

Such is the first sentence of his own account of his voyage to the West Indies, in 1594-1595, given to Hakluyt, for his collection of 'Voyages' (vol. III., 1600, p. 574), by Sir Robert Dudley, the "base-born son" of Queen Elizabeth's favorite, the Earl of Leicester, and of Lady Sheffield. His "natural sympathy for the sea" Dudley could attribute to heredity, for he was the grandson of two Lord High Admirals of England (John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and William Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham), and the nephew of a third (Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, afterwards Earl of Nottingham). And now, in his twenty-first year, he found himself the owner of Kenilworth, and with ample means for indulging his great desire "to discover new countries." When this gallant of her court had already spent much money in preparations for a cruise in the South Seas, Queen Bess forbade that enterprise "upon so uncertain a ground," and Dudley was constrained to prepare "another course for the West Indies." It shows how commonplace such a voyage had become, by the end of the Queen's reign, that Dudley should observe slightly, "and so common is it, indeed, to many, as it is not worth the registering."

In the volume which has recently been issued by the Hakluyt Society, and which has been most admirably edited by Mr. George F. Warner, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts, on the staff of the British Museum, three different accounts of Dudley's voyage have been included. The first, hitherto unpublished, is taken from one of the Sloane manuscripts in the British Museum, the authorship of which has been clearly identified by Mr. Warner with Capt. Wyatt, who was one of the officers on the expedition. The second account is the one written by Dudley himself, with which readers of Hakluyt are familiar. The third is a translation from Dudley's own book, 'L'Arcano del Mare.' The original, written in English, cannot be traced. Its author was Abraham Kendall, who sailed, as master, on the voyage, and from whom Dudley "learned enough navigation for an Admiral." Kendall, by the way, went with Drake and Hawkins on their last voyage, and died on the same day as Drake, January 28, 1596, off Porto Cabello. Mr. Warner has most carefully and copiously annotated each of the narratives, and his entertaining preface gives a very concise glimpse of the career of a man who was by nature highly gifted, who had a genius for navigation and shipbuilding, and whose life was clouded by the circumstances of his birth. The information given with regard to Dudley's two works, the 'Arcano del Mare' and the 'Direttorio Marittimo' (unpublished), will interest students of the history of navigation. In book vi. of the 'Arcano del Mare,' or Secret of the Sea, are, Mr. Warner tells us, thirty-three charts relating to America, with an explanatory note, frequently of some length, in each case. One of these charts has been reproduced for Mr. Warner's volume. It displays the Northeastern coast of South America, and gives prominence to the River Orinoco and the island of Trinidad, which were visited by Dudley's party. Mr. Warner also gives in appendix an English version of the explanatory notes, and from these it appears that the map was first published by Dudley in 1637. The editor of the

volume before us also draws attention to the fact that Dudley wrote a treatise upon navigation, before he quitted England for Italy, that has not hitherto been published, and of which the whereabouts is unknown.

