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AUTHORS LOSING CONTROL



The European Transformations of Henry Neville's *The Isle of Pines* (1668)

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In the summer of 1668, a short pamphlet on the alleged discovery of a new island in the Pacific Ocean became an instant bestseller on the European market, with more than twenty foreign editions printed in five western European languages within a few months of its first publication. Further versions of the story made it into contemporary newsbooks and gazettes, and the story even traveled across the Atlantic to the American colonies. *The Isle of Pines; or, A late Discovery of a fourth Island in Terra Australis Incognita*, published by Allen Banks and Charles Harper in London, claimed to be “A True Relation” of the experience of a group of English people who had been shipwrecked on a lonely island during Queen Elizabeth I’s reign and whose descendants were found several generations later, in 1667, by the crew of a Dutch ship (I). As would later emerge, the pamphlet was a “sham”—a literary hoax by the English republican Henry Neville, who used the story to satirize the Restoration regime in England and the failures of its foreign policy after the defeat in the recent Anglo-Dutch War (1665–1667). By depicting the patriarchal ruler of a remote island who preferred sexual relations with women to looking after his political affairs, it ridiculed both the depraved morals of the Stuart court and the patriarchal political theory used by Charles II to defend his authority by divine right.¹

Ever since Roland Barthes announced “the death of the author” in the 1960s it has been argued in literary scholarship that the reader, not the author, creates the meaning of a work.² However, rarely has this authorial loss of control or the writer’s loss of authority been illustrated so vividly as in the case of Neville’s pamphlet. Once off the press, *The Isle* took on a life of its own and traveled in numerous versions across the European continent. With no international copyright laws in place to prevent unauthorized uses of the text, the pamphlet was up for grabs.³ Soon after its first publication in London, it was translated into Dutch, from Dutch into German and French,

from French into Italian, and from German into Danish. And what readers, translators, printers, and publishers made of it was more often than not quite different from what the author might have intended.⁴ Much of the political criticism of Stuart England in the parable simply got lost in translation. Nevertheless, while some readers might initially have been fooled into reading the story as news, early modern audiences were generally capable of making informed judgments and understanding the nature of the text at hand. The “truth” transported in the pamphlet was of a moral rather than factual nature. An assessment of the various readings of *The Isle* thus requires more subtlety. In what follows I trace some of the transformations *The Isle* underwent as it was translated and edited, analyzed and responded to, cut down, and adapted for ever-changing audiences, in an attempt to understand some of the complexities of the pamphlet’s contemporary impact and significance.

“Reception” is not an adequate concept to deal with the changes *The Isle* underwent in its transmission process. “Reception” implies passive reading or absorbing of a story as it is, whereas translation always involves an element of interpretation. The printer/publisher or translator is the first reader of a text, whose choice of words and whose decision about what to include or what to leave out already make a judgment on the text. Equally, a change of the title, the addition of a letter of recommendation, the inclusion of a story in a newsbook, or the binding of a pamphlet in a series with others are all comments on the text that say something about the way in which the agent placed the piece. Therefore, the term “transformation” will be preferred here because we are not dealing with passive readers, but translators, editors, publishers, and booksellers who more or less consciously interfered with the text and made deliberate changes to the pamphlet according to their needs and purposes, so that what was left in the end more often than not bore little resemblance to the original piece that Neville had licensed in London.

The English Text

The pamphlet about the marooned English society was only the first of three parts of the story Neville had published in London between June and July 1668 after his return from Italy, where he had spent several years in exile after the Restoration.⁵ This first part of *The Isle of Pines*, licensed on 27 June 1668,⁶ tells the story of bookkeeper George Pines, who in 1589 leaves

for East India with his master to set up business there “for the advantage of Trade” (I, 1). Having made it past the Cape of Good Hope, the ship carrying Pines and his master encounters a storm, drifts off course, and finally wrecks off the coast of an uninhabited island near the mythical Terra Australis Incognita, or Great Southern Land.⁷ Most of the company perish except for Pines and four women—his master’s daughter, two maidservants, and a black slave—who had managed to save themselves on the ship’s bowsprit. As the only male in the group, Pines sets himself up as their protector and ruler, and on the lonely island he soon enters into sexual relations with all four women, which results in an ever-growing family. When Pines’s eldest son is old enough, his father gives him a mate and subsequently settles the younger generation across the river. By the time Pines has reached the age of sixty, his society has grown to 565 people. He marries the females of one family to the males of another to avoid the incest that the previous generation had to resort to and exhorts them to have the Bible read regularly at a monthly meeting. Shortly before Pines’s death, he passes on his rule to his eldest son, who becomes “King and Governor of all the rest” (I, 8) and again assembles his people, who now number 1,798. He divides them into four tribes named after their mothers (the English, the Sparks, the Trevors, and the Phills) and gives them a blessing, with which the pamphlet ends.

The second installment of the story published by Neville in London was *A New and further Discovery of The Isle of Pines in A Letter from Cornelius Van Sloetten a Dutch-man*. It is written from the perspective of the ship’s captain who had discovered the island and addressed “to a Friend of his in London” with “a Relation of his voyage to the East Indies” (I, 1). This pamphlet, dated 22 July 1668, relates the encounter of the Dutch with George Pines’s grandson William, the present ruler of the island, as well as the story of the intervening years since the founder’s death. Assuming that his readers are familiar with the first pamphlet,⁸ the narrator explains that, after the death of George Pines, corruption and licentiousness spread on the island. The “grandest offender,” a descendant of the black slave, was punished by being thrown from a high rock into the sea, before Pines’s successor, Henry, gave a basic code of law to his people (II, 11–12). These laws had kept the country in order to the present day. But just as the Dutch sailors are about to leave the island, a rebellion breaks out instigated by a descendant of the black woman and ruler of the Phills, who had raped the wife of another tribal leader. Unable to cope with the insurrection by himself, William Pines asks the Dutch for help, who easily put down the rebels with a few shots from their guns before returning to Europe. To add credibility to

the captain's story, Neville adds information on the ship's journey home and a postscript laced with details taken from earlier travel pamphlets.⁹

Probably in response to the popularity of the first two parts, Neville published a third pamphlet about a week later, licensed on 27 July. This third publication, *The Isle of Pines; or, A late Discovery of a fourth Island near Terra Australis Incognita* By Henry Cornelius Van Sloetten, was the full version of the story, combining the first two parts and adding a few sentences to link the material together as well as a panel of woodcut illustrations showing scenes described in the text (III, IV).¹⁰ Finally, for good measure, the account is endorsed by two brief fictitious letters purporting to be written by the Dutch merchant Abraham Keck. Keck, or "Keek," was a contact of the English radical underground in Amsterdam and likely a personal acquaintance of Neville's who played along with his hoax. His endorsement of Van Sloetten's account would have given credibility to the story. But to the republican underground in England, Keck's letter might also have indicated the origin of the pamphlet and how it was to be understood.¹¹

There are numerous different interpretations of *The Isle* in modern scholarship. It has been read as a travel narrative,¹² an arcadia,¹³ a sexual utopia and political satire on the mores of the Restoration court,¹⁴ a critique of the ineptness of Charles II's foreign policy after the defeat in the recent Anglo-Dutch war and a praise of Dutch republican strength,¹⁵ a commentary on British colonialism¹⁶ or on polygamy,¹⁷ a libertine republican work,¹⁸ or a story of origins that played with alternative interpretations of the biblical Creation narrative and contemporary philosophical speculation about the origins and ideal form of government.¹⁹ In the context of Neville's life and political career, it is clear that *The Isle* was most likely intended as a criticism of divine-right monarchy, written by a republican disappointed by the Restoration in 1660 and frustrated with the shenanigans at the Stuart court.²⁰ As these interpretations have been dealt with elsewhere, the present article focuses on the material history of the story's publication across Europe and the work's contemporary reception and significance, in particular in its various European translations and transformations.

