up to and including the new historicism dealing with Shakespeare's use of the Strachey account see SPB entries for Philip Brockbank (1966); Paul Brown (1985); Howard Felperin (1972); John Gillies (1986); Peter Hulme (1986); Eldred D. Jones (1992); Leo Marx (1964); Stephen Orgel (1987); Meredith Anne Skura (1989); George Slover (1978); and James Smith (1974). The question of the relationship of the 'True reportory' and *The Tempest* is only a small part of the burgeoning literature on the colonial encounter, a portion of which has led to a reevaluation of Purchas's ideas and accounts. For further discussion of this literature as it pertains to Purchas, see the final portion of the section on the twentieth century, below.

<sup>2</sup> William Riley Parker (2 vols, 1968), I, 31; D. S. Proudfoot (1985), 260–65.

<sup>3</sup> Proudfoot believes it was written in the 1620s (*ibid.*). For later datings, see John T. Shawcross 'What we can learn from Milton's spelling', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, XXVI (1965), 351–61; and SPB entry for George Bruner Parks (1943).

<sup>4</sup> William Riley Parker (2 vols, 1968), I, 325–6, 661.

<sup>5</sup> The best study of the *Brief history*, including Purchas's influence on it, is Robert R. Cawley (1941; reprinted 1965). Cawley notes that of Milton's more than ninety marginal references to the works of Hakluyt and Purchas (twenty-seven from Purchas), all are correct. See also Cawley, (1951), pp. 42–64. For other studies and editions of the *Brief history* which take notice of Purchas's influence see SPB entries for George Philip Krapp, ed. (1932); D. S. Mirsky, ed. ([1929]); and L. C. Tihany (1934).

<sup>6</sup> J. Milton French (1950; reprinted 1966), pp. 214–15; William Riley Parker (2 vols, 1968), I, 295; and G. H. Turnbull (1947), pp. 40–41.

<sup>7</sup> William Riley Parker (2 vols, 1968), II, 921–2.

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experience with Purchas as a source for the *Brief history*, Milton went on to use Purchas's works for *Paradise Lost* (1667) and *Paradise Regained* (1671).<sup>1</sup>

In retrospect, the use of Purchas works in England during the seventeenth century appears rather limited. Perhaps this was because of development of newer, more secular approaches to geography and history, particularly in regard to the non-European world;<sup>2</sup> perhaps Englishmen found the more recent voyage literature with its tales of sea warfare and buccaneering more interesting. At any rate, there is evidence that the four-volume single-edition *Pilgrimes* never achieved the popularity of the single-volume four-edition *Pilgrimage*. In the 1680s, Samuel Pepys, in his minutes for a proposed naval history of his own, noted:

Purchas his work was sold for 4 or 5s. before the fire of London, being valued as so much waste paper.

Remember Mr. Evelyn's rectifying Bab. May's low opinion of his book by obliging him to read one volume of it.<sup>3</sup>

Certainly Pepys and John Evelyn did not share Baptist May's 'low opinion' of *Pilgrimes*. Neither did those in charge of English overseas activities. In 1630, The East India Company sent to secretary of state Sir Dudley Carleton twenty-four extracts from *Pilgrimes* reflecting adversely on the Dutch.<sup>4</sup> In 1675, the Committee of Trade and Plantations proposed 'a continuation of Purchas' history with relation to His Majesty's Plantations',<sup>5</sup> but as with Milton's plan, nothing came of it. And in 1686, the East India Company sent a copy of *Pilgrimes* to its library in India as 'a book very necessary for you thoroughly to peruse at all leisure times'.<sup>6</sup>

The first English biographical sketch of Purchas himself appeared near the

<sup>1</sup> Robert Ralston Cawley (1951), pp. 96–101. According to Cawley, while Purchas expressed doctrines that appealed to Milton, Milton more often took his basic geographical attitudes from Peter Heylyn, and used Purchas's works for occasional incidents. For a contrary opinion, see Joseph Duncan, (1972), pp. 95, 149, 156, 194–224. For other works commenting on Milton's use of Purchas's works in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* see SPB entries for Everett Mordecai Clark (1950); Lane Cooper (1906); Allan H. Gilbert (1919); Grant McColley (1940; reprinted 1963); H. Mutschmann (1924); John T. Shawcross (1981); and George Wesley Whiting (1939; reprinted 1964), pp. lxxxii–lxxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Helen M. Wallis, "'Geographie is better than divinitie': Maps, globes, and geography in the days of Pepys", in *The complete plattmaker: Essays in chart, map, and globe making in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* ed. Norman J. W. Thrower (Berkeley, Cal., 1978), pp. 1–43. According to W. P. Merrill, the appearance of William Dampier's *New voyage around the world* in 1697 was a landmark in the transition from the age of Drake and Hawkins, Hakluyt and Purchas, to that of the theorists and scientific seamen of the eighteenth century (*Britain and the Pacific islands* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 13–14).