Captain Mahan's views on sea power would have had the hearty approval of Sir Robert Dudley, who, in 1612, when writing to Prince Henry, the son of James I., strongly insisted that "whosoever is patron of the sea commandeth also on land." Of the voyage itself, which was undertaken "rather to see some practice and experience than any wonders or profits," the barest outline only can here be given. All being ready for sailing from Southampton, Dudley "gave a speciall commaundement unto all his companies that they shoulde generally provide themselves to goe with him the Sunday followinge, beinge the thirde day of November, to the church and theare accompany him for the reverent receavinge of the Holie Communion, and after at his charge to dine with him all together, as members united and knitt together in one bodie." On the 6th of November, 1594, the vessels "disankered" from "the Rode afore Hampton." The romantic young commander's flagship was the *Bear*, which is described as being a very fast vessel, "most singular for her saylinge." With her sailed the *Bear's Whelp*, commanded by Captain Monck, and two small pinnaces as tenders. Captain Jobson accompanied Dudley in the *Bear*, as "Lieutenant-Generall," and Abraham Kendall sailed as pilot, "excelling all others in his profession, as a rare scholler, a most seldom thinge in a maryner." On the 31st of July, Dudley sighted the island of Trinidad, after a series of adventures narrated in the several accounts. Captain Monck, in the *Bear's Whelp*, had, at the outset of the voyage, returned to England with "two great and rich galleons"; and two carvels taken at the Canaries were now the only consorts of the *Bear*, for some English ships, met at sea, had declined to join forces with Dudley. Thirty-nine days were spent at Trinidad. During this time, a crew of twelve picked men (including "two painfull and able Dutchmen") went, under Captain Jobson, in a rowing-boat, some 250 miles up the Orinoco. After sixteen days they returned "in very pitifull case, half dead for famine," but with Indian fables of El Dorado. Dudley now himself wished to explore Guiana; but his men downright refused to go, albeit, he says, he had a commission which empowered him to hang or kill them. During the stay at Trinidad some parts of the island were explored; and the Spaniards, who had settled at San José de Oruña, six miles to the east of the present capital of the colony, were kept in a state of alarm, as the English marched on shore, with "colliers displaide in honour of England and maugre the Spaniards berd." On Dudley's arrival, Don Antonio de Berrio had obtained a strong reinforcement from Margarita; so Dudley is content to observe that he did not attack the Spaniards, as they were "poore and strong." The account of the island is entertaining, but is in no way comparable to that given by Sir Walter Raleigh in his 'Discoverie.' Two of the narratives contain short vocabularies of Indian words. A search was made for gold, and stones were found that "glistened like gold (but all is not gold that glisteneth), for so they found the same nothing

worth." At Trinidad, Dudley's heart was gladdened by the arrival of Captain George Popham, in "a pinnasse of Plymouth." On the 12th of March these two rovers sailed from Trinidad "to see further of the Indies."

On the 13th of March, to the northward of the island of Grenada a small prize of "sackes" was captured, which "refreshed them well." Dudley now resolved to lie in wait, off Cape Rosco, for stragglers from the Plata fleet, which, some of the Spaniards he had taken prisoners told him, would be leaving Havana in April. In vain he did so. On the 25th of March he sailed between San Domingo and Puerto Rico. Then, after encountering very bad weather, he ran up the coast of Florida and Virginia, to 40° 10', and thence, with a gale behind them, they ran to the Azores, which they reached on the 28th of April, 1595. On his course thence to England he met on the 6th of May with what Mr. Warner terms the crowning adventure of his voyage, which was his bold attack upon and prolonged fight with a big Spanish war-ship. But, for particulars of this bold deed, with its picturesque incident with regard to Dudley's gallant page, Bradshaw, we must refer those interested to Mr. Warner's volume. Altogether, he had taken or destroyed nine Spanish ships, "which was losse to them, though I got nothing," he observes.

It is noteworthy that, on his way to London, Dudley stopped at Wilton, the home of the Herberts, the young fellows to whom, in 1623, the first collected edition of 'Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies' was dedicated. Dudley may himself have foregathered with the immortal William, and told him of "Guiana, full of gold and bounty," as well as did Sir Walter Raleigh.

Dudley served under the Earl of Essex, at Cadiz, in 1596, as commander of the *Nonpareil*, and for his gallantry there he was knighted on his return to England. After fruitlessly trying to prove that his father and mother had been lawfully married, he left England in 1605, taking with him, disguised as a page, his cousin Elizabeth Southwell, one of Queen Anne's maids of honor. They both became Roman Catholics. As if to demonstrate practically that the fact that his father and his mother had each contracted a marriage with some one else, after having married one to the other, as was alleged by him, was not conclusive evidence of his illegitimacy, Sir Robert, although already married, now formally married his beautiful cousin. He died at Florence in 1649, after years of residence in Italy. As Leicester's son, he showed himself throughout to be a "chip of the old block." He began early, for in 1591 he was forbidden the court by Queen Bess for kissing, in the royal presence, Mrs. Candish (a relative of Cavendish the navigator), she "being his wife, as is said." His own lawful wife was Alice, daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh of Stoneleigh. This injured woman had the poor solace of being created Duchess Dudley in 1644. She died in 1669, at the age of ninety, surviving her husband for twenty years.