While Neville's English audience was familiar with all three parts of Neville's story and saw at least two further editions of the complete text,²¹ it was the first part containing the "core" text that most fascinated his readers and was published in a number of different editions across the Continent. We can trace more than twenty foreign pamphlet editions of *The Isle* in five western European languages plus several publications of the story in contemporary newsbooks and gazettes.²² Nevertheless, we can only specu-

late about why it was the first part of the story that proved so successful abroad. The most obvious reason is novelty. With several parts of the world still unmapped and heavy competition for colonial trade, the discovery of a new island promised new economic opportunities.²³ The story of the marooned society of English people meanwhile was curious enough in itself to draw attention in the same way as did sensationalist stories of travel to the moon, monstrous births, or other unusual happenings, which abounded in the contemporary press.²⁴ This, however, does not explain why the second and third installments of the pamphlet did not get equal attention. Surely any update on this amazing story would have been greedily absorbed by a public hungry for sensation. Maybe the more explicitly political second and third installments of the pamphlet were too specifically rooted in the English context to be understood or attract a larger audience abroad. Or perhaps the subversive subtext of the pamphlets failed to make it past foreign censors, although this was unlikely to hold true for the United Provinces, where the republican regents would have sympathized with Neville's criticism of monarchy, and censorship was known to be lax.²⁵ The most likely explanation is mundane. Maybe by the time Neville's sequel appeared the hoax had been discovered for what it was, and publishers were not willing to put up any more money for it. In England at least, readers had soon smelled a rat. The antiquarian Anthony Wood scribbled on his copy of the full version of *The Isle*: "w[he]n this was first published 'twas looked upon as a sham,"²⁶ while also identifying as its author Henry Neville, who by then had established his reputation as a coffeehouse wit.²⁷

Many scholars have commented on the publishing success of this multifaceted pamphlet. Yet few have attempted to trace its history or make sense of the pamphlet's many incarnations and transformations. The most useful contributions to date were produced by Max Hippe, who more than a century ago collated all the different editions he could get hold of to compile a list of textual variants,²⁸ and by Worthington Chauncey Ford, who focused in the 1920s on the long distances the pamphlet had traveled, suggesting that a contemporary copy had even made it to the American colonies.²⁹ An update of these two bibliographical essays will be attempted with the help of work by Paul Ries and Onofrio Nicastro.³⁰ But what do we know about the work's readers and its reception?

Given that the story of *The Isle* was translated and distributed across Europe within weeks of its first publication, several scholars have suggested that it must have been read as news.³¹ In fact, Ries has shown that the appearance of *The Isle* in contemporary news publications contributed signifi-

cantly to the story's distribution and broad appeal.³² He is certainly right in claiming that the publication of Neville's hoax in the gazettes was fueled by a demand for news about foreign lands. However, it is too simple to assume that the consumers of news would necessarily accept Neville's tale as fact just because they read it in the papers. As Kate Loveman has shown in her book on literary deception, early modern people were "sceptical" readers eager to ascertain the truth of the stories they consumed to "avoid being gulled." They were able to recognize a "sham."³³ At least in England, where the story was only published in pamphlet form, not as a news report, the hoax was soon exposed, as we know from Wood. In fact, by 1669 *The Isle of Pines* had become synonymous with telling tall stories. "The Epistle to the READER" prefacing a geological work on volcanoes, for instance, stressed that the following description of the "late incredible Eruptions of Aetna" should not be taken "for a Rodamontado, or Isle of Pines."³⁴ Yet the awareness that *The Isle* was fictitious did not stop people from passing on and republishing the text. As will become apparent, even in Europe, where the gazettes added to the confusion over the story's truth, readers were able to grapple with the deception. Some, in fact, clearly saw through the sham but decided to play along and pass it on. The early modern perception of what was considered "truth" might also have played a role, as publishers reissued *The Isle* for its evident moral message.

Continental Editions and Adaptations

Loveman has noted "a disjunction between modern and seventeenth-century commentary on *The Isle of Pines*," with modern critics focusing "upon the story's political and religious implications, while early comment on these aspects has not survived."³⁵ This might be true for the English context, but the numerous continental translations give a different picture. The next section suggests that early modern continental readers were not only capable of discerning the truth of a story, but they also looked for a deeper moral behind the text. Thus a more complex pattern of possible readings emerges as we follow the new editions and translations of this English republican pamphlet on its journey across Europe. It will be suggested that while much of the understanding of the story depended on the material history of its publication, at least some contemporary readers were interested in the political, philosophical, and religious issues it raised.

As noted above, it was the first part, or “core” text, of *The Isle*, including the story of George Pines and the first settlers, that got translated. Unsurprisingly, the first translations were made into Dutch. The United Provinces had been England’s close trading partner of old and a competitor on the colonial market. Besides, mentioning a Dutch captain as discoverer of the island would have heightened the interest in the little pamphlet from across the Channel, as would the recent Anglo-Dutch war, which had ended in defeat for the English and more glory for the Republic.³⁶

The United Provinces was a major center of printing and the book trade in seventeenth-century Europe. Of the known 1,321 Dutch booksellers and printers at work from 1651 to 1675, the majority were based in the cities of Amsterdam (418), Leiden (135), and Rotterdam (108), incidentally the three places where versions of Neville’s pamphlet were printed and sold.³⁷ The first Dutch edition that can be traced is the *Ontdeckinge van’t Eylandt Van Pines, Zijende een waerachtige Beschryvinge van’t vierde Eylandt in’t Zuyder onbekent Lant* (1668), translated from the English for the bookseller Jacob Vinckel at Amsterdam (V). It cut some of the detailed accounts of Pines’s sexual relations with the four women as well as some of the nature description. From this edition, Vinckel’s Amsterdam colleague Jacob Stichter then pirated his own version, another *Ontdecking van’t Eylandt van Pines* (VI). While he did not bother to change the title, he enhanced his edition with a map of the island on the title page. Shortly after Vinckel’s pamphlet appeared, the *Oprecht Verhaal van’t Eiland van Pines, En des zelfs Bevolking; Of laatste Ontdekking van een vierde Eiland in Terra Australis, Incognita* (1668) was printed at Rotterdam for Joannes Naeranus from the original English version (VII). In a note to the reader, Naeranus stated that the Vinckel edition left out important matters, which his edition restored by using the original English text (although the actual changes were minimal).³⁸ The Vinckel and Naeranus editions subsequently became the bases for a number of translations into French and German as well as for a further Dutch edition published by Vinckel. Noting that his first edition he had sold from his Amsterdam bookshop had been full of errors and omissions, Vinckel claimed his new version had been collated both with the competing Rotterdam edition and the English original, and was now aptly titled the *Oprecht en verbeterd verhael* (1668) (VIII).³⁹

Readers frequently complained about the many errors in cheap pamphlets. Proofreaders were expensive, and the pressure to get news on the market fast would have deterred printers from wasting time on the publication process.⁴⁰ So an obsession with accuracy was certainly not the only

thing encouraging Vinckel to issue a second edition of *The Isle*. Printing and bookselling was a business, and with foreign-sourced pamphlets like *The Isle*, the financial risk lay with the printers and booksellers rather than with the author, who in normal circumstances would be expected to provide the money for the printing.⁴¹ That there was a market for a further Dutch edition of the pamphlet shows the great interest in the neighboring country in the aftermath of the Anglo-Dutch war, while the attention to detail and the emphasis put on an accurate translation indicate that its contents were taken rather seriously.

