

Hawkesworth's *Voyages* and the Literary Influence on Erasmus Darwin's *The Loves of the Plants*

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Erasmus Darwin (1731-1802), famously known as a grandfather of Charles Darwin (1809-82), was a talented man of multiple disciplines as Desmond King-Hele breaks down his achievements into four spheres 'as a doctor, an inventor and technologist, a man of science and a writer'.¹ While he was a physician by profession, he was also a founder of the Lunar Society of Birmingham, the human network of which, including such pioneering engineers as Matthew Boulton (1728-1809) and James Watt (1736-1819), accelerated the Industrial Revolution. Also, Darwin was a believer in biological evolution, the rudimentary idea of which was made explicit in *Zoonomia* (1794-96).² As for Darwin's literary achievements, in spite of its short-lived success, *The Botanic Garden* (1791) made him most popular during the 1790s and saw 'four English editions along with separate Irish and American printings by 1799 ... translated into French, Portuguese, Italian, and German' as Alan Bewell summarised.³ Although King-Hele indicates how English Romantic poets were indebted to Darwin,⁴ they are also known to have been both attracted and repulsed by his poetics, as revealed in their writings.⁵ The purpose of this article is to illuminate the still imperfectly understood aspect of Darwin's most influential work entitled *The Loves of the Plants* (1789)—first published as the second part of *The Botanic Garden* (1791)—in terms of its link to *An Account of the Voyages* (1773), edited by his immediate predecessor, John Hawkesworth (1720-73). In order to elucidate the relationship between the two works, focus is first placed on Hawkesworth's *Voyages* and its relevant details.

I. The Significance of Hawkesworth's *Voyages*

John Hawkesworth, a man of letters, was commissioned in September 1771 by Lord Sandwich (John Montagu, first Lord of the Admiralty) (1718-92) to publish the *Voyages*. The work, published in early June 1773 by W. Strahan and T. Cadell in London, was the official account of four voyages to the South Seas conducted between 1764 and 1771, as shown in the title: *An Account of the Voyages ... for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, And Successively Performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain*

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Carteret, and Captain Cook, in the Dolphin, the Swallow, and the Endeavour. Particularly remarkable is the account of James Cook's (1728-79) first voyage in the *Endeavour* (1768-71), on which the focus of this article is placed. Due to the public's overwhelming interest in the book, the publishers purchased the copyright from Hawkesworth for £6000—by far the largest sum paid for copyright in Britain during the entire century.⁶ The book was soon sold in about two months and the second edition appeared with a preface in August 1773. Within six months of the publication of the book on 17th November, 1773, however, Hawkesworth died, aged 53, from a fatal stress-related illness because the *Voyages* was vilified so mercilessly.⁷ Except for a memoir in *The Universal Magazine* of 1802 and dictionary entries concerning the publication of the *Voyages*, he was almost consigned to oblivion until the latter half of the twentieth century.⁸ It was John Lawrence Abbott who wrote the first biography on him in 1982. He indicates that Hawkesworth emulated Samuel Johnson (1709-84) and that the *Voyages* is comparable to Johnson's *Dictionary* in terms of its 'encyclopaedic dimensions'. He says:

The magnum opus that destroyed his reputation and probably cost him his life ironically guarantees him a place in English cultural history. Whatever the demerits of the *Voyages* ... it remains a prime introduction to Cook and the meaning of the South Seas, a sourcebook of fact and myth blended together presenting one of the great sagas of navigation and discovery.⁹

Indeed, the process by which the *Voyages* entered the canon of cultural history is concisely described by W. H. Pearson: 'Hawkesworth had run to eight English-language editions, authorised and unauthorised, in 16 years and four translations in 21'.¹⁰ In the words of the renowned historian J. C. Beaglehole, 'for a hundred and twenty years, so far as the first voyage [of Cook] was concerned, Hawkesworth was Cook' until W. J. L. Wharton's *Captain Cook's Journal* was published in 1893.¹¹ Beaglehole, however, affirms that the *Endeavour* account of Hawkesworth's *Voyages* was only superseded by separate editions of James Cook and Joseph Banks (1743-1820) which were finally published by him in 1955 and 1962 respectively.¹² To students of Romanticism, however, Hawkesworth's *Voyages* still remains as the irreplaceable classic as it was through that book that Europeans during the late eighteenth century truly encountered the South Seas.