<sup>3</sup> J. R. Tanner, ed. (1926), 123.

<sup>4</sup> W. Noel Sainsbury, ed. (1892), doc. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Sainsbury, ed. (1893), doc. 445.

<sup>6</sup> P. E. Roberts (1921; 3rd ed., 1952), p. 85.

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end of the century in the *Fasti* of Anthony á Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*. Wood sketches Purchas's career with reasonable accuracy, and is at pains to deny the rumour (which persisted into the twentieth century) that he died in prison, though he incorrectly claims that Purchas fell into debt because of the cost of publishing his works, and gives (also incorrectly) the date of his death as 1628.<sup>1</sup>

As the seventeenth century wore on, Purchas was also acquiring a modest reputation on the continent. The 1628 edition of Jean Jacque Boissard's *Bibliotheca, sive thesaurus virtutis et gloriae*, which gives brief sketches of 114 prominent personages beginning with Columbus, includes one on Purchas, describing him as

an Englishman admirably skilled in languages, and human and divine arts; a very great philosopher, historian, and theologian; a faithful priest of his own church; very widely known for his many excellent writings, and especially for his large volumes on the East and West Indies.

The author even managed to give the correct date of Purchas's death, a fact which eluded not only Wood but a good many later English authors.<sup>2</sup> That same year the continuation of De Bry's *India Orientalis* included in parts XII and XIII of its German edition at least ten selections taken from or based on *Pilgrimes*, most of them in regard to English-Dutch encounters in the East Indies and in Spitsbergen.<sup>3</sup> Pierre Bergeron in 1629 and again in 1634 made use of Purchas's works, particularly for his description of the Canary Islands.<sup>4</sup> In 1631, Joannes de Laet, the prominent Dutch compiler, took many of his sources for India from Purchas,<sup>5</sup> and in 1633 used him as a main source for a work on America.<sup>6</sup> Nicolaes Witsen in 1692 cited Purchas accounts in his work on Tartary,<sup>7</sup> and in 1668 Olfert Dapper informed his readers that the

<sup>1</sup> Wood (2 vols, 1691–2; enlarged ed., ed. P. Bliss, 4 vols, 1813–20), II, cols. 363–4.

<sup>2</sup> Boissard (1627), p. 297 (translated). According to David Ransome (below, p. 363), Purchas was dropped in the continuations of Boissard from 1650 onwards. At any rate, Boissard had died some years before 1627, and the sketch was by another hand. According to Bolton Corney ((1837; 2nd rev. ed., 1838), pp. 101–2) the author was probably William Fitzner, who edited Part XII of De Bry which was in large part taken from Purchas; but H. W. King ((1869), pp. 170–71) identifies him as J. A. Loucerus, who edited the continuation of Boissard.

<sup>3</sup> For the use of Purchas in the De Bry *India Orientalis*, see P. A. Tiele (1867; reprinted from the 1869 ed., 1960), pp. 198–202.

<sup>4</sup> Bergeron (1629; new ed., 1630), pp. 55–9, 201–62, especially pp. 208–30; Bergeron (1634; new ed., 2 vols, 1735), I, cols. 125–35. The 1735 edition is a recast of Bergeron's work by Peter van der Aa.

<sup>5</sup> De Laet (1631). For a list of the sources De Laet took from Purchas's works see SPB entry for J. S. Hoyland, tr. and S. J. Banerjee, ed. (1928), p. v.

<sup>6</sup> De Laet, (1633), *passim*; De Laet notes his use of Purchas sig. \*\*4.

<sup>7</sup> Witsen (1692), *passim*.

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'Negroslant' section of his *Naukeurige beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche gewesten* was based partially on *Pilgrimes*.<sup>1</sup>

What Purchas called 'the choisest of my Jewels', his Mexican history in pictures (the Codex Mendoza),<sup>2</sup> enjoyed a particular vogue on the continent. Athanasius Kircher in 1654 reprinted some of the Codex's 'laminas' from Purchas in an attempt to prove their similarity to Egyptian hieroglyphics.<sup>3</sup> When Melchisédech Thévenot published his famous multi-volume collection, *Relations de divers voyages curieux* between 1663 and 1696, he took some nine accounts from Purchas, and included in his second part forty-six woodcuts from the Codex printed from the same plates originally used in *Pilgrimes*.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to the borrowings from his accounts, Purchas's map of China, acquired (according to Purchas) by Hakluyt from John Saris, was the basis for a number of seventeenth-century continental maps of China, including one in De Bry's *India Orientalis*, part XII (1628) and several by the French cartographer Nicolas Sanson.<sup>5</sup> Purchas also entered into diplomatic disputes of the times. In 1688 and again in 1706, the French used his accounts to defend their claims in North America against the English.<sup>6</sup> Finally, there were at least two attempts to bring out continental editions of *Pilgrimes*. In 1626, the French humanist Claude Nicole Fabri de Peiresc noted that Purchas's voyages had turned out to be very good, and speculated that they might be translated into Latin by the Germans. By July 1628 Peiresc was himself thinking of having Purchas's works translated (he could not read English himself), though for just what purpose is unclear, and in November reported he had someone at work on that task. Peiresc may have already been having second thoughts. In letters to his friend Lucas Holstenius, he noted that one had to be cautious about the anti-Catholic bias of Purchas, and that the use of his materials might be subject to censorship. At any rate, he eventually shipped his set of Purchas to Holstenius at Rome. Holstenius read through most of the volumes and discussed