A shortened version of Pines's story also appeared in the French-language *Amsterdam Gazette* of 9/19 July (IX).⁴² It was a third-person summary of the main "facts" of the story, dutifully reporting the shipwreck, the manner of survival, and the number of descendants produced before the arrival of the Dutch sailors. Ries assumes that a full-length French pamphlet, published without date, the *Relation de la decouverte de l'isle de Pines, vers la Terre Australe inconnüe, faisant à present la quatrième [sic] Isle dans cet endroit* (X), which is a good literal translation of the English original, was published as a supplement to the *Gazette* to give the reader a more in-depth treatment of the story.⁴³ This edition only appears to omit the final sentence from the English original based on the blessing of Isaac, "whom God blesse with the dew of Heaven, and the fat of the Earth, Amen," but is otherwise complete (I, 9).⁴⁴ At least one French and three Italian issues meanwhile depended on the brief report in the *Gazette*. These were the *Nouvelle Decouverte De L'Isle Pinés Située au delà de la ligne Aequinoctiale. Faite par un Navire Hollandois l'an 1667*, published at Paris (XII),⁴⁵ and several literal translations from the Paris edition published at Bologna and Venice (XIII),⁴⁶ at Vicenza (XIV), and at Genoa and Milan (XV).⁴⁷ So far, there is no hint that anyone suspected a hoax.

In fact, even the French scientist Henri Justel, who would have heard of the English pamphlet through the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, the *Relation de la decouverte*, or the Paris edition, seems to have been fooled at first by the story of shipwreck and survival. Justel still believed the story at the end of July, when he wrote to Henry Oldenburg, secretary of the Royal Society in London, asking for more information about "the isle of Pines and your English Colony." He was aware that there were "those who think that this story is not true; first because the English were never in the East Indies at the time of Queen Elizabeth; because the Dutch ship which landed at this island is not named; and further that no one believes that a man even with four women could have produced 1789 people in fifty years."⁴⁸ But Justel him-

self did not consider the story impossible. "Private individuals" could have undertaken such a "long voyage without its being recorded by Purchas," he wrote, referring to Samuel Purchas's *Hakluytus Posthumus* (1625), a collection of travel accounts. And "the Dutch ship" would "perhaps be named in the account that will be given, and it may thus become known." As for Pines's 1,789 descendants, "no one doubts that this number of people could be conceived from that one man. I should be very displeased if that colony exists only in the imagination of some Dutchman."⁴⁹ So Justel was bound to be disappointed to find out in August that "the account of *The Isle of Pines*" was only "a romance." He had not thought "the Dutch were capable of deceiving the world in this way, and of selling us falsehoods." Notably, he still thought a Dutchman had written the pamphlet.⁵⁰

So far, the publishing history of *The Isle* supports the assumption that contemporary interest in the pamphlet largely focused on the "facts" and that readers were mainly interested in the story as "news." There is other evidence to suggest, however, that at least some contemporaries also took an interest in the political, religious, and moral aspects of the piece.

Besides the French news item in the *Amsterdam Gazette* and the accompanying pamphlet, the United Provinces also produced another French pamphlet version of *The Isle*, the *Relation fidelle & veritable de la nouvelle découverte d'une quatrième Isle de la terre Australe, ou Meridionale Inconüe, sous le nom d'Isle de Pines*, printed at Leiden for the bookseller Abraham Gogat (XI). The Gogat edition is a close literal translation of the English text, although French sentence structure makes the pamphlet somewhat longer.⁵¹ The translated text is embedded in a fictitious letter "From Philogyton à Nicophile,"⁵² with the sender claiming to have read the pamphlet originally in Flemish and to have translated it into French himself.⁵³ From this claim and with the letter dated at Leiden 26 July 1668, we might conclude that many translations of *The Isle* were made within the first month of its publication, and the first English copies are likely to have arrived in the United Provinces only days after they were sold in London. This means that many or most of the translations would have been made before the second and third installments of *The Isle* came out, and potentially before the story had been exposed as a sham in England.

The Gogat edition is of particular interest because the letter that accompanies Neville's text provides some hints as to how the commentator understood the pamphlet in political and religious terms. After the usual formulae of friendship and apologies for having been out of touch, the letter writer goes on to discuss wider political matters culminating in an attack

on monarchy. He praises the Dutch republic, “which is most gentle on the inside, & most vigorous in its defense,” and the “great man” at its head, the Grand Pensionary of Holland, Johan de Witt, who had managed to end the Anglo-Dutch war much sooner than expected with the 1667 Treaty of Breda (XI, 6–8).⁵⁴ However, “the famous and illustrious Monsieur de Wit [*sic*]” is praised not only for his leadership, but in particular for heading “the Hollanders without having had the elevation [to kingship], doing all the government needs, without mixing it with that which is mean, . . . such as the affectation of monarchy” (XI, 8).⁵⁵ So everybody “respects the great man, who with a considerable number of other intelligent and altogether well intentioned counselors not just steers the body politic, but also moderates, to put it this way, everything the politics of the most cunning ministers of all the other courts of the universe undertake” (XI, 7).⁵⁶ After so much praise, De Witt is clearly warned never to aspire to anything like kingship. In fact, the pamphlet suggests, he has recently been rather too friendly with the king of France, “whose friendship he cherishes more than his vicinity,” while the letter expresses some contempt for the “terrible [French] monarch” and his deference for the papacy (XI, 6).⁵⁷ In his concluding comments, the letter writer adds that he finds the story of the English Pines even more pleasant than “the imaginary voyages of Lucien in the belly of the whale and those of many others on the moon or elsewhere,” and if it was true, no one had “ever had a more perfect copy of the first generation of men nor anything so close to what Moses has told us” (XI, 44).⁵⁸ Or, as he said in the introduction, “whether it is true, or not, it brings back so well the ideas of the golden age, and the age of innocence, and can provide a subject for such pleasing reflections, and for questions so curious, that I couldn’t keep myself from sending it to you” (XI, 11).⁵⁹

That is, the translator sees a moral in the story that could benefit its readers. But he then declines to “moralize and to play the theologian or the politician about this subject,” partly because he is too busy “compiling memoirs on the history of the last war between England and the States [United Provinces],” and finding out “if the same England from where this relation has come to us, and where I hope, God willing, I will go soon, cannot give us more light on this” (XI, 44).⁶⁰ This shows that the letter writer clearly saw more in the story than “news,” that he connected the pamphlet to the recent Anglo-Dutch wars, and that he had contacts in England, possibly even with the republican faction Neville belonged to. Finally, the letter writer was aware that *The Isle* read like a variation of the Creation story, alluding to passages from Genesis frequently employed to justify patriarchal monarchy

and the divine right of kings.⁶¹ Gogat, who counted among his other publications a Calvinist Bible,⁶² could hardly be unaware of the connotations of Neville's pamphlet when he addressed his edition directly and provocatively to readers in France, believing he would be "doing the French a great favor by printing it, to provide them with the opportunity to read so enjoyable and surprising a narration as is contained in it" (XI, 2).⁶³ The translator might have hoped that his French audience would understand the satire on divine-right monarchy, if not the subtler allusions to the Stuarts. After all, the famous sermons of Bishop Bossuet employed the Genesis story to justify the rule of Louis XIV, just as Sir Robert Filmer, Richard Mocket, and others had done to justify the divine sanction of Stuart rule in England.⁶⁴ With his French edition of *The Isle*, Gogat was clearly heeding past advice of the Dutch synods, which had suggested that the translation of foreign political and religious works might be employed as a form of endorsement without causing offense.⁶⁵

There is internal evidence to suggest that the translator of the Gogat edition was aware of the account in the *Amsterdam Gazette* and possibly of the Paris edition, for he also refers at some length to the recent arrival of the Dutch fleet of the East India Company reported in the *Gazette* and the riches the ships had brought with them. In fact, in directly addressing readers in France, the Gogat edition seems to make fun of the credulity of the French and in particular of the man who reprinted the spurious news report at Paris. This printer was nobody less than Sébastien Mabre-Cramoisy, Imprimeur Royale to Louis XIV. The irony of this fact is worth some consideration. Mabre-Cramoisy obviously took the story as a genuine news report or a speculation on new colonial opportunities worth publishing. Had he been aware of the political connotations of the piece, he might have declined to print it. After all, *The Isle* was the work of an English republican who did not hide his feelings about hereditary monarchy and patriarchal political theory. Mabre-Cramoisy ran the propaganda machine of an absolutist king, and Bishop Bossuet was one of his authors.⁶⁶ With the printing of Neville's *Isle*, ironically, Mabre-Cramoisy would unwittingly contribute to the ridicule of a political philosophy he otherwise promoted.