II. Damaging criticisms of Hawkesworth's *Voyages*

Hawkesworth was fiercely criticised mainly for the following five reasons briefly given below. First, Stanfield Parkinson blamed Hawkesworth for avarice because a lawsuit was filed against him for an injunction on the publication of the journal of his late brother Sydney Parkinson (c.1745-71) who accompanied Banks as his botanical draughtsman on

Cook's first voyage.¹³ As Beaglehole says, however, the published journal was 'rather illegitimately caused by him [Stanfield Parkinson] to be transcribed for print'.¹⁴

Secondly, Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1808) the first hydrographer to the Admiralty and a believer in the existence of a legendary Southern Continent, prepared a pamphlet to criticise Hawkesworth for inaccuracy due to his lack of nautical knowledge.¹⁵ Dalrymple took the negative statement concerning the existence of a Southern Continent in the *Voyages* for 'groundless and illiberal Imputations' towards himself.¹⁶ Dalrymple's grievances seem to have been particularly acute—as, although replaced by Cook, he was the first choice of the Royal Society to be recommended as the commander of the vessel (*Endeavour*) to the Lords of the Admiralty.¹⁷ To his great disappointment, however, he was rejected by Edward Hawke (1710-81) due to his lack of naval experience.¹⁸ Dalrymple was dissatisfied with Cook's first voyage because it could not solve the question of whether a Southern Continent existed or not.¹⁹

Thirdly, the authenticity of the *Voyages* was denied. Cook, for example, was mortified when he first received and read the book in 1775 on his return trip from the second voyage (1772-75) and said:

'I never had the perusal of the Manuscript nor did I ever hear the whole of it read in the mode it was written, notwithstanding what Dr Hawkesworth had said to the Contrary in the Interduction [*sic*]'.²⁰

Indeed, the account of Cook's voyage was, although delivered in the first person narrative of Cook, by no means the verified version of his final manuscript. Perceiving that the journals of Cook and Banks had much in common—as they read each other's journals and copied their specialised contents in the great cabin of the *Endeavour*, Hawkesworth took the further liberty of integrating into Cook's account more cultural details of Banks's manuscript journal on top of his own sentiments and observations, and stated the reasons why he had done so in the 'Introduction' to the second volume.²¹ As Beaglehole says that 'Cook did not belong to the world of polite letters', during such a refined age, it was almost inevitable for Cook's journal to be edited and polished for public consumption, although he was certainly bewildered by the extent to which it was transformed without his knowledge.²²

Fourthly, Hawkesworth was accused on religious grounds for unwittingly denying 'particular Providence' in favour of 'general Providence' in his 'General Introduction' to the *Voyages*.²³ He attempted in vain to persuade the reader to accept the reason he did not attribute to providence the *Endeavour*'s narrow escape from destruction outside the Great Barrier Reef on 16th August 1770.²⁴ Abbott points out that Hawkesworth's view of Providence reflects the 'deistic convictions of ... Pope and Franklin'.²⁵ Although Hawkesworth affirmed his belief in God as the 'great Universal Cause', regardless of the fortune and misfortune of particular occurrences, his belief in 'General Providence' was taken as 'Providential heresy', which made him fall prey to scathing criticisms during the

summer of 1773.²⁶ The most relentless critic was an anonymous castigator called 'a Christian' in the *Public Advertiser* who was later identified as Joseph Cockfield.²⁷

Last but not least, Hawkesworth was criticised on moral grounds as he was renowned as a man of morals who had been awarded the Degree of Doctor of Laws from the archbishop of Canterbury for impressing him with his *Adventurer* essays and in light of his 'Proficiency in the Study of Laws, Uprightness of Life and Purity of Morals'.²⁸ The aspects of Hawkesworth's *Voyages* criticised on moral grounds are given below,—as the crucial information provided in the work is considered to have inspired Darwin to produce *The Loves of the Plants*.

The primary mission of Cook's first voyage was to observe the 'Transit of Venus' across the sun on 3rd June, 1769 in Tahiti, whereas the hidden mission was to find a Southern Continent. Tahiti, which had been discovered and subjugated by Samuel Wallis (1728-95) in 1767, was first named 'King George the III's Island' and was soon renamed 'Otaheite'.²⁹ Before European contact in 1767, Tahiti had not even entered the Iron Age, but remained in the Neolithic period and still did not use earthenware or woven fabric, to say nothing of written language and money. The revelation particularly made in Hawkesworth's *Voyages* concerning sexual transgressions in the primitive island proved to be of a highly scandalous nature to the polite society of the late 18th century.