<sup>1</sup> Dapper (2nd listing, 1668). The 'Negroslant' section is pp. 322–526. For Dapper's sources, including those from Purchas's works see SPB entry for Adam Jones (1990), in which Jones identifies five accounts of Purchas possibly used by Dapper (p. 205), though he is able to identify definitely the use of only one, that of Andrew Battell (p. 200).

<sup>2</sup> *Pilgrimes*, III.v.1065–1117, quote p. 1065.

<sup>3</sup> Kircher, III (1654), 28–36.

<sup>4</sup> Thévenot (5 parts in 6 vols, 1663–96). For Thévenot's use of Purchas see SPB entry for A. G. Camus (1802), *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> For a thorough study of the influence of the map see SPB entry for Boleslaw Szcześniak (1956), 116–36. Szcześniak doubts (pp. 124–5) Purchas's claim that Hakluyt acquired the map through Saris and believes he received it from Jesuit sources.

<sup>6</sup> E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., IX (1858) includes 'Mémorial de M. de Denonville on the French limits in North America', 8 March 1688 (pp. 377–84); and 'Mémorial on the French dominions of Canada', 10 April 1706 (pp. 781–803). The former cites Purchas p. 378 and the latter p. 781.

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them with Cardinal Barberini, who was so enthused that he wanted to commission a Latin version. But Holstenius demurred and suggested instead a collection of voyage accounts from several sources, Purchas among them, which he thought could best be accomplished in Paris. Peiresc agreed,<sup>1</sup> but apparently nothing was done, and the whole business came to an end. The other project to bring out an edition of Purchas on the continent did come to partial fruition. In 1655 a Dutch edition of *Pilgrimes* was published, but it contains only the first book, and though the title indicates a continuation, nothing further appeared.<sup>2</sup>

By the end of the seventeenth century, Purchas and his works had achieved a fairly substantial reputation on the continent, though, if we may judge by the use of his works by other writers, that reputation was declining in the century's later years.<sup>3</sup> But it was still sufficient for him to be lauded in the continuation of Cornelius à Beughem's *Bibliographia historica, chronologica, & geographica*, though the work (astutely) placed Purchas not among its historians or geographers, but among its theologians.<sup>4</sup> Nor was Purchas unknown in the New World. Just after the turn of the century, Cotton Mather in his *Magnalia Christi Americana* remarked of early voyages and attempts at settlement:

Many Sallies into America were made; the exact Narrative whereof I had rather my Reader should purchas at the expense of consulting Purchas's Pilgrims, than endure any stop in our hastening Voyage unto the History of a New-English Israel.<sup>5</sup>

In Mexico, savant Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora lamented that there was no collection of Spanish voyages to compare with that of Purchas, who had 'compiled all that the finest lover of our *patria* could have expressed'.<sup>6</sup>

### *The eighteenth century*

The writers who made use of Purchas's works in the seventeenth century had one thing in common: they used his works only as a source, and except for an

<sup>1</sup> Philippe Tamizey de Larroque, ed., *Lettres de Peiresc* (7 vols, 1888–98), I, 85, 214, 672, 749–54; V, 285–90, 371–2, 375–81. I am indebted to David Ransome for much of this information on the Peiresc project.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Purchas, *Pelgrimage. Gedylt in twintisch boecken. Waer van het eerste boeck begrijpt de voyagien en reyse, ghedaen door de oude coninghen, patriarchen, apostlen, en philosophen: Als mede de voyagien van Bachus ... en anderen* (1655).

<sup>3</sup> According to David Quinn, Hakluyt's reputation and his works met a similar fate. See SPB entry for Quinn, 'Hakluyt's reputation' (1974), 139–40.

<sup>4</sup> Beughem (1685), p. 759.

<sup>5</sup> Kenneth B. Murdock, ed., *Magnalia Christi Americana*, bks I and II (1977), p. 121.