A similar pattern of mixed responses to *The Isle* can be found in the states of the Holy Roman Empire, where accounts of the island were published both as news reports in the gazettes and in pamphlet form. One of the first reports of *The Isle* appeared in Hamburg in Georg Greflinger's *Nordischer Mercurius* newspaper of 17 July 1668 (XVI), with two further installments to follow.⁶⁷ The contents of Neville's first pamphlet were spread over several

weeks to keep the readers in suspense. The story is introduced in the third person and in the matter-of-fact way expected of a news publication, while the story of George Pines is related in its original first-person account. Yet the story is cut off just as the suspense is rising with the ship caught in a storm.⁶⁸ The second installment on 21 July ends with the islanders beginning to reproduce, while the third installment relates the rest of the story that ends with George Pines's blessing of his offspring.⁶⁹ Yet even as he reported the story in his newspaper, Greflinger distanced himself from any claims to factual truth, introducing *The Isle* as an "odd and almost funny old story" that should not be read as news but as a "curious relation" that might not be true but could still benefit the audience.⁷⁰ The rhyming headline of the second part indicated the lessons Greflinger expected its readers to draw from it. "Es wird hiemit: fast vorgestellt / Das Bildnis von der ersten Welt" roughly translates as "Herein is almost given a depiction of the first world."⁷¹ As well as indicating that the story is a fiction, its title also offers the reader an interpretation. *The Isle* is an allegory of the biblical Creation story and the fall of man in paradise with Georg Pines as Adam and the four women as different incarnations of Eve. As Pines and the women populated *The Isle*, Adam and Eve populated Earth. We can only speculate whether Greflinger also saw a political subtext to *The Isle*. He was a chronicler and novelist turned journalist who had previously made a living by publishing (among others) a history of the Stuarts and an account of the Thirty Years' War in verse.⁷² Whether he also saw *The Isle* as criticism of divine-right monarchy, he did not say.

As Lutz Mackensen has shown, Greflinger got the story of *The Isle* from the Dutch editions published at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and his translation in turn would influence a number of later German texts, including a report in the *Europäische Freytags Zeitung* printed by G. F. Grimm at Hanover (XVII).⁷³ A direct line also leads to a pamphlet edition published at Hamburg in August. Its title, *Vorbild der Ersten Welt*, meaning "Model of the first world," is a giveaway (XVIII), for the title was directly taken from the second installment in Greflinger's *Nordischer Mercurius*. Although the Hamburg publisher claimed to have taken the translation from the original English, he relied on the previous German edition and might also have seen the Dutch texts.⁷⁴ A further edition published at Hamburg by Hinrich von Wiering advised potential emigrants unable to make a living in Germany to try their luck on the newly discovered island (XIX).

Credulous readers who still believed in the existence of the Isle, despite the telling title, were warned by another publication not to be taken in by

impostors. In October 1668, an anonymous Hamburg author who signed himself M.M.G.N.S. published *Das verdächtige Pineser-Eyland* (“The Suspicious Isle of Pines”) out of his “love of truth” and to protect the credulous merchants and seafarers who had been deluded by the story that had appeared in various gazettes.⁷⁵ The author blames the deception on the popular hunger for news and on the precarious financial situation of contemporary hacks and scribblers driven by necessity to make up stories.⁷⁶ He also refers to the many different and sometimes conflicting versions of the story in circulation at the time, which surely proved that none of them could be true, before going on to unpack in detail all the contradictions in the story itself for some thirty-two pages.⁷⁷ Humor in Germany certainly was not something to be taken lightly.

Greflinger was also responsible for carrying the story of *The Isle* to Denmark. Among the texts using his translation was an edition likely produced in Copenhagen by the royal Danish printer H. Göde, who was at the same time the editor of the German-language *Ordinarij Post*, a publication heavily dependent on the *Nordischer Mercurius* (XXIX). While the relevant issue of the *Ordinarij Post* that would provide the link between the two texts has not survived, there is a Danish summary of *The Isle* written in Alexandrines by the poet Anders Bording for the July issue of *Den danske Mercurius* (XXX), a monthly publication of international news items published in verse.⁷⁸ Danish pamphlet editions, meanwhile, only survive from the early eighteenth century.⁷⁹

Like Greflinger’s account, most of the German pamphlet versions were translated from the Dutch, while later German editions also drew on Greflinger. Hamburg, a major port, was one contact point between the United Provinces and Germany; another was Frankfurt, centrally located in western Europe and home to the most important contemporary international book fair. Booksellers from the Republic occupied “first place among the foreigners” represented at the Frankfurt book fair.⁸⁰ One can assume that contact among booksellers remained strong throughout the remainder of the year. At least they kept an eye on what the competition was doing. It is therefore unsurprising that one of the earliest western German translations of *The Isle* appeared in Frankfurt as *Die neu-entdeckte Insul Pines*, published by Wilhelm Serlin (XX). The pamphlet’s title page reveals that the piece had been translated from the Dutch edition printed at Amsterdam.⁸¹ Since the Frankfurt text is close to the English one and does not have the omissions of the first Amsterdam edition, Serlin must have used Vinckel’s second edition, which had been collated with the original English text. Evi-

dence that he used a Dutch (rather than a French) text is also given by his use of names: “George” became in the Dutch “Joris” Pines, which is also used in the German edition (XX, fol. A4v). Serlin must also have known Greflinger or possibly came across him as he produced the translation, because the second part of the translation is virtually identical to the text of the *Nordischer Mercurius* and the *Vorbild der Ersten Welt*.⁸² The pamphlet on the title page also announced two copperplate illustrations, which have not been preserved with the pamphlet, if they were published at the same time at all. Ries thinks they were dropped in order to save time and publish the pamphlet more quickly.⁸³ A further print by Serlin’s Frankfurt colleague Johann Görlin meanwhile appeared later in the autumn with the two copperplate illustrations Serlin originally meant to include (XXI).⁸⁴ The *Beschreibung Dess Eylandes Pines* was published in a Frankfurt “Messrelation,” a periodical reporting on political, military, and other events that occurred between the spring and the autumn book fair.⁸⁵ Besides the Frankfurt and the Hamburg editions, there were another six German versions of *The Isle* without an imprint. While two claimed to be translated from the original English text (XXII, XXIII), another from the Dutch (XXIV), and one did not give any indication of its origin (XXV), at least one claimed to be a translation from the French (XXVI), while another was collated from a variety of earlier English, Dutch, and French pamphlets (XXVII). At the end of the year, finally, Johannes Praetorius issued a further report in his *Zodiacus Mercurialis Explandissimus* published at Jena, adding the entirely unconfirmed information that a fight had already ensued between the Dutch discoverers and the English owners of the Isle over conflicting property claims (XXVIII).⁸⁶

The story of *The Isle* made quite an impact, and not just numerically. Some six years after its first publication, in 1674, a scholar from Bremen, Friedrich Wolpmann, produced a legal thesis discussing whose jurisdiction the island might be under as well as considering the legitimacy of relations between George Pines and the four women.⁸⁷ Wolpmann’s discussion is merely hypothetical, and he explicitly refuses to get into the debate about the veracity of the report on the Isle. Yet the matter-of-fact way in which he addresses the legal issues suggests that he considered similar discoveries a real possibility.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, there are clear hints that not all contemporary readers took the “report” of *The Isle* as seriously as some scholars suggest. Some of Neville’s readers used his pamphlet as a source to be exploited, or a literary treasure trove to be plundered for themes and motives. This process started at Serlin’s shop in Frankfurt, where Hans Jacob

