

Thomas Tryon, Sheep, and the Politics of Eden

Abstract

The English writer Thomas Tryon (1634-1703) believed that sheep were survivors from the original earthly paradise, and that as morally perfect beings they could serve as role models for humans. Tryon advocated vegetarianism, pacifism, and an end to slavery as it was practiced in the Caribbean. He was an ambitious and influential reformer on several fronts, and the restoration of Eden was his goal. Tryon's agenda and sheep-inspired persuasive strategy reflect the momentous intellectual and moral ferment surrounding human relations with animals in the seventeenth century, but his celebration of sheep and their meekness complicated, and ultimately undercut, his call for change.

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The seventeenth century was a time of transition in European understanding of animals. Throughout Europe and the American colonies, animals were scrutinized and described with greater empirical rigour.¹ These investigations laid bare long-standing contradictions within common conceptions of the relationship between humanity and the rest of creation. The celebration of classical antiquity, combined with a growing awareness of other ancient cultural traditions, particularly those of India, added to the intellectual ferment. In Protestant England and the English colonies in the Caribbean and North America, commentators sought to reconcile their empirical observations of animals with the Bible's account of natural history.² For many inhabitants of the English Empire, this effort had profound ethical implications affecting race relations and colonial expansion, and more abstractly, God's plans for creation and humanity's duty of care for the environment and all the creatures on earth.

Of all the writers who wrestled with these issues, Thomas Tryon (1634-1703) may have been the most ambitious and original. Beginning in 1683 Tryon published a series of influential tracts. He engaged in a wide set of debates over the expansion of the English Empire, the concurrent alteration of the English economy, and the transformation of the landscapes of Britain, the Caribbean, and North America.³ Some historians have depicted Tryon as a reactionary moralist engaged in a futile rear-guard action against the economic and societal changes overtaking the English Atlantic world. Others have judged that he was precociously modern. Tryon was troubled by the apparent dissonance between the pastoral ideal and the commercial transformations overtaking England and its colonies. Like many of the Quakers who were his first readers, he sought to reconcile Biblically-informed idealism

with economic necessity by offering reform projects that were at once millenarian and pragmatic. He advocated an empirically-informed effort to restore the way of life that had prevailed in Eden before Adam's fall.⁴ According to Tryon, this endeavour would entail comprehensive reform affecting not only all human relationships, but also humanity's way of interacting with animals.

Tryon championed vegetarianism, pacifism, and an end to slavery as it was practiced in the Caribbean. Underlying his reform efforts was an Edenic vision that combined pastoral mythology, Biblical references, and close attention to the morphology and behaviour of animals. Sheep were peculiarly important to him. Tryon believed that sheep were survivors from the original earthly paradise. He believed that as perfect moral beings, they could serve as models for humans. He considered meekness a sign of spiritual power, and he believed that he saw that virtue manifested completely in sheep. Tryon's work testifies to the power and significance of the Biblically inflected pastoral ideal in the seventeenth century, and the peculiar reformist impulses that could be generated by an English writer's celebration of the pastoral landscape. His celebration of sheep helps explain both the emotional intensity of his writing and the apparent modesty of the solutions he proposed.

This essay begins with Tryon's life, his cosmology, and his Biblically informed understanding of history, before turning specifically to his views of shepherds and sheep. Tryon's effusive praise of sheep drew scorn from some readers, particularly elders within the Society of Friends, and during Tryon's subsequent dispute with his Quaker critics he produced some of his most prescient commentary on the environmental impact of colonization, in complaints against the behaviour of Quaker colonists in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Shortly after writing those protests he turned his attention to the issue of slavery. Tryon's essays on slavery employ the same moral calculus and persuasive strategy that he had developed in his commentary on animals. Tryon's essays display both the power

and the limitations of a method of advocacy self-consciously modelled on the moral example of sheep.

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Tryon was born in Gloucestershire in 1634 or 1635. According to his memoirs he was one of several children, and his father hired them all out to support the family.⁵ His parents were dissenting Protestants who refused to worship in the local church. Tryon took advantage of this circumstance by working on Sundays. When one of the village shepherds went to church, Tryon took over watching that man's sheep. When he was 12 or 13, obeying his father's command, he entered training as a plasterer, but he was much more interested in keeping sheep, and he pestered his father to buy him some. Within a matter of months his father gave in. Tryon remained a shepherd until he was 17, by which time, he claimed, he was 'accounted one of the best shepherds in the country.' His flock was 'in the best condition and proof of any in the field.' Nonetheless, he eventually grew 'weary of shepherdizing.'⁶ He moved to London, became a hatter and married. In 1663, two years after his wedding, he moved to Barbados where he remained (with one interruption) until 1669. He prospered in Barbados making beaver hats. Tryon continued as a leather-worker and hatter after he returned to his family in London, though he also expanded his business, in all likelihood taking advantage of his contacts in the colonies. When he died in 1703 he was identified as a merchant, and a portrait shows him well dressed.⁷

We know about Tryon because in 1681 he felt an 'inward instigation' to 'set in writing several things the Lord had manifested' to him, 'relating both to divine and natural wisdom.'⁸ He began by writing short pamphlets, and then in 1683 he convinced the Quaker printer Andrew Sowle to publish a 669-page, sprawling manifesto, *The Way to Health*, which contained some of his most effusive praise of sheep.⁹ The work proved popular. It appeared in

three editions during Tryon's lifetime, and would be reprinted again in the eighteenth century. After reading *The Way to Health*, Aphra Behn wrote a joyous poem dedicated to Tryon, and gave up wearing leather and eating meat.¹⁰ Eventually someone (perhaps Tryon) drafted a set of 'principles, maxims and laws' for a community called the 'Society of Clean and Innocent Livers.' The maxims suggested that an insular vegetarian sect had been established dedicated to following Tryon's teachings.¹¹ No one has ever found any other evidence that such a group existed, but we do know that Tryon produced more than two dozen publications. His works offered advice on dreaming, cooking, washing, child-rearing and animal husbandry. He advocated pacifism, temperance, vegetarianism, and an end to the current practice of slavery in the Caribbean.

For the publication of *The Way to Health* Tryon adopted a pseudonym which served as an abstract expression of his aspirations, the services he intended to perform and the way he hoped he would be perceived. The first name he assumed, 'Philotheus,' asserted his love of God, and his adopted surname, 'Physiologus,' invoked the ancient bestiary that had been a source of folk wisdom across Europe for hundreds of years.¹² Like the author of the original *Physiologus*, Tryon saw evidence of the moral order of creation in the behaviour and appearance of animals. Sheep and songbirds were among his favourites, but he insisted that common influences shaped the fundamental character of all humans and animals, including both the good and the bad.