<sup>6</sup> Anthony Pagden (1987), pp. 74–5.

occasional complaint from Catholic writers that his writings suffered from religious bias, there was no attempt to analyse or criticize either his accounts or his editing methods. Scholarly analysis did not develop for another hundred years, but from the beginning of the eighteenth century there was no dearth of criticism.

One field where even criticism was lacking was that of imaginative literature, in which Purchas continued to be used only as a source. In 1719, Daniel Defoe published one of the most famous of all English novels, *The life and strange surprizing adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, based chiefly on the fortunes of Alexander Selkirk, who had sailed with William Dampier. Defoe did not use Purchas's materials for particular events, but Purchas did provide him with background themes and with an understanding of what was typical and therefore at least apparently realistic in travel literature. Defoe made similar use of Purchas's works for his *The life, adventures, and piracies of the famous Captain Singleton* (1721).<sup>1</sup> Jonathan Swift in his *Travels into several remote nations of the world by Lemuel Gulliver* (1726) took from Purchas an anti-Dutch attitude, and based his tales of giants, talking horses, and eagles which carried men on accounts in Purchas's works.<sup>2</sup> It has also been suggested that Samuel Johnson used Purchas for the description of 'Happy Valley' in his novel *Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia* (1759).<sup>3</sup> The story of Samuel Taylor Coleridge receiving his 1797 inspiration for the later 'Kubla Khan' (1816) while drowsing over the pages of *Pilgrimage* may be an exaggeration, but it is apparent that Coleridge did use both *Pilgrimage* and accounts from *Pilgrimes*, especially of Marco Polo, for details of that nineteenth-century poetic fragment.<sup>4</sup> But as John Livingston Lowes has demonstrated, Coleridge's greatest debt to Purchas was for a variety of details in his earlier *Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (1797).<sup>5</sup>

Criticism of Purchas's *Pilgrimes* (and Hakluyt's *Principal navigations*) first began to emerge in the new century's mania for collections of travel literature.<sup>6</sup> The criticism, based as it was on a presentist approach, was natural enough,

<sup>1</sup> For Purchas's influence on Defoe see SPB entries for Michael J. C. Echeruo (1967); Commander Charles Napier Robinson (1909), p. 64; and Arthur Wellesley Secord (1924; reprinted 1963), *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> On Swift's use of Purchas see SPB entries for William J. Brown (1963); Frank Kermode (1950); Dick Passman (1984); and Arthur Sherbo (1979).

<sup>3</sup> [Henry Stanley], Lord Stanley of Alderly, tr. and ed. (1881), pp. vii–viii. For the general influence of Purchas on the early novels see especially Percy G. Adams (1983), *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Nai-Tung Ting (1984), pp. 210–22.

<sup>5</sup> John Livingston Lowes (1927; enl. ed., 1930). For Coleridge's extensive use of Purchas in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* see chapters III–XVII. The later chapters on 'Kubla Khan' contain only a few references to Purchas.

<sup>6</sup> For a thorough discussion of the travel collections from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries see SPB entry for G. R. Crone and R. A. Skelton (1946), pp. 65–140.

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though from a scholarly point of view it was almost entirely unwarranted. *Principal navigations* and *Pilgrimes* were written to promote and defend English overseas activity and their appeal was to the limited audience interested in such activity. The travel collections of the eighteenth century sought a broader audience among both the landed gentry, who could afford the subscription price of the elaborate multi-volume editions of the first half of the century, and the reading public, who purchased the cheaper collections, sometimes in monthly installments at a shilling each. In either case, the purpose of the eighteenth-century travel collections was not to promote, but, if their buyers thought of them as something other than mere decoration, to give 'pleasurable instruction'.<sup>1</sup> To their editors, who only occasionally expressed an understanding of just how much Hakluyt and Purchas had pruned away and even omitted, the first-hand travel accounts in *Principal navigations* and *Pilgrimes* were simply too long, too involved, and too unappealing even for the better-educated, let alone the general reader. And there was another problem: Hakluyt had had to deal only with travel to the late 1500s, Purchas to the mid-1620s; the compilers of the eighteenth century were forced to deal with an additional century or more of furious overseas activity and all the accounts it produced. To this new breed of compilers, the only solutions were to limit the scope of their collections (sometimes), abridge severely (almost always), or rewrite accounts in the third person (frequently). Each of these approaches (and combinations of them) became more common as the century wore on. John Hamilton Moore summed up the situation in the 1778 edition of his *New and complete collection of voyages and travels*. In discussing the 'remarkable' collections of Hakluyt, Purchas, the Churchills, and Harris, Moore writes:

Yet truth compels us to say, that on many accounts we cannot heartily approve of them: to present the public with a number of volumes, swelled to an enormous size, and filled with trivial circumstances composed from the journals of seamen, or the memorandums of travellers, we do not conceive to be suited to the spirit of an undertaking of this sort, where much matter ought to be comprised in little space, lest the reader should be compelled to spend a great deal of time in selecting a few pearls from an enormous dunghill.<sup>2</sup>

In limiting, abridging, and rewriting, the new compilers were, they supposed, avoiding the mistaken format of *Principal navigations* and *Pilgrimes*. What they did not recognize was that they were following, inadvertently and a little ironically, the method of that very popular seventeenth-century work, *Purchas his pilgrimage*.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 78–9; Charles L. Batten, Jr. *Pleasurable instruction: Form and convention in eighteenth-century travel literature* (Berkeley, Cal., 1978), p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Moore, ed. (2 vols, 1778), preface, unpagged.