Christoph von Grimmelshausen learned of *The Isle* and used the story in the “Continuatio” to his *Simplicissimus* published later the same year.⁸⁹ Like the vessel carrying George Pines and the four women, Grimmelshausen’s ship wrecks near Terra Australis Incognita, and *Simplicissimus* and the carpenter save themselves on a piece of wreckage.⁹⁰ The description of flora and fauna bears resemblance to Neville’s text, including the ample boschage, exotic fruit, and the fowl that can be caught with bare hands.⁹¹ Yet Grimmelshausen also changed the story to integrate it in his own work. While George Pines had four women to keep him company and populate the isle, *Simplicissimus* competes with the young carpenter for the affection of the servant woman, who then vanishes from the place before her presence can divide the two men. Yet in both cases the story is taken back to Europe by Dutch sailors, indicating that Grimmelshausen used *The Isle* as a model. In a similar fashion, *The Isle* entered a 1688 German translation of Jean Mocquet’s travel narratives by Johann Georg Schochen.⁹² Neville’s story would also inspire Johann Gottfried Schnabel’s *Insel Felsenburg* (1731)⁹³ and many more stories after that.

Conclusion: Transformations

Broadly speaking, there were four types of transformations of *The Isle*. The first sort were straightforward literal translations with some minor cuts and changes, but without introduction or additional commentary, leaving the story to speak for itself, while catering for a popular hunger for entertainment. This first type can be found in the Dutch editions of Vinckel, Stichter, and Naeranus, as well as in subsequent German editions.

The second type is a reduction of the core story down to its basic “facts” for publication as news, focusing on the discovery of the new island and the economic opportunities arising from it. Such a reduction of the story can be found in the *Amsterdam Gazette*, which was key for later pamphlets published by Cramoisy, Didini, and others. This indicates more clearly that the island really existed for some readers. But compressing the text to make it cheaper and faster to produce also resulted in a loss of its metaphorical meaning.

The third sort of transformation highlighted the moral, religious, and political aspects of the story, depending on what the translators and publishers considered most important. These interpretive editors saw more in the narrative than first meets the eye and hinted at that possibility in the paratext,

including introductions and letters of recommendation, or even a changed title. This type of transformation—as found, among others, in the Gogat edition—is more varied in nature than the others and consequently more interesting for students who want to know how contemporaries would have responded to a publication of this kind.

All three of the above types of responses to Neville's sham can be found within the first weeks and months of its initial publication. But *The Isle* would also leave a more lasting impact elsewhere—in literature. Thus we have a fourth approach, which deserves fuller treatment elsewhere: a selective, creative use of elements from Neville's story in pieces of fiction that began soon after *The Isle* first came out, but continued long after the context of the original publication was forgotten. It might all have started with the Frankfurt bookseller Wilhelm Serlin, who was working on Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus* at the same time that he produced an edition of *The Isle* and thought he could enliven the narrative. So Neville's *Isle* was over time transformed from a politically subversive literary hoax into a good yarn, a (fake) news report or a literary theme liberally employed by journalists and writers of fiction who would never let the truth get in the way of a good story.

Appendix: Editions and Translations of *The Isle of Pines* Published in 1668

English

- I. [Henry Neville,] *The Isle of Pines; or, A late Discovery of a fourth Island in Terra Australis, Incognita* (London: S. G. for Allen Banks and Charles Harper, 1668).
- II. *A New and further Discovery of The Isle of Pines in A Letter from Cornelius Van Sloetten a Dutch-man (who first discovered the same in the Year, 1667.) to a Friend of his in London. With a Relation of his voyage to the East Indies . . . Licensed according to Order* (London: Allen Banks and Charles Harper, 1668).
- III. *The Isle of Pines; or, A late Discovery of a fourth Island near Terra Australis Incognita By Henry Cornelius Van Sloetten. . . . Licensed July 27. 1668* (London: Printed for Allen Banks and Charles Harper, 1668). Includes frontispiece.

- IV. *The Isle of Pines; or, A late Discovery of a fourth Island near Terra Australis Incognita* By Henry Cornelius Van Sloetten. . . . Licensed July 27. 1668 (London: Allen Banks and Charles Harp-er, 1668). No frontispiece.

Dutch

- V. *Ontdeckinge van't Eylandt Van Pines, Zijende een waerachtige Beschryvinge van't vierde Eylandt in't Zuyder onbekent Lant, zo van desselfs Vruchten, Dieren, Geleghenthey, als mede de voorttelinge der Engelse Natie, etc. op't selve eylandt/ Uyt het Engels vertaalt* (Amsterdam: Jacob Vinckel, 1668).
- VI. *Ontdeckung van't Eylandt van Pines, . . . Uyt het Engels Vertaelt "Map of the 'Eylant Pines'"* (Amsterdam: Jacob Stichter, 1668).
- VII. *Oprecht Verhaal van't Eiland van Pines, En des zelfs Bevolking; Of laatste Ondtdekking van een vierde Eiland in Terra Australis, Incognita*. Gelicentieert den 27. Iunij Oude of den 7. Iulij Nieuwe-stijl, 1668 (Rotterdam: Joannes Naeranus, 1668).
- VIII. *Oprecht en verbeteret verhael* (Amsterdam: Jacob Vinckel, 1668).

French

- IX. *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, 9/19 July 1668.
- X. *Relation de la decouverte de l'isle de Pines, vers la Terre Australe inconnüe, faisant à present la quatrième [sic] Isle dans cét endroit* (Amsterdam?, ca. 1668).
- XI. *Relation fidelle & veritable de la nouvelle decouverte d'une quatrième Isle de la terre Australe, ou Meridionale Inconnüe, sous le nom d'Isle de Pines* (Leiden: Abraham Gogat, 1668).
- XII. *Nouvelle Decouverte De L'Isle Pinés Située au delà de la ligne Aequinoctiale. Faite par un Navire Hollandois l'an 1667* (Paris: Sebastien-Mabre Cramoisy, 1668).

Italian

- XIII. *Nuovo Scoprimento Dell'Isola Pines* (Bologna and Venice: Giacomo Didini, ca. 1668).

- XIV. *Copia d'una lettera venuta d'Amsterdam, nella quale si da ragua-
glio dello scoprimento di un isola incognita nominata di Pines, e
come maravigliosamente di un huomo, e quattro donne inglesi,
che furono li primi ad habitaria del 1589. al giorno presente sono
moltiplicati al numero di dodicimila. Con la descrizione di detta
isola, costumi de gli habitatori, & altre cose curiose* (Vicenza:
Giuseppe Elmi, 1668).
- XV. *Nuova relatione del scoprimento dell'Isola Pines. Situata oltre
la linea equinottiale. Fatta da un naviglio olandese l'anno 1677.
Ristretto della relatione. Un'huomo solo con quattro donne in
un'isola deserta del grande oceano nell'emisfero antartica hà pro-
lificato in 88. anno più di dodeci milla persone per tutto l'anno
M.DC.LXXVII* (Genoa and Milano: A. Malatesta, ca. 1677).
There was likely a 1668 edition.