Tryon depicted the living world as animated by a common spirit associated with air and light. Describing spring dawns, he wrote, 'How pleasant, lusty, and vigorous is everything brought forth at the approach of the sun? And how joyful all the creation is, everything seeming to sport itself in various delights?' When the sun went down, 'every vegetable and animal droops, decays and languishes.'¹³ He observed a similar pattern in the passing of the seasons. Just as all good living things craved light, every creature needed

water. Tryon observed that some ‘wise men’ in ‘former ages’ believed that water was ‘the beginning of all things, and first of all elements, and the most potent, because it hath the mastery over all the rest.’¹⁴ Considering the commonalities of nature further, he insisted that all creation responded positively to music. The sun and the stars revolved in ‘musical harmony,’ and fountains rose in response to a trumpet. Birds and deer loved music, and fish were charmed. ‘Musical notes’ could establish friendship between men and dolphins, and the sound of a harp could attract a swan. Indian elephants went tame when they heard ‘melodious voices’ singing, and camels crossing deserts were cheered by their drivers’ songs. Closer to home, ‘carters and plough men whistle to their cattle when at work.’ Sheep, especially in cold wet weather, were soothed by music.¹⁵ Thus the love of light, air, water and music confirmed the kinship of all creatures. More abstractly, Tryon insisted that ‘all things desire concord and unity, it being the highest degree that nature can attain to.’¹⁶

Writing in support of this assertion, Tryon referred to an experiment he performed in his home: violin strings, apparently acting on their own, resonate with one another.¹⁷ Ever since his early years as a shepherd he had noticed a kinship between humans and animals, and he asserted that all good creatures shared a common desire to live in harmony. Tryon’s moral case for vegetarianism drew on these observations and experiences, but to marshal arguments for his cause he also cited the dietary restrictions of Leviticus and other Biblical passages. He noted with approval that John the Baptist ate only locusts and wild honey. He cited Pythagoras, who, Tryon claimed, inspired ‘barbarous nations’ to abstain from meat by ‘insinuating into them the belief of a transmigration, or shifting of the souls of men when they died into other creatures as cows, horses, or the like.’ He observed that these beliefs, and the practice of vegetarianism, continued ‘to this day in some parts of the East Indies.’¹⁸ Tryon also cited other sources of knowledge including the ways (he claimed) that all animals, plants and foods were influenced by their stars. Critically, however, he rejected any

mechanistic, predictive application of astrology, because he did not believe that there was any sharp divide between the stars and the sublunary world. According to Tryon, everything affected everything else. Our choices have influence on our stars, and wrong choices can summon evil fates.¹⁹ Thus he came to a providential understanding of history. All his wide reading and curious observations ended up confirming what he found in the Bible.

Tryon argued that everything had been harmonious in the period between the creation and humanity's fall. When Adam and Eve sinned, disease and death entered the world, and though the animals were blameless they suffered too. Tryon quoted the birds of North America explaining what happened. 'Man being our angel and governor, therefore we partake in the bad consequences of his transgression.'²⁰ Death introduced a range of new creatures: flies, frogs, snails, snakes, and fish who lived in 'muddy stinking waters' were vermin 'produced from putrefaction, gross and unclean matter.'²¹ The original animals began to scatter, and in the process they changed. They grew accustomed to their local environments and foods, and some developed bad habits. Horses and cattle, for example, took to drinking unhealthy, stagnant water. Tryon explained that 'the palates of cattle are adulterated by custom even as men's are.'²² More worryingly, bulls started to fight. Tryon quoted the bulls defensively minimizing their own culpability in squabbling with each other:

If at any time we do fight (for which man must justly bear the fault, for if he had not transgressed the divine law we never had had any such inclination at all) our battles are sudden and not premeditated murders, nor are our numbers unequal, but only one to one, and presently are reconciled and again at peace.²³

Other creatures, by contrast, more fully embraced evil. Tryon accepted a chronological account common in his era which suggested that meat-eating entered the world following the

retreat of the great flood.²⁴ ‘Beasts of prey’ were overwhelmed by ‘fierce wrath, as appears by their unsightly shapes, their frightful howlings or noises they send forth, their cruel natures and bloody dispositions.’²⁵ Lions, tigers, wolves, swine, and many other creatures manifested ‘an unclean, fierce, terrible spirit,’ and ‘their figures and shapes’ were ‘unpleasant and fierce.’ They were ‘unclean devourers and creatures of prey, killing and feeding upon their fellow creatures.’²⁶ Their ‘tones or cries’ were ‘frightful and displeasing.’ They exhibited ‘uncleanness, superfluity and intemperance,’ characteristics Tryon identified as egregious sins.²⁷ Sheep, on the other hand, were always ‘dignified as it were with a gleam of the celestial principle of unity.’²⁸ They still resembled their original ancestors.

In two books published in the 1680s, Tryon praised sheep. He argued that they exceeded ‘most other creatures’ for ‘the manifold benefits’ they afforded ‘mankind.’²⁹ Those benefits included more than wool or meat. Sheep were exemplary creatures, ‘dignified with a meek humble nature, mild and friendly... whence doth proceed those harmless innocent inclinations, hardly any creature in the world to be compared to them.’³⁰ Tryon claimed that in a single bleat, a sheep could express ‘various states, inclinations, and dispositions,’ as well as ‘fullness, hunger, love, hate, joy, sorrow, where they should be, and the contrary.’³¹ He observed that their ‘food and... drink is all simple, and natural,’ and noticed that therefore they were ‘seldom sick.’³² Tryon admired sheep for staying together, and suggested that this behaviour revealed the ‘natural sympathy’ that existed between them. Sheep would follow each other over ‘a dangerous precipice,.. into the water, or the like... though it be to their apparent destruction.’³³ Like his observations of fighting bulls, Tryon’s discussion of the social lives of sheep reflected his intimate familiarity with the animals. Studies of sheep have since demonstrated that they recognize each others’ faces, and that they are able to ‘remember, and respond emotionally, to individuals in their absence.’³⁴ They appear to be capable of mourning.

Tryon argued that sheep understood each other perfectly. Indeed, he insisted that they spoke a perfect language.³⁵ He imagined them boasting, ‘We are not subject to the tyranny of school-masters or the pedantry of grammar, nor troubled to spend seven years under the filthy punishment of the rod... merely to learn a few gibberish words.’³⁶ He maintained that they still communicated in the way they had in Eden, and furthermore that they behaved like creatures of Paradise.

Malice, ambition, revenge, treachery are their altogether strangers; no quarrels for right of dominion, no insurrections, no private repinings [complaints], no plots, no treasons, no murders, no love-intrigues are there to be heard [among sheep]; they feed quietly together, are still and patient, contented with that innocent food and simple drink which bounteous nature has prepared for them.³⁷

Sheep had, according to Tryon, ‘a glance of the divine light shining in them.’ He continued, ‘if equality and concord had not abounded in them, our Saviour Jesus Christ would not so often have compared good and holy men unto them, but it was, no doubt, to show their meekness, innocence, and desires of doing good.’³⁸

Sheep, with their manifest, abundant virtues, convinced Tryon of the possibility of a better life. All that was needed was to live like them. The sheep’s cooperative spirit, their patience, humility, and lack of aggression provided a model for behaviour in an ideal society. He also found the sheep’s manner of communication instructive. Tryon advocated the adoption of intuitive, spontaneous, honest and conciliatory forms of expression. He made great claims for the power of gentle persuasion, and his model for effecting reform - even within slave societies - avoided any hint of violence.