The first of the eighteenth-century collections was *A collection of voyages and travels* published by Awunsham and John Churchill in 1704.<sup>1</sup> The collection itself contains nothing directly from Purchas,<sup>2</sup> but its two introductory essays are of some interest. The first, 'An introductory discourse, containing the whole history of navigation from its original to this time',<sup>3</sup> has often been attributed to John Locke, but such attribution is almost certainly mistaken.<sup>4</sup> The discourse is divided into regions and is arranged chronologically, with most of the materials before 1600 taken from Hakluyt and those from 1600 to 1625 from Purchas, but there is no criticism of either. The second essay is quite a different matter. Entitled 'An introductory discourse containing the catalogue and character of most books of travels',<sup>5</sup> it was supposedly written by Edmond Halley, though again this is unlikely.<sup>6</sup> The author of the catalogue, whoever he was, set the tone for the century's collections by dismissing much of Hakluyt's first volume and almost all of the second as worthless, and finding merit only in the third.<sup>7</sup> Purchas fares only slightly better:

This author, like Hackluyt, ... has thrown in all that came to hand to fill up so many volumes and is excessive full of his own notions, and of mean quibbling and playing upon words; yet as for such as can make choice of the best, the collection is very valuable.<sup>8</sup>

The chief early rival of the Churchills was John Harris, whose *Navigantium atque itinerantium bibliotheca* was published in two volumes in 1705. Though more a history of travel than a collection, it was, like the Churchill collection, intended for the wealthy, leisured, and educated reader.<sup>9</sup> As the subtitle indicates, it consists 'of above four hundred of the most authentick writers: beginning with Hakluit, Purchass &c.'. The first volume, which is organized by regions and covers the period to 1625, is based to a very considerable extent on those two compilers, though the accounts are severely abridged and often

<sup>1</sup> Awunsham and John Churchill (4 vols, 1704; 2nd ed., 6 vols, 1732; 3rd ed., 8 vols, 1744–47; first six volumes reprinted 1752). Citations are to the 1732 edition. Volumes VII–VIII of the 1744–47 edition are reprints of Thomas Osborne's *A collection of voyages and travels* (2 vols, 1745), which consists of materials taken from printed sources in the library collection of Robert and Edward Harley, earls of Oxford. It includes a number of accounts versions of which appeared in *Pilgrimes*, but all were apparently taken from other sources.

<sup>2</sup> It does contain the journal of Sir Thomas Roe taken from the manuscript Purchas used (A. and J. Churchill, I, 687–728).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, ix–lxxi.

<sup>4</sup> Crone and Skelton (1946), pp. 81–3.

<sup>5</sup> A. and J. Churchill, I, lxxii–xciv.

<sup>6</sup> Crone and Skelton (1946), pp. 83–4.

<sup>7</sup> A. and J. Churchill, I, lxxxvii–lxxxviii.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I, lxxxix–xc.

<sup>9</sup> Crone and Skelton (1946), pp. 89–91.

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rewritten in slangy and colloquial style. For his fifth book, which is on America, Harris claims 'there is nothing at all omitted that is in Hackluit and Purchas ... [and] there is besides above a Third part more added'.<sup>1</sup> As he covers the whole of the New World in some 200 pages, his claim borders on the ludicrous, though it is typical of what the eighteenth-century compilers thought important.

John Campbell reedited the *Navigantium atque itinerantium bibliotheca* in 1744–8,<sup>2</sup> but he did so in such a fashion that it was, in effect, a different work. He abandoned Harris's plan of including the voyages before 1625 in the first volume and those after in the second, and opted for a completely regional treatment. Campbell included some two hundred additional authors, and to limit the bulk, the accounts before 1625 were considerably shortened. Those from Purchas were either eliminated or reduced to such short summaries that Purchas all but disappeared.