German

- XVI. *Nordischer Mercurius*, 17 July 1668.
- XVII. *Europaeische Freytags Zeitung*, xxxi (1668).
- XVIII. *Vorbild der Ersten Welt*. (Hamburg, August 1668).
- XIX. *Richtiger Wegweiser vor allen denjenigen so (aus Mangel der
Nahrung) allhie in Hamburg nicht subsistieren können* (Ham-
burg: Hinrich von Wiering, ca. 1668).
- XX. *Die neu-entdeckte Insul Pines* (Frankfurt am Main: Wilhelm Ser-
lin, 1668).
- XXI. *Beschreibung Dess Eylandes Pines, Oder eine neue Entdeck-
ung dess vierdten Eylandes . . .* In: Jac[obus] Francus, *Relationis
historicae semestralis automnalis continuation. Historische Be-
schreibung der denckwürdigsten, so sich zwischen verflossener
Fasten biss in die Herbstmess 1668 zugetragen* (Frankfurt a. M.:
Joh[ann]. Görlin für S. Latomi, 1668), 95–98.
- XXII. *Wahrhaftige Beschreibung des neu erfundenen Pineser Eylands
sampt dessen Völkern. Oder eine Wunderliche Erzehlung von
dem vierten neugefundenen Eylande in terra Australis incognita.
. . . Nach dem Englischen Original . . . verteutschet und wohl auff
die Helffte vermehret* (n.p., ca. 1668).
- XXIII. *Beschreibung Des Eilandes Pines Oder Eine neue Entdeckung
des vierten Eylandes in dem unbekanntten Süder-Land: Auss dem*

- Englischen Original ins Deutsche versetzt und auf begehren in Druck gebracht* (n.p., 1668.)
- XXIV. *Neuerfundene Pines Insul, das ist, kurtze Beschreibung eines vor acht und siebentzig Jahren entdeckten und nun recht gefundenen neuen Eylandes . . . durch ein Teutschesz Schiff gefunden . . . Auf sonderes Begehren, aus dem Niederländischen in das Hochdeutsche gebracht* (n.p., 1668). Printed in black letter.
- XXV. *Warhafte Beschreibung eines neu erfundenen Eylandes/ Genant das Pineser Eyland . . .* (n.p., 1668).
- XXVI. *Wahrhaftige Beschreibung Der Newen Insl Pines genannt So nechst verwichnes Jahr 1667. Von den Holländern erfunden worden. Auss dem Frantzösischen in Teutsche Sprach übersetzt* (n.p., ca. 1668).
- XXVII. *Erfindung der Insslen De Pines So Eine von den vier unerkannten Insslen gegen Mittag oder Sud gelegen. Auss dem Englischen Niederländischen und Frantzösischen in das Teutsche übersetzt. Getruckt im Jahr Christi MDCLXVIII* (n.p., 1668).
- XXVIII. *Zodiacus Mercurialis Explandissimus: Das ist jährige Europäische Welt-Chronik* (Jena: Johannes Praetorius, 1668).

Danish

- XXIX. *Die Entdeckung Der Insul PINES In dem unbekandten Süderlande* (Copenhagen: H. Göde?, 1668).
- XXX. *Den danske Mercurius* (Copenhagen, July 1668).

Notes

I would like to thank Sasha Handley, Alasdair Raffé, and the two anonymous readers of *Book History* for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this essay, and Sylvie Mutet for helping me understand a difficult passage in seventeenth-century French. All translations and possible mistakes are my own. I have left original early modern spellings and punctuation intact, but normalized the usage of *v* and *u* as well as *i* and *j*.

1. On Neville's authorship and interpretations of *The Isle*, see Gaby Mahlberg, *Henry Neville and English Republican Culture in the Seventeenth Century: Dreaming of Another Game* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009); and Gaby Mahlberg, "The Critical Reception of *The Isle of Pines*," *Utopian Studies* 17(1) (2006): 133–142. Recent modern editions of *The Isle* can be found in Derek Hughes, ed., *Versions of Blackness: Key Texts on Slavery from the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Gregory Claeys, ed., *Restoration and Augustan British Utopias* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University

Press, 2000), 115–130; and Susan Bruce, ed., *Three Renaissance Utopias: Utopia, New Atlantis, The Isle of Pines* (Oxford: World's Classics, 1999).

2. Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author" (1968), in *Image, Music, Text, trans. and ed. Stephen Heath* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 142–148.

3. John Feather, "English Books in the Netherlands in the Eighteenth Century: Reprints or Piracies?" in *Le magasin de l'univers: The Dutch Republic as the Centre of the European Book Trade*, ed. Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, Hans Bots, P. G. Hoftijzer, and Otto S. Lankhorst (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 143–154, 148–149; Craig E. Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1987), 83.

4. I shall not enter the debate on "authorial intention" here. My point is that authors had little control over the reception of their works.

5. Mahlberg, *Henry Neville*, 62. The English ambassador reported that Neville was due to leave for England at the end of April 1668. National Archives, London, State Papers 98/9/164, quoted in Kate Loveman, *Reading Fictions, 1660–1740: Deception in English Literary and Political Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 74n; and Onofrio Nicastro, *Henry Neville e l'Isola di Pines* (Pisa: Servizio Editoriale Universitario di Pisa, 1988), 253n.

6. However, the pamphlet was only entered into the Stationers' Register on 4 July, and none of the other parts seem to have an entry there. See *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers; from 1640–1708 A.D.*, ed. G. E. Briscoe Eyre and H. R. Plomer, 3 vols. (London: privately printed, 1913–1914), ii, 388.

7. David Fausett, *Writing the New World: Imaginary Voyages and Utopias of the Great Southern Land* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1993).

8. The narrator refers to George Pines's story as follows: "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 fame 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. Then proceeded he on his discourse." *A New and further Discovery of The Isle of Pines in a letter from Cornelius van Sloetten* (London, 1668), 6.

9. For example, he refers to a scene from *The Golden Coast; or, A description of Guinney* (London, 1665), 80, in which the natives take a bagpipe for a living creature. Cf. *New and further Discovery*, postscript.

10. This edition inserts the "core" story by George Pines between pages 7 and 16. The transition parts read as follows: "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 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; . . . whom God bless with the dew of Heaven, and the fat of the Earth, AMEN.—Ater [*sic*] the reading and delivering unto us a Cobby of this Relation, then proceeded he on in his discourse. My Grandfather when he wrote this." There is another 1668 edition of the identical full text without the frontispiece (3a).

11. Keck's son, another Abraham, would offer his house to English republican and Whig exiles during the crisis of the 1680s. On Abraham Keck the younger and the exiles, see British Library, London, Additional Manuscripts 41,809, fol. 206, and Additional Manuscripts 41,811, fol. 121. Neville might have been in touch with Keck passing through Amsterdam on his return to England from Italy. I owe the manuscript references to Mark Knights.

12. Daniel Carey, "Henry Neville's *Isle of Pines*: Travel, Forgery, and the Problem of Genre," *Angelaki* 1 (1993): 23–39; Fausett, *Writing the New World*.