The most symbolic event of Tahiti (and also the South Seas) and the responses to it are briefly given below. It concerns what is called the 'Point Venus scene' on Sunday 14th May 1769, in which 'the rites of Venus' were practised. The account of this was, as a matter of fact, given by Cook, not by Banks who chose not to divulge any information on this incident in his journal although he always gave details of almost every occurrence to the minutest degree.³⁰ Cook and Banks both mention a divine service which was for the first time attended by the natives in the morning. Cook covers what followed:

... this day closed with an odd Scene at the Gate of the Fort where a young fellow above 6 feet high lay with a little Girl about 10 or 12 years of age publicly before several of our people and a number of the Natives. What makes me mention this, is because, it appear'd to be done more from Custom than Lewdness, for there were several women present particularly Obarea ...³¹

As Banks dared not to write about this, Hawkesworth could have also discreetly followed suit in order to prevent the *Voyages* from appearing obscene to polite society. However, he chose to integrate the event in the work. He rendered it thus:

Such were our Matins; our Indians thought fit to perform Vespers of a very different kind. A young man, near six feet high, performed the rites of Venus with a little girl about eleven or twelve years of age, before several of our people, and a great number of the natives, without the least sense of its being indecent or

improper, but, as appeared, in perfect conformity to the custom of the place. Among the spectators were several women of superior rank, particularly Oberea, who may properly be said to have assisted at the ceremony.³²

The communication of the crucial knowledge of Tahitian love in Hawkesworth proved to be a threat to the religious establishment. As is known, the most direct and positive response to this episode is found in Voltaire (1694-1778).³³ In his small fable entitled *The Ears of Lord Chesterfield and Parson Goodman* (1775 [trans. 1786]), he introduced a fictional character called Doctor Grew (Grou) who claimed to have been on board the Endeavour to see with Banks and others the ‘sacrificial’ ceremony conducted by the ‘Queen’ Obeira (Oberea or commonly called Pureau) between a beautiful girl and a handsome youth of about twenty.³⁴ As John Dunmore quotes from Voltaire’s letter dated 11 June 1774 to Jean Baptiste Nicholas de Lisle, he celebrated Tahitians for having ‘preserved in all its purity the most ancient religion of the world’.³⁵ Thus, as Gascoigne notes, the ‘Tahitian love of the pleasures of Nature’ makes a sharp contrast with the ‘Christian sexual morality’.³⁶ In Britain where people were expecting science to reveal the natural laws of conduct, ‘The Point Venus scene’ became controversial as to its authenticity.³⁷ The public pretended not to believe it or even not to have read about it as a satirist who lampooned the scene typically attributed the description of it to ‘sallies of his [Hawkesworth’s] prurient imagination, than the transactions of real life’.³⁸

III. Hawkesworth’s Influence on Darwin’s *The Loves of the Plants*

As Hawkesworth says in the ‘General Introduction’ of the *Voyages*, to describe the nautical events with ‘critical exactness’ is the ‘great object of the work’ for the sake of future navigators.³⁹ The book was also intended to be both entertaining and instructive for the general reader. That the book was edited with those bifurcated goals reconciled into one was hinted at by a reasonably moderate reviewer of the *Monthly Review* of October 1773:

It is not perhaps generally known that the ingenious compiler of Lord Anson’s voyage did not load his work with dry and unentertaining nautical remarks, because he intended that these should have been the subjects of a separate publication.⁴⁰

This separate publication never appeared. Despite Hawkesworth’s high objectives and fidelity to his editing principles, the reviewer thought that the editor of the *Voyages* could have taken a different editing strategy and removed dry facts for general readership, although this would have been totally unacceptable to Cook as the nautical facts exclusively derived from him were the most reliable information about his first voyage.

In terms of the binary nature of the work, the *Voyages* seems to have an unexpected literary counterpart. The analogue in question looks as though it focuses on the most intriguing or offending part alone: sexual transgression. What is the most prominent work of the age, which combined scientific knowledge in prose with a literary exertion in Augustan couplets intended for the readers' instruction and entertainment? It was Darwin's *The Loves of the Plants*. Noteworthy about the work is the fact that although Darwin's authorship was well-known, he retained his anonymity and his name was nowhere to be found on the title page even in the 1799 edition. He is said to have started working on *The Loves of the Plants* in 1779.⁴¹ In the previous year, he founded 'the Botanical Society of Lichfield' with his friends Brooke Boothby (1744-1824) and William Jackson (1735-98) and was preparing two translations of the works by Carolus Linnaeus (1707-78), *A System of Vegetables* (1783) and *The Families of Plants* (1787). Thus, Darwin revealed the sexual system of Linnaean botany to the general public so that *The Loves of the Plants* which was structured around the sexual classification of plants based on the number and circumstances of stamens and pistils might be acceptable to them. However, as shown below, there are reasons to believe that it was the publication of Hawkesworth's *Voyages* that drove Darwin to pursue a literary path to produce *The Loves of the Plants*.