The other major English collection of the eighteenth century was Thomas Astley's *A new general collection of travels*, published in four volumes between 1745 and 1747. The editor, though he is nowhere mentioned in the work, was almost certainly the cartographer John Green. Green had several years earlier criticized Hakluyt and Purchas for stuffing their volumes with charters and patents and abridging their travel accounts.<sup>3</sup> Now in editing the Astley volumes, he expanded his criticism to most of the previous collections. The Churchill collection is dismissed as no collection at all; Hakluyt included only English voyages and to reduce bulk had been too selective; Purchas attempted to be more complete, but again to save space had been forced to curtail his accounts 'in such a Manner as to retrench several of the most essential Parts, and consequently to render his Work in great Measure useless'; as for Harris (whom Green claimed had done no more than write the preface for his collection), his volumes strove to emulate Purchas, but those who compiled them omitted many of his accounts and 'those which Purchas had published entire, are by them miserably curtailed, and the Authors which that Collector had mangled before are mangled over again'. Among Green's objectives were to insert the voyages from Hakluyt that Purchas had omitted, restore the accounts castrated by Harris and maimed by Purchas, add the accounts omitted by Purchas and Harris and the travel accounts since the publication of Harris, and include foreign accounts never before published in English. All this he proposed to carry out in less space by separating the adventures of travellers from their remarks on the countries they visited. The former would be in the form of abstracts, the latter combined into narratives for each country.<sup>4</sup> In short,

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I, 'To the Reader', unpagued.

<sup>2</sup> (2 vols, 1744–8; reprinted 2 vols, 1764).

<sup>3</sup> Green (1717), 2nd pt, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Green, ed. (4 vols, 1745–7), I, [v]–ix.

Green opted for extreme abridgment and considerable rewriting. His readers did not approve, and in the preface to his second volume, he lamented the many criticisms of the first. On the one hand there were complaints that he had too much curtailed his abstracts, and on the other that they were still too long. Green could only answer lamely that he had tried to avoid both extremes and that he had left out nothing that should have been retained.<sup>1</sup> In actuality, Green did about as well as could be expected, considering his scope and objectives. He was careful to give his sources, among whom Purchas is most prominent, and his explanatory and critical notes on Purchas's accounts are still of some value. In almost every way, Green's was the best of the eighteenth-century collections. But, at least so far as Samuel Purchas was concerned, the task was impossible. In spite of all Green's effort and ingenuity, *Purchas his pilgrimes* could not be brought into the eighteenth century by means of abridgment, reorganization, and rewriting.<sup>2</sup>

The Green-Astley was the last of the large collections of the eighteenth century, but there were a number of lesser ones designed for the popular taste, some of which took notice of Purchas. The first was the Rev. Patrick Barclay's *The universal traveller: Or a complete account of most remarkable voyages and travels of the eminent men of our own and other nations to the present time*.<sup>3</sup> Anticipating the method used by Green for the Astley collection, it consists of two types of narratives: voyages of individuals and descriptions of countries, the latter from combined sources, and both types rewritten in the third person. Purchas is a main source for voyages to America and Asia, and for descriptions of India, China, and Japan, though sometimes his materials are taken indirectly from the Harris collection.<sup>4</sup> A second volume on Africa and Europe was promised, but never appeared.

In 1767, John Knox published his seven-volume *New collection of voyages, discoveries, and travels*, the editor of which has not been identified with any certainty. The preface, ignoring Hakluyt, lists the three 'considerable collections' as those of Purchas, Churchill, and Harris. The latter two come in for their share of criticism, and:

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, II, v–vii.

<sup>2</sup> The Green-Astley collection terminated abruptly in 1747 without a promised American section, and there was no second edition. For an astute (and generally favourable) evaluation of the Green-Astley collection, see Crone and Skelton (1946), pp. 98–109. Crone and Skelton take considerable pains to identify Green as the editor (*ibid.*, 98–100); see also G. R. Crone, 'John Green: Notes on a neglected eighteenth-century geographer and cartographer', *Imago Mundi*, VI (1949), 85–91. For a further commentary on Green and his views of Purchas, see Carol Urness, 'Purchas as editor', below, pp. 121–2.

<sup>3</sup> Barclay (1733; reprinted 1735).

<sup>4</sup> Barclay says that he follows the voyages to the East Indies 'collected by Purchas, and from him retail'd by Harris' (*ibid.*, p. 476).

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As for Purchas, it was collected at a time when the natural history of nations was yet but in its infancy, and consequently his books are filled with all the folly and credulity of those who deceived themselves, or with the gross falsehood of such as strove to acquire reputation by deceiving others.<sup>1</sup>

Considering the propagandistic nature of many of the accounts in *Pilgrimes*, the statement may be one of the eighteenth century's few meritorious criticisms of Purchas.