In light of all the virtues that Tryon associated with sheep, it makes sense that he wanted to give them voice, but even before he was publicly criticized for adopting this rhetorical strategy, he knew that it entailed risks. His sheep themselves hinted at one of the difficulties when they dismissed human language as ‘gibberish.’ The act of translation was a sign of human corruption. His sheep boasted, ‘We need no interpreter, for we are not acquainted with the Babylonical language where one understandeth not another.’ Tryon was aware of the limitations of his language, and he was particularly wary of the danger of writing fiction, because he believed that ‘play-books, romances and love stories’ seduced their readers into fantasy worlds.³⁹

According to Tryon, all writers had to be careful, because books were potentially dangerous. ‘All books, be they what they will, do bear the image and figure of the spirit of him that wrote them, so much the more, as the imagination of the author is more strong.’ Tryon insisted that every word carried ‘the power of its principle whence it had its birth.’ Angry words spread anger, loving words spread love, and ‘a meek answer (according to Solomon’s observation)’ would ‘turn away wrath.’ Tryon thought that humour should be deployed only cautiously. He attributed laughter to the ‘bitter’ quality, and ‘when this quality doth move with a gentle motion, it shakes and makes the whole body to tremble, whence proceeds laughter and all mirth.’⁴⁰ In order to maintain spiritual and physical health, one should never let the bitter quality dominate. In ideal creatures like sheep, the bitter quality was balanced by the sweet, sour, and salty.

Tryon insisted that he wrote his works sincerely and spontaneously, proceeding by ‘the method of nature, not of art.’ At the start of *The Way to Health* he promised his readers, ‘I have not consulted authors in composing this tract, to pay you like a banker with other people’s coin or entertain you with a rhapsody of stolen notions.’ In his next publication he acknowledged that his approach to writing sometimes led him to meander.⁴¹ He was less

forthcoming about another problem that disturbed his contemporary readers: his mixing of genres, his refusal to separate metaphor from practical advice.

Tryon's discussion of shepherds illustrates this feature of his writing. Tryon recalled that even as a child he was drawn to shepherding because he considered it 'not only one of the most ancient and useful occupations, but the most innocent and contemplative, as also most healthful, because of the constant motion of the open air.'⁴² Shepherds' ears were 'always filled with the delicious concerts and charming harmonies of the wood and field-musicians [the birds], whilst their eyes are delighted in beholding their innocent sheep and lambs... playing round about them.' Of all livestock keepers, shepherds had the best job, because they had charge of the 'most innocent kinds of animals to converse with.' Their work was 'easy, and most part of the year pleasant,' and they had 'spare time for contemplation,' giving them an unequalled opportunity to obtain 'divine and humane' wisdom. Tryon told his readers that in 'former ages no employment was counted so noble.' Princes had envied shepherds, and indeed kings had relinquished empires to take up the 'innocent pastoral crook.' He noted that many important Biblical figures, including Abel, Jacob, and David, were shepherds. Jacob had twelve sons and all of them were shepherds. The angels announcing the birth of Jesus appeared first before shepherds, and Christ would later describe himself as one.⁴³

Tryon praised shepherds extravagantly, but when he discussed their profession from the perspective of the sheep, his tone changed. 'Most of the diseases sheep are subject to,' he claimed, were caused by the shepherd's lack of 'order and skill.' Tryon expressed visceral sympathy for the suffering of diseased animals, and asserted that one of his principal purposes in publishing his advice was 'to preserve sheep from that monstrous, mortifying distemper, the rot.'⁴⁴ He quoted sheep complaining that many shepherds, 'for covetousness

of gain, will half starve and founder us one half the year' before fattening their flocks up in unwholesome conditions. 'Most of our keepers are altogether ignorant of our nature.'⁴⁵ In an effort to reform the practice of sheep-keeping, using his own voice and quoting his imaginary sheep, Tryon gave advice on pasturing, herding, folding, driving, shearing and slaughtering. He drew on examples from across England and abroad, and his recommendations were precise.

It may not be possible to sum up all of Tryon's advice to shepherds in a single statement, but his overall message was that if they exhibited more sympathy toward their animals they would perform their work more effectively. Sheep required 'a tender gentle usage and government, which suits their tempers and hath unity with their natures.'⁴⁶ For this reason shepherds needed to spend more time carefully observing their flocks. For similar reasons, more of them should take up a musical instrument, and read about the ancients. Tryon admitted that some of his ideas about the life of the ancient shepherd came from pastoral mythology and fiction. In support of his assertion that shepherds should be musicians he declared, 'He is wholly a stranger to the poets, and never so much as travelled Arcadia, even in the romance, that can be ignorant of this.' He lamented that 'in these degenerate days, and dregs of time, and the very rust of an iron-age,' the history of the shepherd's Golden Age was 'forgotten and neglected, not only by others, but even by shepherds themselves.'⁴⁷ Modern shepherds did not know how to live. 'The very ploughmen and shepherds defile their most pleasant air with the fulsome fumes of tobacco.'⁴⁸

Tryon's commentary on shepherds was one of many features of his essays which drew scorn in the mid-1680s. In 1685, the prominent London Quaker John Field produced a pamphlet entitled *The Absurdity and Falseness of Thomas Trion's Doctrine*, which contained a catalogue of unsubstantiated claims and apparent errors in four of Tryon's recently

published works.⁴⁹ Field mocked Tryon's assertion that animals loved music. How does Tryon know, Field asked, that 'Bagpipes are an excellent harmony for shepherds to entertain their flocks with.' Tryon asserted that 'sheep much delight in' such music, 'but how he either knows or can prove it, I shall leave the reader to judge.' A versifier identified as 'B.A.' supplied lines for Field's work, and B.A. asked, 'Will the sound of bagpipes please the sheep, or pastures green where they may feed and sleep?' More broadly, Field denied that music could improve the moral condition of anyone. He acknowledged that 'music works upon the minds and passions of men,' but he disputed Tryon's claim that 'it makes them better.'⁵⁰

Field was a member of the London Yearly Meeting of Friends' Second Day Morning Meeting, the committee convened to edit manuscripts, and reject or approve the publication of books and essays by Quakers.⁵¹ Though Tryon was not a Quaker, his publisher, Andrew Sowle, had been a Friend since the earliest days of Quakerism in the 1650s, and Sowle was one of the two leading printers of Quaker books in Britain.⁵² Upon receiving that commission in 1674, he had agreed not to print 'any books but what is first read and approved of' by the Second Day Morning Meeting.⁵³ By the early 1680s that arrangement was breaking down, partly as a consequence of disputes among competing Quaker printers. Field nonetheless chastised Sowle for giving Tryon's writings an implicit stamp of legitimacy. He suggested that Sowle must not have read or comprehended what he was printing. 'Had Sowle seen, and been truly sensible of T. Tryon's errors and absurdities, and ill tendency of his books, he would not have printed and exposed them as he did.' More was at stake than the question of whether animals liked music. Field interpreted Tryon's arguments as 'bringing a judgment over all them living that desire to eat flesh.' He pointed out that the Apostles had been fishermen, and that the resurrected Christ ate fish at the supper at Emmaus. Tryon's arguments for vegetarianism were 'contrary to the command of God,

the example of the angels, Christ Jesus, and the holy apostles.’ As B.A. put it, ‘If all those things were true T.T. doth say, it seems like day turned night, not night turned day.’ Tryon had failed to check whether his insights were consistent with the truths revealed in the Bible.⁵⁴

Field and his associate B.A. were upset by Tryon’s apparent readiness to ignore Biblical authority, and more generally they objected to his inventiveness. B.A. asserted that Tryon ‘takes upon him many things to teach he knows not of,’ and dismissed his entire corpus as the ‘confused working’ of Tryon’s ‘rambling brain.’ Field and B.A. denounced Tryon’s creative rhetorical strategies, his use of fiction, and specifically his decision to give voice to animals. B.A. asked,

Did Thomas e’re dumb creatures hear complain,

And speak as Balaam’s ass? Or did he feign

The jack-daw’s story, and the many cries?