One of the reasons, although concerned with pecuniary matters, can be traced in Darwin's letter dated 20th November, 1789 about his publication of *The Loves of the Plants*, to James Watt, who was improving the steam engine for the practical use.⁴² Darwin asks Watt about the details of his improvements so that they may be integrated into the first part of *The Botanic Garden (The Economy of Vegetation)*, informing him that he wrote *The Loves of the Plants* 'for pay, not for fame'.⁴³ King-Hele considered Darwin's remark to be an apologetic pretence to have written the poem for money due to a sense of shame about his 'frivolous verses'.⁴⁴ Darwin's remark, however, reveals half-truth: indeed, he profited by selling the copyright to Joseph Johnson for £700 on 20th February, 1790.⁴⁵ Given that Hawkesworth's *Voyages* was published by Thomas Cadell (and Strahan) and the staggering fee of copyright was paid to him, Darwin's initial interest in Cadell because of his publication on Linnaeus (as shown in his letter to Joseph Banks on 1st November, 1781) and his making a handsome profit by selling the copyright of *The Loves of the Plants* elsewhere indicate that he silently repeated Hawkesworth's (short-lived) success while carefully avoiding his catastrophic failure. Indeed, in order to protect his own reputation as a moralist, Hawkesworth needed to sanitise the entire account of the sexual transgressions in 'Otaheite' or remain anonymous to write about it without reserve. It is Hawkesworth's disaster that is considered to have made Darwin remain anonymous about the publication of *The Loves of the Plants*.

King-Hele also wondered about Darwin's remarkable shift in interest from technological revolutions during the 1760s to plants and gardens in the next decade, and attributed the reason to Darwin's love for Elizabeth Pole (1747-1832) starting in 1775, and her influence.⁴⁶ However, that Darwin was already under the influence of Hawkesworth before he fell in

love with her can be ascertained from the following circumstances. It was in the year following the publication of Hawkesworth's *Voyages* (1773) that Darwin formed the 'Lichfield literary circle' to start his subsidiary literary career. The reasons for Darwin's having developed a serious interest in botanical science can be attributed to the more fundamental stimulation he obtained from such renowned Linnaeans as Banks and D. C. Solander (1733-82) who even ventured on a voyage in the Endeavour to the South Seas. That the influence of Hawkesworth's *Voyages* on Darwin was profound is revealed by the latter silently paying tribute to the most important contributors to the work: Cook and Banks. As for Banks, Darwin dedicated to him the first translation of the work by Linnaeus, *A System of Vegetables* (1783) under the name of 'the Botanical Society of Lichfield'.⁴⁷ As for Cook, Richard Lovell Edgeworth (1744-1817) testifies in his letter to Walter Scott (1771-1832) dated 3rd February, 1812 that 'most of the passages [of Anna Seward's (1742-1809) *Elegy on Captain Cook* (1780)], which have been selected in the various reviews of that work, were written by Doctor Darwin'.⁴⁸ While he says his view is also corroborated by Brooke Boothby, King-Hele regards Darwin as 'using the poem [the *Elegy*] as a stalking horse to see whether a poem of his own, in a similar style, would be well received'.⁴⁹ Darwin's lament over Cook's tragic death in Hawaii in 1779 seems to be genuine as he derived important knowledge from Cook's first voyage. How about Seward then? She, as part of the Lichfield literary coterie, made her abrupt debut as a poet with the *Elegy*. Darwin's intention to launch her into a successful literary career is ascertained—as King-Hele indicates how Darwin, seeking a good review of it, manoeuvred Josiah Wedgwood (1730-95) into writing to Thomas Bentley (1731-80) who was a friend of the formidable editor of the *Monthly Review*.⁵⁰ The possibility that Darwin co-authored the *Elegy* with Seward seems to be strong given the following passage which characteristically reflects his obsession:

Now stain'd with gore, her raven tresses flow,
In ruthless negligence of maddening woe;
Loud she laments!—and long the Nymph shall stray
With wild unequal step round Cook's Morai!⁵¹

The person who is singularly represented as distraught, in the most frantic pain and sorrow over Cook's death is not his British widow, but Oberea the chief mourner and symbolic figure of 'Otaheite'—the land Darwin was focused on. As is given below, in *The Loves of the Plants* Darwin is considered to have secretly paid homage to Hawkesworth.