Joseph Glanvill. By Ferris Greenslet. New York: The Columbia University Press (Macmillan). 1900. 12mo, pp. 235.

Joseph Glanvill was that fashionable di-

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vine and Fellow of the Royal Society at whose house in Bath our friend Samuel Pepys, four years his senior, used to sit up into the small hours with fair Mistress Pennington. The reader may remember that on one such occasion she was in her smock and petticoats by the fire. Glanvill cuts a small, but decidedly interesting, figure in philosophy's lee. Höfding devotes one of his large pages to him; Lechler, half a small one. Other such authorities dispose of him in half a dozen lines. Very few of those pundits, it is safe to say, ever found time to read connectedly in his works, and those few confined themselves to one book that is far from bringing out the whole character of his thought. If such has been his treatment at the hands of those who have devoted themselves to the history of the subject, what is likely to be the state of information about him of the average student of philosophy? The manuals of English literature pass him by, we believe, without recognition.

The very title of his best-known book, 'The Vanity of Dogmatizing,' ought to suggest to the well-read metaphysician that he was probably inclined to Platonism. For that has been the way with the majority of genuine skeptics, as contradistinguished from the dogmatists of skepticism. It may not be obvious why it should be so; but, as a matter of historical fact, so it has been. Montaigne himself was given to Platonizing. Nor could the precise hue and shade of skepticism proper to the Platonist be more nicely marked than in the phrase, "the vanity of dogmatizing." Yet so little thought has been bestowed upon Glanvill that it has been left to Dr. Greenslet in this year of grace to inform the public of his affiliations with Cudworth, Henry More, Cumberland, and other contemporary Platonists. A downright Platonist he himself was not.

The Glanvilles came over with the Conqueror; and, beginning with that Glanvill, Chief Justice and Crusader, who first treated of the law of England, they have ever been (if only by chance coincidences) somewhat singular in their inflexible adherence to the outcome of their logic, be it agreeable or otherwise. Even the author of the popular mediæval encyclopædia, 'De Proprietatibus Rerum,' Bartholomæus de Glanville, if his logic served him no other good turn, was delightfully unflinching in the support of his theme that every object in nature conveys a moral lesson. Joseph Glanvill was, before all else, a logician, and an exceedingly sane one. To put the right value upon a man of this stamp, one needs to be alive to the rarity of genuine logical reasoning, if by that we mean proceeding from our premises to a conclusion determined by a rule that, faithfully adhered to in all cases, is manifestly calculated to hasten our approach to the truth. So defined, reasoning is a case of acting upon principle in restraint of our natural inclinations. We all know that real, genuine acting upon principle is exceptional; that at best what is so called is mostly only the working of a good habit, and at its worst of an odious inclination. Just so, what people dignify by the name of their reasonings are mostly mere passages from one judgment to another in a way in which natural bent, habit, experience, the example of the wise, half-unconsciously move them to think. In such fashion, opinion, surging to one side and the other, does, from age to age, lumber along the road to

truth, even through the sloughs of great questions, and rattles over firmer ground at a brisk trot. But were mankind disposed to listen to those who adjure them to scrutinize the nature of their methods of thinking, and to consider whether or not they are governed by rules that are necessarily bound to expedite the discovery of truth, perhaps opinion might progress a little faster and with fewer mishaps than it does.

It must have been when Glanvill was in Oxford, where Aristotle's voice still reverberated above all others, that he became dissatisfied with peripateticism. But instead of attacking it in large round style, as Bruno and Ramus were remembered to have done, he brought forward the piddling objection that its leading principles were not sufficiently proved. A Columba boy of to-day might espouse Hegelianism or any other glittering generality without giving occasion for surprise; but imagine that, not doing anything of that sort, he were to attack the doctrine of the conservation of energy on the cold ground that it was not sufficiently proved, would he not show—supposing it were not affectation—a remarkable impulse to weigh arguments? 'The Vanity of Dogmatizing,' published three years after the author left Oxford, was, in the revised editions, entitled 'Sceptis Scientifica,' doubt in the interest of discovery, hopeful doubt. Poor Glanvill was out in his reckoning, if he ever looked to getting a bishopric or deanery after giving his book such a dreadful title. Its general substance may readily be imagined. One sentence of it is quoted in every history of philosophy, about succession being all of the process of causation that can be directly observed, and the inference of a nexus being a dangerous one. This may have given Hume a hint. Glanvill's point, however, has been mistaken when this remark has been spoken of as an anticipation of Hume. For Glanvill's interest is logical, or in the furtherance of science; Hume's, psychological, or in setting up a theory of science.