They’re either true, or else fictitious lies.

According to Field, ‘Stories of the sheep’s language, and sheep’s cow’s, oxen, horses and birds complaints, and such like idle fictions... seem rather to come from a giddy head than a heart truly seasoned with grace.’ He lamented, ‘how much below the dignity of a man is such fictitious tittle-tattle!’⁵⁵

Tryon’s Quaker critics associated his blurring of fact and fiction with moral flexibility, and they condemned him for failing to live in accordance with his own precepts. Field asked whether Tryon ‘doth not wear the skins of the innocent sheep and lambs or of calves, over his skin, to keep his hands warm in winter, and from the scorching heat in summer, and his feet from the wet dirt, and hard stones?’ He assumed that Tryon wore

leather shoes and gloves, and proceeded to cite other, more specific features of Tryon's behaviour that seemed to depend on the exploitation of animal corpses. Tryon was proficient at the bass violin, and Field suggested that he should consider 'whether the fruit of hell (which he calls killing the creatures) doth not help him to guts to make music with, or fiddle-strings.' Field considered the possibility that Tryon's strings were made from cats that had died natural deaths, but then he asked whether Tryon would 'have the works of God so defaced as to have their guts pulled out for him to make music with?' There was also a problem with Tryon's chosen occupation. Field told his readers that Tryon continued to 'trade, merchandise, or deal in the skins of beasts, and get gain and money by the same, though slain by the wrathful nature (as he saith), which is a fruit of hell.' If anyone doubted Tryon's moral inconsistency, there was obvious proof within the published works themselves. Alongside Tryon's espousal of vegetarianism were recipes for the preparation of meat.⁵⁶

Tryon could not have been completely surprised by this line of criticism. In 1684 he quoted the birds of North America declaring that Christians who killed animals were inherently untrustworthy:

They say, and do not. They pray God would incline their hearts not to commit any violence, and yet the profession, the very trade of killing, is one of the most honourable callings amongst them in their esteem. They with their lips desire the Lord would forgive them their oppressions and violences, and in their hearts resolve upon, and by their practices continue, the same outrages.⁵⁷

Tryon claimed to value integrity and moral consistency, but as Field and B.A. noticed, his guide to human conduct in this less-than-perfect world was riddled with compromises and

apparent contradictions. His health-related arguments regarding meat revealed surprising flexibility. In formulating his dietary advice he factored in the dieter's heredity, climate and exercise regime, as well as the moral and physical character of the vegetables and the meat.⁵⁸ He asserted that some meats were better than others, and that some people could eat good meat without damage to their bodies and souls. Tryon favoured the consumption of innocent, unharmed animals over eating those that had lived long and suffered. When addressing meat eaters, he recommended veal and lamb over beef or mutton.⁵⁹

Tryon worked on the assumption that there were limits to his persuasive powers. In the *Way to Health* he expressed pessimism about his ability to influence others.⁶⁰ At the start of his section on the preparation of meat he admitted that he was making an ethical compromise to serve the interests of his readers.

Since there is no stemming the tide of popular opinion and custom, and people will still gorge themselves with the flesh of their fellow animals, I have thought fit here to give a particular account of each sort of flesh, that at least you may choose that which is most proper for your constitution, and least prejudicial to your health.⁶¹

He did not hide his disgust with meat-eating, however. In a later volume, in the midst of his advice on raising sheep for meat, he interjected a jibe against 'our citizens and dainty dames' who 'make good cheer with this stately and (no doubt) very tender mutton, and are as blithe and merry at the burial of their carcasses in their own paunches, as young men and maids are at their Whitsun-Ale...' Nonetheless, his advice was quite specific, relating for example to the effect of different pastures on the fat content and flavour of the flesh.⁶²

Though sometimes Tryon made broad pronouncements, on other occasions he argued passionately against excessively doctrinaire, simple thinking:

Does not everyone fancy his own opinion to be the only truth, and condemn the sentiments of others, how well grounded soever they may be? And do not many endeavour to spread their notions by violence, fighting, and oppression, and by cruelty, to force all to be of their complexion in understanding?⁶³

He insisted, ‘men’s minds and understandings are as different and various as their complexions or visages.’ To be angry about these differences was to be angry with God, because he was the one who created the variety in beliefs. Speaking generally to arrogant Christians, he declared, ‘it is not about true virtue that you make all this ado in the world. ‘Tis for our own conceits, your own inventions, your own dreams, that you thus contend and disquiet your neighbours.’⁶⁴

Field began composing his critique of Tryon’s work after seeing *The Way to Health* and *The Way to Make all People Rich*, publications which were not explicitly addressed to Quakers. Before Field finished his review, however, he saw at least two more of Tryon’s books in print, including the *Country-man’s Companion*, which contained passages directly criticising the Friends.⁶⁵ In the opening pages of *The Way to Health*, Tryon had declared that he had ‘two small treatises almost ready for the press,’ one on sheep and the other on horses. These works were ultimately folded into the *Country-man’s Companion*.⁶⁶ But the book contained more than advice on the rearing of livestock. Tryon warned his readers, ‘In some places I may seem to have deviated from my subject, but I am sure, if those digressions be not strictly pertinent, they will not be wholly useless’ if they were received sympathetically. ‘I shall never think much to go a little out of my way, if thereby I may help to bring my reader into the paths of virtue and nature.’ The *Country-man’s Companion* discussed sheep and horses, but it also included a chapter entitled ‘The Planter’s Speech to his Neighbours and Country-men in Pennsylvania, East and West-Jersey, and to all such as have Transported

themselves into New Colonies for the sake of a quiet retired Life.’⁶⁷ In that chapter Tryon assumed the voice of a colonist giving advice to the Quakers living in New Jersey and Pennsylvania.⁶⁸

At the heart of the Planter’s advice was Tryon’s conviction that ‘practice is the life of any religion.’⁶⁹ Tryon’s Planter wanted to make sure that the colonists lived in a way that matched their professed Christianity, and to advance that aim he advocated the imposition of tight regulations. He called for a ban on ‘the common use of war-like destructive murdering weapons and their appurtenances, viz. guns, swords, powder, bullets, shot, drums, and the like devilish instruments.’ He declared that the Quaker colonists should outlaw ‘all attempts and beginnings of violence, [so] as not to suffer any to use cruelty unto, or to hurry and oppress any of the inferior creatures.’ He recommended that New Jersey and Pennsylvania prohibit ‘scoffing, jesting or idle discourse.’ Under the Planter’s scheme, people who violated any of his rules, including ‘tale-bearers’ and those who drank liquor or wine, would be sentenced to terms of bound service. Convicted thieves would ‘wear a different garment from others during their whole lives, that all may know what they have done.’ The Planter’s proposed regulations extended to marriage and procreation. He declared that New Jersey and Pennsylvania should discourage marrying for wealth, outlaw dowries, and discourage the old from marrying the young, since such matches ‘commonly proceed from lust in one of the parties and covetousness in the other.’ With the aim of creating an ideal society, he asserted that the ‘diseased and deformed’ should be discouraged from marrying under any circumstances, since they were ‘not fit for generation, or to answer the end for which marriage was instituted.’ Tryon’s Planter adopted an uncompromising tone that Tryon generally avoided in his persuasive texts. Outside of the ‘Planter’s Speech,’ Tryon never recommended the adoption of a comprehensive, legally enforced, moral code. Nonetheless, the Planter’s vision of an ideal society reflected values that Tryon exalted in other writings.