A song which is sung by a 'Botanic Muse' the Goddess, who led Linnaeus (or Banks as his illustrious disciple in Britain) to explore the innermost recesses of nature, is divided into four Cantos. Each Canto refers to various plants of the vegetable kingdom of Linnaeus, which are not really arranged according to the order of their 24 classes, except for the very beginning and near the end of the song. Indeed, it begins with the most chaste Canna of the first class, which represents the monogamous marriage between one stamen and one pistil,

or a husband and a wife. Also, the song ends, except the last plant, with various plants of the 24th class which practise clandestine marriage: after six of the 24th class plants are exhibited, the song culminates by describing the most abandoned form of liaison between men and women in the plant called 'Adonis'. Here is the song:

*A hundred virgins join a hundred swains,
 And fond ADONIS leads the sprightly trains;
 Pair after pair, along his sacred groves
 To Hymen's fane the bright procession moves;

 —As round his [Cupid's] shrine the gawdy circles bow,
 And seal with muttering lips the faithless vow,
 Licentious Hymen joins their mingled hands,
 And loosely twines the meretricious bands.—
 Thus where pleased VENUS, in the southern main,
 Sheds all her smiles on Otaheite's plain,
 Wide o'er the isle her silken net she draws...⁵²*

This is Darwin's rendering of what took place in 'Otaheite' in a flowery disguise. Attached to 'Adonis' is a lengthy note, in which the following account is included:

Many males and many females live together in the same flower.... The society, called the Areoi, in the island of Otaheite, consists of about 100 males and 100 females, who form one promiscuous marriage.⁵³

What seems to be most unusual with such a scientific writer like Darwin here is that he made no direct reference to Hawkesworth while a slight difference appears in the orthography of the technical term 'Areoi'. The exact word 'Arioi' makes its first appearance in the English language in J. R. Forster's (1729-98) translation of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville's (1729-1811) *A Voyage round the World* in 1772. In it, however, the definition of 'Arioi' is merely given as 'Bachelor, and a man without children'.⁵⁴ It is in Hawkesworth's *Voyages* that the import of 'Arreoy (Arioi)' was for the first time communicated to the public:

It cannot be supposed that, among these people, chastity is held in much estimation.... there is a scale in dissolute sensuality, which these people have ascended, wholly unknown to every other nation whose manners have been recorded from the beginning of the world to the present hour, and which no imagination could possibly conceive. ... These societies are distinguished by the name of *Arreoy*.⁵⁵

The crucial knowledge of 'Arioi' which Darwin derived from Hawkesworth's *Voyages*

constitutes the finale of *The Loves of the Plants* as if it were the homage paid to Hawkesworth. Darwin could not have afforded to alarm his readers with Hawkesworth's name nor have the resultant hostile reception for his own book—as a lampoonist had fiercely blamed the *Voyages* for causing corruption in morals:

One page of *Hawkesworth*, in the cool retreat,
Fires the bright maid with more than mortal heat;
She sinks at once into the lover's arms,
Nor deems it vice to prostitute her charms;
“I'll do,” cries she, “what Queen's have done before;”
And sinks, *from principle*, a common whore.⁵⁶

Returning to Darwin, the men and women in the society of ‘Arioi’ with unrestrained desires (who even committed infanticide to keep their celibacy in ‘Otaheite’), are, after all, consigned to the 24th class.⁵⁷ The employment of the system of Linnaean botany itself could save Darwin from the imputation of being a promoter of libertinism. Indeed, Darwin himself was well versed in the adaptability of Linnaeus's ideas which support the existing hierarchical social structure.⁵⁸ In the Preface of *The Loves of the Plants*, the 24th class of ‘Clandestine Marriage’ is shown to have four hierarchical orders: they are termed ‘FERNS, MOSESSES, FLAGS, and FUNGUSSES’.⁵⁹ They are, in *The System of Vegetables*, in turn, respectively associated with ‘NEW-COLONISTS’, ‘SERVANTS’, ‘SLAVES’ and ‘VAGABONDS’.⁶⁰ In other words, those in the 24th class are here considered to be at the bottom of the social hierarchy, whereas the members of ‘Arioi’ in ‘Otaheite’ are in the privileged first class as they are mainly ‘Arii’ (the [great] chiefs of the districts), most typically represented by Oberea, her former husband Amo the chief of Papara, and Tupaia the former priest of Raiatea, which, before being devastated by its enemies from Bora Bora, was the centre of Polynesian religion where the members of ‘Arioi’ were known to have gathered to practice religious and sexual congregations.⁶¹

To decode Darwin's hidden tribute to Hawkesworth, the definition of the 24th class has to be confirmed: that is, ‘the plants whose flowers are not discernible’.⁶² ‘Adonis’, which represents both a plant and a lover of Venus, however, is not a plant without flowers. It belongs to the Ranunculus family—as is the case with the Anemone or Pasqueflower—in the 13th class called Polyandria (or ‘Many Males’ by Darwin), with between 20 and 100 stamens. Darwin is considered to have paid homage to both Venus the Goddess of love and her symbolic planet observed in ‘Otaheite’ and also to Hawkesworth by bringing her favourite Adonis into the culmination of the song.⁶³