While Purchas's reputation among the compilers of general collections was on the decline, others still found him of use. Thomas Lediard thought well of Purchas, citing him some eighty times in his *Naval history of England*.<sup>2</sup> John Campbell's *Lives of the British admirals*, which went through several editions between 1742 and 1812, refers in its first two volumes to a number of Purchas accounts ranging from Alfred the Great through the Cabots and the circum-navigations to the Algiers expedition of 1620–21.<sup>3</sup> Among regional works, William Robertson used *Pilgrimes* as a source for Virginia and New England in his very popular *History of America*,<sup>4</sup> and J. G. Scheuchzer found the volumes of Purchas in the library of Sir Hans Sloane helpful in his translation of Engelbert Kaempfer's famous manuscript history of Japan, for which Kaempfer himself had used Purchas.<sup>5</sup>

Those interested in overseas enterprise also found Purchas valuable. When the English and French commissioners attempted to work out the boundaries of Nova Scotia in the mid-1750's, Purchas's works, including one of his maps, were cited to bolster the claims of both sides.<sup>6</sup> Later on in the century, English voyages to the South Pacific sparked a new type of collection intended to promote further British activity in that area. The first of these was John Callander's *Terra Australis cognita*. Much of the work's material is taken from *Histoire des navigations aux Terres Australes* compiled by Charles de Brosses and published at

<sup>1</sup> Knox (7 vols, 1767), I, iv. Most of the collection's accounts date from after Purchas's time, and it does not appear that the editor made any extensive use of his works. For another eighteenth-century collection which may have used Purchas, though it does not specifically so indicate see SPB entry for William Fordyce Mavor (25 vols, 1796–1802; 3rd ed., 28 vols, 1813–15). Mavor's accounts of the East Indian voyages include several that had appeared in Purchas, but all are rewritten in the third person, and Purchas is nowhere identified as a source.

<sup>2</sup> Lediard (2 vols, 1735), *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Campbell (4 vols, 1742–4; continued by Dr Berkenhout, Henry Redhead Yorke, and William Stevenson (8 vols, 1812–17), I, 52, 302n, 312–16, 327–8, 374, 415, 422, 430; II, 45–72, 100–103, 109, 127–9. In addition to using Purchas as a source, Campbell occasionally critiques his accounts. See I, 374, II, 53n.

<sup>4</sup> Robertson (2 vols, 1776–8; 10th ed., 4 vols, 1803), IV, *passim*. Robertson also makes occasional use of Purchas as a source on American Indians (II, 110, 170, 185).

<sup>5</sup> Kaempfer, tr. Scheuchzer (2 vols, 1727; reprinted Glasgow 1906). The introduction to volume I lists the Purchas accounts used as sources.

<sup>6</sup> *The memorials of the English and French commissaries concerning the limits of Nova Scotia or Acadia* (1755), pp. 92, 97, 112, 267, 519.

Paris in 1756, though Callander altered the de Brosse arguments to suit British purposes. In doing so, he used Purchas materials already in de Brosse and added a number of English and foreign accounts, a few of which were also taken from Purchas.<sup>1</sup> Callander's work was followed in 1770 by Alexander Dalrymple's *An historical collection of the several voyages and discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean*, which cites several of Purchas accounts and particularly those concerning Pedro Fernández de Quirós.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the compilers of general collections, neither Callander nor Dalrymple offers more than slight criticisms of Purchas.

The only significant English biographical sketch of Purchas to appear in the century, Philip Morant's one-and-one-half-page account of his career in William Oldys's *Biographia britannica* is quite laudatory.<sup>3</sup> In contrast, Oldys's own thirteen-page sketch of Hakluyt in the same work accuses Purchas of bad editing, terrible rhetoric, and ingratitude toward Hakluyt.<sup>4</sup> Taken all in all, Purchas's reputation had not improved in the England of the eighteenth century. He was, as Sir Hans Sloane put it, 'much neglected or rather scorned by our great Bookmen'.<sup>5</sup>

Though often scorned at home, Purchas fared somewhat better on the continent and in America. On the continent, Pieter van der Aa published at Leiden between 1706 and 1708 his *Naaukeurige versameling der gedenk-waardigste zee en land-reysen na Oost- en West-Indiën*.<sup>6</sup> The work was issued in 127 separates, which were combined into twenty-eight volumes. At least thirty-six of the 127 separates contain materials translated from Purchas, and the collection was probably the most extensive use of his works in the entire century. The first seven volumes of Antoine François Prévost's *Histoire générale des voyages* are based on the Green-Astley collection, and as such contain considerable material on Purchas, particularly for the East Indies. Prévost uses Purchas to check Green's accounts, and also cites him in several of the later volumes.<sup>7</sup> Charles de Brosse, whose work became the most important source for Callander and Dalrymple, makes use of Purchas's accounts, particularly of the circumnavigations, in his *Histoire des navigations aux Terres Australes*,<sup>8</sup> as does Johann Christoph

<sup>1</sup> Callander, ed. (3 vols, 1766–8), I, 283, 424; II, 143–5, 165–78, 277–8. For a good discussion of Callander's work, see Crone and Skelton (1946), 119–21.