The essay seemed to invite two readings: either Tryon was mocking the Quakers' pretensions in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, or he was chastising them for being insufficiently ambitious. It was clear that the Planter was taking swipes at William Penn's specific policies for Pennsylvania. The Planter rejected Penn's mercantilist embrace of transatlantic trade, and suggested that the colonists should strive for self-sufficiency.⁷⁰

In 1683, in *The Way to Health*, Tryon's sheep had implicitly protested against long-distance trade and forced migration by declaring that they did not have 'any occasion to travel out of our own native country into other climates, but sometimes we are compelled and forced away by our covetous keepers. But it hath always been the worse for those that transported either us or our wool.'⁷¹ Nonetheless, in 1684 Tryon assumed that sheep would be raised in North America. The Planter called on the Quaker colonies to ban the importation of clothing, and to make clothes only out of locally produced linen and wool. He also thought that the colonists should not use any cloth dyes 'but such as the seeds, earths and minerals' that the local environment provided. These policies would encourage 'ingenious people' and expand the use of America's 'commodities.' They would also promote social cohesion. Ideally garments should be made from locally produced wool, and left undyed since 'such clothings are easier procured.' The Planter suggested that the colonies' magistrates and social superiors should wear only 'white garments made of wool,' because such clothing was 'not only more serviceable, but natural,' and by dressing in this way they would set 'good examples to the lower sort, who in such things always take their measures from those above them.' White wool would serve as 'an emblem of innocence and temperance, which God and nature gives us without labour or trouble.'⁷²

In another section of the *Country-man's Companion* entitled 'The Complaints of the Birds' Tryon adopted the persona of the birds of North America protesting against the

behaviour of the Quaker colonists.⁷³ The piece was probably a satirical response to a letter Sowle had published for Penn a year earlier. In that letter Penn had detailed the progress of Pennsylvania, and in a list of the many advantages the colonists enjoyed, he mentioned good hunting and the tasty variety of local mammals and birds.

Of living creatures, fish, fowl, and beasts of the woods, here are diverse sorts, some for food and profit, and some for profit only. For food as well as profit, the elk, as big as a small ox, deer bigger than ours, beaver, racoon, rabbits, squirrels, and some eat young bear and commend it. Of fowl of the land there is turkey (forty and fifty pound weight) which is very great, pheasants, heath birds, pigeons and partridges in abundance. Of the water, the swan, goose, white and grey, brands, ducks, teal, also the snipe and curlew, and that in great numbers, but the duck and teal excel, nor so good have I ever ate in other countries.⁷⁴

Tryon vested birds with authority. They lived close to the angels and were unusually alert to God's actions directing the weather and the stars. In a prophetic warning Tryon's birds described the bleak landscape that unrestrained hunting might create, a scene without birdsong:

Oh Man! How unpleasing, dolorous and frightful would it be to thee in the pleasant months of March, April and May, when thou walkest in delightful fields, if thou shouldst not hear the pleasant and refreshing charms of those of our kind. Would thou not fear, say and think, that the creator was angry, and that some judgment was near at hand?⁷⁵

Tryon's birds insisted that New Jersey and Pennsylvania were being settled badly, that the hunters who had arrived there were betraying the trust that God had given to humans to govern animals 'with meekness and equity.' Nonetheless, they did not oppose the process of colonization itself. Indeed, they reminded the Quaker colonists that if they fulfilled their obligations to God they could help humanity 'bring back the Golden Age, and the innocent estate, which by oppression, cruelty and violence thou hast lost.'⁷⁶ The Planter had his own complaints about how the colonies were developing, but he too emphasized New Jersey's and Pennsylvania's glorious potential. He argued that if the Quaker colonists established their settlements in good order, present and future generations would be

free from those disquietudes which chiefly render man's life uncomfortable; free from wasting laborious days and restless nights in a greedy pursuit after noxious vanities, and half killing ourselves with cruel carking cares and excessive drudgeries; free from sharking policies, unmanly frauds and lewd endeavours to supplant or circumvent our neighbours.⁷⁷

For their part, the birds were ready to sacrifice to see this vision realized. They knew that the colonists needed pastures for sheep and cows, and wood for fuel and construction. The birds were ready to accept deforestation.⁷⁸

Both in issuing their vehement protest, and in ultimately signalling their readiness to submit to human dominion, Tryon's birds resembled the other animals he quoted. His oxen and cows groaned that they 'live in great slavery most part of our lives, far below that generous liberty wherein our great and good creator had estated us by his grand charter of nature.' The horses similarly described their condition as 'terrible slavery.' The horses' only solace was the release of death. 'Though we do undeservedly suffer many miseries, this is

our comfort, our lives are thereby shortened, and when death comes, we are totally released from all our slavery and hard labours.’ His sheep complained that even though they were ‘very profitable to those that keep us,’ they were still commonly treated badly, ‘and finally [we] have our throats cut, and our bodies quartered, as if we had committed treason.’ Nonetheless, though these creatures suffered enormously, they did not resist. Tryon’s bovines asserted that they had grounds for going on strike, but rather than doing so they chose ‘submissive patience.’⁷⁹ They knew that God would punish men for their cruelty. The sheep likewise declared,

we must be contented to be led, not only to the shearer, but also to the slaughter-house in silence as well as innocence, and shall not lift up our voice to repine or complain (to them [men]) any more, since they served that great, and most holy shepherd in the same manner, even the saviour of the world, that was so far from killing that he laid down his life for his sheep.⁸⁰

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Tryon’s career as a writer and reformer dramatized the broad implications of the seventeenth century’s reconsideration of humanity’s relationship to animals. In this period of transition, he was not alone in re-examining the Biblical narrative, combining mystical insight with empirical observation, and seeking new insight derived from Europe’s expanding awareness of distant parts of the world. During the 1680s, when Tryon’s creative energies were at their peak, many Quakers were similarly working to reconcile “experimental” knowledge with scripture, and consequently re-examining the role of animals in the scheme of creation.⁸¹ But the controversy surrounding the publication of Tryon’s work revealed that he differed from many Quakers in his readiness to deploy fiction for persuasive ends. Fiction

gave Tryon a way to challenge his readers' perspectives. Giving voice to animals enabled him to raise issues that transcended mundane human concerns. His celebration of sheep allowed him to imagine an alternative world, an Eden ready to be rediscovered and repossessed in the pastures of England and North America.

But Tryon's embrace of fiction undercut some of his persuasive aims. It exposed him to ridicule and served to highlight contradictions within his rhetorical stance. He celebrated the sheep's language as the epitome of authenticity, spontaneity and sincerity, but when he quoted them the words he cited inevitably came from the mouth of an artifice - a talking sheep - a figure partly mythical, partly imagined, and only partly real. Tryon insisted that the words should be taken seriously because he knew intuitively what a sheep would say if given command of the English language. Therefore his persuasive strategy depended on his claim of sympathy and kinship with sheep. He asserted that he knew them thoroughly, and indeed, he insisted that like all other people who strive after righteousness, he followed them as role models. Becoming sheep-like led Tryon into another trap, however. Assuming a posture of Edenic perfection, he self-consciously disdained force, arrogance and doctrinaire moral certainty. Ever striving to be sheep-like and humble, he rhetorically accepted accommodations, compromises and contradictions. His message became muddled. This can be seen dramatically in his writings on slavery.