Europeans encountered the South Seas through Hawkesworth's *Voyages*, the major literary impact of which can be observed in Darwin's *The Loves of the Plants*. The Botanic Muse in the poem concluded her song with the message that ‘And the Loves laugh at all but

Nature's laws'.⁶⁴ It was 'Nature's laws' or universal knowledge derived from nature that was much sought after during the age of Enlightenment—as it was regarded as desirable that conduct was also aligned with Nature's laws. Hawkesworth, as the editor of the work, provided the public with details of the occurrences of the South Seas in Johnsonian language.⁶⁵ The gap between the proper language and obscene contents may have been keenly felt by them. He also attempted to make such an event as 'the Point Venus scene' tolerable to the public by grafting onto Cook's speculation on the 'Customs' his philosophical enquiry on the issue of 'shame'. He questions, 'Whether the shame attending certain actions is implanted in Nature, or superinduced by custom?'⁶⁶ By his possible attribution of the sense of shame to custom, the mirror is held up before the reader to make them realise that their polite culture might be an unnatural fabrication which could be swept away in due course.⁶⁷ Hawkesworth did not censor the manuscripts of Cook and Banks. Whatever the failures of *Voyages*, he provided the gateway to knowledge and assisted in bringing the age of Enlightenment forward to approach the age of Romanticism.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, Darwin, whose ideas of human sexuality in *The Loves of the Plants* resonate with those in Hawkesworth's *Voyages*, does not seem to be the precursor of Romantic poets as King-Hele might have imagined him to be.⁶⁹ Darwin is not so much a Romantic poet as a modernist who disguised himself in a neo-classical appearance with rhyming couplets and the sexual system of Linnaeus. Although Darwin was, like other Romantic radicals, ridiculed by anti-Jacobins in *The Loves of the Triangles* (1798),⁷⁰ he does not really look like a bird of the same feather as other symbolic Romantic poets. The Darwinian or Freudian aspect of a modernist in Darwin seems to be glimpsed in the 'Proem' of *The Loves of the Plants*, where he declares that he is reversing the process of what Ovid did to 'Men, Women, and even Gods and Goddesses' as he says:

I have undertaken by similar art to restore some of them to their original animality, after having remained prisoners so long in their respective vegetable mansions; and have here exhibited them before thee.⁷¹

The plants in Darwin are here claimed to be originally humans and divinities with animalistic desires, who, as a punishment, were metamorphosed into trees and flowers by Ovid the Augustan Necromancer. This indicates that his poem is not really concerned with the personification of plants—as he almost satirically declares that he resolves to set them free from 'their respective vegetable mansions' by his poetic endeavour. Those who are restored to their 'original animality' are not unlike their counterparts now seen free in 'Otaheite', which he refers to as follows:

... which, though you may'st not be acquainted with the originals, may amuse thee by the beauty of their persons, their graceful attitudes, or the brilliancy of their dress.⁷²

Indeed, Omai (Mai) the native of ‘Otaheite’ (a Polynesian of Huaheine originally from Raiatea) who was taken to London between 1774 and 1776, conquered the hearts of people due to his ‘polite manner, remarkably graceful carriage, and self-confidence’.⁷³ It was the notion of ‘Arioi’ revealed in Hawkesworth’s *Voyages* that prompted Darwin to produce *The Loves of the Plants*—as without the crucial knowledge of human sexuality, the system of Linnaean botany would have remained in him a useful but purely allegorical construct without objective realities behind it.

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Notes

¹ King-Hele, *Erasmus Darwin and the Romantic Poets*, 4.

² See Darwin, *Zoonomia*, I: 393: 'All animals ... have a similar cause of their organisation, originating from a single living filament'. Also, in *The Botanic Garden*, he says: 'Other animals have marks of having in a long process of time undergone changes in some parts of their bodies, which may have been effected to accommodate them to new ways of procuring their food. ... Perhaps all the productions of nature are in their progress to greater perfection?' (part II [*The Loves of the Plants*]: 7-8 n.)

³ See Bewell, 'Erasmus Darwin's Cosmopolitan Nature', 19.

⁴ See King-Hele, *Romantic Poets*, 1-2, *passim*.

⁵ For example, S. T. Coleridge, who regarded Darwin as atheistic, expressed his conflicting views on him. His high esteem of Darwin is revealed in his letter to John Thelwall on 6th February, 1797: 'On the whole, ... he [Darwin] is the first *literary* character in Europe, and the most original-minded Man' (Coleridge, *Letters*, I: 176). He, nevertheless, also wrote to Thelwall on 13th May, 1796: 'Milton is *harmonious* to me, & I absolutely nauseate Darwin's poem [*The Botanic Garden*]' (*Letters*, I: 127). Also see King-Hele, *Romantic Poets*, 100-02; Bewell, 19-20.