After making himself well known by several publications as a "virtuoso," or cultivator of modern experimental science, Glanvill produced his logical *chef d'œuvre*. This is his 'Saducismus Triumphatus,' in which he contends for the reality of witchcraft and of ghosts. It is divided into two parts. In the first, he attacks the position of those who scout such superstitions as absurd and *a priori* impossible, and maintains, on the contrary, that the case should go to the jury to be decided according to the evidence. Almost any reader who was sincerely convinced by that first part would be sure to be completely gained over by the second, in which the evidences themselves are set forth. We mean a contemporary reader; for we shall not pronounce upon what ought to be thought of apparitions now. Grant, for the sake of argument, that all the eminent scientific discoverers who belong to the psychical-research party are superstitious fools. Still, that does not condemn Glanvill's logic. Probable reasoning is not *ipso facto* bad because in the special case it leads to a wrong conclusion. For the question is whether or not it pursues a method which would, in the long run, bring a faithful adherent of it to the truth sooner than another method or unrestrained tendencies of thought would do. If Glanvill ac-

cepts testimony too readily, that is not so much due to a defect in his logic as to ignorance of the strange and startling facts about human nature that modern studies of hypnotism and allied phenomena have revealed to us. Even at this day, men who treat the idea of any connection between this world and another as a subject for simple derision, are not those who are best acquainted with the state of the question. At any rate, Glanvill's rare logical sincerity is unmistakably evinced by his advocating with such ardor conclusions to which, as a skeptic and man of science, he must naturally have been averse.

Dr. Greenslet has made a diligent study of his subject, and has put into a compact and entertaining form all that ordinary readers, including students of philosophy and of literature, will generally be particular to know about Glanvill. It cannot be said that Dr. Greenslet is a mind of the sort to comprehend and fully appreciate Glanvill; and his attempts to trip him in his argumentation are serviceable mainly as illustrating the difference in logical grounding between the disputant of the old university and the Doctor in Philosophy of New York. But he presents the man in his proper relation to his environment, omits nothing of great interest, and draws up his account with method, care, and skill. Particularly good is his chapter upon Glanvill as a man of letters, for Glanvill was a writer of no mean skill. His style is so marked that it may be exemplified by a single sentence—a short one like most of his sentences. It is among those given by Greenslet: "He is a wonderful man that can thread a needle when he is at cudgels in a crowd; and yet this is as easy as to find Truth in the hurry of disputation."

The portrait that serves as frontispiece is full of character.

*The Machine Abolished, and the People Restored to Power by the Organization of all the People on the Lines of Party Organization.* By Charles C. P. Clark, M.D. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1900.

This book consists of two parts: first, an account of a highly ingenious scheme of the author's for getting rid of the "machine"; second, an account of the complete failure (in the only instance in which an attempt has been made) to introduce it, through the active opposition of the "machine" itself. Into the details of the scheme we have not space to go here; it is a substitute for the present caucus and convention system of nominations; the author recognizing, and very eloquently showing, that the roots of the machine difficulty are in our system of nominations. The actual selection of those who administer the Government has fallen into the hands of bosses who, by the law of their being, must put up worse and worse men, and unless the people can recover control of their selection, they are lost; *i. e.*, elections are no longer free. By a combination of lot and selection, the late author thought that he had framed a new system, which would enable a constituency to get its really best representative men into elective office. It is to be said in favor of the plan, historically, that it is founded upon the method of selection believed to have been adopted for the French Constituent Assembly of 1789, which, according to Alison (certainly no friendly witness),

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