Shortly after the *Country-man's Companion* appeared in print, Tryon produced his first works directly addressing the problem of human slavery. *Friendly Advice to the Gentlemen-Planters of the East and West Indies* was similar in many ways to the *Countryman's Companion*.⁸² Sowle again served as Tryon's printer, and as they had with the *Country-man's Companion*, he and Tryon marketed the work as an advice manual. *Friendly Advice* began with a discussion of food preparation and other domestic challenges faced by colonists moving from England to the tropics. Tryon's discussion of these issues displayed his erudition and his first-hand experience

of life in the West Indies. The book subsequently took startling turns, however, and included two contentious fictional pieces: 'The Negro's Complaint of their Hard Servitude, and the Cruelties Practiced upon them by Divers of their Masters Professing Christianity in the West-Indian Plantations,' and 'A Discourse in Way of Dialogue, between an Ethiopian or Negro-slave, and a Christian that was his Master in America.'⁸³

These pieces resembled Tryon's earlier monologues. Tryon's horses, oxen and cows had already observed that the suffering of domestic animals could be compared to slavery. Like the animals he had quoted earlier, Tryon's slaves described horrible suffering. The 'Negro's Complaint' suggested that slave traders and slaveholders treated their human captives 'like beasts.' They worked their slaves 'worse than horses.' Slave-owners did not think it was a worse sin to murder a slave than 'to kill their horse or their dog.' Slaves were sometimes killed and forgotten like 'fleas or gnats, or wolves or bears.' The 'Complaint' described West Indian overseers and planters whipping and beating slaves, and calling them 'dog,' 'damned dog,' and 'bitch.' Though he loved animals, Tryon knew that this was an insult. He quoted Sambo, the imaginary slave in the 'Discourse in Way of Dialogue,' protesting, 'we are not beasts, as you want and use us, but rational souls.'⁸⁴

The 'Negro's Complaint' contained a vivid description of the middle passage, with slaves chained below deck in 'the dark noisome hold, so many and so close together that we can hardly breathe... suffocated, stewed and parboiled together in a crowd, till we almost rot each other and ourselves.' Life in Barbados was not much better for them. Some were 'forced to work so long' in the sugar mills that they became 'weary, dull, faint, heavy and sleepy.' Their exhaustion was dangerous. Sometimes 'hands and arms are crushed to pieces.' Sometimes 'most part' of a slave's body was ground up in the mill. At the copper boiling pots, tired and overheated slaves, breathing 'sulphurous fumes,' fell into 'the fierce boiling syrups.' Tryon's anonymous slave compared the island to a battlefield, with huge numbers dying, necessitating a constant influx of replacements. Sambo supplied a number: perhaps as many as ten thousand a year.⁸⁵

The slaves of the West Indies had reason to be angry, but the 'Discourse in Way of Dialogue' concluded with a tentative reconciliation. Sambo asked his master, 'Are we not your money?' Therefore, he suggested, the slaves should be protected and encouraged to multiply. An extra expenditure of 'fifty, or one hundred, or two hundred pounds per annum' would make it possible to give them 'such suitable food, drinks and rest as are needful for the support of our lives and health, and suitable to the climate.' If treated well, the slaves would 'bless you, and serve you cordially and willingly, with all our power.' 'We should all in general become more tractable, obedient and diligent, and thereby not only perform our labour much better, but secretly attract the sweet influences of God and nature' to the benefit of the masters, 'and then twenty of us would dispatch as much work and business as thirty do, or can do' under the present regime. Sambo declared, 'Let us see the excellency of the Christian religion by the goodness of your lives that profess it, by the meekness, and charity, and benignity, and compassion towards your fellow creatures.'⁸⁶ The rewards would last forever:

If these things you do, we and our posterity shall willingly serve you and not count it any slavery but our unspeakable happiness. Peace shall be in your dwellings, and safety shall surround your island, for innocency is a better defence than forts and citadels, than armies and fleets, than walls of brass flanked with towers of adamant. In a word, you shall have satisfaction within and security without, and enjoy the blessings both of time and eternity.⁸⁷

The dialogue ended with the two protagonists treating each other well. The master told Sambo to get some rest, and Sambo promised to ask his 'fellow servants' on all occasions 'to be obedient, humble, just and respective to all their masters.'⁸⁸

Sambo differed from the anonymous slave of the 'Negro's Complaint,' and from all the animals that Tryon quoted, in that he had a name, a history, and an individual personality. Sambo's father in Africa had been a healer who had 'studied the nature of things, and was well skill'd in

physick and natural magic.’ Sambo had learned from his father and had brought his skills to the Caribbean. He boasted to his master, ‘I have cured several of my countrymen since I came hither of diseases that your doctors could not help, either so surely or so suddenly.’⁸⁹ Sambo’s individuality and stature added poignancy to his willingness to subordinate himself to his nameless master in exchange for benevolent treatment.

Susan Dwyer Amussen has argued that this turn at the end of the ‘Discourse in Way of Dialogue’ demonstrates that Tryon was more an ameliorationist than an opponent of slavery. For him, she writes, ‘the problem was not slaveholding itself, but the behaviour of the masters.’⁹⁰ While this may be true, as with Tryon’s earlier monologues there are multiple possible readings of the ‘Discourse in Way of Dialogue.’ It was a fictional drama, and Sambo’s meekness served to heighten the reader’s sense of the injustice and cruelty of his position. His submissiveness also shamed the purportedly Christian master. Like the sheep who accepted unjust slaughter, Sambo behaved in an exemplary fashion, as all humans should. Using the voice of the Planter, Tryon had earlier argued that ‘the pure, peaceable, meek, innocent Christian life’ taught Christians ‘to love not only our friends and our neighbours, but also our enemies.’ Christian teaching ‘assures us that those that use the sword shall perish by the sword.’ ‘If we are smote on the left cheek,’ the Planter had reminded the Quakers in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, we are ‘to turn the right.’⁹¹ Like his favourite animals, Tryon’s slaves were not in any formal sense Christian, but they exhibited a broadminded, selfless spiritual awareness that his readers would have associated with Christian charity. Without pettiness or partiality, they discussed the issues that concerned them in general terms, for example searching for the root causes of colonial violence and exploitation. But in making these figures self-effacing, compassionate and forgiving, Tryon restricted their ability to assert themselves and demand full redress of their grievances.