⁶ J. L. Abbott notes that it 'contrasts ... with some £1,575 that Johnson received for the mighty *Dictionary*'. See Abbott, *Hawkesworth*, 147.

⁷ Fanny Burney (1752-1840) reported that he died due to 'slow fever' which deprived him of sleep and appetite and led to 'incurable atrophy'. See Abbott, 190.

⁸ For Hawkesworth's early memoirs, see Anon., 'Memoirs of the Life of Dr. John Hawkesworth', 232-39.

⁹ Abbott, 195.

¹⁰ Pearson, 'Hawkesworth's Alterations', 46 n. Also, see Beaglehole, *Cook*, I: ccli.

¹¹ Beaglehole, *Cook*, I: ccliii. Wharton's version is mostly based on the Mitchell manuscript in the Mitchell Library, Sydney—a rather careless copy prepared by Richard Orton who was the clerk of Cook. Hawkesworth consulted the Admiralty manuscript—'the best and the most careful ... and the only complete fair copy that exists' now in the Public Record Office in London. See Beaglehole, *Cook*, I: ccxviii-xix, ccxxiii-xxiv.

¹² Beaglehole, *Cook*, I: ccxlvii.

¹³ See Parkinson, *A Journal*, xxii: '... this prudent author sold the property of his own book, for no less a sum than six thousand pounds: a sum that probably would not have been given for it, had not an injunction been obtained against the publication of mine; which contains an authentic journal of the last and principal voyage, viz. that of his majesty's ship The Endeavour'.

¹⁴ See Beaglehole, *Cook*, I: ccliii, cclxxxiv.

¹⁵ See Dalrymple, *A Letter*, 25, 29.

¹⁶ See Dalrymple, *A Letter*, 29-31. He refers to Hawkesworth, *Voyages*, III: 477-80. Hawkesworth responded to Dalrymple's criticisms in the 'Preface' added to the second edition of the *Voyages*.

¹⁷ See Beaglehole, *Cook*, I: 511-13.

¹⁸ See Kerr, *A General History*, XII: 5 n.

¹⁹ See Dalrymple, *A Letter*, 27, 31, 32.

²⁰ See Beaglehole, *Cook*, II: 661. Cook refers to Hawkesworth, *Voyages*, I: vi.

²¹ Hawkesworth, *Voyages*, II: xiii-xv.

²² See Beaglehole, *Cook*, I: ccxlv. For Abbott's speculations on the issue, see 173-74.

²³ See Hawkesworth, *Voyages*, I: xix-xx.

²⁴ See Hawkesworth, *Voyages*, I: xix-xxi.

²⁵ Abbott, 165.

²⁶ For example, see 'To Dr. Hawkesworth', *Public Advertiser*, 2nd July, 1773; 'Letter to Dr. Hawkesworth', *Public Advertiser*, 15th July, 1773.

²⁷ See Nichols, *Illustrations*, 5: 753. Also see Abbott, 160-62.

²⁸ See Abbott, 45.

²⁹ As Beaglehole notes, Tahiti is then rendered as 'Otaheite' as an article (the Tahitian *o*) was prefixed to the proper noun in the nominative case. See Beaglehole, *Banks*, I: 271 n.

³⁰ Although Neil Rennie brought to the fore the ambiguity of Cook's description of the scene ('The Point Venus "Scene"', 146), Sydney Parkinson's brief reference to it seems to testify to its actual occurrence. See Parkinson, 27: 'we saw a person who had the appearance of an hermaphrodite'.

³¹ Beaglehole, *Cook*, I: 93-94.

³² Hawkesworth, *Voyages*, II: 128.

³³ See Dunmore, 'The Explorer', 58; Rennie, 142-43; Gascoigne, *Encountering Pacific*, 204. For approval of the notion of free and public love, see Blake, *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, 50 (pl. 7: ll. 16, 23-29).

³⁴ Voltaire, *The Ears*, 69.

³⁵ Translated and quoted in Rennie, 143; for the original French quotation from Voltaire, see Dunmore, 58: '*On peut assurer que les habitants de Taïti ont conservé dans toute sa pureté la plus ancienne religion de la terre*'.

³⁶ Gascoigne, 204.

³⁷ Rennie refers to John Wesley and James Boswell as those who were in disbelief. Also, he refers to the denial

of the event itself by William Wales the astronomer on Cook's second voyage. See Rennie, 140, 143-44, 145-46.