<sup>2</sup> Dalrymple, ed. (2 vols, 1770–71; reprinted, 2 vols in one, Amsterdam 1967), I, 2nd pagination, p. 23; 3rd pagination, pp. 47–52, 95, 102, 145–61.

<sup>3</sup> Morant (1760), pp. 3447–8.

<sup>4</sup> Oldys (1757), pp. 2471, 2474. Surprisingly, Oldys makes extensive use of Purchas and praises his version of the account of Sir Arthur Gorges in *Pilgrimes* in his 1736 *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*. See SPB entry for Oldys (1829; reprinted 1965).

<sup>5</sup> BL, Sloane MS 649, f. 50 quoted in Colin Steele (1975), p. 131.

<sup>6</sup> Van der Aa likely acquired Purchas's works from Thomas Bennet, the English bookseller. See SPB entry for Norma Hodgson and Cyprian Blagdon (1953), p. 53.

<sup>7</sup> Prévost (19 vols, including three supplementary volumes, Paris, 1746–70). Prévost includes in his preface to volume I Green's derogatory comments on Purchas.

<sup>8</sup> De Brosse (2 vols, Paris, 1756), I, 179, 220–33, 235–49, 274–305.

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Adelung for his *Geschichte der Schiffarten und Versuche welche zur Entdeckung des nordöstlichen Weges nach Japan und China*.<sup>1</sup> Purchas was also coming into use as a source for more general works of history, such as Pierre François Xavier Charlevoix's *Histoire du Japon*, which includes among its sources accounts from *Pilgrimes* of William Adams, John Saris, Richard Cocks, and Arthur Hatch.<sup>2</sup> Even Jean-Jacques Rousseau cited Purchas.<sup>3</sup>

Purchas was also an important source for writers in the British-American mainland colonies, where a thriving publishing business had developed along with a ready market for works on local history. In Virginia, the histories of that colony by Robert Beverly,<sup>4</sup> William Stith,<sup>5</sup> and (early in the nineteenth century) Edmund Randolph<sup>6</sup> all make use of Purchas. Thomas Prince's *Chronological history of New England* frequently cites his works. Prince notes that Harris was so inadequate on New England that he preferred Purchas, 'being much of an original'.<sup>7</sup> The most extensive use of Purchas by an eighteenth-century American writer was by Jeremy Belknap in his *American biography: Or, an historical account of the persons who have been distinguished in America*.<sup>8</sup> Belknap pays special tribute to both Hakluyt and Purchas, noting that the latter's collection was the largest and most authentic of its day.<sup>9</sup> Fourteen of Belknap's chapters are based to a considerable extent on Purchas.<sup>10</sup> Two Belknap claims based on accounts in Purchas have led to extended historical controversies. The first involves the New England location of Martin Pring's extended stay on land during his 1603 voyage. Belknap identifies the landing place as Edgartown,<sup>11</sup> but later writers have argued for Plymouth and Provincetown.<sup>12</sup> The second involves Belknap's use of the *Pilgrimes* account by James Rosier of the 1605

<sup>1</sup> Adelung (Halle, 1768), second book.

<sup>2</sup> Charlevoix (1736; new ed., 6 vols, 1754). Charlevoix lists his sources from Purchas, VI, 330–31.

<sup>3</sup> Rousseau (1761; reprinted 1971), pp. 222–30. On Rousseau's use of Purchas, see also SPB entry for G. Pire (1956), *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Beverly (1705; reprinted ed. Louis B. Wright, 1947), pp. 126, 130, 147, 218.

<sup>5</sup> Stith (1746; new ed., 1865, reprinted with a new introduction by Darrett B. Rutman, 1969). Purchas is not mentioned in the text, but for Stith's use of his works, see Rutman's introduction to the above, p. x. See also Alden T. Vaughan (1973), pp. 30–34; and Toshiko Tsuruta (1957), pp. 79–82, 114–15. Tsuruta claims that Stith borrowed Purchas's volumes from William Byrd II and used Purchas only because he did not have access to Hakluyt.

<sup>6</sup> Arthur H. Shaffer, ed. *History of Virginia* [by Edmund Randolph] (1970). Randolph's history, written in the early nineteenth century, remained in manuscript for many years. For his use of Purchas (on the visit of Pocahontas to England), see p. 75.

<sup>7</sup> Prince (3 vols, 1736) I, 3 and *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> Belknap (2 vols, 1794–8).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 408–10; II, 135–7.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, chs III, V, VII, IX–XI, XIII, XV–XX, XXVI.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 128–9.

<sup>12</sup> See SPB entries for Rev. Benjamin F. DeCosta (1882); and David Beers Quinn and Warner F. Gookin, 'Martin Pring at Provincetown in 1603?' (1967).