Tryon had a demonstrable influence on some Quakers. Benjamin Lay, one of the most strident, uncompromising Quaker opponents of slavery in the eighteenth century, was an avid reader of Tryon.⁹² But other Quakers, by contrast, echoed Tryon’s Sambo by insisting that well-treated slaves should be grateful for their masters’ benevolence. For the next two hundred years, across the

Atlantic World, figures like Sambo provided a strong, if fictional, voice in defence of slavery. As George Boulukos has shown, the fantastic figure of the “grateful slave” appeared repeatedly in pro-slavery literature from the eighteenth century on.⁹³ The fantasy of reconciliation between master and slave gave succour to slaveholders. Elements of that fantasy were also carried forward in the Quakers’ late-eighteenth-century effort to oversee a peaceful, cooperative, gradual, benevolent and educative process of abolition.⁹⁴

Tryon wrote for Quakers among others, and Quakers read his work, drawing a variety of lessons from his words. But Tryon’s most important early reader was the non-Quaker Aphra Behn. In 1688, after reading Tryon’s work, Behn created her own fictional slave in a romance which was subsequently adapted for the stage.⁹⁵ Behn’s Oroonoko was not like Sambo. He was an African prince who justifiably resisted his own enslavement. Oroonoko was an honourable man, and his stature suggested that his was a special case. Were other slaves like him? A similar question might have been asked in connection to Sambo, and Field had already asked such a question in relation to Tryon’s birds. The earth is neither Paradise nor Arcadia, and though we may aspire to that blessed state, it has never been easy to find creatures or people who behave as if they belonged in Eden. Sambo argued on behalf of all the slaves in the Caribbean, and the ‘Negro’s Complaint’ addressed the problem of slavery in general terms, but the invention or promotion of exemplary, virtuous figures to dramatize injustice introduced a note of uncertainty that would trouble abolitionist literature, antislavery activism, and reform efforts in general for decades and centuries to come.

¹ See Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500-1800* (New York: Penguin, 1984); but see also Mary E. Fissell, ‘Imagining Vermin in Early Modern England,’ in Angela N.H. Creager and William Chester Jordan, eds., *The Animal/Human Boundary: Historical Perspectives* (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 2002), 77-114.

² See generally Philip C. Almond, *Adam and Eve in Seventeenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge, 1999); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, 1580-1640* (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1980), 108-109; William Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1899), 44-47; William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, *The Mapp and Description of New-England* (London, 1630), 40-41.

³ Susan Dwyer Amussen, *Caribbean Exchanges: Slavery and the Transformation of English Society, 1640-1700* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2007), 67, 182; Kathleen M. Brown, *Foul Bodies: Cleanliness in Early America* (New Haven, Conn., 2009), 90; A. Roger Ekirch, *At Day's Close: A History of Nighttime* (London, 2005), xxv, 9, 68; Carla Gerona, *Night Journeys: The Power of Dreams in Transatlantic Quaker Culture* (Charlottesville, Va., 2004), 101-106; Philippe Rosenberg, 'Thomas Tryon and the Seventeenth-Century Dimensions of Antislavery,' *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser. 61 (2004) 609-642; Nigel Smith, 'Enthusiasm and Enlightenment: Of Food, Filth, and Slavery,' in Gerald MacLean, Donna Landry, and Joseph P. Ward, eds., *The Country and the City Revisited: England and the Politics of Culture, 1550-1850* (Cambridge, 1999), 106-118; Tristram Stuart, *The Bloodless Revolution: A Cultural History of Vegetarianism from 1600 to Modern Times* (New York, 2006), 60-77.

⁴ For discussions of kindred Quaker impulses see Geoffrey Peter Morries, 'From Revelation to Resource: The Natural World in the Thought and Experience of Quakers in Britain and Ireland, 1647-1830,' Ph.D. diss., University of Birmingham, 2009; Geoffrey Plank, 'The Flame of Life was Kindled in All Animal and Sensitive Creatures': One Quaker Colonist's View of Animal Life,' *Church History* 76 (2007) 569-90; Donald Brooks Kelley, 'A Tender Regard to the Whole Creation': Anthony Benezet and the Emergence of an Eighteenth-

Century Quaker Ecology,' *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 106 (1982) 69-88.

⁵ Thomas Tryon, *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Thomas Tryon* (London, 1705), 7-8. See Stuart, *Bloodless Revolution*, 530, n.3.

⁶ Tryon, *Memoirs*, 8, 10-14, 16.

⁷ John Field, *The Absurdity and Falseness of Thomas Trion's Doctrine* (London, 1685), 14; Tryon, *Memoirs*.

⁸ Tryon, *Memoirs*, 54-56.

⁹ Philotheos Physiologus [Thomas Tryon], *The Way to Health*, 1st ed. (London, 1683).

¹⁰ Mrs. Ann Behn [Aphra Behn], 'On the Author of that Excellent Book Entituled The way to Health, Long Life, and Happiness,' in Thomas Tryon, *The Way to Health*, 3d ed., (London, 1697), introduction; Smith, 'Enthusiasm and Enlightenment,' 107.

¹¹ Tryon, *Memoirs*, Appendix.

¹² See Michael J. Curly, trans., *Physiologus: A Medieval Book of Nature Lore* (Chicago, 2009).

¹³ Philotheos Physiologus [Thomas Tryon], *The Country-man's Companion* (London, 1684), 49.

¹⁴ Thomas Tryon, *Way to Health* (London, 2d ed., 1691), 98-99, 107, 186.

¹⁵ [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 78-80, 82.

¹⁶ Tryon, *Way to Health*, 2d ed., 57.

¹⁷ Tryon, *Way to Health*, 2d ed., 186.

¹⁸ Tryon, *Way to Health*, 2d ed., 28-32, 38-40, 154, quote on page 29. See Stuart, *Bloodless Revolution*, 60-77.

¹⁹ Tryon, *Way to Health*, 2d ed., 187; Philotheos Physiologus [Thomas Tryon], *Friendly Advice to the Gentlemen-Planters of the East and West Indies* (London, 1684), 130-133. On

the good effect of good choices see [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 170; [Tryon], *Friendly Advice*, 212-213.

²⁰ [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 164. See Almond, *Adam and Eve*, 117-118.

²¹ Tryon, *Way to Health*, 2d ed., 168. On insects see [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 23.

²² [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 30-31. See also Tryon, *Way to Health*, 2d ed., 115.

²³ Tryon, *Way to Health*, 2d ed., 370.

²⁴ Tryon, *Way to Health*, 2d ed., 154; [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 120-121; Thomas Tryon, *A Dialogue between an East-Indian Brackmanny, or Heathen Philosopher, and a French Gentleman* (London, 1691), 14-15; Dix Harwood, *Love for Animals and How it Developed in Great Britain* (New York, 1928), 150-51; Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge, 1982), 74; John T. Shawcross, ed., *The Complete Poetry of John Milton* (New York, 1971), 469; Almond, *Adam and Eve*, 118-126.

²⁵ [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 33-34. See also [Tryon], *Friendly Advice* (London, 1684), 77.

²⁶ Tryon, *Way to Health*, 2d ed., 31. See also Tryon, *Dialogue*, 17.

²⁷ Tryon, *Way to Health*, 2d. ed., 46, 60.

²⁸ [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 33-34. See also [Tryon], *Friendly Advice*, 77.

²⁹ [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 32.

³⁰ Tryon, *Way to Health*, 2d ed., 64-65.

³¹ [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 61.

³² Tryon, *Way to Health*, 2d ed., 374.

³³ [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 72-73. See also *ibid*, 61-62.

³⁴ Keith M. Kendrick, et al., 'Sheep Don't Forget a Face,' *Nature* 414 (2001) 165-6.

³⁵ For some context for this idea see Almond, *Adam and Eve*, 135-6.

³⁶ Tryon, *Way to Health*, 2d ed., 374.

³⁷ [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 75-76.

³⁸ Tryon, *Way to Health*, 2d ed., 65.