13. J. C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society: A Study of English Utopian Writing, 1516–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 24–26.
14. Harold Weber, “Charles II, George Pines, and Mr. Dorimant: The Politics of Sexual Power in Restoration England,” *Criticism* 32 (1990): 193–219.
15. Adam Beach, “A Profound Pessimism about the Empire: *The Isle of Pines*, English Degeneracy and Dutch Supremacy,” *The Eighteenth-Century: Theory and Interpretation* 41 (2000): 21–36; Gaby Mahlberg, “An Island with Potential: Henry Neville’s *The Isle of Pines* (1668),” in *Utopian Moments: Micro-Historical Approaches to Modern Literary Utopias*, ed. J. C. Davis and Miguel A. Ramiro (London: Bloomsbury Academic, forthcoming).
16. Amy Boesky, “Nation, Miscegenation: Membering Utopia in Henry Neville’s *The Isle of Pines*,” *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 37 (1995): 165–185.
17. A. Owen Aldridge, “Polygamy in Early Fiction: Henry Neville and Denis Veiras,” *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 65 (1950): 464–472.
18. Susan Wiseman, “‘Adam, the Father of all Flesh’: Porno-Political Rhetoric and Political Theory in and after the Civil War,” in *Pamphlet Wars: Prose in the English Revolution*, ed. James Holstun (London: Frank Cass, 1992), 134–157.
19. Gaby Mahlberg, “Republicanism as Anti-patriarchalism in Henry Neville’s *The Isle of Pines* (1668),” in *Liberty, Authority, Formality*, ed. Jonathan Scott and John Morrow (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2008), 131–152; Daniel Carey, “Henry Neville’s *The Isle of Pines*: From Sexual Utopia to Political Dystopia,” in *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Chloë Houston (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 203–218.
20. See Mahlberg, *Henry Neville*.
21. One with an illustrated woodcut, the other without.
22. The best summary of the various editions to date is Ries, “Die Insel Pines.”
23. Cf. Fausett, *Writing the New World*.
24. According to David Cressy, Francis Godwin’s *Man in the Moone* (London: John Norton for Joshua Kurton, and Thomas Warren, 1638)—similarly to *The Isle*—“was translated into French, German, and Dutch, and appeared in more than a dozen editions.” See David Cressy, “Early Modern Space Travel and the English Man in the Moon,” *American Historical Review* 111 (2006): 961–982, 970. On monstrous births in the press, see Aaron W. Kitch, “Printing Bastards: Monstrous Birth Broad-sides in Early Modern England,” in *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England*, ed. Douglas A. Brooks (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 221–236.
25. Harline, *Pamphlets*, 111ff.
26. See Bodleian Library, Oxford, Wood 386 (10).
27. *The Isle of Pines* follows in the footsteps of Neville’s earlier libertine satires on an all-female parliament, published during the Civil War and Interregnum period: *The Parliament of Ladies* (London, 1647), *The Ladies, a second time, assembled in Parliament* (London, 1647), and *News from the New Exchange* (London, 1650). See Mahlberg, *Henry Neville*, chapter 3.
28. Max Hippe, “Eine vor-Defoe’sche englische Robinsonade,” *Englische Studien* 19 (1894): 66–104.
29. Worthington Chauncey Ford, *The Isle of Pines 1668: An Essay in Bibliography* (Boston: The Club of Odd Volumes, 1920).
30. Paul Ries, “Die Insel Pines: Philosophie, Pornographie und Propaganda?” in *Literatur und Volk im 17. Jahrhundert: Probleme populärer Kultur in Deutschland*, ed. Wolfgang Brückner, Peter Blickle, and Dieter Breuer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1985), 753–776; Onofrio Nicastro, *Henry Neville e l’isola di Pines, col testo inglese e la traduzione italiana di The Isle of Pines* (Pisa: SEU, 1988).
31. Ries, “Die Insel Pines,” 754ff; Nicastro, *Neville e l’isola di Pines*, 6.
32. Ries, “Die Insel Pines.”
33. Loveman, *Reading Fictions*, 20, 82.

34. *The Vulcano's: or, Burning and Fire-vomiting Mountains, Famous in the World: With their Remarkables. Collected for the most part out of KIRCHER'S Subterraneous World* (London: J. Darby for John Allen, 1669), f. A2r.

35. Loveman, *Reading Fictions*, 72–73.

36. On Anglo-Dutch relations in the seventeenth century, see Steve C. A. Pincus, *Prot-estantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650–1668* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600–1800* (London: Penguin, 1965); and Jonathan Scott, *When the Waves Ruled Britannia: Geography and Political Identities, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

37. Craig E. Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1987), 73. On Leiden in particular, see Laura Cruz, *The Paradox of Prosperity: The Leiden Booksellers' Guild and the Distribution of Book in Early Modern Europe* (New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 2009).

38. Cf. Th. J. L. Arnold, "Talrijke nakomelingschap," *De Navorscher* 42 (1892): 251–258, 252.

39. The adjective "verbetert" here means "improved" or "corrected".

40. Harline, *Pamphlets*, 96.

41. *Ibid.*, 94.

42. Cf. Ries, "Die Insel Pines," 754.

43. *Ibid.*

44. Cf. Gen. 27:28.

45. For a discussion of the Mabre-Cramoisy edition, see Peter Stillman, "The Cramoisy Edition," in *Utopian Studies* 17 (2006): 53–54.

46. This edition announces on the title page that it is an abbreviated version ("*ristretto della relazione*") of the original story, and, like the Paris edition, locates the island on the 28th or 29th degree of latitude (fol. A3v). As the three Italian editions vary slightly from each other, we can assume that different translations from the French were made independently of each other.

47. It is likely that there was a 1668 edition of the latter. Cf. Ries, "Die Insel Pines," 755, 770.

48. Justel to Oldenburg, late July 1668, in *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg*, ed. A. Rupert Hall and Marie Boas Hall, 13 vols. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965–1986), vol. iv, letter 929.

49. *Ibid.* Cf. Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus; or, Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 5 books in 4 vols. (London, 1625; repr., 20 vols., Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1905–1907).

50. Justel to Oldenburg, 21 August 1668, *Correspondence*, vol. v, letter 945.

51. Some changes seem due to the translator being unsure about the right French word, for example, "Bowspright" (*The Isle of Pines*, full version, 8) or "bowsprit" is translated as "*traversier de voile*," not "*beaupré*."

52. However, the letter is later signed with the initials "V.M.," which I have not been able to identify.

53. Gogat seems to have had a particular interest in languages. He later published a textbook for learning French and Flemish, the *Correcte instructcion et vraye prononciation de la langue Francoize, & Flamande: Ancrichie d'une Description de la prononciacion du Francois, avec dix Dialogues, le Cabinet de l'Eloquence, Phrazes & augmante & mis en meilleur Langage & Ortographe que les precedantes impression par Nathanael Duez* (Leiden: Abraham Gogat, 1671).

54. The original reads: "un Gouvernement, qui est le plus doux au dedans, & le plus vigoureux pour la defense."

55. The original reads: "c'est du fameux & de l'illustre Monsieur de Wit [*sic*] que j'entes parler, qui a cela de merueilleux qu'il est proprement la tête [*sic*] des Hollandois, sans en avoir

l'elevation, ayant tout ce que le Gouvernement a de necessaire, sans aucun mélange de ce qu'il a d'odieux, . . . aussi bien que l'affectation de la Monarchie. ”

56. The original reads: “Tout le monde y respecte ce Grand homme, qui avec un nombre considerable d'autres Conseillers, intelligents, & tout à fait bien intentionés, ne fait pas seulement mouvoir le corps de cet Etat, mais modere encore, pour ainsi dire, tout ce qu'entreprend la Politique la plus raffinée des Ministres de toutes les autres Cours de l'Univers.”

57. The original reads: “dont elle chérit bien plus l'amitié, qu'elle n'en aimeroit le voisinage.” Louis XIV is referred to as “ce redoutable Monarque.”

58. The original reads: “En bone foy, Mon cher les voyages imaginaires de Lucien dans le ventre de la baleine, & ceux de tant d'autres dans la Lune, ou bien ailleurs, ont ils rien de si plaisant que cette description, & si elle est vraye, a t'one jamais û de copie plus parfait de la premiere generatio[n] des homes, ny rien de sie aprochant de ce que Moysse nous en dit?” The reference here is to Lucian's *True History*, another well-known tall tale/travel narrative. Cf. *Lucian's "True History,"* trans. Francis Hickes, with an introduction by Charles Whibley (London: privately printed, 1894), 83ff; and Aristoula Georgiadou and David Henry James Larmour, *Lucian's Science Fiction Novel "True Histories": Interpretation and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 156ff.

59. The original reads: “mais c'est que vray, ou non, il ramene si bien les idees du siecle d'or, & de l'âge de l'innocence, & peut donner sujet à tant d'agreables reflexio[n]s, & à des questions si curieuses, que je n'ay pû m'empêcher de vous l'envoyer.”