³⁸ Anon. *An Epistle from Oberea*, 11 n.

³⁹ Hawkesworth, *Voyages*, I: vi-vii.

⁴⁰ *Monthly Review* (October 1793): 139.

⁴¹ See Janet Brown, 601-2.

⁴² See King-Hele, *Letters*, 353-54.

⁴³ King-Hele, *Letters*, 353.

⁴⁴ King-Hele, *Letters*, 349.

⁴⁵ The total profit on *The Loves of the Plants* Darwin received fell somewhere between £800 and £1000. See King-Hele, *Letters*, 360 n.

⁴⁶ King-Hele, *Life*, 177.

⁴⁷ Linnaeus, *Vegetables*, I: [Preface] ii. Darwin also sent to Banks a lengthy letter on 29th September 1781 which indicates 'a genuine admiration of Banks's work'. See King-Hele, *Letters*, 189-91.

⁴⁸ See Edgeworth, *Memoirs*, 399.

⁴⁹ See King-Hele, *Life*, 166.

⁵⁰ See King-Hele, *Life*, 166: the editor's name is Ralph Griffiths (1720-1803).

⁵¹ Seward, *Poetical Works* ('Elegy on Captain Cook'), II: 45.

⁵² Darwin, *The Botanic Garden*, II: 178-79, ll. 471-74, 483-89.

⁵³ Darwin, *The Botanic Garden*, II: 178 n.

⁵⁴ See Bougainville, *A Voyage*, 470.

⁵⁵ Hawkesworth, *Voyages*, II: 207.

⁵⁶ Anon. *An Epistle from Mr. Banks*, 13

⁵⁷ For Arioi, see Hawkesworth, *Voyages*, II: 207-9; Beaglehole, *Banks*, I: 352.

⁵⁸ For a comparative study on Linnaean botany's adaptability to hierarchical social order, see Wada, 'Linnaean Connections', 70-72, 79-82.

⁵⁹ Darwin, *The Botanic Garden*, II: v.

⁶⁰ Linnaeus, *Vegetables*, I: 4-5.

⁶¹ For Tupaia, see Beaglehole, *Banks*, I: 270 n., 312. The glory of Oberea (Purea) was traceable in the magnificence of morai (marae) at Mahaiatea (the place of burial and public worship) which was built to glorify her son by her order in 1766-68 and was regarded as the greatest in all Polynesia. See Beaglehole, *Banks*, I: 383 n; *Cook*, I: 112 n.

⁶² Darwin, *The Botanic Garden*, II: iii.

⁶³ Darwin apologises for many conjectures in his writings on natural philosophy, made without conducting 'accurate investigations or conclusive experiments'. See *The Botanic Garden*, I (*The Economy of Vegetation*): vii. He is indebted for his knowledge of human sexuality to Cook's successful first voyage to the South Seas, Banks's (and also Cook's) detailed observations of the primitive people of Tahiti, and Hawkesworth's editorship, since he did not act as a censor of immoral contents.

⁶⁴ Darwin, *The Botanic Garden*, II: 179, l. 490.

⁶⁵ Abbott reminds us of Hawkesworth's life-long dedication and efforts to 'add sense and clarity to the language and literature of the nation' as Samuel Johnson had done. See Abbott, 196.

⁶⁶ Hawkesworth, *Voyages*, II: 128.

⁶⁷ Hawkesworth indicates in an *Adventurer* essay that he intended to guide the young to moral principles and 'sometimes led them into the regions of fancy, and sometimes held up before them the mirror [*sic*] of life'. See Hawkesworth, *Adventurer* CXL (9 March 1754): 2.

⁶⁸ Beaglehole says that (by discovering Tahiti) 'He [Samuel Wallis] had stumbled on a foundation stone of the Romantic Movement'. See Beaglehole, *Cook*, I: xciv.

⁶⁹ See King-Hele, *Romantic Poets*, 1-3.

⁷⁰ See Edwards, *Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin*, 145-157.

⁷¹ Darwin, *The Botanic Garden*, II: viii-ix.

⁷² Darwin, *The Botanic Garden*, II: ix.

⁷³ See Clark, *Omai*, 15, 25-26. Omai was taken to London by Tobias Furneaux (1735-81) in the Adventure during Cook's second voyage. The 'brilliancy of their dress' is also reminiscent of Tahitian manufacture of cloth which involves beating the bark of a tree and dyeing it bright red and yellow. People of high rank are dressed in many layers. See Hawkesworth, *Voyages*, II: 192, 210-16. Omai is also particularly referred to as 'mild Omiah' in 'Elegy on Captain Cook'. See Seward, II: 45.