³⁹ Tryon, *Way to Health*, 2d ed., 28, 373.

⁴⁰ Tryon, *Way to Health*, 2d ed., 5, 28, 189.

⁴¹ [Tryon], *Way to Health*, 1st ed., note to reader; [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 83-85.

⁴² Tryon, *Memoirs*, 12-13.

⁴³ [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 70-72, 74-5, 95.

⁴⁴ [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, title page, 44.

⁴⁵ Tryon, *Way to Health*, 2d ed., 374-5.

⁴⁶ Tryon, *Way to Health*, 2d ed., 66-67.

⁴⁷ [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 73, 77-8.

⁴⁸ Tryon, *Way to Health*, 2d ed., 166.

⁴⁹ Field, *Absurdity*. In the body of the pamphlet Field singled out Tryon's *Way to Health* and *The Way to Make all People Rich*, (London, 1685), but in his postscript he added criticism of the *Country-man's Companion* and *The Good Housewife made Doctor*, (London, 1685).

Though Field named Tryon as the author of each of these works, they had all been published under the pseudonym Philotheos Physiologus.

⁵⁰ Field, *Absurdity*, introduction.

⁵¹ See Thomas O'Malley, 'Defying the Powers and Tempering the Spirit: A Review of Quaker Control over their Publications,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33 (1982) 72-88, 77-80.

⁵² Paula J. McDowell, 'Tace Sowle,' in James K. Braken and Joel Silver, eds., *The British Literary Book Trade, 1475-1700* (Detroit, Mich., 1996), 249-257, 249-250; David Fraser, 'William Penn and the Underground Press,' in Edwin B. Bronner and David Fraser, eds.,

Papers of William Penn, vol. 5 (Philadelphia, Penn., 1986), 47-86, 57-61; O'Malley, 'Defying the Powers,' 81-82.

⁵³ Minutes of the London Yearly Meeting Second Day Morning Meeting, 21 September 1674, Friends House Library, London.

⁵⁴ Field, *Absurdity*, title page, introduction, 3, 12, 15, 20, 23-5.

⁵⁵ Field, *Absurdity*, introduction, 24. See also *ibid*, 14, 17, 21.

⁵⁶ Field, *Absurdity*, introduction, 14, 43-4. On Tryon's musical ability see Tryon, *Memoirs*, 43-44.

⁵⁷ [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 159.

⁵⁸ [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 48; Tryon, *Way to Health*, 2d ed., 22, 95, 137; [Tryon], *Friendly Advice*, 9, 29, 50.

⁵⁹ Tryon, *Way to Health*, 2d ed., 22, 69-72, 75-76.

⁶⁰ See [Tryon], *Way to Health*, 1st ed., 136.

⁶¹ [Tryon], *Way to Health*, 1st ed., 79.

⁶² Thomas Tryon, *Country-man's Companion*, 52, 58-59.

⁶³ [Tryon], *Friendly Advice*, 179.

⁶⁴ [Tryon], *Friendly Advice*, 180.

⁶⁵ Field, *Absurdity*, 20-28.

⁶⁶ [Tryon], *Way to Health*, 1st ed., opening page.

⁶⁷ [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 84-85, 100-141.

⁶⁸ In 1684 when Tryon wrote these essays, East Jersey, West Jersey and Pennsylvania were all under Quaker leadership. On the Jerseys see *The West Jersey Concessions and Agreements of 1676/7: A Round Table of Historians* (Trenton, N.J., 1979); John E. Pomfret, *The Province of East Jersey, 1609-1702: The Rebellious Proprietary* (Princeton, N.J., 1962), 152-181.

⁶⁹ [Tryon], *Dialogue*, 2. See also *ibid*, 9; [Tryon], *Friendly Advice*, 121, 181, 200.

⁷⁰ [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 106, 117-125, 128, 130-31.

⁷¹ [Tryon], *Way to Health*, 1st ed., 503-504.

⁷² [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 123-125.

⁷³ [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 141-173. See Field, *Absurdity*, 21-22.

⁷⁴ William Penn, *A Letter from William Penn* (London, 1683), 4.

⁷⁵ [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 156, 162-3, 168-169.

⁷⁶ [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 142, 170-71.

⁷⁷ [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 127.

⁷⁸ [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 154-156.

⁷⁹ Tryon, *Way to Health*, 2d ed., 372, 375-7, 380, 382.

⁸⁰ Tryon, *Way to Health*, 2d ed., 377.

⁸¹ On the Quakers in this period see Geoffrey Plank, "Discipline and Divinity: Colonial Quakerism, Christianity, and 'Heathenism' in the Seventeenth Century." *Church History* 85 (2016) 502-528; Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion, eds., *Early Quakers and their Theological Thought, 1647-1723* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). On the early Quakers and animals see Morries, "From Revelation to Resource".

⁸² Internal references reveal the order in which these works were composed. Inserted within the text of Tryon's *Friendly Advice* are references to *The Way to Health* and *The Country-Man's Companion*. See [Tryon], *Friendly Advice* (London, 1684), 5, 13, 60.

⁸³ [Tryon], *Friendly Advice*, 75-145, 146-222.

⁸⁴ [Tryon], *Friendly Advice*, 78-80, 82, 85-86, 100, 110-11, 126, 137, 182, 188-9.

⁸⁵ [Tryon], *Friendly Advice*, 82-3, 87-90, 142, 218.

⁸⁶ [Tryon], *Friendly Advice*, 214, 217, 219-20.

⁸⁷ [Tryon], *Friendly Advice*, 220.

⁸⁸ [Tryon], *Friendly Advice*, 221-2.

⁸⁹ [Tryon], *Friendly Advice*, 152. See also *ibid*, 196-197.

⁹⁰ Amussen, *Caribbean Exchanges*, 182. Interpreting Tryon's stance in this manner lessens his distinctiveness. As Christopher Leslie Brown has reminded us, expressions of outrage against the bad treatment of slaves are nearly as old as Atlantic slavery itself. See Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 38-44.

⁹¹ [Tryon], *Country-man's Companion*, 118, 142-143.

⁹² Benjamin Lay, *All Slave-keepers that Keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates* (Philadelphia, 1738); Andreas Mielke, "'What's Here to Do?' An Inquiry Concerning Benjamin and Sarah Lay, Abolitionists," *Quaker History* 86 (1997): 22-44; Susan Rather, 'Benjamin West's Professional Endgame and the Historical Conundrum of William Williams,' *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d ser. 59 (2002) 821-864, 826-8.

⁹³ George Boulukos, *The Grateful Slave: The Emergence of Race in Eighteenth-Century British and American Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

⁹⁴ See generally Brycchan Carey and Geoffrey Plank, eds., *Quakers and Abolition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014); Marie-Jeanne Rossignol and Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, eds., *The Atlantic World of Anthony Benezet (1713-1784): From French Reformation to North American Quaker Antislavery Activism* (Leiden: Brill, 2016)

⁹⁵ Aphra Behen, *Oroonoko: Or, the Royal Slave. A True History* (London, 1688); Thomas Southerne, *Oroonoko: A Tragedy* (London, 1696); Ruthe T. Sheffey, "Some Evidence for a New Source of Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*," *Studies in Philology* 59 (1962), 52-63. For an

assessment of *Oroonoko*'s influence on subsequent English-language discussions of slavery
see Boulukos, *The Grateful Slave*, 39-53.