60. The original reads: “Mais je me contente d'avoir fait l'historien pour auioird'huy, remettant à une autre fois à moraliser, & à faire le Theologien ou le Politique sur ce sujet tant par ce que je suis fort occupé à Compiler des memoires pour l'histoire des dernieres guerres de l'Angleterre, & des Etats, que pour voir aussi si cette même Angleterre, d'ou la Relation nous en vient, & ou j'espere, Dieu aydant, de me rendre dans peu, ne nous pourra point faire avoir plus de lumiere la dessus.”

61. In fact, Harold Weber thinks Neville's *Isle* “reads almost like a fictional adaptation of [Sir Robert] Filmer's text [*Patriarcha*], in which the ‘right of fatherhood’ grants one ‘royal authority’ over one's children.” See Weber, “Charles II, George Pines, and Mr. Dorimant,” 202.

62. *Le Nouveau Testament, contenant, La Nouvelle Alliance de Notre Seigneur Jesus Christ. Revu sur les textes grecs, par les ministres & professeurs de l'Eglise de Geneve. Edition fort correcte & tres-commode, tant pour la grosseur & la beaute du caractere, & l'exactitdue des renvois, & de la citation des passage paralleles, que pour les Pseaumes qui y sont joint tout en musique, avec de grands argumens, & la prose en marge* (Leiden: Abraham Gogat, 1669).

63. The original reads: “J'ay cru que j'obligerois beacoup les Francois en l'imprenant, pour leur procurer la lecture de l'agreable & surprenant recit qu'elle contient.”

64. Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet was by then already counselor and preacher to the king. His famous *Politique tirée des propres paroles de l'Ecriture sainte* (1709), published posthumously, also defended divine-right absolutism. On Mocket and Filmer, see Mahlberg, *Henry Neville*, 83ff.

65. Harline, *Pamphlets*, 143.

66. On Mabre-Cramoisy, see David T. Pottinger, *The French Book Trade in the Ancient Regime, 1500-1791* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), 144, 199; Philippe Renouard, *Répertoire des Imprimeurs Parisiens: Libraires et Fondateurs de Caractères en exercice à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Nogent le Roi: Jacques Laget, 1995), 298; on the Royal Printing Office in general, see Auguste Joseph Bernard, *Histoire de l'imprimerie royale du Louvre* (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1867). One of the bishop's works printed by Mabre-Cramoisy was Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, *Oraison funèbre de tres-haut, et tres-puissant prince Louis de Bourbon, prince de Condé, premier prince du sang* (Paris: Sébastien Mabre-Cramoisy, 1687).

67. Lutz Mackensen, “Die Entdeckung der Insul Pines,” *Mitteilungen aus der deutschen Presseforschung zu Bremen* 1 (1960): 7-47, 11, 14, 15, 20.

68. Ibid., 15.
69. The full text of the *Nordischer Mercurius* is reprinted in *ibid.*, 14–22.
70. The original reads: “eine wunderliche und auch fast lustige alte Geschichte“ and “curieuse Relation,” quoted in *ibid.*, 12.
71. Ibid., 15.
72. Ibid., 9.
73. Ibid., 22ff; Ries, “Die Insel Pines,” 756, 769.
74. The title page of the Hamburg edition wrongly identifies the ship as “deutsch” (German) instead of “holländisch” (Dutch), but corrects the error in the main body of the text. The mistranslation of “Dutch” or “Duits” into “deutsch” was common due to the similarity of the words. The Dutch, in fact, often still referred to themselves as “diets” or “nederduits.” I owe this latter point to one of the anonymous readers.
75. *Das verdächtige Pineser-Eyland* (Hamburg; Johann Naumann, 1668). The author announces his “Liebe zur Warheit” on the title page.
76. Ibid., fol. A4r.
77. Ibid., fol. A6r.
78. Ries, “Die Insel Pines,” 756.
79. *En curieuse Historiske Beskrivelse Om den Aengellaender Joris Pines Hvorledis hand tillige med fire Ovindis Personer efter en bedrøvelig Reyse og Skibbrud kom i Land paa det Pinesiske Eyland som ey tilforn af Folk var beboed* (Copenhagen, 1710); *En Curieuse Historiske Beskrivelse Om Den Engellaender Joris Pines, Hvorledes han tillige med Fire Ovindes-Personer, efter en Bedrøvelig Reyse og Skibbrud, kom i Land paa det Pinesiske Eyland, Som ey tilforn af Folk var beboed* (n.p., 1733); *En Curieuse Historiske Beskrivelse Om Den Engellaender Joris Pines, Hvorledes han tillige med Fire Ovindes-Personer, efter en bedrøvelig Reyse og Skibbrud, kom i Land. Paa det Pinesiske Eyland, Som ey tilforn af Folk var* (n.p., ca. 1750). Cf. Hippe, “Eine Vor-Defoe’sche englische Robinsonade,” 102–103.
80. A. H. Laeven, “The Frankfurt and Leipzig Book Fairs and the History of the Dutch Book Trade in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” in Berkvens-Stevelinck et al., *Le Magasin de l’univers*, 185–197, 190.
81. Hippe wrongly assumed that Serlin had used Vinckel’s first edition and Naeranus’s Rotterdam edition because Serlin did not know about the existence of the second Amsterdam text. Cf. “Eine vor-Defoe’sche englische Robinsonade,” 83.
82. Mackensen, “Die Entdeckung der Insul Pines,” 38.
83. Ries, “Die Insel Pines,” 756.
84. A copy of the copperplates can be found in the British Library in London at Crach.1.Tab.4.c.2.(2.), bound with the *Diarium Europaeum*. See also D. L. Paisey, “Illustrated German Broad-sides of the Seventeenth Century,” *British Library Journal* 2 (1976): 1.
85. Ries, “Die Insel Pines,” 756.
86. Ibid., 757, 770. Ries (*ibid.*, 769–771) mentions several further editions not more clearly defined.
87. *Disputatio juridica Desumpta ex relatione de insula Pine, Quam Adjuvante Divina Majestate Sub Praesidio Nobilissimi, Clarissimi et Consultissimi Viri Dn Henrici Meieri J. U. Doct. & Institutionum in illustri Bremensium Athenaeo Professoris Publici, Praeceptoris ac Fautoris sui plurimum colendi, Publicae disquisitioni exercitii gratiâ subjiciet Fridericus Wolpmann, Brem. Die 3. Octobr. horis locoque huic exercitio destinatis. Breae, Typis Hermanni Braueri, ibidem illustr. Gymnasii Typogr: Anno MDCLXXIV (1674).*
88. Friedrich Wolpmann, *Diputatio juridica [de insula Pine, 1674]*, ed. and trans. Carsten Schmieder (Berlin: Hybris, 2007), 19.
89. However, it was dated 1669. Cf. Mackensen, *Entdeckung*, 40; Lars Kaminski, “Die Kultivierung des Paradieses: Grimmelshausens ‘Creutz Insul’ vor dem Hintergrund des ‘Pineser Eylands’ von Henry Neville,” in *Text und Kritik*—Sonderband, VII (2008), ed. Heinz Ludwig Arnold, 136–148.

90. Hans Jacob Christoph von Grimmelshausen, *Der abenteuerliche Simplicissimus Teutsch*, ed. Volker Meid (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1996), "Continuatio," chapter xix, 676–677.

91. *Ibid.*, 678.

92. Sophus Ruge, *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Erdkunde* (Dresden: G. Schönfeld, 1888), 71n.

93. Hippe, "Eine Vor-Defoe'sche englische Robinsonade," 13; Fritz Brüggemann, *Utopie und Robinsonade: Untersuchungen zu Schnabel's Insel Felsenburg (1731–1743)* (Weimar: A. Duncker, 1914).